



# THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.

All in the family:

The Apollonian triad in Attic art of the sixth and fifth centuries BC

Lavinia Foukara

PhD  
University of Edinburgh  
2014

I declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Signed:

## **Abstract**

This dissertation examines the iconographical motif of the Apollonian triad in Attic art of the sixth and fifth centuries BC. Attic vase paintings constitute the chief evidence for this study, but other evidence, such as inscriptions, literary sources, sculptures and coins is considered, as well. My thesis focus on scenes without a clear mythological context, where the triad appears alone or accompanied by other, mostly, divine figures, and on what messages or information these images of the Apollonian triad convey. This study contributes to the ongoing discussion of the iconography and iconology of Attic vases, which enriches our understanding of Athenian socio-political and religious life and of Greek culture, more generally.

## Acknowledgements

I wish to express my deepest gratitude to my Supervisor, Professor Judith M. Barringer, who has enriched my understanding of the intersection between art, myth, and religion in Archaic and Classical Greece. I am grateful to her for all the support she has offered me, guidance and advice, constant encouragement, friendship, and particularly for her faith in my ability to complete this thesis. I would also like to thank Dr. Glenys Davies and Professor Keith Rutter for the valuable discussions I had with them throughout the years I studied in the University of Edinburgh. Additional thanks go to my examiners, Professor Andrew Erskine and Professor François Lissarrague, who provided me with valuable feedback, helpful advice and interesting ideas for future work.

Moreover, I owe my gratitude to Dr. Vassos Karageorghis for encouraging me to pursue a postgraduate research (PhD) at the Department of Classics at the University of Edinburgh and the A.G. Leventis Foundation for providing me the financial support to undertake this research. I am also thankful for the Baldwin Brown Travelling Scholarship in Classical Archaeology that I have been granted in 2010 (May-June) and which gave me the opportunity to visit museums and archaeological sites in Athens and elsewhere in Greece that were related to my topic. During my stay in Athens, I also had the chance to collect data from the library at the British School at Athens which was essential for the progress of my work.

This thesis would not have been completed without the warm encouragement of my family and friends. Special heartfelt thanks go to my parents for their financial and emotional support and whose lifelong devotion to art inspired me to undertake the particular field of research. I would especially like to thank my sister, Katerina, for all her support and love. Also, I wish to express my sincere thanks to my friends and colleagues Maria Konstantinou, Nicola Nenci and Dr. Diana Rodriguez Pérez for their valuable comments on several aspects of my thesis, as well as to my friend Jon Hancock for his useful remarks and suggestions during the final stages of my thesis. Furthermore, big thanks to Mannia Georgiadou, Thanasis Kapelonis, Georgia Seiti, Stella Mazeri, Theodoris Koletsos, Filippou Filippou, Antonis Foukaras, Christos Svigkos, Tasos, Spathas, Eleni Mitsoula, Nikos Mitropoulos, Yianna Antoniou, Anastasia Chrysostomou, Natasa Aristodemou, Despo Hadjigeorgiou, Elena Michaola, Natalie Anastasiou, and Elena Michael, whose friendship and humour kept me smiling throughout the years as I work on this research in Edinburgh. Finally, my greatest thanks go to Vakis, for his never-ending patience, moral support, and for always being by my side and making me laugh.

## List of Abbreviations

Abbreviations of periodicals and books are those recommended in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 111 (2007), 14-34 and <http://www.ajaonline.org>. Abbreviations of ancient authors and works follow those listed in Hornblower, S., and A. Spawforth (eds), *Oxford Classical Dictionary (OCD<sup>3</sup>)*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn., Oxford, xxix-liv.

Exceptions to this format are the abbreviations *Para* for Beazley, J. D. (1971), *Paralipomena, Additions to Attic Black-figure Vase-painters and to Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, Oxford, and *Add<sup>2</sup>* for Carpenter, T. H. (1989), *Beazley Addenda*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Oxford.

*ABV*: Beazley, J. D. (1956), *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters*, Oxford.

*ARV<sup>2</sup>*: Beazley, J. D. (1963), *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Oxford.

*BAPD*: *Beazley Archive Pottery Database*: [www.beazley.ox.ac.uk](http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk).

*CVA*: *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (1925- ).

*CID*: *Corpus des Inscriptions de Delphes* (Paris, 1977- ).

*DNP*: Cancik, H., and H. Schneider (1996-2003), eds., *Der Neue Pauly Encyclopädie der Antike*, Stuttgart, Weimar.

*FGrH*: Jacoby, F. (1923- ), *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, Berlin.

*IC*: Guarducci, M. (1935-1950), ed. *Inscriptiones Creticae*, 4 vols, Rome.

*ID*: *Inscriptiones de Délos* (Paris, 1926- ).

*IG*: *Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin, 1873- ).

*LIMC*: *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Zurich, Munich, and Düsseldorf (1981-2009).

*LSCG*: Sokolowski, F. (1969), *Lois Sacrées des Cités Grecques*, Paris.

*LSS*: Sokolowski, F. (1962) *Lois Sacrées des Cités Grecques, Supplement*, Paris.

*M.-W.*: Merkelbach, R., and M. L. West (1967), *Fragmenta Hesiodica*, Oxford.

*RE*: Pauly, A., G. Wissowa, G., W. Kroll, and K. Ziegler (1893-1978), eds., *Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, Munich.

*PMG*: Page, D. L. (1962), *Poetae Melici Graeci: Alcmanis, Stesichori, Ibyci, Anacreontis, Simonidis, Corinnae, poetarum minorum reliquias, carmina popularia et convivialia quaeque adespota feruntur*, Oxford.

*SEG*: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (1923- ).

*TAM*: *Tituli Asiae Minoris* (Vienna, 1901- ).

*TrGF IV*: Radt, S. (1977), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta IV*, Göttingen.

## Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgements .....	iii
List of Abbreviations.....	iv
Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1. Apollonian triad: the establishment of a motif .....	11
1.1 The Apollonian triad in Greek Literature .....	12
1.2 The Apollonian triad in Greek art .....	17
Chapter 2. Apollo playing the kithara between Artemis and Leto.....	45
2.1 Vase paintings .....	45
2.2 Previous interpretations .....	52
Chapter 3. The Apollonian triad in libations scenes .....	60
3.1 Vase paintings .....	61
3.2 Previous interpretations .....	71
Chapter 4. The Apollonian triad in sixth and fifth centuries Attic vase painting: an iconological analysis. ....	84
4.1 The Apollonian triad, the <i>Symposion</i> , and Aristocrats .....	85
4.2 The Apollonian triad in ritual performance: image, context, and meaning ....	127
Conclusion .....	157
Appendix I. Depictions of the Apollonian triad on Attic vases of the sixth and fifth centuries BC and. ....	159
Appendix II. Tables.....	188
Bibliography .....	191
Illustrations .....	222

## Introduction

Leto, the Titaness daughter of Coeus and Phoebe (Hes. *Theog.* 406-408), gave birth to the most glorious children, Apollo and Artemis, who instantly became part of the Olympian family. The close family ties between Apollo, Leto and Artemis are confirmed in the earliest works of Greek literature, that is, in the works of Homer and Hesiod of the eighth century BC. Despite some earlier depictions outside Attica, representations of Apollo, Leto and Artemis as a family occur mainly in Attic iconography of the archaic and classical periods. I would like to clarify that I use the terms “family” or “family group” throughout this research to denote representations of Apollo, Leto and Artemis as a group, that is, when the three deities are depicted next to each other in vase paintings or elsewhere. It should be noted that these are not representations of a complete family, since Zeus, the father of Apollo and Artemis, is absent from the iconography of the divine trio, an issue that I consider in chapter 1. The examination of the above-mentioned triad in Attic iconography of the sixth and fifth centuries BC is the subject of the present study.

In the course of my research I noticed that some scholars use the term “Delian triad”<sup>1</sup> when they refer to this divine family. They draw support from the fact that the island of Delos – located in the centre of the Cyclades – is considered the birthplace of Apollo (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 16, 7/6<sup>th</sup> century BC)<sup>2</sup> and Artemis (Pind. *Pae.* 12, fr.52m, 15-16, Maehler, 5<sup>th</sup> century BC),<sup>3</sup> and one of the most important cult-places for the worship of the trio as the temples to Artemis (*Artemision E*, c.700

---

<sup>1</sup> E.g., *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis [Kahil], *LIMC* 6, s.v. Leto [Kahil and Icard-Gianolio]; Tiverios (1987); Shapiro (1989).

<sup>2</sup> On the date of the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, infra n. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Pindar was probably born in 518 BC. His earliest *ode* dates c.498 BC and the latest c.446 BC; Segal (1985), 266-267.



BC),<sup>4</sup> Apollo (*Porinos Naos*, c.520 BC)<sup>5</sup> and Leto (*Letoon*, c.540 BC)<sup>6</sup> testify. Other scholars apply the term “Apollonian triad”,<sup>7</sup> a designation that seems to be more appropriate firstly because Apollo usually occupies the central place among Leto and Artemis, and secondly because the term “Delian” attaches the triad to the specific island. Therefore, to avoid the particular connection that the term has with the specific place I will refer to the above-mentioned divine family by the term “Apollonian”, a term that will be further clarified by the progress of this research.

Attic vase paintings are the principal iconographical evidence for the representation of the Apollonian triad in Attic art of the sixth and fifth centuries BC, and constitute the chief evidence for this study. Additionally, other evidence has been employed, such as sculpture, inscriptions and literary sources. The material under investigation, both visual and written, is Attic, from the sixth and fifth centuries BC. However, earlier (8<sup>th</sup> -7<sup>th</sup> BC) and later (4<sup>th</sup> BC onwards) material, as well as evidence from other regions, are also used for comparative purposes or as additional information in order to illuminate the Attic material.

Despite the few narrative scenes where the divine family appears, such as the abduction of Leto by Tityos and the killing of Python, the majority of depictions show the Apollonian triad in scenes without a clear mythological context as either a family group alone or accompanied by other, mainly divine, figures. In particular, we find Apollo playing his kithara between Leto and Artemis on vases dating to the

---

<sup>4</sup> Date indicated by the finds which date from the Mycenaean period to the end of the eighth century BC. Vallois (1944), 48; Gallet de Santerre (1958), 130, 253.

<sup>5</sup> On *Porinos Naos*, see discussion in Chapter 2, pp. 54-56.

<sup>6</sup> Date indicated on architectural grounds and on the pottery found beneath the temple. Gallet de Santerre (1958), 257, (1959), 69; Bruneau and Ducat (2005), 223.

<sup>7</sup> E.g., Gallet de Santerre (1958); Bruneau and Ducat (2005); *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollo [Lambrinudakis et al.]; Simon (1998), 124.

second half of the sixth and early fifth centuries BC<sup>8</sup> – though the examples found in the fifth century are considerably fewer. From the beginning of the fifth century BC and persisting throughout the century,<sup>9</sup> vase paintings depict the triad holding shallow-flat vessels (bowls) known as *phialai* and wine jugs known as *oinochoai*.<sup>10</sup> I should note that this research does not cover cases with depictions of Apollo and Artemis alone, i.e., without Leto, which are well-attested in Attic vase painting of the sixth and fifth centuries BC. I consider that the inclusion of Leto in scenes with Apollo and Artemis is more significant than previously thought. The underlying assumption in this thesis is that images of Leto with children evoke certain connotations, which are different from those evoked by scenes that show only the two siblings. What the iconographical motif of the Apollonian triad possibly meant to the Athenians of the archaic and classical period is the main issue investigated in this thesis.

The Apollonian triad has been the subject of previous studies, but there is no monograph on this topic. Most scholars focused on depictions of the Apollonian triad either in sixth - or fifth - century vase painting rather than investigating the motif in question from the archaic through the classical period.<sup>11</sup> In an effort to interpret the scenes depicting the Apollonian triad, scholars have not considered in detail issues

---

<sup>8</sup> Simon (1953), 17; Shapiro (1989), 57. The only exception is an Attic black-figure Tyrrhenian amphora of 565-560 BC – now lost – which is included in *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1116 [Kahil] and *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 630s [Daumas]. Note that Apollo is not holding a kithara, but appears only with a bow.

<sup>9</sup> Simon (1953), 15.

<sup>10</sup> *Oinochoe* is the vessel for pouring wine *par excellence*. The name “*oinochoe*” derives from the Greek word “*οἶνος*” which means “wine” and the verb “*χέω*” which means “to pour”; on *oinochoe*, see Green (1972). *Phialai* were popular votive offerings in sanctuaries, used as sacrificial bowls for liquid, as drinking vessels for gods, as victors’ prizes and as wedding gifts; on *phiale*, see Richter and Milne (1935), 29-30; *RE* Suppl.7, s.v. *Phiale*, 1027 [Luschey]; Webster (1972), 101; *DNP* 9, s.v. *Phiale*, 774 [Scheibler].

<sup>11</sup> Basic studies regarding depictions of the Apollonian triad in sixth- and fifth-century vase painting are Simon (1953), Tiverios (1986), (1987), and Shapiro (1989), (1996), (2009a).

such as the basis for identifying a trio as Apollonian given that we occasionally have the deities' names, painted on vases, or on which vase-shapes the representations of the Apollonian triad occur. Who are the most frequent companions of the triad, and what is the connection between them and the divine family? Do the scenes that vase painters choose to juxtapose with the motif of the Apollonian triad contribute to the investigation of the meaning that this motif had for the Athenians? In addition, no previous study has given adequate attention to the idea that a divine family is represented and instead focused particularly on Apollo. I consider that the above issues, among others which I explore in the respective chapters (i.e., Chapters 2, 3 and 4), have not been sufficiently investigated and therefore theories that have been advanced need to be re-examined.

According to Table 2 (see Appendix II), 81 vases that depict the Apollonian triad either alone or accompanied by others come from unknown provenances. Of the remaining 88 vases, 68 were recovered from Italy, 18 from Greece, one from Egypt and one from Spain. Inevitably, any study that uses depictions on vases as evidence to explain social, religious and political aspects of the Athenian life comes across the major problem of the vases being detached from their original context, that is, vases whose exact find-spot is unknown. In addition, the great quantity of Attic painted pottery discovered in Italy, particularly at Etruscan sites, raises critical questions as to whether Attic vase painters had their Etruscan clients in mind when they decorated their vases, or if vases found in Etruria were the result of a secondary market,<sup>12</sup> issues that remain controversial. Those who favour the view that customers outside Greece, basically Etruscans, influenced the decoration of Athenian pottery draw their

---

<sup>12</sup> Webster (1972), 298 supports the view that the best Athenian vases that were found overseas and which depict exceptional Athenian events were special commissions for special symposia and then, after being used once, were sold on the second-hand market.

support from the fact that most of the vases were found in Italy and that some shapes, e.g., the “Nikosthenic” neck-amphorae that imitates the native Etruscan *bucchero* ware,<sup>13</sup> were produced explicitly for the demands of the Etruscan market.<sup>14</sup>

Indeed, as noted, some exceptional cases of Attic pot shapes, including the Tyrrhenian amphorae,<sup>15</sup> Cypro-jugs, *kyathoi* based on Etruscan *bucchero* shapes, Thracian-style mugs and beakers, and Apulia-style *nestorides*, were produced for the foreign market.<sup>16</sup> Despite the fact that some shapes (e.g., “Nikosthenic” amphorae) and iconography (e.g., vases of the so-called “Perizoma group”) may have aimed at the Etruscan market,<sup>17</sup> or some images may have appealed to Etruscan tastes,<sup>18</sup> we cannot whatsoever diminish the value – functional or cultural – that Attic painted pottery may have had for the Athenians.<sup>19</sup> Previous studies suggest that shape and

---

<sup>13</sup> Some 96% of “Nikosthenic” workshop’s pottery comes from Etruscan sites, Osborne (1996), 31; on “Nikosthenic” workshop, see also Spivey (1991), 140; Curry (2000), 84-85; and Rasmussen (*infra* n. 17).

<sup>14</sup> Spivey (1991); Lewis (2003), (2009).

<sup>15</sup> On Tyrrhenian amphorae, see Carpenter (1984); Spivey (1991), 141; Curry (2000), 82-83.

<sup>16</sup> Oakley (2009), 613.

<sup>17</sup> E.g., Rasmussen (1985), 38 discusses the “Nikosthenic” amphora and *kyathos*, both shapes made primarily for the Etruscan market. Shapiro (2000), 318-336 discusses Attic vases of the so-called “Perizoma group”, named for the appearance of male figures with white loincloth (e.g., athletes, *komasts*, armed dancers, etc.) – depicting scenes unknown to Athenian customs and which occur nowhere else in Attic vase paintings, such as the participation of well-clothed women at men’s symposia and the appearance of armed dancers in funeral contexts to satisfy obviously the Etruscan clientele.

<sup>18</sup> Marconi (2004) adopts a pluralistic approach and argues that the imagery on Attic vases can be “as understandable, appealing, and effective in Etruria and elsewhere in the Greek world as in Athens”. Osborne (2004), replying to Marconi’s paper (2004) argues that although Etruscans were voracious consumers of Athenian pottery they did not determine the iconography, but instead the iconography was determined by interests and demands at Athens itself. Spivey (1991), 143-144 argues that some vases that were made for a specific Athenian occasion, such as Panathenaic prize amphorae for the Panathenaic games in Athens, may have also served as an appropriate tomb decoration for the Etruscans. Steiner (2007), 235 remarks that “there is no need to believe that all imagery had to be understood by the Etruscans to be desirable to them”.

<sup>19</sup> Shapiro (2000), 318 supports the view that “Attic vase painters painted what interested them and their Athenian circle of friends, colleagues, and buyers, without regard to a pot’s final destination”. Osborne (2001), 280 comparing iconographical subjects on Attic vases from the Athenian Agora to those on Attic vases, discovered from four sites outside Greece – Nola, Bologna, Vulci and Tarquinia – concludes that the same or similar subjects are attested in all sites. Steiner (2007), 235 comments that there is no significant difference in shape or iconography between vases that remained in Greece and those that were exported. Oakley (2009), 613 admits that the truth as to whether Athenian vase

not iconography determined the trade market given that primary importance for an Etruscan customer was apparently the shape of the vase and not its decoration.<sup>20</sup> In addition, Greek phrases or words, painted on vases, would have meant something to those with the ability to read Greek; otherwise, they would have made no sense to those who could not read them and the joke for example “as never Euphronios” – found on an Attic red-figure amphora of 510-500 BC from Vulci signed by Euthymides – would have been insignificant.<sup>21</sup> Finally, iconographical themes in vase painting would have been familiar to an Athenian audience, since the same or similar subjects appear in monumental art as well, and reference to them has been made in written – literary and epigraphic – sources.<sup>22</sup>

To sum up, Athenian painted pottery was certainly an attractive ware as the distribution of Attic vases across the Mediterranean world testifies. The possibility that the same image could have different meanings in different cultures cannot be

---

painters decorated their vases having Etruscans buyers in mind or if they painted primarily for an Athenian audience lies between the two extremes.

<sup>20</sup> Osborne (1996), 33-36 demonstrates a statistical analysis for the period 575-550 BC commenting that some sites receive specific shapes: amphorae are found predominantly at the sites of Vulci, Marseilles and Caere, where sites of Taras, Selinus or Cumae receive mainly cups; see also Reusser (2003b), 157-160 who analyses the various archaeological contexts for the use of Attic pottery in sixth and fifth centuries BC in Etruscan sites, arguing that the predominance of Attic cups, *skyphoi* and *kraters* in household deposits (e.g., Marzabotto) indicate that they were used for the banquet, while the predominance of drinking vessels – cups and *skyphoi* – in sanctuaries (e.g., Gravisca) denotes that these vases were used as votive offerings or as drinking vessels for sacred banquets. Also, Reusser (2003c), 161-165 comments that the images on vases found in sanctuaries correspond to the imagery of those found in Etruscan tombs and only in some rare cases is there a connection between the subject on a vase and the deity worshipped at the sanctuary where the vase was found. For Attic pottery found in funeral contexts, Reusser (2003a) 167-178 indicates that some locations show a preference for specific shapes, such as *bell-kraters* for Genoa and *column-kraters* for Bologna. Hannestad (1999), 304-307 argues that at Vulci and Tarquinia some Attic shapes were more popular (e.g., amphora, cup) than others (e.g., *lekythos*), while some shapes were preferred in Attic pottery (e.g., cup) and some in local wares (e.g., *oinochoe*), a view based on the published material from funerary contexts. But, see also the point stressed by Lynch (2009) that not all imagery on vases which were found in Etruria can be found in Athens. As evidence, Lynch considers scenes of heterosexual intercourse focusing on the peak of their production (c. 500 BC) in red-figure. These scenes are found only on vases from Tarquinia, Orvieto, Florence, and Adria (at least for the few vases that we do have provenances) and do not occur on vases from households of Late Archaic Athens. In fact, there is no preference for erotic heterosexual scenes on red-figure vases from deposits of the Athenian Agora.

<sup>21</sup> Munich, Antikensammlungen 8731(J378); ARV<sup>2</sup> 24, 1; *Para* 323; Lullies (1956), 13-15.

<sup>22</sup> On this view, see Barringer (2001), 3.

excluded. Regardless of where the vases were found – without underestimating the importance of the find-spot for the archaeological research – they can still elucidate our knowledge regarding the social, political and religious life of Attica. It would be a mistake to consider that there was no interaction between vase painters and the Athenian society within which they created and produced their artefacts.

The present research employs various methodologies in order to explore the motif in question.<sup>23</sup> The underlying assumption in this work is that images on Attic vases should not be treated as photographs of real life, but as symbols of a visual “language” that the Athenians used to denote values of their socio-political and religious life.<sup>24</sup> According to the above view, I shall consider the whole iconographical programme of the vases under discussion given that each decorative element is part of the same visual vocabulary in order to “read” the iconography. Following strategies derived from semiotic theory, I shall place my emphasis on “reading” the iconographical motif of the Apollonian triad in an effort to understand the meaning that the image of the Apollonian triad had for the Athenians. Moreover, taking into account that socio-political, cultural and religious circumstances that prevail in a place, affect, control, and help the formation of the artistic production, I will also consider the social, political, cultural and religious life of Attica during the sixth and fifth century BC, i.e., the period when vases depicting the Apollonian triad were produced. The investigation of the motif within the aforementioned contexts will shed some additional light on the fundamental issue regarding what information

---

<sup>23</sup> For an overview of different theoretical approaches in order to understand Greek art, see Stansbury-O'Donnell (2011).

<sup>24</sup> E.g., Bérard et al. (1989); Lissarrague (2009) discusses how to look at, and read, vases, arguing that we get a better understanding not only of Greek vases, but also of Greek culture in general, by reading images, and looking at pictures; see also Barringer (2001), 2-3 who emphasizes the fact that the distinction between actuality and representation is the key to understand Greek art.

or messages images of the Apollonian triad on Attic vases convey to their viewers or users. In addition, the process of this research has been influenced by other methodological approaches as well, such as the importance and meaning of repetition,<sup>25</sup> the correlation between scene and vase-shape,<sup>26</sup> the choice of vase painters to juxtapose a scene that is related with the motif in question in order to create cohesion, and the fact that images can serve as visual metaphors and similes.<sup>27</sup>

The particular research consists of four chapters, each comprised of two or more thematic parts. Chapter 1 concerns with the establishment of the divine family – Apollo, Leto and Artemis – in Greek literature and art during the archaic and classical periods. Postclassical written evidence is also used to support and illuminate the written as well as the visual material. In the first section, I discuss the strong bond between Leto and her children as described in the literary tradition (1.1). I stress the fact that when the triad is mentioned in the literary sources, emphasis is placed on their close relationship and the story of Leto giving birth. In the second section, I deal with the establishment of the Apollonian triad in Greek art (1.2). I start by examining some possible early representations of the trio outside Attica; then, I focus on Attic material by discussing the appearance of the motif in a few narrative scenes and the representation of the triad in scenes without clear mythological context. The Attic material has been compiled from a comprehensive study of the

---

<sup>25</sup> E.g., Steiner (1993), (1997), esp. (2007).

<sup>26</sup> E.g., Scheibler (1987) studied the Attic belly-amphora and demonstrates that the particular vase-shape was associated with rituals regarding the initiation of the Athenian *ephebes*; Shapiro (1997), 63-70 discusses the association of the Attic black-figure *pelikai* with the craftsmen who produced olive oil listing examples of black-figure *pelikai* that depict the sale of oil and thus illustrate their own use. Shapiro emphasizes the fact that those craftsmen were also responsible for the creation and decoration of the Panathenaic amphorae used to contain the oil for the Panathenaic Games; for the contrary view – that Panathenaic prize amphorae did not carry olive oil – see, Themelis (2007), 25; Eschbach (2007), 94-95.

<sup>27</sup> E.g., Barringer (2001), 10-124 stresses the idea of hunting as a metaphor for warfare, and erotic courtship as a metaphor for hunting.

published corpus of Attic vases listed in the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (CVA), the Beazley archive (ABV, ARV<sup>2</sup>, Para, Add<sup>2</sup>, BAPD), and the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (LIMC), museum catalogues, monographs and any other article that includes representations of the motif in question. Moreover, I place emphasis on the identification of the divine figures that form the Apollonian triad defining the criteria by which one can recognize the motif and explaining how I organized the material in this work. In particular, I have categorized 169 vases into four groups based on composition and subject-matter (Group A-D). Group A presents Apollo playing his kithara between Leto and Artemis; group B exhibits the Apollonian triad in the company of other deities; group C presents the triad carrying *phialai* and *oinochoai*; and finally in group D the triad hold the above mentioned vessels in the company of other figures. All vases that depict the Apollonian triad are numbered and listed chronologically and with bibliography in Appendix I.

Chapters 2 and 3 examine depictions of the Apollonian triad in Attic vase paintings of the archaic and classical period. Each chapter consists of two thematic parts. The first parts of chapters 2 (2.1) and 3 (3.1) are concerned with representations of Apollo playing the kithara between Artemis and Leto (Groups A and B) and the Apollonian triad carrying *phialai* and *oinochoai* (Groups C and D) respectively. Both chapters place emphasis on the way the triad is represented, i.e., their poses, basic attributes and dress, action, gestures and movements, as well as on accompanying figures and the setting of the scene. The second parts of these chapters re-examines previous interpretations regarding the issue what the iconographical motif under consideration meant for the Athenians in the archaic and classical periods. Chapter 2.2 discusses the thesis that associate the motif with Peisistratos'



activity on the island on Delos, particularly with the idea of Peisistratos promoting the cult of Apollo as part of his strategy to assert Athens' leading role among the Ionian cities. Chapter 3.2 investigates previous theories that have "read" the motif as an artistic representation of Apollo's atonement for slaying the monster Python, guardian of the oracle at Delphi, or as a reflection of religious "propaganda", exercised by the Athenians after the formation of the Delian League (478/7 BC), since Apollo was regarded as the protector of the newly-formed League which centred around the god's sanctuary on Delos.

The final Chapter of this thesis, Chapter 4, focuses on the iconology of the Apollonian triad motif in the sixth and fifth centuries BC. It consists of two parts. The first part explores the meaning of the motif of Apollo playing the kithara between Artemis and Leto in sixth and early fifth-century vase painting. The second part attempts to explain what the motif in its new iconographical context, i.e., the Apollonian triad in libation scenes, meant for the Athenians in the fifth century BC.

## **Chapter 1. Apollonian triad: the establishment of a motif**

This research focuses on the investigation of the iconographical motif of the Apollonian triad as a family group in Attic iconography of the sixth and fifth century BC. In order to proceed and analyse the motif, discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, it is essential to become familiar with the particular triad and to examine how this motif establishes itself in Greek literature (1.1) and art (1.2). Literary sources stress the strong bond between Leto and her children, Apollo and Artemis. In fact, Apollo and Artemis are always mentioned as those who come to their mother's rescue and mercilessly punish those who offended her honour, and while recounting the story of Leto giving birth, ancient writers underline Leto's connection to childbirth and her role as the mother of Apollo and Artemis. Despite some sporadic examples outside Attica that some scholars consider as the earliest representations of the Apollonian triad in Greek art and that will be discussed below, the motif appears mainly in Attic vase paintings of the archaic and classical periods. The divine trio occurs in a few narratives, such as Leto's abduction by Tityos, or in the scene of Apollo killing the serpent Python. However, a great number of vases show the three gods as a family group in scenes without a clear narrative context, either alone or in the company of other – mainly – divine figures. The deities that form the Apollonian triad are identified by their names, which are found sometimes painted along with the figures, or attributes. In the absence of names or attributes, other factors are considered in order to identify the divine trio, such as literary evidence, context, or the similarity of composition (with minor variations) to others with named figures.

## 1.1 The Apollonian triad in Greek Literature

The close family ties between Apollo, Leto and Artemis are undoubtedly confirmed in the earliest works of Greek literature. Apollo and Artemis are the offspring of Leto and Zeus and their family relations are well attested by the two Homeric poems (8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC),<sup>28</sup> the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.<sup>29</sup> As a family, they fight together on the side of the Trojans (*Il.* 20.38-40) and take part in the battle of the gods (*Il.* 20.58-72). When Artemis, beaten by Hera on the battle field (*Il.* 21.480-496), leaves all her weapons behind and runs weeping to her father Zeus in Olympos, Leto is the one who clears up the mess by picking up the weapons of her beloved daughter (*Il.* 21. 497-504). Furthermore, in book five of the *Iliad* we find mother and daughter taking care of the wounded Aeneas when Apollo rescued him from the battlefield (445-450). In addition, the strong relationship between Leto and her children is clearly demonstrated by the myth of Niobe, mentioned in *Iliad* 24 (605-609). Niobe boasted that she had more offspring, namely six sons and six daughters, than did Leto. Apollo and Artemis did not leave this offense towards their mother unpunished and mercilessly killed Niobe's twelve children in revenge.<sup>30</sup> The story of Niobe is not the only incident where brother and sister protect the honour of their beloved mother. They are mentioned in the account of Tityos' abduction of Leto and

---

<sup>28</sup> The issue, among others, when were the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* first written down has been the focus of scholarly attention and debate. Some scholars, such as Kirk (1985a), 4-16, Powell (1991), 187-220, (1997), 31, Janko (1992), 29-38, West (1995), 203-219, and Crielaard (1995) argue that the poems were written down as soon as they have been composed, that is, between the eighth and seventh century BC. Other scholars, such as, for example, Nagy (1996), 65-112, and Seaford (1994), 144-154, date their written form to the sixth century BC.

<sup>29</sup> Apollo as the son of Leto and Zeus: *Il.* 1.9, *Od.* 11.318; Leto as the mother of Apollo: *Il.* 1.36, 16.849; Zeus as the father of Apollo: *Il.* 1.21, 7.23, 15.236, 16.676, 16.719, 16.804, 17.326, 20.82, 20.103, *Od.* 8.334; Artemis as the daughter of Leto and Zeus: *Il.* 21.504-506; Leto as the mother of Artemis: *Od.* 6.106; Zeus as the father of Artemis: *Il.* 21.512; *Od.* 6.151; Apollo and Artemis are brother and sister: *Il.* 20.71, 21.470.

<sup>30</sup> For Artemis in Homer, see *DNP* 2, s.v. Artemis, 53-54 [Graf]; Skafte-Jensen (2009), 51-59; for Apollo, see Graf (2009), 9-14; for Leto, see *LIMC* 6, s.v. Leto, 256 [Kahil and Icard-Gianolio].

in the story of the killing of Python, which we will discuss below in regard to the narrative scenes in which the divine family occurs. The occasional appearance of Apollo, Leto and Artemis as a family in the *Iliad*, as well as the sporadic references of Leto as the mother of Apollo and Artemis in the *Odyssey*,<sup>31</sup> clearly demonstrate that the family relations between Leto, Apollo and Artemis are well established from the eighth century BC.

While the two Homeric poems give us a clear picture of Apollo and Artemis as Leto's and Zeus' children, no further information is provided about their legendary birth which, as will be demonstrated further below, is the focus of later writers. Hesiod, one of the oldest Greek poets (8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC),<sup>32</sup> mentions that Apollo and Artemis were born from the love of Leto and Zeus (*Theog.* 918-920) and adds Apollo's birth on the seventh day (*Op.* 771), which henceforth would be considered sacred to the god.<sup>33</sup>

The earliest literary evidence mentioning the legendary birth of Apollo and Artemis is the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*.<sup>34</sup> Whether the *Hymn* (7/6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC) should be considered a unity or a combination of two separate poems, as scholars debate, is not the focus of my discussion, but we should note that the *Hymn* is obviously separated into two thematic sections.<sup>35</sup> The Delian portion (1-178) narrates

---

<sup>31</sup> Supra n. 29.

<sup>32</sup> Hesiod's poetic activity dates *circa* the later part of the eighth century BC, Barron and Easterling (1985), 93. For the date of Hesiod, see also Kivilo (2010), 45-52, with previous bibliography.

<sup>33</sup> On the seventh day being sacred to Apollo, see Mikalson (1975), 19, 69, 98.

<sup>34</sup> For the literary sources regarding the birth of Apollo and Artemis, see *LIMC* 6, s.v. Leto, 256 [Kahil and Icard-Gianolio], Gantz (1993), 37-38, 87, 97; *RE Suppl.5*, s.v. Leto, 565-569 [Wehrli].

<sup>35</sup> Scholars debate the date of the *Hymn* usually regarded as a combination of two separate hymns (Delian and Pythian). Dates for the Delian part: early seventh cent. BC, Janko (1982), 114, 200; no later than 600 BC, Allen, Halliday and Sikes (1936), 185; 570-547 BC, West (1975), 168 or around 540-530 BC (2003), 10-11; beginning of sixth century BC, Kirk (1985b), 115. Dates for the Pythian part: c.650 BC or early sixth century BC, Chappell (2006), 335; c.600 BC, West (1975), 165 or c. 586 BC (2003), 10-11; beginning of sixth century BC, Allen, Halliday and Sikes (1936), 185; c. 585 BC, Janko (1982), 115, 200; later than 586 BC, Kirk (1985b), 115; see most recently Chappell (2011), 59-81 who discusses the problem of the *Hymn's* unity, argues for its division, and provides earlier

the legendary birth of Apollo on the island of Delos (1-139) and gives a brief description of a festival in honour of the god, the gathering of the long-robed Ionians, and the celebrations that took place on Delos including boxing, dancing and song contests, while the Delian maidens danced and sang praises of Apollo, Leto and Artemis (146-178). The second, Pythian, part tells the story of the arrival of Apollo at Delphi and the founding of his oracle (179-546). However, the *Hymn* presents the delivery of the two glorious children as separate events: Artemis was born in Ortygia while Apollo on rocky Delos (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.16*).<sup>36</sup> Later writers, such as Pseudo-Apollodorus, report that Artemis, who was born first, helped her mother deliver Apollo (*Bibl. 1.4.1, AD 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup>*), while Diogenes Laertius establishes Artemis' birthday on the sixth day of the month *Thargelion* (2.44, AD 3<sup>rd</sup>).<sup>37</sup>

The Homeric *Hymn* is our earliest account of Leto's difficult and painful delivery of Apollo.<sup>38</sup> After long travelling in her search for a birthplace, the pregnant Leto was received on Delos. She was in labour for nine days and nine nights (91-92) because the jealous Hera kept her daughter Eileithyia (Hes. *Theog.* 921-922), the goddess of childbirth,<sup>39</sup> on Olympos (99-100). Finally, Leto, grabbing a palm tree for

---

bibliography. Other scholars, such as Miller (1986), 111-117, insist on reading the *Hymn* as a unified composition. Dates for the *Hymn* as a whole: early sixth cent. BC, Richardson (2010), 15; for the association of the performance of the *Hymn* with the Delian-Pythian festival of Polykrates on Delos in 522 BC, see Burkert (1979), 61.

<sup>36</sup> The connection of Artemis with Ortygia is already made in *Odyssey* 5 where the huntress goddess pursues Orion and finally kills him in Ortygia (123), while in later tradition the word "Ortygia" is used as an epithet of Artemis (Soph. *Trach.* 213) or is even identified with Delos (Pind. *Pae.7b* fr.52h 48, Maehler; Callim. *Hymn* 2.59). Furthermore, Ortygia is mentioned in the literary tradition as a place near an isle called Syrie (Hom. *Od.* 403-404), as a place near the island Syracuse (Hes. fr.150, 26, M.-W.; Pind. *Pyth.* 2.7, *Nem.* 1.2, *Ol.* 6.92), place near Ephesus (Strabo, 14.1.20). For Ortygia, see *RE* 18.2, s.v. Ortygia, 1519-1526 [Kruse, Keil, Schmidt]; *DNP* 9, s.v. Ortygia, 71-80 [Ambühl]; Wilson (2000), 719; Reger (2000), 945.

<sup>37</sup> Mikalson (1975), 18.

<sup>38</sup> For a commentary to the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, see Allen, Halliday and Sikes (1936), 201-267; Miller (1986); Richardson (2010), 81-152.

<sup>39</sup> The earliest reference to Eileithyia as a goddess of childbirth (*μοῖροστόκος*) is *Iliad* 16.187; 19, 103. The plural form Eileithyiai is also attested in *Iliad* 11.270 (*μοῖροστόκοι*), 19.119. See *LIMC* 3, s.v. Eileithyia, 685 [Olmos].

support, gave birth only when Eileithyia set foot on Delos (115-117). The palm tree seems to be related with Delos already from Homer, given that in *Odyssey* 6, Odysseus mentions seeing a palm tree on Delos beside the altar of Apollo (162-163). Theognis, an elegiac poet of the sixth century BC,<sup>40</sup> mentions the palm tree when he refers to Apollo's birth, which, according to the poet, took place near a lake on Delos (*Elegiae*, A 5-10).

As mentioned above, Apollo and Artemis were born in two different places. Pindar is the first to call Apollo and Artemis "twins" (*δίδυμοι παῖδες*) and says that they "flashed like the sun" (*ἐλαμψαν δ' ἀελίου*) when they were "both born on Delos" (*Pae.* 12 fr.52m 15-16, Maehler; *Nem.* 9.4); in other words, this is the first written account that treats the deities as twins, born in the same place. As we shall see, the literary tradition differs from various depictions of Apollo with Artemis in Attic vase paintings of the sixth century BC. In contrast to the earliest version of Apollo's birth narrated by the Homeric *Hymn*, Pindar presents a different story: Eileithyia, goddess of childbirth, and Lachesis, one of the three Fates (*Hes. Theog.* 218, 905),<sup>41</sup> are the only goddesses who presided over the birth. Pindar describes Leto's birth-pangs as "sweet" (*τερπνᾶς ὠδῖνος*, *Pae.* 12 fr.52m, 13-14), while Zeus, who is almost absent from the Homeric *Hymn* apart from the fact that he and Leto receive Apollo on Olympos (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 1-11), now oversees the birth from Mt Cynthus (*Pae.* 12 fr.52m, 8-10).<sup>42</sup>

---

<sup>40</sup> According to late literary sources (e.g., *Suda*, *Chron.Paschale*, Cyril, etc.), Theognis' *acme* dates to Olympiads 59-57 (552-541 BC). On Theognis' dating, see Gerber (1997), 121-123; Lane Fox (2000), 37-40; *DNP* 12/1, s.v. Theognis, 351 [Bowie].

<sup>41</sup> *DNP* 8, s.v. Moira, 341 [Henrichs].

<sup>42</sup> Rutherford (1988), 71-73 discusses the differences between the Homeric *Hymn* and Pindar's account of Apollo's and Artemis' birth on Delos; for a further analysis of *Pae.* 12fr.52m, see Rutherford (2001), 364-372.

The story of Leto giving birth is well attested in the later literary tradition, as well. The fourth-century BC orator Hyperides (fr.67, Jensen) refers to an Attic tradition according to which Leto loosened her girdle on Cape Zoster on the south coast of Attica before giving birth to Artemis and Apollo on Delos. In his *Hymn to Delos* (205-259, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC), Callimachus narrates the legendary birth of Apollo, as well as Leto's wanderings in search of a place to give birth, and emphasizes her suffering by the long list of places where she attempted to do so. Lucian in *Dialogi Marini* (9, AD 2<sup>nd</sup>) informs us about the intervention of Poseidon, who provided a safe place for Leto to give birth by bringing Delos from the depths of the sea and fixing it in place.<sup>43</sup> What we can infer from the above is that the story of Leto giving birth had a prominent place in the literary tradition, which extends back at least to the sixth century BC.

The repetitive narration of Apollo's and Artemis' birth in the literary tradition is justified considering that these two deities occupy a high position in the Greek pantheon whose worship is attested all over the Greek world.<sup>44</sup> In addition, we should keep in mind that when literary sources mention the triad, emphasis is usually placed on the legendary birth, accentuating Leto's role as a mother. In fact, the idea that Greeks had for Leto as an important maternal figure can be demonstrated on the basis of epigraphic evidence by the equation between Leto and the "mother goddess" in Lycia (Asia Minor) during the fourth century BC.<sup>45</sup> It seems that the ancient

---

<sup>43</sup> For the literary sources concerning the birth of Apollo and Artemis supra n. 34.

<sup>44</sup> See Farnell (1896) 425-486 for the worship of Artemis, and (1907), 98-252 for Apollo. Look also at Burkert (1987), 143-152, Simon (1998), 108-155, and Larson (2007), 87-113, who provide a number of locations where the two deities were worshipped.

<sup>45</sup> Bryce (1983), 10 argues that the Lycian mother goddess was "equated with and eventually absorbed or supplanted by the Greek goddess Leto" during the fourth century BC. As evidence, Bryce presents a Lycian-Greek bilingual inscription of the first half of the fourth cent. BC appearing on a tomb in Antiphellos (*TAM I* 56) where the name of the mother goddess occurs in the Lycian part, while the name Leto appears on the corresponding passage of the Greek part. See also the Lycian-Greek-

Greeks linked Leto with *εὐτεκνίαν*, as well, the blessing of good, healthy children as Theocritus' 18 *Idyll* (50), a wedding song for Helen, testifies: "may Leto kourotrophos give good children to you".<sup>46</sup>

Overall, literary sources provide evidence of Leto's role as the mother of Apollo and Artemis and emphasise the strong bond that ties a mother with her children. In addition, the myth regarding the birth of Apollo and Artemis, or that of Apollo in particular, accentuates Leto's maternal character, and establishes her close association to childbirth.

## 1.2 The Apollonian triad in Greek art

Representations of Apollo, Artemis and Leto as a family group, i.e., depicted together as a trio – the so-called Apollonian triad – in Greek art are found mainly in Attic vase paintings from c.550 BC onwards as most examples testify. Before I proceed to investigate the Attic material, let us first examine the earliest certain depictions of Apollo, Leto and Artemis in Greek art, as well as analyse three cases of non-Attic work, which some scholars consider as the earliest representations of the Apollonian triad in Greek art.

The earliest certain representations of Apollo, Leto and Artemis in Greek Art appear in the scene of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, depicted on the top frieze of an Attic black-figure nuptial *lebes* of c.580 BC signed by Sophilos.<sup>47</sup> The scene illustrates a *pompe* where the guests – gods and other divine creatures – process to

---

Aramaic trilingual inscription (4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC), found at the sanctuary of Leto in Xanthos of Lycia. Leto occurs in the Greek and Aramaic text, while in the corresponding Lycian text she is named "Mother of the temenos"; for the Greek text, see Metzger (1974), 82-93, for the Lycian text, see Laroche (1974), 115-125, and for the Aramaic text see Dupont-Sommer (1974), 132-149.

<sup>46</sup> Hunter (1996), 162 comments that "Theocritus' *εὐτεκνία* could denote "the blessing of a child/children" or "healthy/strong children" or "many children", a range of meanings activated by the prayer to Leto whose children were notoriously few in number but all-powerful in effect".

<sup>47</sup> London, British Museum 1971.11-1.1; *Para* 19, 16bis; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 10.



the house of Peleus, who receives them outside his door. All the figures are labelled, thus securing their identification.<sup>48</sup> Sophilos included Leto in the first group of guests, where she walks next to Chariklo and behind the pair Hestia and Demeter (fig. 1).<sup>49</sup> He placed Apollo, holding his kithara, next to Hermes in a chariot accompanied by three Muses (fig. 2), while he depicted Artemis with a bow in a chariot next to Athena, escorted by the three Moirai, and followed by Okeanos, his wife Tethys (Hes. *Theog.* 337.362) and Eileithyia (fig. 3).

Although the family relations between Apollo, Leto and Artemis are well known in the Homeric epics and the *Theogony*, Sophilos did not depict them next to each other as a family group.<sup>50</sup> However, the way the three deities are represented (e.g., attributes) and their placement in the scene suggest that Sophilos was familiar with the mythological tradition.<sup>51</sup> Depicting Apollo playing the kithara and accompanied by three Muses, i.e., goddesses of music and poetry (Hes. *Theog.* 1-115), Sophilos certainly emphasizes Apollo's function as the god of music and poetry. Apollo of the "silver bow" (*ἀργυρότοξος*, Hom. *Il.* 5.760) is also the musician *par excellence*. He and the Muses are in charge of the music at the banquets of the

---

<sup>48</sup> For the deities' names see Kilmer and Develin (2001), 28-31 who emphasises the fact that Sophilos was familiar with the myths of his society, and he must be seen as a great contributor to the development of mythological iconography.

<sup>49</sup> The same order is repeated on another fragmentary Attic black-figure *lebes* by Sophilos, dated c.580 BC from the Athenian Akropolis; Athens, Akropolis 587 (National Archaeological Museum 15165); *ABV* 39, 15; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 10; *LIMC* 6, s.v. Leto, fig. 63[Kahil and Icard-Gianolio]; Williams (1983), 22.

<sup>50</sup> Apollo, Leto and Artemis (not depicted next to each other as a group) appear also on another representation of the subject of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, found on an Attic black-figure *volute-krater* of c.570 BC by the potter Ergotimos and the painter Kleitias, known as the "François Vase" (Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 4209 *ABV* 76, 1; *Para* 29; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 21). For the subject see Shapiro (1989), 53. See also Beazley (1986), 27, and Carpenter (1986), 5-6, who argue that Leto may have been depicted in a chariot with Apollo since Hermes (named), depicted next to Apollo on the Sophilos' *lebes*, appears now riding with his mother Maia (named). Note that the vase is not listed in *LIMC* 6 [Kahil and Icard-Gianolio].

<sup>51</sup> *Supra* n. 48; see also Shapiro (1989), 44 who points out that a black-figure fragmentary *dinos* of c.580/70 BC from Thessaly signed by Sophilos (Athens, National Archaeological Museum 15499; *ABV* 39, 16; *Para* 18; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 10), which depicts the funeral games of Patroklos (Hom. *Il.* 23.257) according to the phrase *ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΗΣ ΑΤΑΙΑ*, demonstrates Sophilos' knowledge of the Homeric *Iliad*.

gods at Olympos (Hom. *Il.* 1.603), and it is “because of them that people exist on earth that know how to sing and play the lyre” (Hes. *Theog.* 94-95; *Hymn. Hom. Musas et Apollinem* 25.2-3).<sup>52</sup> We shall return to the theme concerning Apollo’s association with music in chapters 2 and 4. Sophilos’ presentation of Artemis with a bow standing next to Athena, the Moirai and Eileithyia, accentuates Artemis’ character as a huntress, virgin, and goddess closely associated to childbirth. Athena and Artemis share common characteristics as they are both well-known virgin and warrior goddesses.<sup>53</sup> As goddess of the hunt, Artemis uses her bow and arrow not only to hunt animals (Hom. *Od.* 6.102-105), but also to kill humans, especially women of all ages (Hom. *Od.* 11.171-173; 321-325), or, as later classical sources testify (e.g., Pindar, *Pyth.* 3.10-11), women in labour. The fact that Sophilos placed Moirai – goddesses of fate who give good and evil to mortals when they are born (Hes. *Theog.* 217) –, and Eileithyia, the goddess of childbirth, in proximity to the huntress goddess, suggests a connection of Artemis with childbirth.<sup>54</sup> Artemis’ association with childbirth in Attica is well-demonstrated in her manifestation as Lochia (Eur. *IT.* 1097)<sup>55</sup> particularly from the classical period onwards.<sup>56</sup> Finally, as

---

<sup>52</sup> On the association of Apollo with music and Muses, see Graf (2009), 28-37.

<sup>53</sup> Artemis as a goddess of virginity: Hom. *Il.* 16.179-183, *Od.* 6.102-109; *Hymn. Hom. Dian.* 3.2, 27.2; *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 16-20; Artemis as a goddess of hunting and wild nature: Hom. *Il.* 5.51-58; 21.483-486; 9.533. From the moment of her birth, Athena is a warrior and a virgin goddess (e.g., Hes. *Theog.* 924-926; *Hymn. Hom. Miner.* 28.3). Artemis and Athena are both listed among the *chorus* of Persephone, a *chorus* of maidens picking flowers at a meadow, before her abduction by Hades (*Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 424). For a discussion on the motif of abduction from a meadow and a group of maidens suggesting that the abducted girl, in this case Persephone, is ready for marriage, see Foley (1994), 33-34.

<sup>54</sup> Carpenter (1994), 78 briefly stresses the idea of Artemis’ appearance with the bow and her placement in proximity to Moirai and Eileithyia in association to her role in childbirth.

<sup>55</sup> E.g., Eur. *Suppl.* 955-59; Plat. *Theaet.* 149c; Callim. *Hymn* 3.19-25; schol. Callim. *Hymn* 1.77; for Artemis Lochia, see also p. 144.

<sup>56</sup> Artemis is also known by the epithet Orthosia, the one who “brings salvation to women in labour and presides over a successful childbirth” (schol. Pin. *Ol.* 3.54a, Abel; *Etym. Magn.* 631). Evidence of Artemis Orthosia in Attica: *horos* of Artemis Orthosia, found east of Hymettos (*IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1083; c.420 BC); for the epigraphical evidence, see Lambert (1993), 366; Parker (1996), 106, 108. Moreover, Artemis Brauronia is associated with childbirth; see p. 106. Note that models of two vulvae and pair of breasts

Williams argued, Sophilos places the three deities – Leto, Chariklo, and Demeter – in proximity to Hestia, goddess of the hearth and the home (*Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 30-31),<sup>57</sup> who was linked with family life, in order to accentuate the common association that these three goddesses had with motherhood.<sup>58</sup> Leto, as noted, is the mother of Apollo and Artemis, the Nymph Chariklo is the wife of the centaur Cheiron – teacher of the great hero Achilles (*Hom. Il.* 11.832), thus Chariklo is considered to be Achilles’ foster-mother,<sup>59</sup> and finally Demeter is the caring mother *par excellence* who desperately searched for her daughter and mourned her loss when Persephone was carried off by Hades to be his bride as narrated in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* (650-550 BC).<sup>60</sup> According to the above, Sophilos presents Apollo in his role as the god of music, Artemis as the huntress and virgin goddess linked to childbirth, and Leto as a divinity closely associated to motherhood.

Let us turn our attention to three cases of non-Attic work, which scholars consider as the earliest representations of the Apollonian triad in Greek art. The first case is three hammered bronze statuettes (*sphyrelata*) – a male and two female figures – from Dreros on Crete (fig. 4).<sup>61</sup> These statuettes were found, as it has been

---

with a dedication to Kalliste by Hippostrate (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 4667, third cent. BC) were found, among other offerings, at the shrine of Artemis Kalliste of the fourth century BC (date based on the finds from the sanctuary), located near the road leading to Academy (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 788, mid 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 789, 235 BC; Paus. 1.29.2). Scholars considered the above dedications as thank-offerings for successful childbirth, as dedications by women seeking to become mothers or to recover from illness as a result of motherhood; for this view, see Philadelphus (1927), 163; cf. Demand (1994), 89; Vikela (2008), 80. For the site, see Philadelphus (1927), 155-163; Travlos (1971), 301; Parker (2005), 57.

<sup>57</sup> For Hestia, see Blundell (1995), 31-32; *DNP* 5, s.v. Hestia, 512-513 [Graf].

<sup>58</sup> Williams (1983) suggests that every figure’s position in the scene can be explained in regard to the nuptial theme of the Sophilos’ *lebes*.

<sup>59</sup> For the literary sources, see *LIMC* 3, s.v. Chariklo I, 189 [Finster-Hotz].

<sup>60</sup> On the date, see Richardson (1974), 5-11, who favours a date near the end of the seventh century BC on stylistic and linguistic grounds; Janko (1982), 181-183 argues for a date in the latter half of the seventh century on linguistic criteria; Foley (1994), 29-30 considers that a later date might be preferable on historical reasons.

<sup>61</sup> Crete, Heraklion Archaeological Museum 2445, 2446, 2447.

claimed,<sup>62</sup> on an altar<sup>63</sup> at the temple of Apollo in Dreros dated *c.*750 BC.<sup>64</sup> The proposed dates for the three statuettes range from *c.*750, i.e., contemporary to the construction of the temple, to *c.*625 BC.<sup>65</sup> The male figure is naked with long hair and stands to a height of 0.80m in contrast to the female figures whose preserved heights are between 0.40 and 0.45 m. Each female figure wears a belted *peplos*, *epiblema* and flat-topped *polos* (i.e., a headdress), and both have short hair (just above shoulders). All three figures have large, oval, hollow eye sockets suggesting that the eyes had been inlaid. None of the figures carries any attribute, and while the preserved part of the male's right arm, bent and raised forward, probably carried an attribute, we cannot discern what it was.<sup>66</sup> Marinatos, followed by other scholars,

---

<sup>62</sup> Marinatos (1935), 208. Note that the statuettes were not found *in situ*, but were discovered by farmers who claimed that the three statuettes stood in an upright position over the altar when they found them. See also Mazarakis-Ainian (1997), 217, who considers that the statuettes must have stood on a stone bench in the temple.

<sup>63</sup> Marinatos (1935), 208, (1936), 224, 242 identifies a rectangular structure as an altar filled with earth, two iron knives, bones and plenty goat horns. He draws parallels to the "Keraton" altar at the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos mentioned by Plutarch (*Theos.* 21). Mazarakis-Ainian (1997), 217, 163-164 remarks that goats' horns are often associated with the cult of Apollo and are well-attested in some of his sanctuaries, such as the temple of Apollo at Porto Cheli (end of 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC).

<sup>64</sup> The building was identified as a temple based on architectural features and the nature of the finds. Among the finds we find an altar (supra n. 63), a square stone identified as "table offering", a rectangular hearth (*eschara*) with a columnar support (a cylindrical base was found *in situ*) that recalls the temple A at Prinias (dated in the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC after a consideration of fragments of relief *pithoi*, painted sherds and stylistic analysis of the architectural sculpture; see, Prent, 2005, 255 with bibliography), a stone bench on which archaic terracottas and sherds were found, a sixth-century BC bronze *Gorgoneion*, bones, and ash. For a discussion, see Marinatos (1935), 206-209, (1936), 224-253; Mazarakis-Ainian (1997), 216-218; Prent (2005), 283-289. The date for the temple was based on the geometric pottery that was found inside and outside the building, construction technique, and its architecture was also compared to that of the later temple A at Prinias dated in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC; for the date, see Marinatos (1936), 255-256; Mazarakis-Ainian (1997), 216; Prent (2005), 285.

<sup>65</sup> Romano (1980), 290, argues for a date *c.*750 BC, i.e., contemporary with the construction of the temple. But, after a re-examination of their date and function and taking into account other Cretan examples, comparable to the Dreros statuettes, Romano (2000), 46, 48, 50 proposes a date in the later decades of the 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC for the male figure, and *c.*675 BC for the female figures. Boardman (1967), 61, (1978), 11 argues for a late 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC date based on comparative evidence from the burnt *dromos* deposit of the Khaniale Tekke Tomb II near Knossos (dated between 750 and beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC) and from the Cretan Afrati (a bronze statuette found in a late 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC context, Lebesse, 1970, 458); cf. D'Acunto (2002), 16-17; Coldstream (2003), 281, 284. Marinatos (1935), 206, (1936), 242, 256 argues for a date *c.*650 BC, that is, contemporary to the altar, on which the statuettes were said to be found; cf. Charbonneaux (1962), 84. Richter (1988b), 26 dates the male figure *c.*650 BC and the female figures to 650-625 BC on stylistic grounds (1988a), 32.

<sup>66</sup> Scholars suggested that he probably carried a weapon such as a bow. See *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 658 [Daumas]; Romano (2000), 49.

identified these statuettes as the earliest cult images of Apollo, Leto and Artemis given that they were found in a temple where Apollo was said to be worshipped as confirmed by a 3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> century inscription (*IC I IX 1*).<sup>67</sup> Although we cannot be certain whether Apollo was worshipped here this early, there is a great possibility that the male figure is a cult image of Apollo because of its large size and because its style is related to the type of the later cult images of Apollo i.e., beardless naked *kouros* usually holding an attribute.<sup>68</sup> As for the issue of whether the two female figures should also be considered as cult images is more complicated. Because of their limited size in contrast to that of Apollo, their lack of attributes and lack of individualization of their features and differentiation from each other, it is suggested that they would have probably functioned as votive images.<sup>69</sup> If Apollo is the principal deity of the temple, this might explain their limited size. In addition, if we consider that both females belong to the divine realm as indicated by their attire, i.e., the *epiblema* and *polos*,<sup>70</sup> then these figures may possibly represent Artemis and Leto since they were both found in Apollo's temple.

---

<sup>67</sup> For the identification of the triad as Apollonian, see Marinatos (1935), 209; Charbonneaux (1962), 84; Hadzisteliou-Price (1971), 52, 59; Burkert (1987), 219; Stewart (1990), 105; Mazarakis-Ainian (1997), 217; Simon (1998a), 114, 136; D'Acunto (2002), 22, 26; Coldstream (2003), 280; Larson (2007), 88-89; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, 265, fig. 658 [Daumas]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1135 [Kahil]. For the epigraphic evidence, see Marinatos (1936), 253-255.

<sup>68</sup> For a detailed discussion, see Romano (1980), 284-291.

<sup>69</sup> Romano (2000) 48-49 after a re-examination of the statuette's function considers that only the male figure was the "temple image" and that the two females may have functioned as votives, priestess figures, or table supports, since between male and female statuettes we can observe differences in the scale, technical conception, and details.

<sup>70</sup> For Cretan examples of deities dressed in *epiblemata* and *poloi*, see also the lintel's sculptural decoration of temple A at Prinias (Crete, Heraklion Archaeological Museum, 231, 232; Adams, 1978, pl. 17). The dates for the sculptures range from 650 to 600 BC based on the architectural context, stylistic analysis and comparative material (c.650-625 BC: Stewart, 1990, 107; 625 BC: Nagy, 1998, 185; 600 BC: end of 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC: Adams, 1978, 65-75); on identification of the female figures as divine, see Stewart (1990), 107; Nagy (1998), 186; Marinatos (2000), 69-77, 83. The *polos* is typical for female deities, such as Hera (Alcm. fr. 60, 60, *PMG*), Aphrodite (Paus. 2.10.5), Athena (Paus. 7.5.9) etc. For the *polos* as an indication of divine status, see Ridgway (1993), 148; Themelis (1992), 53; as an attire for both deities and priestesses, see Boardman (1978), 11; *DNP* 10, s.v. Polos, 39 [Hirschmann]. Note that mythological creatures, as for example sphinxes, may appear with the *polos* as well. E.g., sphinx wearing *polos* on a bronze plaque of the third quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC from

The second case is the depiction of a triad on a bronze belt dated in the first half of the eighth century BC from tomb P at Fortetsa in Crete (fig. 5).<sup>71</sup> The belt is decorated with what appears to be a siege scene, a popular subject in contemporary Near Eastern art.<sup>72</sup> In the centre, three figures, a male holding two females by their wrists, stand inside a frame that scholars interpret as a “temple”<sup>73</sup> or simply a “building”.<sup>74</sup> The trio are defended by archers, three on either side, towards whom warriors in chariots approach in a bellicose manner. The male figure wears a short-sleeved garment, a belt and helmet. The two females, who turn towards him, wear belted *peploi*, *epiblemata*, and tall *poloi*. Considering that the female figures resemble the Dreros *sphyrelata* in that they wear the same dress and *polos*, scholars suggest that one can perhaps recognize Apollo between Artemis and Leto in this scene.<sup>75</sup> There is no doubt that the three figures are deities as all indications point to this view. First, they all are the same size. Second, they are placed in a separated panel, thus emphasizing the fact that they are of a special status. Third, the females’ attire designates their divine status (i.e., *polos* and *epiblema*).<sup>76</sup> Finally, the way the

---

Lato; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 488; Boardman (1961), 110, fig. 500; sphinxes with tall *poloi* on a bronze mitra of 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC from Aphrati (New York, Norbert Schimmel Collection); Hoffmann (1972), 30, pl. 32. But, see also Lebessi (1987), 131 who argues that not all figures in Cretan iconography of the Orientalising period represent deities or heroes and that the *polos* or wreath should not be exclusively considered as divine attributes.

<sup>71</sup> Crete, Heraklion Archaeological Museum 1568; Brock (1957), 134-135. Brock (1957), 101, 199 reports that tomb P was in use from the late Protogeometric period onwards but the most burials belong to the Orientalising period (i.e., 8<sup>th</sup> -7<sup>th</sup> century BC). The belt was found in a *pithos* (now lost) along with iron weapons, two small vases of Protogeometric Period B or Early Geometric date (i.e., 9<sup>th</sup> cent. BC), and a lid in the form of a lion’s-head shield dated little later than 800 BC; cf. Boardman (1961), 136, (1967), 59; Coldstream (2003), 100. But a date c.700 BC is also reported: *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 664 [Daumas], s.v. Artemis, fig. 1139 [Kahil].

<sup>72</sup> E.g., Neo-Assyrian reliefs from the North West Palace in Nimrud dated 865-860 BC (Ashurnasirpal II), London, British Museum 124553, 124536, 124555-6; Barnett (1960), figs. 12, 23-25. Cypro-Phoenician silver bowl from Amathus (750-600 BC), London, British Museum 123053; Markoe (1985), figs. 248-249.

<sup>73</sup> Rolley (1986), 78; D’Acunto (2002), 27; Coldstream (2003), 100.

<sup>74</sup> Boardman (1961), 60; Marinatos (2000), 78.

<sup>75</sup> Brock (1957), 198; Hadzisteliou-Price (1971), 52; Rolley (1986), 78; D’Acunto (2002), 27; Coldstream (2003), 100-101; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 664 [Daumas]; s.v. Artemis, fig. 1139 [Kahil].

<sup>76</sup> *Supra* n. 70.

male figure holds the two divine figures from their wrists distinguishes him from the archers who wear the same helmet as he. This gesture indicates that he belongs to the divine sphere as well especially when one considers that holding a deity from the wrist would have been certainly inappropriate for a mortal. But however attractive the identification of the triad as Apollonian may be, such an idea lacks compelling evidence. We have to bear in mind that not every triad can be identified as Apollonian. Although the females' attire is a mark of divine standing, it is not an indicator of identity and without any other attribute, we are not in the position to know who these figures represent. Placing the figures in their iconographical context, i.e., a siege-scene, then we may think of the deities as patrons of a city under attack.<sup>77</sup> The iconographical theme of the protection of the divine trio and the city from its enemies seems appropriate decoration for a belt that probably belonged to a warrior according to the archaeological evidence.<sup>78</sup> Unfortunately, neither the iconographical nor the archaeological context can support the identification of the trio as Apollo, Leto and Artemis.

The last case is a triad carved in an ivory relief, dated 650-620 BC,<sup>79</sup> from Orthia's sanctuary at Sparta (fig. 6).<sup>80</sup> Badly damaged and reassembled from several pieces, the relief shows three standing figures: a male flanked by two females in

---

<sup>77</sup> Although Brock (1957), 198 admits that "it is difficult to say whether these figures have anything to do with the battle scene", he accepts the possibility that "they are intended to represent the patrons of the besieged city"; cf. Skounaki (2005), 36.

<sup>78</sup> The belt was found in a male's grave, supra n. 71. The decoration of the belt in regard to its function is discussed by Lebessi (1987), 130; Marinatos (2000), 78.

<sup>79</sup> Dawkins (1929), 207 proposed a date c.700 BC because it was found along with Geometric Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I pottery. However, the re-examination of the Orthia material in the light of a lowered chronology for pottery by Boardman (1963) has been widely accepted. The relief, according to Boardman's analysis of pottery contexts, should be dated c.650-620 BC. Other proposed dates considering not only the pottery contexts but also stylistic analysis and comparative material are as follows: 660s BC: Marangou (1969), 45; 630-625: *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 665 [Daumas], s.v. Artemis, fig. 1138 [Kahil]; 625 BC: Carter (1985), 141-142.

<sup>80</sup> Athens, National Archaeological Museum 15515.

profile. The male figure wears a short belted chiton. Each female wears a belted *peplos* and *epiblema*, both richly decorated with linear patterns. Whether this is a divine triad identified with Apollo, Leto and Artemis or a group of heroes, as some scholars propose,<sup>81</sup> is open to question. Taking into account that the figures do not carry any attribute, the identification of the images with specific divinities is impossible. Even the fact that the plaque was found at Orthia's sanctuary cannot provide evidence for their identity since the deity worshipped in the sanctuary during the period when this relief has been dated, i.e., 650-620 BC, is known as Orthosia (or Orthaia, or Ortheia) according to early sixth century BC inscriptions (e.g., *IG V*, 1, 252, a, b).<sup>82</sup> Elsewhere in Greece, Orthia or Orthosia is linked to Artemis as her cult designation,<sup>83</sup> but in Sparta, Orthia is not decisively identified with Artemis until the first century AD (e.g., *IG V*, 1, 274; 277; 278).<sup>84</sup>

As demonstrated, a closer look at the Dreros *sphyrelata*, Fortetsa belt, and the Orthia relief reveals that the identification of a male and two female figures as the Apollonian triad is not as evident as we might imagine. If the interpretation for the Dreros *sphyrelata* is correct, we certainly cannot support the same idea for the remaining two examples since we do not have enough evidence. Therefore, I consider that the trio formula of a male god accompanied by two female goddesses,

---

<sup>81</sup> Hadzisteliou-Price (1971), 51; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 665 [Daumas]; s.v. Artemis, fig. 1138 [Kahil]; Marangou (1969), 46, considers that they might as well be heroes, but leaves the question of the interpretation open.

<sup>82</sup> For the epigraphic evidence, see Woodward (1929), 367 (no. 169, 1), 370 (no. 169, 23; no. 169, 25).

<sup>83</sup> For example, see *horos* of Artemis Orthosia from Hymettos, supra n. 56.

<sup>84</sup> Rose (1929), 400-401 remarks that the finds from the site reinforce the idea that Orthia and Panhellenic Artemis were not always identical. That the official designation was Orthia can be confirmed by the Hellenistic roof-tiles stamped as "shrine of Orthia" and never Artemis, although the tiles from other sanctuaries use both the deity's name and title; for the epigraphic evidence, see Woodward (1929), 309 (no. 26), 308, (no. 25), 310 (no. 27). But, see Wace (1929), 282-283 who analyses the lead votives of the period 600-500 BC and considers that the appearance of a new animal type, i.e., the deer (the favourite of Artemis), which remains popular to the end, as well as the appearance of some lead female figurines with bow, suggest that an important change took place in the sixth century BC, and that the change was the identification of Orthia with Artemis. In any case, the ivory relief with the trio dates earlier than the iconographical change noted by Wace.



which, as some scholars pointed out,<sup>85</sup> was an adaptation of Egyptian iconography without implying an adaptation of Egyptian religious beliefs as well, cannot be given a precise interpretation of the identity of the figures at such an early stage of Greek art. We should leave the issue open until new archaeological evidence emerges.

Having discussed some rare examples that scholars identify as the earliest representations of the Apollonian triad in early Greek art, let us focus on the Attic material, where we have the most numerous, certain examples of depictions of Artemis, Apollo and Leto together as a trio, and consider the establishment of the motif. The divine triad appears in some narrative scenes, but mainly in scenes without clear mythological context. I will begin with the narrative scenes first, and then turn our attention to scenes without clear mythological context on which the present study focuses.

A small number of Attic vases depict the abduction of Leto by Tityos. In *Odyssey* 11 we learn that the giant Tityos, the son of Gaia,<sup>86</sup> was condemned to eternal punishment in the Underworld because he attempted to rape Leto, Zeus' glorious wife (*κνδρήν παράκοιτιν*),<sup>87</sup> when she was passing through Panopeus on her way to Delphi (576-581).<sup>88</sup> In later versions we find that Tityos was punished by Artemis for insulting Leto (Pind. *Pyth.* 4, 90), by Apollo (Ephorus, *FGrH* 2a, 70 fr.

---

<sup>85</sup> Hadzisteliou-Price (1971), 68; Marinatos (2000), 81; Skounaki (2005), 14.

<sup>86</sup> In other versions, Tityos is the son of Elara, while Gaia is the one who nurtured him (Ap. Rho. *Argon.* 761-762), or Tityos is the son of Zeus and Elara (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.23).

<sup>87</sup> The word "*παράκοιτις*" is usually used to denote the wife; e.g., Andromache, the wife of Hector (*Little Iliad*, fr.21.6, Bernabé), Penelope, the wife of Odysseus (Hom. *Od.* 21.158, 23.92.), Thetis, the wife of Peleus (Hom. *Il.*24.60), Lyda, the wife of Tyndareus (Hom. *Od.* 11.198); Hera, the wife of Zeus (Hom. *Il.* 21.479).

<sup>88</sup> See Sourvinou-Inwood (1986), 37 who discusses the punishment of Tityos in the Underworld, stresses the fact that Leto is referred to as Zeus' wife in the passage, and emphasizes the fact that the insult of Tityos towards Leto was consequently an insult towards all the members of the divine family.

31b), or by both children (Pherec. fr. 5b, Müller).<sup>89</sup> The story of Tityos is variously presented in the visual tradition of Attica.<sup>90</sup> A red-figure amphora of 510-500 BC by Phintias (fig. 7), on which some figures are labelled, depicts Apollo (*ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ*) and Artemis (above Artemis's raised hand: *ΑΙΑΟΣ*)<sup>91</sup> flanking Tityos who seizes Leto (*ΛΕΤΟΥΣ*).<sup>92</sup> Artemis stands holding her bow, but without threatening to kill Tityos, while Apollo grabs his mother and Tityos by their arms. The particular representation might be an exception considering that usually Apollo wounds Tityos or prepares to kill him as is depicted on the *tondo* of a red-figure cup of 460-450 BC by the Penthesilea Painter, where Apollo wields a sword against Tityos (fig. 8),<sup>93</sup> or on a red-figure amphora of 480-460 BC by the Eucharides Painter where Tityos is wounded by Apollo's arrows (fig. 9).<sup>94</sup> Let us return to Phintias' amphora to see how Leto is represented. Leto draws up her veil to cover her head, a gesture that can be observed in other scenes of Leto's abduction as on the above mentioned examples (figs. 8, 9). The veil is a well-known element of wedding iconography.<sup>95</sup> However, not every veiled figure should be considered a bride-to-be, and instead, we should

---

<sup>89</sup> Tityos killed by Artemis: Call. *Hymn to Artemis* 110; by Apollo: Ap. Rho. *Argon.* 759-762; by both children: Pseudo-Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.23; for the literary evidence, see *DNP* 12.1, s.v. Tityos, 634-635 [Dräger]; for the myth of Tityos in literature and art, see also Fontenrose (1959), 22-24, Schefold (1981), 147-148, (1992), 68-71, Gantz (1993), 39, *LIMC* 8, s.v. Tityos, fig. 37 [Vollkommer].

<sup>90</sup> For the story of Tityos in non-Attic works, see *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, figs. 1363, 1364, 1370 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollo, figs. 1074, 1075, 1076 [Palagia]; *LIMC* 6, s.v. Leto, figs. 39, 40 [Kahil and Icard-Gianolio]; *LIMC* 8, s.v. Tityos, figs. 8, 10, 23a, b [Vollkommer], Pausanias (3.18.15; 10.11.1).

<sup>91</sup> The word has been interpreted as *ΑΙΑΟΣ* instead of *ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΑΟΣ*; see Pottier (1928b), 19, pl. 28; Schefold (1992), 71; Cairns (1996b), 152.

<sup>92</sup> Paris, Musée du Louvre G42; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 23, 1; *Para* 323; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 154; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 1069 [Palagia]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1365 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 6, s.v. Leto, fig. 35 [Kahil and Icard-Gianolio]; *LIMC* 8, s.v. Tityos, fig. 1 [Vollkommer].

<sup>93</sup> Munich, Antikensammlungen 2689; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 879, 2; *Para* 428; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 301; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 1071 [Palagia]; *LIMC* 6, s.v. Leto, fig. 45 [Kahil and Icard-Gianolio]; *LIMC* 8, s.v. Tityos, fig. 21 [Vollkommer].

<sup>94</sup> London, British Museum E278; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 226, 2; *Para* 347; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 199; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 1070 [Palagia]; *LIMC* 6, s.v. Leto, fig. 36 [Kahil and Icard-Gianolio].

<sup>95</sup> For the veil in nuptial scenes, see Oakley and Sinos (1993).

read all figures, including veiled women, in their iconographical context.<sup>96</sup> As Cairns argues, the veil may symbolise Leto's modesty (*aidos*) and her resistance to erotic encounters.<sup>97</sup> In addition, the way that Tityos seizes Leto on this vase and as it occurs on other examples (fig. 8, 9) – grasping her about the waist – recalls the iconographical scheme of Peleus' capture of Thetis as we see, for example, on a black-figure neck-amphora attributed to the AD Painter of 510-500 BC (fig. 10).<sup>98</sup> Scenes of Peleus' abduction of Thetis have been “read” as a paradigm for marriage, a symbolic transition of a maiden into a married woman.<sup>99</sup> Taking into account that Leto is already a mother and thus not a *parthenos*, especially when both of her children appear in the scene, ready to punish Tityos for his malevolent action, I find it hard to accept that the same meaning could be applied to this abduction, as well. The only explanation I can offer is that the motif of grasping a female about the waist became an iconographical formula in order to denote abduction that would have been understood by the ancient viewer.

Considering that the depiction of the scene already has been confirmed on other vases on which the figures are labelled, we are in the position to identify the story of Leto's abduction by Tityos as described in literary descriptions even though a vase may lack inscriptions. This is what we see on a vase earlier in date than the Phintias' amphora, a black-figure fragment of a plate c.560-550 BC from the Athenian Akropolis: Tityos has grabbed Leto and leads her to the right, while Apollo

---

<sup>96</sup> Veiled women occur in the so-called scenes of the “departure of a warrior”, as we see, for example, on an Attic red-figure amphora attributed to the Kleophrades Painter (Munich, Antikensammlungen 2305; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 182, 4; *Para* 340; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 186). The veil may signify their marital status and their promise to be loyal in the warrior's absence. For the use and meaning of the veil in ancient Greece, see McNiven (1982), 103-106; Cairns (1996b; 2002); Blundell (2002), 158-159; Llewellyn-Jones (2003), 103-104.

<sup>97</sup> Cairns (1996a) citing passages from literature emphasizes the explicit connection between *aidos* and veiling, stressing the fact that the name *ΑΙΔΟΣ*, painted next to Artemis, together with Leto's gesture – drawing up her veil to cover her head during the rape – indicate the victim's modesty (*aidos*).

<sup>98</sup> Munich, Antikensammlungen 1542; Kunze-Götte (1982), 22-23.

<sup>99</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood (1987), 138-139; Barringer (1995), 78-94.

and Artemis – only Artemis’ arm, quiver and bow survive – pursue him with their strung bows (fig. 11).<sup>100</sup> The above representation supports the view that the abduction of Leto is attested in Attic iconography from c.560-550BC. Usually, Apollo and Artemis appear as a pair ready to kill Tityos as demonstrated on the above example (fig. 11),<sup>101</sup> but sometimes Apollo alone pursues Tityos (fig. 8, 9).

Depictions of Apollo killing the monstrous serpent Python also include the divine trio. The first time that Leto appears in the famous story first narrated in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* (300-304) is in Euripides’ play *Iphigenia in Tauris* (1239-1251, 414 or 413 BC).<sup>102</sup> According to the play, Apollo killed a male monster,<sup>103</sup> guardian of the oracle at Delphi, while he was still in his mother’s arms. However, Euripides does not mention that the serpent threatened Leto, a contrast to the testimony of Klearchos of Soloi (4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC)<sup>104</sup> who offers evidence that Leto, while carrying both children in her arms, was threatened by Python on her way to Delphi. In fact, Leto urges Apollo “to go and kill” the monster (“ἄφιε παῖ καὶ βάλε παῖ”, fr. 64, Wehrli). In later sources, Apollo, together with Artemis, kill Python (Paus. 2.7.7).<sup>105</sup> Although, the story of Apollo killing Python is well-attested in the

<sup>100</sup> Athens, National Museum Akropolis 2406; Graef and Langlotz (1925), 235, pl. 98; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 1067 [Palagia]; *LIMC* 8, s.v. Tityos, fig. 2 [Vollkommer].

<sup>101</sup> E.g., Black-figure *lekythos* attributed to the Theseus Painter of 500-480 BC, New York, Mrs. A. Pinney, Scarsdale, Private, 330666; *ABV* 518, 1; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 1068 [Palagia]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1366 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 8, s.v. Tityos, fig. 5 [Vollkommer]; Red-figure *kalyx-krater* attributed to the Nekyia Painter of 450-440 BC, New York, Metropolitan Museum 08.258.21; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1086, 1; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 1072 [Palagia]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1367 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 6, s.v. Leto, fig. 37 [Kahil and Icard-Gianolio]; *LIMC* 8, s.v. Tityos, fig. 7 [Vollkommer].

<sup>102</sup> For the date, see Cropp (2000), 60-62.

<sup>103</sup> Note that the name Python appears for the first time in Ephorus (*FGrH* 70 F31b, 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC). In later sources (Ap. Rhod. 2.706, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC) the name Delphyne is also attested; *RE* 24, s.v. Python, 606 [Geisau]. See also Fontenrose (1959), 15 who inclines to think that Simonides (ps.-Jul. *Epist.* 24 p.395D) used the name Python.

<sup>104</sup> *DNP* 6, s.v. Klearchos, 502 [Gottschalk].

<sup>105</sup> For the myth of Python, see *RE* 24, s.v. Python, 606-608 [Geisau]; Fontenrose (1959), 13-27; Kahil (1966); *LIMC* 7, s.v. Python, 609 [Kahil]; *DNP* 10, s.v. Python, 670-671 [Junk]. For further discussion, see pp.71-72.

literary tradition, depictions of the myth are not so common.<sup>106</sup> The earliest representation of the story in extant Attic art appears on a black-figure *lekythos* of c.470 BC, attributed near the Pholos Painter (fig. 12).<sup>107</sup> On the vase we see a female figure with a baby in her arms, who holds a bow. In front of them stands a female figure and a serpent writhes from the entrance of a cave; palm trees grow next to the cave. Taking into account all the iconographical features that appear in the scene – two females, baby with a bow, serpent, cave, palm trees – and despite the lack of inscriptions, we can identify the representation of Python’s myth as described in literary descriptions: baby Apollo in Leto’s arms stretches his bow towards the serpent, accompanied presumably by an adult Artemis, in a rocky landscape.<sup>108</sup> At this point I should note that representations of Leto with Apollo and Artemis as children rarely occur in Attic art apart from a few examples, such as this one, where the baby Apollo kills Python (fig. 12),<sup>109</sup> or if we consider a later bronze statue –

---

<sup>106</sup> Few are the examples listed in *LIMC*, all dated around the second quarter of 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC: *LIMC* 6, s.v. Leto, figs. 29b, 30 (only Leto and baby Apollo) [Kahil and Icard-Gianolio], respectively *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, figs. 994, 988 [Lambrinudakis]; only Apollo (not as a baby) and Python, *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon fig. 998 [Lambrinudakis]. Non-Attic works: Apulian amphora of the first half of 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, *LIMC* 6, s.v. Leto, fig. 31 [Kahil and Icard-Gianolio], *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 955 [Lambrinudakis], s.v. Artemis, fig. 1267 [Kahil]; relief from the temple of Apollo at Cyzicus, mid 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC, reported in *Anth. Pal.* 3, 6; *LIMC* 6, s.v. Leto, fig. 32 [Kahil and Icard-Gianolio], *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 996 [Lambrinudakis].

<sup>107</sup> Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 306; *ABV* 572, 7; *Para* 294; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 137; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 993 [Lambrinudakis].

<sup>108</sup> The vase is listed in the following entries of *LIMC*: *LIMC* 6, s.v. Leto, fig. 29a [Kahil and Icard-Gianolio], *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 993 [Lambrinudakis], *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1266 [Kahil].

<sup>109</sup> Kahil has identified Leto with children on two Attic examples. She identifies Leto with baby Artemis between two winged figures on an Attic black-figure fragment dated c.550 BC from Brauron, and attributed to the manner of Lydos (Athens, Brauron Archaeological Museum 531; *LIMC* 6, s.v. Leto, fig. 27). She also identifies Leto with two children in her arms on an Attic black-figure amphora dated 540-520 BC and attributed to the Swing Painter (Paris, Musée du Louvre F226; *ABV* 308, 66; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 82; *LIMC* 6, s.v. Leto, fig. 10). However, the figures do not bear any attribute, thus making their identification difficult. On the fragment the head of the child is not preserved and we cannot be sure if it is a male or a female child that is represented, while the figure with the child does not look like a woman. The two children on the amphora are boys. In fact, other scholars gave a different interpretation. E.g., as goddess with children (Aphrodite): Beazley (*ABV* 308, 66); as goddess who belongs to the Dionysian realm: Isler-Kerenyi (2007), 120, Dasen (2005), 218; as Kourotrophos: Shapiro (1989), 122; for a further discussion on the female figure carrying children, see p. 118.

now lost – of Leto with both children in her arms, a work attributed by Pliny to Euphranor, an Athenian sculptor of the fourth century BC (*NH.* 34.77).<sup>110</sup>

As I have demonstrated, Apollo, Leto and Artemis appear together as a group in the narratives of Tityos' attack on Leto, and Apollo's battle with Python. Besides the above mentioned examples, scholars have also identified the three gods in few other scenes, such as the "struggle for the Delphic tripod",<sup>111</sup> and once perhaps in the scene "fight over a deer".<sup>112</sup> It is interesting to note that the divine trio appears in different narrative scenes that present some sort of combat or conflict.

The trio also occurs in non-narrative scenes, as well, such as scenes where one of them mounts a chariot, and usually they are accompanied by other deities. The motif is known from four vases where the divine family plus another figure are labelled as we see on a black-figure *hydria* from Vulci, attributed to near the Priam Painter and dated in the last quarter of the sixth cent. BC (fig. 13): Apollo (*ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ*) steps from (or into) the car of his chariot, Artemis (*ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ*) gives the kithara to her brother, Leto (*ΛΕΤΟΙ*) stands in front of the horses, and Hermes (*ΕΡΜΗΣ*), who accompanies the trio, holds a flower.<sup>113</sup>

---

<sup>110</sup> *LIMC* 6, s.v. Leto, fig. 25 [Kahil and Icard-Gianolio]; Pliny (*NH* 35.128-9) mentions that Euphranor's acme was in the course of the 104<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, i.e., 364-361 BC; for the literary sources, see Palagia (1980), 1-2, 6, 33.

<sup>111</sup> Few examples are listed in *LIMC* 6, s.v. Leto, figs. 53, 55, 56, 57, 57bis, 58 [Kahil and Icard-Gianolio]. The "struggle for Delphic tripod" is well presented on the East Pediment of the Siphnian treasury at Delphi (dated 530-525 BC based on Herodotus' account, 3.57-58, Bommelaer, 1991, 125) and it has been argued that Leto is also included in the scene. For the theme, see Von Bothmer (1977).

<sup>112</sup> Attic black-figure neck-amphora from Cerveteri attributed to the Timiades Painter of c. 560 BC. All the figures in the scene are named apart from the seated female figure who may be identified as Leto given that she is depicted next to her children, Apollo and Artemis; Cerveteri, National Museum 7968; *LIMC* 6, s.v. Leto, 261, fig. 52 [Kahil and Icard-Gianolio], *LIMC* 5, s.v. Herakles, fig. 2181[Felten].

<sup>113</sup> Paris, Musée du Louvre F297, *ABV* 333, 1; *Add<sup>2</sup>* 91; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1233 [Kahil], s.v. Apollon, fig. 854 [Mathiopoulou-Tornaritou]; Shapiro (1989), 57 mentions the vase as the sole Attic black-figure version of the subject where Apollo arrives from the land of the Hyperboreans; the rest three vases are: black-figure amphora (type A) from Chiusi attributed to the Priam Painter of c.510 BC (Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1794; *ABV* 330,1; *Para* 146,1; *Add<sup>2</sup>* 89), black-figure amphora (type A) attributed to the Rycroft Painter of c. 510 BC (Worcester, Art Museum 1956.83;

However, the most common representation of the trio without a clear mythological context is the depiction of the Apollonian triad as a family group: Apollo is usually depicted between his mother and sister either alone, or accompanied by other figures. This image becomes formulaic, and is found with slight variations on a great number of black- and red-figure vases of the archaic and classical period. I should point out that scenes depicting the Apollonian triad do not show a complete family, since Zeus, father of Apollo and Artemis, does not appear with the divine trio. Why vase painters have not included Zeus in these scenes is an issue that one might have reasonably considered. As far as I know, representations of the Apollonian triad together with Zeus in vase paintings of the sixth and fifth centuries BC, as well as in other media (e.g. sculpture, coins, etc.) of the same period, have not yet been attested.<sup>114</sup> It seems to me that Zeus' absence from the iconography should not surprise us, since the god is hardly attested in scenes that show members

---

*ABV* 335.5bis; *Para* 148, 5bis; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 91), red-figure *volute-krater* signed by Polion of c.420 BC (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 27.122.8; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1171, 2; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 339; *LIMC* Supplement I, s.v. Zeus, add 201[Felten]). Artemis mounts a chariot on the first and last vase, while Leto mounts a chariot on the second vase.

<sup>114</sup> The only exception that we might consider is a relief – damaged on its right side – from Brauron (the so-called “Relief of the Gods”, Brauron, Archaeological Museum 1180), dated on stylistic grounds in the years between 420 and 400 BC (see Venit, 2003, 44, n. 2), which, according to some scholars, depicts Zeus (seated male figure) with Leto, Apollo and Artemis (Themelis, 2002, 110-11; Despini, 2010, 73) or, as some argues, Iphigenia (Kahil, 1990, 115-116; Venit, 2003, 51-52). The discovery of a female head (Brauron, Archaeological Museum, NE 1179), not far from the relief, made archaeologists to associate it with the missing right part of the relief and consider it as the head of Artemis (Kahil, 1990, 114-115; Venit, 2003, 52-53) or, according to others, of Iphigenia (Themelis, 2002, 111; Despini, 2010, 72). However, this view has been challenged by Venit (2003) 47, who argues that the male seated figure that has been identified with Zeus should be considered as the personification of Brauron based on the following factors: (a) his diminished size in comparison to the other figures, (b) Zeus is never part of the familial group of the Apollonian triad, (c) Zeus has no connection with Brauron, while (d) the hero Brauron is mentioned in connection to the sanctuary by three late lexicographers (Stephanos Byzantios, s.v. *Brauron*; *Lex. Segueriana*, s.v. *Brauronia*; Phot., s.v. *Brauronia*). As Zeus: Kahil (1990), 113, Themelis (2002), 110, Despini (2010), 69. Note that Themelis (2002), 110 and Despini (2010), 76-77 date the relief a little after 414/413 BC, i.e., when Euripides' play *Iphigenia in Tauris* was performed, owing to the representation of Iphigenia in the scene.

of Zeus' family (child/children with its/their mother), such as for example scenes of Demeter and Kore.<sup>115</sup>

The iconography of the Apollonian triad will be discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, but here, it is important to comprehend the grounds on which we can identify the Apollonian triad in vase paintings of the sixth and fifth century BC and explain how I organized the material in this work. The identification of a triad as Apollonian, as well as the categorization of 169 Attic vases has been a methodological challenge. I have arranged the material in four distinctive groups according to compositional types and subject (Group A-D, Appendix I): Group A presents Apollo as a kithara or lyre player between Leto and Artemis; Group B exhibits the divine family in the company of other deities; Group C and D introduces a new iconographical scheme according to which the Apollonian triad as a family group (Group C), or accompanied by other figures (Group D), carries *phialai* and *oinochoai* and often pours or is about to pour liquids from these vessels onto the ground or onto an altar as it will be demonstrated. The act of pouring a liquid, such as wine,<sup>116</sup> usually onto an altar or onto the ground is called libation, which is considered the most common ritual acts of the ancient Greeks.<sup>117</sup> It should be noted that the triad is not always shown performing a libation. In fact, there are variations on the libation theme. Some

---

<sup>115</sup> Demeter and Kore are commonly depicted with Triptolemos; for examples, see pp. 132-135. As far as I know Zeus hardly appears in these scenes. As an exception, see *LIMC* 4, Demeter, fig. 344 [Beschi].

<sup>116</sup> Wine was a favourite liquid for libations, but water, milk, oil, or honey have been also reported; Patton (2009), 33.

<sup>117</sup> Humans offered libations to the gods or heroes on several occasions, such as before voyaging (e.g., Hom. *Od.* 2.430-431), before departing for war (see, for example, p. 136), before any sacrifice (e.g., Ar. *Pax* 1051-1060), as part of prayer (e.g., Hdt.7.192), to seal an oath, a contract or a peace treaty (e.g., Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.36), at the start of a *symposion* (see, for example, p. 100), etc. Libations also were poured for the dead (e.g., Aesch. *Cho.* 87). For the libation ritual in general, see Burkert (1983), 45, 57, (1987), 70-73; Lissarrague (1985), 3-8, 14, (1995); *DNP* 12/1, s.v. Trankopfer, 751 [Haase]; Simon (2004), 237-241; Patton (2009), 27-56, and *passim*; Connelly (2007), 176-178; Kearns (2010), 92, 159, 184.



scenes depict the deities about to make a libation. We may find a deity extending his/her *phiale* – the most typical vessel for libations (e.g., Hdt. 2.151) – to be filled by the deity who holds an *oinochoe*, or he/she may appear pouring from an *oinochoe* into a *phiale* held by himself/herself or by another deity, or he/she may be depicted holding out a *phiale* in order to pour the liquid onto ground or onto altar. There are also a few occasions where we find the deities simply carrying the required vessels for libation. I should note that I use the term “libation scene(s)” throughout this research to indicate not only scenes in which we see the triad performing the ritual, but also the variations that we just mentioned on this theme.

As Tables 1a and 1b demonstrate (Appendix II), I have considered that 51 out of 169 vases are confirmed representations of the Apollonian triad – either alone or accompanied by others. The classification was based on the fact that their names are found on seven vases,<sup>118</sup> i.e., each figure identified by its name, while on the remaining 44 vases the deities can be identified by their attributes.

Four vase paintings where the names of all three figures are labelled, and thus confirm their identity, serve as good examples of the representation of the Apollonian triad in sixth- and fifth- century vase paintings according to which the four groups consist. The first, a red-figure amphora of c.520-510 by Psiax (A7, fig. 14), shows a beardless Apollo (*ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ*), dressed in a long *chiton* and *himation*, depicted with long hair and wearing a band, known as *tainia*, around his head, playing the kithara between Artemis (*ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ*) and Leto (*ΛΕΤΟΣ*). Both goddesses wear *himatia* above their transparent *chitones*, and *tainiai* around the head,

---

<sup>118</sup> Note that the name of Artemis appears on vase A20, while that of Apollo on vases A39, A43 and B35. Despite the fact that at least one of the member of the divine family is named on the above examples, I did not listed these vases under the category “confirmed representations” given the fact that the example A20 is a fragment with only small parts of Leto and Artemis survive, while on the rest examples the female figures do not bear any attribute to secure their identity.

while Leto's himation covers part of her hair as a veil. Artemis holds a small branch with leaves in her left hand, while both goddesses have one arm raised towards Apollo as if they are greeting him.<sup>119</sup> The second, a red-figure *lekythos* of 470-460 BC signed by Mys from Tanagra (B6, fig. 15),<sup>120</sup> presents Apollo (*ΑΠΟΛΛΙΟΝ*) dressed in chiton and himation and crowned with laurel wreath, and holding a bow among Artemis (*ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ*), Hermes (*ΕΡΜΗΣ*), Leto (*ΛΕΤΟ*), and a deer. Artemis, depicted giving the kithara to her brother, wears a *chiton*, an elaborated *himation*, a *polos* and a quiver. Leto, who has her hair tied up in a *sakkos*, stands beside her in a *chiton* and a richly decorated *himation*, while Hermes wearing a short *chiton*, a *chlamys*, a travelling hat – the *petasos* – on his back and holding the *kyrekeion* (caduceus) follows.<sup>121</sup> The third, a red-figure *bell-krater* attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter of 460-450 BC (C8, fig. 16a) depicts Apollo (*ΑΠΟΛΛΙΟΝ*) between Artemis (*ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ*) and Leto (*ΛΕΤΩ*) holding vessels.<sup>122</sup> The god appears dressed in *chiton* and *himation*, with long hair and a laurel wreath on his head, holding a kithara and extending a *phiale* towards Artemis. The goddess carries an *oinochoe* and is about to pour a liquid into Apollo's *phiale* in order to make a libation. Leto extends a second *phiale* that indicates her involvement in the process of the libation that will be performed. Both goddesses wear *chitones* and *himatia*, have their hair tied up in a knot and are crowned with a diadem. The last, a red-figure *hydria* of c. 485 BC attributed to the Berlin Painter depicts six deities placed on either side of an altar on which a wreath has been laid (D1, fig. 17). A variation of the libation theme, as well,

<sup>119</sup> The names of Apollo, Leto and Artemis are also found in the examples A4 (520-510 BC) and A9 (510-500 BC), vases which belong to the first compositional type of Group A.

<sup>120</sup> The vase is discussed in detail by Serbeti (2007), 237-245.

<sup>121</sup> The caduceus and *petasos* are the most common attributes of Hermes and with which Hermes is so frequently represented on Attic vases; *LIMC* 5, s.v. Hermes, 381-384 [Siebert].

<sup>122</sup> Almost identical is another vase attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter, a red-figure *pelike* of 460-450 BC, although Artemis is carrying a bow (C11). All the deities can be identified by their names, painted above the figures.

is the subject of this vase to be performed by Apollo and a winged female goddess, Nike or Iris,<sup>123</sup> who stand on the left side of the altar. Apollo, crowned with laurel and holding his kithara, extends a *phiale* towards the winged goddess who carries an *oinochoe* ready to pour. On the right side of the altar, we find Leto (*AETO*) and Artemis (*APTEMIS*) followed by Athena (*AΘENAIA*) and Hermes (*EPMEΣ*). Leto sniffs a flower, while Artemis pulls up the edge of her *chiton*. Whether Leto and Artemis carry a *phiale* or an *oinochoe* we cannot say considering that the vessel is badly damaged at this point.

Although the majority of vases do not preserve the deities' names, which are crucial to recognize the motif in question, the Apollonian triad can be identified on several other vases (44 in total) where the Apollonian triad is not labelled given that the three deities can be identified by their attributes, such as a kithara (or lyre), a bow and a laurel staff for Apollo; a quiver, a bow and a deer for Artemis; and finally Apollo and Artemis as Leto's attribute. All the above examples (i.e., A7, B6, C11, C8 and D1) clearly demonstrate that the kithara is one of the most common attributes of Apollo. As I already mentioned he is, after all, the god of music and from the earliest confirmed representations of Apollo in Attic art, i.e., the *lebes* by Sophilos (fig. 2), we find him with a kithara. On vases of Group C and D, on which the Apollonian triad is shown most of the times making or about to make a libation, Apollo occasionally carries a laurel staff as we see on a red-figure amphora of c.450 BC attributed to the Niobid Painter (C15, fig. 18). Three figures, a male between two females, stand at an altar. The left female, who carries an *oinochoe* and a bow, should be identified with Artemis considering that the bow, as has been already

---

<sup>123</sup> As Iris has been identified by Kahil and Mathiopoulou-Tornaritou in *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1011a and Apollon fig. 860 respectively. For a discussion regarding the identity of the winged figure in libation scenes as Iris or Nike, see Arafat (1986) 129- 130.

discussed, is one of the most typical features of the huntress goddess.<sup>124</sup> Taking into account that Artemis' identity is confirmed on the basis of attributes, the male figure, who holds a lyre and a laurel-staff with one hand while he prepares to pour a libation above the altar with the other hand, is obviously her brother Apollo. I have already stressed the association of Apollo with the kithara/lyre. The laurel tree's connection to Apollo is explicitly expressed by well-known cult-titles that Apollo bore such as "laurel bearer" (*Daphnephoros*), and particularly with his sanctuary at Delphi, an association that is well established in the literary tradition.<sup>125</sup> Already in the Pythian portion of the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, Apollo "speaks in answer from his laurel tree below the dells of Parnassus" (396), and he shakes his sacred laurels when he gives answers to people as he does with Chremylus, according to Aristophanes' *Ploutos* (213). In fact, the first temple of Apollo was made of laurel, a tradition attested in Pindar's *Paeon* (8, fr. 52i, 58-59 Maehler).<sup>126</sup> In Euripides' *Ion*, Ion adorned the gates of the shrine of Apollo at Delphi with laurel (80, 103-104) or swept its pavement with laurel branches (112-124).<sup>127</sup>

To return to the iconography (fig. 18), the female on the right, holding a *phiale*, laurel branches and a sceptre should be identified as Leto considering that she appears with her children. Usually, Leto carries no attributes apart from few

<sup>124</sup> Note that these attributes are carried by Apollo as well, as he is depicted on the red-figure *lekythos* signed by Mys (B6, fig. 15), in scenes of the abduction of Leto by Tityos (e.g., figs. 8, 9) or in those where he kills Python (e.g., fig. 12).

<sup>125</sup> E.g., Apollo *Daphnephoros* in Eretria (*IG XII*, 9, 191.11.13.43.46, late fourth cent. BC); dedication made to Apollo *Daphnephoros* at Phlya by an Athenian captain, Lycomedes (*Plut. Them.* 15.2); a *Daphnephoreion*, sanctuary of Apollo *Daphnephoros*, was known at Phlya (*Theophr.* fr. 119, 1, Wimmer); for the literary sources, see Blech (1982), 218-221 who makes also reference to the Theban festival of *Daphnephoria*, festival to Apollo *Daphnephoros*.

<sup>126</sup> Maehler restores  $\delta\alpha\text{-}\rho\nu\text{-}\alpha$ , while in Rutherford's (2001), 210-232 analysis of the fragment (B2) all that survives of the word laurel is the letters  $\rho\nu$ . For the account of the laurel temple see also the Scholia to Pindar (*Pae.* 8, fr. 107, Snell, 1938, 435) and Pausanias (10.5.9).

<sup>127</sup> See also Theopompus' account p. 71; for the importance of the laurel tree in the worship of Apollo, see Amandry (1950), 126-128; Sourvinou-Inwood (1979), 233-234; Blech (1982), 216-246.

exceptions – particularly on vases of Group C and D – where she is veiled or holds a sceptre as on a red-figure *hydria* of c.460 BC from Nola attributed to the Niobid Painter (D4, fig. 19).<sup>128</sup> We have already encountered Leto with a veil on Phintias’ amphora in the scene of her abduction by Tityos (fig. 7) though this does not mean that the veil is exclusive to Leto’s iconography. The sceptre is an attribute of both royal and divine status, shared by gods and goddesses, kings and queens, and priests and priestesses.<sup>129</sup> I agree with the view that the veil, which as pointed out is linked to the idea of modesty,<sup>130</sup> suits Leto’s maternal nature,<sup>131</sup> while the sceptre, which implies prestige and authority, completes the picture of Leto as the mother of the most glorious children of the Greek pantheon. Therefore, taking into account that (a) both veil and sceptre are not exclusive to Leto’s iconography, (b) she is usually depicted carrying no attribute, and (c) her appearance with her children is already confirmed on other vases where all deities are named, we should consider Apollo and Artemis themselves as attributes of Leto, and thus a means to identify her.

Furthermore, a word must be said about the depiction of the deer among the Apollonian triad as it appears, for example, in figures 15 and 19, as well as in many other scenes with the divine family. The close association of this animal with Artemis is a well-established tradition. Artemis is known by the epithet *ἐλαφηβόλον* (“deer-shooter”, *Hymn. Hom. Dian.* 27.2) or *ἐλαφοκτόνος* (“deer-killer”, *Eur. IT.* 1113), but above all she is known already from Homer as *Πότνια Θηρῶν* (“Mistress

---

<sup>128</sup> Note that on the *hydria* the rest figures are identified as Apollo, Artemis and Hermes on the basis of attributes.

<sup>129</sup> For the evidence, see Connelly (2007), 87-90.

<sup>130</sup> *Supra* p. 28

<sup>131</sup> Oakley (1995), 69 makes a brief reference to it when he discusses the bridal motif in association with motherly figures.

of animals”, Hom. *Il.* 21. 470).<sup>132</sup> Therefore, the appearance of the deer in the scene corresponds to the goddess’ persona as goddess of nature and the wild. Finally, as one of the most favourite companions of Artemis, the deer becomes a common feature in the iconography of the Apollonian triad.

As demonstrated, attributes permit the identification of the Apollonian triad on vases where the names of Apollo, Leto and Artemis are not painted. But how can we recognize the trio on the other 118 vases – listed under the appellation “possible representations” – on which only Apollo from the trio can be identified given that he holds the kithara (or lyre) or occasionally the laurel staff? It is obvious that when deities do not appear with an attribute we cannot be certain of their identity. In fact, one could argue that when Leto and Artemis do not carry attributes, especially in sixth century vase paintings when such representations are common, these females could be easily confused with depictions of Muses.<sup>133</sup> Nevertheless, no epigraphic evidence exists to support the view that in the sixth-century scene of the trio we see Muses, since they are usually shown in a group of more than two and holding musical instruments (e.g., on Sophilos’ *lebes*).<sup>134</sup> The following discussion about “possible representations” clearly demonstrates that the women flanking Apollo were intended as Artemis and Leto.

---

<sup>132</sup> The deer plays also an important role in myths related with Artemis’s worship, such as the sacrifice of Iphigenia. For the association of the deer with Artemis, see Dowden (1989), 9-47; Bevan (1986), 100-111. For the deer as an attribute of both Apollo and Artemis, see Jurriaans-Helle (1986).

<sup>133</sup> Note that some of the vases that I have listed in Group A (Appendix I) as representations of the Apollonian triad have been identified by Queyrel (*LIMC* 6, s.v. Mousa, Mousai) as depictions of Apollo between Muses. The examples are listed in Appendix I.

<sup>134</sup> Apart from the appearance of the name “Mosai” on the Sophilos’ *lebes* and the names of all nine Muses – Kalliope, Ourania, Thaleia, Euterpe, Kleio, Melpomene, Stesichore, Erato, Polymnia (Hes. *Theog.* 76) – on the “François Vase” (supra n. 50), the name “Mosai” or of any Muse name in particular has not been found from the second half of the sixth to the beginning of the fifth century BC. It is only in the fifth century, though rarely, that we find again representations of Muses with their names painted on vases; see *LIMC* 6, s.v. Mousa, Mousai, 673, 675 [Queyrel].

According to Table 1(a, b), most of the vases listed as “possible representations” belong to Group A and B. In particular, I consider 101 out of 119 vases of Group A and B as “possible representations” in contrast to 17 out of 50 vases of Group C and D. The percentage of confirmed scenes for the last two groups is obviously much higher given that the deities appear more frequently with their distinctive attributes. I suggest that the themes of Apollo playing the kithara between Leto and Artemis, and the triad in libation scenes are attested on the 118 vases as well based on the fact that vases listed as “confirmed” and “possible representations” share the same subject and more or less the similar composition. In other words, composition and subject-matter allow the identification of the scenes as representations of the Apollonian triad when the figures are not named and they lack attributes.

Let us consider some examples of Group A and B on which we can observe a repetitive pattern, the central placement of Apollo playing the kithara between Leto and Artemis either alone or accompanied by other deities. The Pasikles Painter decorated two black-figure amphorae, one in Würzburg (520-510 BC, A4, fig. 20a), another in New York (*c.*510 BC, A42, fig. 21a), with the same composition: a standing male figure plays the kithara between two standing females who gesture towards him. On the amphora in Würzburg we observe that the vase-painter has named his figures so that we recognize Apollo (*ΑΠΟΛΛΙΟΝΟΣ*) playing his kithara between Artemis (*ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ*) and Leto (*ΛΕΤΟΣ*). The figures on the other amphora are not labelled, but the compositions and figures of the two vases are so similar that the conclusion is inescapable: the Pasikles Painter has depicted Apollo between Artemis and Leto on the New York amphora, as well. On a black-figure

amphora of c.530 BC by the Lysippides Painter (B1, fig. 22) we can identify the representation of the Apollonian triad in the company of Poseidon – identified by the symbols of his marine kingdom (Hom. *Od.* 21.384), i.e., the trident and the fish he holds –, a panther and a deer, which is considered, as noted, Artemis' most favourite animal. Apollo plays the kithara between Artemis, identified by the quiver on her back, and Leto, whose identity is secured by the fact that she appears among her children. In fact, she touches Apollo's back, a gesture that denotes the close relationship that the two figures have with each other. A similar scene is attested on a black figure *hydria* of c.500 BC, attributed to the Antimenes Painter (B5, fig. 23). This time the Apollonian triad is accompanied not only by Poseidon who carries his trident, but also by Hermes, identified by his caduceus, boots and *petasos*. Apollo plays his kithara between Artemis who carries a quiver and bow, and Leto whose identity is once again secured by the fact that her appearance with her children already has been confirmed on vases where all figures were labelled. If we compare the above examples (figs. 22, 23) to other vases, such as a black-figure *hydria* of 530-520 BC (B9, fig. 25) or a black-figure amphora of 520-510 BC (B16, fig. 24) attributed to the Antimenes Painter, we can observe a pattern: a trio – a male with a kithara between two females – is accompanied each time by deities such as Poseidon (fig. 22), Hermes (fig. 24) or Hermes and Poseidon (figs. 23, 25).<sup>135</sup> Therefore, although we cannot know which of the two females is Artemis or Leto given that both figures lack attributes in figures 24 and 25, we are in the position to identify the well-known pattern of a male playing his kithara between two females, i.e., of Apollo playing his kithara between Artemis and Leto, as observed in figures 20-23.

---

<sup>135</sup> For the Apollonian triad in vase paintings attributed to the Antimenes Painter, see Burow (1989), 58.



As already mentioned, 17 vases of Group C and D are listed as “possible representations” of the theme of the Apollonian triad in libation scenes. On a red-figure *hydria* of c.460 BC attributed to the Altamura Painter (C29, fig. 26), three figures perform libations: a male figure, wreathed with laurel, stands holding a kithara and pouring liquid from a *phiale* into ground between two females. Both females are shown pouring liquids into the ground as well. The one holds a sceptre and an *oinochoe*, while the other carries a branch (of laurel?) and a *phiale*. The above description recalls the familiar pattern of Apollo between Artemis and Leto carrying vessels and perform (or about to perform) libations as we observed before in figure 16a where all deities are labelled. Another red-figure *hydria* of c.470-460 BC attributed to the Altamura Painter, (D12, fig. 27) shows Hermes, identified by his caduceus and *petasos*, in the company of a trio that is engaged in the act of making libations. A male, wreathed with laurel, stands holding his kithara between two females. The figure on the viewer’s left carries a *phiale* and pours liquid from an *oinochoe* onto an altar, while the right figure (to the viewer) holds a branch (of laurel?) and a *phiale* with which she pours libations onto the ground. Comparing the above scene to figure 19, we find out that in both cases Hermes (identified by his *petasos* and caduceus) accompanies a trio. In figure 19, all deities can be identified by their attributes. Artemis carrying her quiver and bow pours liquid from an *oinochoe* into Apollo’s *phiale*. The god, wreathed with laurel, sits on a chair with his kithara. A veiled Leto appears once again with her children carrying a sceptre and another *phiale* for the performance of the above-mentioned rite. Therefore, on both vases, i.e., fig. 19 and fig. 27, we can observe two varied compositions of the same

theme: the Apollonian triad performs (fig. 27) or is about to perform libations (fig. 19) in the company of Hermes.

Moreover, when the identification cannot be based merely on compositional grounds or the subject-matter is not so clearly represented, other factors should be taken into consideration, such as scenes depicted on the reverse which may support the identification of the triad as Apollonian. On a red-figure *pelike* of 450/440 BC attributed to Polygnotos we see a male figure, wreathed with laurel, holding a laurel staff between two females, one of whom carries a *phiale* (C32, fig. 28a). The trio-scheme recalls the familiar depictions of Apollo between Artemis and Leto, and the male's appearance, wreathed with laurel and carrying a laurel staff, recalls Apollo's representation on examples where his identity is certain. Another factor that we should consider is the depiction of the well-known theme of the abduction of Leto by Tityos on the reverse of the vase (fig. 28b).<sup>136</sup> This example indicates that correlation of scenes on the same vase supports the identification of the trio as Apollonian.

The above presentation of examples demonstrates that the iconographical motif of the Apollonian triad can be identified on a large number of black- and red-figure vases of the archaic and classical period on the basis of names, painted on vases, or attributes, as well as taking into account other factors, such as context, composition, and correlation of scenes on the same vase.

Chapter 1 has documented the establishment of the Apollonian triad in Greek literature and art. Ancient writers repeatedly emphasized the close family relations of Apollo, Leto and Artemis; the effort of both divine children, Apollo and Artemis, to protect their mother from malevolent actions; and stress Leto's association with

---

<sup>136</sup> Note that the names of Apollo and Tityos are painted on the vase.

motherhood by her own story of giving birth. Apart from some possible early representations of the Apollonian triad outside Attica, the motif establishes itself in Attic art from *c.*560-550 BC onwards. Although the trio is found in a few mythological narratives, it mainly appears in scenes without a clear mythological context. Now that we are familiar with the divine family and understand how we can identify a triad as Apollonian, and on which criteria the classification of the material (i.e., 169 vases) is based, let us proceed to the following chapters and consider various representations of the Apollonian triad on sixth- and fifth-century vases, as well as investigate the possible meaning that the motif had for the Athenians.

## Chapter 2. Apollo playing the kithara between Artemis and Leto

Chapter 2 concerns itself with representations of Apollo playing the kithara between Artemis and Leto in Attic vase painting. The motif appears – though in a limited way – from the second half of the sixth century BC and wanes after 470 BC. Most examples are attested during the period 525-500 BC. First, this chapter aims to examine the above-mentioned motif (2.1), and second to discuss previous interpretations (2.2).

### 2.1 Vase paintings

The iconographical motif of Apollo playing the kithara between Artemis and Leto is attested on approximately 119 – mostly black-figure – vases dating *c.*550-470/460.<sup>137</sup> As we already noted in chapter 1, the material has been organised into two groups. Group A consists of vases with depictions of the Apollonian triad alone as a family group (A1-A81), while the same motif in Group B is accompanied by other deities (B1-B38).<sup>138</sup> My emphasis is on the composition and the iconography, that is, the way the triad is represented (i.e., pose, attributes and dress, action, gestures and movements), accompanying figures, as well as the inclusion of other iconographical elements in the scene, such as animals, plants or architectural constructions (e.g., altar and/or column).

Typical of the Apollonian triad depictions of Group A and B is the central placement of Apollo between Artemis and Leto.<sup>139</sup> When the triad is accompanied by others, as is the case on vases of Group B one (e.g., figs. 22, 24) or usually two

---

<sup>137</sup> The motif occurs predominately on black-figure vases apart from few red-figure exceptions and disappears as soon as the production of black-figure vases wanes. Note that the only black-figure vases which continue to be produced well into the fourth century BC are the Panathenaic amphorae, Beazley (1986), 81-92.

<sup>138</sup> All vases are numbered and listed chronologically in Appendix I.

<sup>139</sup> B6 is the only exception.

standing deities flank the central group (e.g., figs. 23, 25).<sup>140</sup> As a beardless youth,<sup>141</sup> Apollo is dressed in a long *chiton* and *himation*, has his hair loose or tied up in a *crobylos* – a roll of hair knotted on the back of the head – and wears a *tainia* or occasionally a wreath (possibly of laurel) around his head. Apart from one instance – the red-figure *lekythos* of 470-460 BC signed by Mys (fig. 15) – where Apollo is ready to receive a kithara from Artemis, the god always plays a stringed instrument, a kithara or lyre.<sup>142</sup> In most cases, however, he carries a kithara in his left hand and with his right hand strikes the chords with a *plektron* (e.g., figs. 14, 20a, 21a-25). Vase painters even depict the decorated long cloth that hangs from the back of the instrument (e.g., figs. 20a, 22), a common feature of the kithara-player – *kitharoidos* or *kitharist* – iconography as we see on an Attic red-figure amphora of 490 BC from Nola attributed to the Berlin Painter (fig. 29).<sup>143</sup> The kithara player on the abovementioned example is a *kitharoidos*, who not only plays the kithara, as a *kitharist* does, but at the same time sings as suggested by his open mouth and thrown back head.<sup>144</sup> The appearance of Apollo as a kithara player and the focus on the

---

<sup>140</sup> The only exception where three deities are represented, instead of one or two, is vase B23. Note that the rare occasions where the deities are shown seated are indicated in the Appendix I, Group A and B.

<sup>141</sup> Only once is he bearded, and that is on an early example, a black-figure neck-amphora of c.540 BC from Vulci attributed to the Princeton Painter (B8).

<sup>142</sup> All the examples where the lyre instead of the kithara is Apollo's attribute are listed in Appendix I, Group A, B.

<sup>143</sup> New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.171.38; ARV<sup>2</sup> 197, 3; *Para* 342; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 190; Beazley (1922), 72; the cloth's function is uncertain but considering that the *kitharist*'s forearm would have lain over the back of the instrument, the cloth may have been used to protect the instrument from perspiration and the forearm from abrasion, according to Mathiesen (1999), 266; cf. Maas and McIntosh Snyder (1989), 32, 68; West (1992), 55, considers the use of the decorated cloth a practice inspired by oriental pomp citing ancient sources.

<sup>144</sup> A *kitharoidos* is a kithara player who sings as he plays in contrast to *kitharist* who provides only music; for the kithara-player iconography, see Shapiro (1992), 58-60, 65-70, esp. 65, who stresses the problem of distinguishing an Athenian kithara-player from his role-model Apollo, who is frequently depicted as *kitharoidos* on Attic black-figure vases; for representations of professional kithara-players, their costumes and kithara, see also Maas and McIntosh Snyder (1989) 58-68; Bundrick (2005), 18.

musical performance by the central placement of Apollo in the scene accentuate his role as the god of music.

Distinction between Leto and Artemis is not particularly evident given that differentiation in age or physical appearance – except on a few occasions – cannot be observed. Both goddesses wear *chitones* and *himatia*, while on some earlier examples they are dressed in *peploi* as on a black-figure neck-amphora of c.540 BC attributed to the Group of London B174 (A15, fig. 30). They usually wear their hair long, adorned by a *tainia*, sometimes with their hair tied up in a *crobylos* or *sakkos* (e.g., red-figure belly-amphora from Vulci dated around the end of sixth century BC and attributed to the Bowdoin-eye Painter, A11, fig. 31), and occasionally crowned with a *polos* (e.g., figs. 15, 23-25). Mother and daughter may also appear – though rarely – with their heads veiled. Such a depiction of Leto occurs on two vases from Vulci by Psiax, a red-figure belly-amphora of 520-510 BC (fig. 14) and a bilingual belly-amphora of 530-510 BC (B2, fig. 32), while Artemis (named) appears with a veil on a fragmentary unattributed black-figure *hydria* of 510-500 BC (A9, fig. 41). The above three examples clearly demonstrate that the veil is not an exclusive attribute of Leto in this context. We will see that this changes in other contexts, both for Leto and Artemis.

Artemis is distinguishable from Leto only when she carries her familiar attributes, the bow and the quiver. Recalling Artemis' persona as mistress of the wild, she also appears with a leopard skin above her *himation* on two occasions (figs. 31, 32), while on another example, a fragmentary black-figure amphora of c.550 BC attributed to Group E, she wears a lion skin headdress (A1, fig. 33). Although the

lion headdress is a typical attribute of Herakles,<sup>145</sup> Artemis wears it on a few Attic examples, such as a black-figure fragment of c.560 BC from the Athenian Akropolis attributed to Lydos (fig. 34).<sup>146</sup> The figure who wears the lion skin on the Lydos fragment is identified with Artemis, as is clear not only from her typical attributes – bow and arrow –, but also by the painted name *APTEMIDAOΣ* preserved next to the figure.

In most cases, however, both goddesses appear without any characteristic that could indicate their identity. Instead, they are depicted holding branches, a flower, or occasionally a wreath as we see them on a black-figure *oinochoe* of 510-500 BC attributed to the Leagros Group where one carries a flower and the other a wreath (B27, fig. 35). Other times, they gesture towards Apollo with one arm either raised to the chest or at head height (e.g., fig.14), or pointing down (e.g., figs. 20a, 21a). They can also appear pulling up the edge of their respective *chitones* (e.g., figs. 23, 31).

The gesture of lifting of the skirt appears in various contexts and may be interpreted in different ways. On a red-figure *kalyx-krater* signed by Euphronios of 515-500 from Cerveteri a flute player, about to perform his music, holds up his *chiton* as he steps on a platform (fig. 36a).<sup>147</sup> On the other side of the vase, three women flank Herakles (*HEPAKAEΣ*) fighting Antaios (*[AN]TAIOΣ*) (fig. 36b). The women move away from the fight as they are fleeing, and one of the females pulls up the edge of her *chiton*. It is obvious that on both occasions the lifting of the skirt signifies motion. Both the flute player and the fleeing woman raise their dresses

---

<sup>145</sup> *LIMC* 4, s.v. Herakles, fig. 729 [Boardman]; for several examples of Herakles wearing a lion skin, see *LIMC* 4 and 5, s.v. Herakles [Boardman et al.].

<sup>146</sup> Athens, Akropolis Museum 2133b, Graef and Langlotz (1925), 214, pl. 93; for a discussion regarding the iconography of Artemis wearing the lion skin on her head, see Tiverios (1987), 874; Carpenter (1994), 71 -78.

<sup>147</sup> Paris, Musée du Louvre G103; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 14.2; *Para* 322; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 152; *LIMC* 1, s.v. Antaios I, fig. 24 [Olmos and Balmaseda].

while walking or running in order to facilitate their movement. By contrast, Artemis and Leto are not moving when they hold up their *chitones*. Perhaps the vase painters intended to underline and draw the viewers' attention to their femininity.<sup>148</sup>

Other iconographical elements may also appear with the trio, such as animals, plants or architectural features (e.g., altar and/or column) serving as attributes, indicators of space or denoting ritual activity. The most frequently depicted animal with the divine family is the deer (48 times out of 119), since, as noted, it is one of the most common companions of Artemis (see pp. 38-39). On a few occasions, we find panthers (three times) and a bird (once), animals that correspond to Artemis' nature as "Mistress of Animals" (Hom. *Il.* 21.470).<sup>149</sup> Animals may serve as divine attributes, but they can also function as allusions to a specific environment. On a black-figure neck-amphora of 540-530 BC attributed to the Ready Painter, a pair of dolphins flanks a tripod on which a small seated figure of Apollo plays the kithara, while Artemis and Leto stand at each side of the tripod (A16, fig. 37). The dolphin is well associated with Apollo already from the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* (400). According to the *Hymn*, the god was transformed into a dolphin when he appeared to the Cretan sailors whom he made his first priests. Apart from this association, the two dolphins may have been depicted, as Beazley has pointed out, to indicate the sea and the god travelling over the water, suggesting that the scene presents Apollo's journey from Delos to Delphi to establish his worship.<sup>150</sup> A variation of the same theme, i.e., Apollo travelling over the sea on a tripod – though without the two goddesses – can be observed on a red-figure *hydria* attributed to the Berlin Painter of

---

<sup>148</sup> For the lifting of the skirt gesture in different contexts, see Blundell (2002), 152-156.

<sup>149</sup> All the examples are listed in Appendix I, Group A and B.

<sup>150</sup> Beazley (1964), 10, (1989), 73 comments that tripod's legs do not reach the ground-line, a fact that implies that the tripod is travelling over the water.



480 BC from Vulci (fig. 38).<sup>151</sup> In this version of the scene, the god travels in a winged tripod over the sea filled with fish and escorted by a pair of dolphins. Whether the painter intended to present Apollo travelling from Delos to Delphi is not certain, since the journey of the god to Delphi as narrated in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* does not mention his travelling in the tripod.<sup>152</sup> Nevertheless, the presence of dolphins on the amphora by the Ready Painter should be seen as an attempt to denote the sea, a scene of Apollo as traveller, presented about a half of a century later by the Berlin Painter.<sup>153</sup>

In general, representations of the Apollonian triad do not show where the scene is taking place. However, there are some exceptional efforts to designate the setting. As has been argued, the scene is often set on Delos, marked by the palm tree that is closely associated with the legendary birth of Apollo (e.g., fig. 30), while the conjunction of palm-tree and altar as on a black-figure amphora from Tarquinia of c.510 BC attributed to the Nikoxenos Painter (A8, fig. 39), further indicates the location as Delos.<sup>154</sup> Taking into account that depictions of the palm tree with the Apollonian triad are rare (it is found only four times and only one representation of an altar and a palm tree, fig. 39), I consider the view that the scene is set on Delos misleading. Depictions of the palm tree next to the Apollonian triad rather should be seen as an attribute of the divine family and not as an indicator of a particular location, while the conjunction of palm tree and altar suggests the appearance of the

---

<sup>151</sup> Rome, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano 16568; Beazley (1964), 9; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 209, 166; *Para* 343; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 195; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 382 [Lambrinudakis].

<sup>152</sup> For a discussion about the vase and the idea that Apollo travels from Delos to Delphi, see Shapiro (1989), 59.

<sup>153</sup> For dolphins as indicators of the sea, see also an Attic black-figure cup from Vulci of 530 BC signed by the potter Exekias and attributed to Exekias by Beazley (Monaco, *Antikensammlungen* 2044; *ABV* 146, 21; *LIMC* 3, s.v. Dionysos, fig. 788 [Gasparri]), which depicts Dionysos travelling in the sea, since he appears reclining in a ship, surrounded by seven dolphins.

<sup>154</sup> Shapiro (1989), 57.

triad in a sacred space, namely a sanctuary but not necessarily on Delos.<sup>155</sup> We can also observe the presence of the divine family in a sacred place in another scene on a black-figure *lekythos* of c.475 BC attributed to the Group of the Haimon Painter (A75, fig. 40). The sacred setting is marked – this time – by a column (depicted on the left edge of the picture) and an altar,<sup>156</sup> which is considered the most essential element in Greek cult, used for blood or bloodless sacrifices, and upon which libations as noted were poured.<sup>157</sup> On a single occasion, a fragmentary black-figure *hydria* (fig. 41), presents the divine family next to a burning altar. It is obvious that vase-paintings should not be treated as snapshots of real life, but we have to admit that the presence of an altar with fire burning on top of it next to deities, recalls human religious activity and specifically rituals of animal sacrifice according to which the god's or gods' portion was burnt on the altar.<sup>158</sup>

A small range of deities appear in the company of Apollo playing the kithara between Artemis and Leto on vases of Group B (see table 3, Appendix II). The most common companion of the divine family is Hermes since he appears 32 out of 38 times (e.g., figs. 15, 23-25, 35). Other gods who make their appearance are Poseidon (14 times, e.g., figs. 22-23, 25), Dionysos (13 times, e.g., fig. 35), an unidentifiable goddess (once, B23), Ares (once, fig. 32), and a satyr who accompanies Dionysos

---

<sup>155</sup> For the iconography of the palm-tree in Greek art in general, see Miller (1983), especially pages 7-9 where the scholar stresses that the palm-tree is an attribute of Apollo, rather than indicative of a particular locale; for the motif of the palm-tree and altar referring to the cult of Artemis, see Sourvinou-Inwood (1985), (1991), 101-122.

<sup>156</sup> Note that columns appear in various contexts and can be interpreted in different ways. On columns and altars denoting sacred space, see Hatzivassiliou (2010), 90-91.

<sup>157</sup> For different kinds of sacrifice, see Zaidman and Pantel (1992), 28-40; Pedley (2005), 80-82; Kearns (2010), 212-223.

<sup>158</sup> Van Straten (1995), 167; Ekroth (2009), 97; for a discussion regarding things to do after the killing of animals and visual representations of sacrifice, see Van Straten (1995), 115-160; for altars on Attic vases, see Rupp (1991); Ekroth (2001), 115-126; see also Lissarrague (2012), 566 who considers that a burning altar underlines the association with the gods.

(once, B33). Why some gods are so frequently represented and what their relationship is with the trio are issues that will be treated below.<sup>159</sup>

To sum up, vases of Group A and B present a scene of a family unit where Apollo plays the kithara between his mother Leto and his sister Artemis, either alone or accompanied by other deities. Apollo receives special attention due to his constant central placement in the scene and his appearance as kithara-player, which emphasize his function as the god of music. Distinction between mother and daughter is only possible when Artemis appears with her special attributes, the bow and the quiver, given that differentiation in age or physical appearance cannot be observed. The most common animal depicted in the scene is the deer, which functions as Artemis' attribute and hence of the trio. In most cases the setting is unknown, though a few attempts to denote a sacred place are noteworthy. Finally, the frequent presence of Hermes, Dionysos, and/or Poseidon with the divine family is striking and needs to be further investigated. After discussing various scenes with Apollo playing the kithara while appearing between Artemis and Leto, let's proceed to examine previous interpretations regarding the motif, which has been so well attested in Attic art *c.*525 to 500 BC.

## **2.2 Previous interpretations**

Michael Tiverios and Alan Shapiro discuss the representation of the Apollonian triad in Attic art of the sixth century BC.<sup>160</sup> According to these scholars, the motif should be associated with Athenian activity on Delos, part of the foreign policy that the tyrant Peisistratos promoted in order to designate Athens as the

---

<sup>159</sup> All the accompanied figures are listed in Appendix I.

<sup>160</sup> Tiverios (1986), 602-604, (1987), 874-875; Shapiro (1989), 56-58, (1996), 104, (2009a), 266; note that both scholars use the term "Delian triad".

leading city among the Ionian Greeks and his efforts to foster cults for political purposes, especially after his third seizure of power (546-528/7 BC).<sup>161</sup> Whether the iconographical motif in question should be understood as a reflection of Peisistratos' political ambitions is an issue that needs to be investigated, especially when one considers that most examples are found after Peisistratos' death (528/7 BC). In order to do so, we must review all the evidence – written and archaeological – along with scholars' views concerning Peisistratos' activity on Delos.

According to Herodotus' (1.64.2) and Thucydides' (3.104.1) accounts, Peisistratos purified one part of the island by removing all the graves located near the precinct to another part of Delos during the period between c.545 and 528 BC.<sup>162</sup> Because of Peisistratos' involvement in the purification, Shapiro, among other scholars, considers that the tyrant has also undertaken other activities on the island, such as the institution of the *pententeric* festival called the “*Delia*”, which according to Thucydides was a revival of an old Ionic festival that had lapsed (3.104.3).<sup>163</sup> Shapiro states this as a fact, but is not documented by Thucydides' account or any other ancient reference. What we learn from Thucydides is the following: long ago there used to be a gathering of Ionians and of the neighbouring islanders on Delos, where athletic and musical contests were held and to which each city sent a *chorus*

---

<sup>161</sup> Shapiro (1989), 49, 58; Tiverios (1986), 604; Peisistratos tried to seize power three times and was in exile twice. There is a problem regarding the precise dating of his tyranny, but scholars have accepted the date 561/0 for the first seizure of power and the third successful attempt in 546 BC. Peisistratos' death is dated in 528/7 BC when Philoneos had the archonship (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 17.1). See Rhodes, (1976), 219-233; Andrewes (1982), 399-402; Shapiro (1989), 1-2; Lavelle (2005), 210-218; Parker (2007), 29-30.

<sup>162</sup> Shapiro (1989), 48, dates the purification c.545-540 on the basis of the Attic vases of the 540s, which were found on the tiny island of Rheneia next to Delos, but originally were from Delos; Bruneau and Ducat (2005), 34 places the purification between c.540 and 528 BC.

<sup>163</sup> Shapiro (1989), 48; cf. Power (2010), 445.

(3.104.3-5).<sup>164</sup> In later years, the Athenians and islanders continued to send *choruses* along with sacrificial offerings, but the contests and most of the ceremonies were abolished until 426 BC (Thuc. 3.104.6), when the Athenians purified the whole island by the removal of all graves to the tiny island of Rheneia and re-established the Delian festival (Thuc. 3.104.2), adding a horse race to the original competitions (Thuc. 3.104.6).<sup>165</sup> In fact, we are aware of Athens' sacred delegations (*theoria*) to Delos – attested epigraphically – only from 426/5 BC (*IG I<sup>3</sup>1468*).<sup>166</sup> Therefore, we must refuse the suggestion of Shapiro, among others, because Thucydides' account does not support the claim of Peisistratos' involvement in the institution of *Delia*; we should not consider it as a “reasonable assumption” to credit him as the reorganizer of the ancient festival just because he was responsible for the purification.<sup>167</sup>

As part of Peisistratos' activity on Delos, some scholars, including Shapiro,<sup>168</sup> also argued that the tyrant might have founded the first stone temple of Apollo on Delos,<sup>169</sup> the so-called “*Porinos Naos*”,<sup>170</sup> which probably housed the archaic cult statue of the god.<sup>171</sup> According to Pausanias (2.32.5), the statue was a work of

---

<sup>164</sup> As evidence, Thucydides quotes verses from the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*. Note that the *Hymn* appears to be the earliest source of what we know about the earliest version of the festival (147-164).

<sup>165</sup> For the purification and re-establishment of the Delian festival, see the commentary in Hornblower (1991), Vol.1, 517-531; Bruneau and Ducat (2005), 35-36, 59; Chankowski (2008), 53-56, 90-106. For the political and religious aspect of the purification, see Chankowski (2008), 63-70 and 70-72 for the view of the *Delia* as a festival of the Athenian Empire.

<sup>166</sup> For *theoria* on Delos, see Wilson (2000), 44-4; Rutherford (2004), 82.

<sup>167</sup> Contra: Power (2010), 445.

<sup>168</sup> Gallet de Santerre (1958), 301-302; Shapiro (1989), 48; Parker (1996), 87; Bruneau and Ducat (2005), 34.

<sup>169</sup> The three temples of Apollo on Delos, i.e., “*Porinos Naos*”, “Grand Temple”, and the “Temple of the Athenians”, as are referred to in Bruneau and Ducat (2005), 182-185.

<sup>170</sup> According to fourth century accounts from the sanctuary, the temple is mentioned as the “Temple of the Delians” and it is not until the period of Independence (314-166 BC) and after that is called “*Porinos Naos*”. In fact, the first reference to “*Porinos Naos*” comes from the third century (*IG XI.2, 158A, 60-61282 BC*, account of Kleostratos); for the epigraphic evidence, see Courby (1921), 187; Courby (1931), 208-209; Hamilton (2000), 41.

<sup>171</sup> The statue has not been found, but scholars have considered literary and epigraphic testimonia, as well as representations on Attic coins (dated after the year 166 BC), for its appearance; for the literary, epigraphic, and numismatic evidence regarding the cult-statue, see Pfeiffer (1952), 20-25; Bruneau (1970), 54-59; Romano (1980), 163-172.

Angelion and Tektaios, who were active in about the second and third quarters of the sixth century BC.<sup>172</sup> Scholars' suppositions have been based on the assumption that the small temple (10, 11x15, 70m), which was built of limestone (*poros*) atop granite foundations,<sup>173</sup> was Attic in its material and construction techniques and dated around the second half of the sixth century, i.e., the period when Peisistratos wished to establish the Athenians' presence on Delos.<sup>174</sup> However, Courby, followed by Vallois,<sup>175</sup> argued that the masonry of its foundations – the predominance of granite and the use of gneiss to fill the gaps – recalls old structural techniques found on Delos (e.g., “*Oikos of Naxians*”, c.600 BC),<sup>176</sup> which suggests the existence of an earlier predecessor of the “*Porinos Naos*”.<sup>177</sup> In other words, Courby believed that the Athenians of the sixth century did not build the “*Porinos Naos*”, but were responsible for the reconstruction of an earlier temple that once stood on the same place.<sup>178</sup> A more likely date for the “*Porinos Naos*”, however, has been proposed by Gruben, who places the temple c.520 BC based on the use of double-T clamps(|—|) for joining together the *orthostate* blocks, a construction technique favoured by the

---

<sup>172</sup> Pausanias (2.32.5) reports that Angelion and Tektaios were trained in the school of Dipoinos and Skyllis, who were active during c.580 BC (Pliny, *NH* 36.9), and that Kallon of Aegina was pupil of Tektaios, active during the last quarter of 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (on his activity dating, see Raubitschek, 1949, 508-509). Romano (1980), 175, points out that since their masters were active in the first decades of the 6<sup>th</sup> century and Tektaios' pupil in the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, then Tektaios and Angelion would have been active in the second and third quarters of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.

<sup>173</sup> Note that the temple preserves its foundations, most of the *euthyteria*, *orthostate* wall blocks, and a few architectural pieces (e.g., capital).

<sup>174</sup> *Supra* n. 168. Gallet de Santerre (1958), 302, remarks that the particular type of stone (*poros*) is not found on Delos, but most probably comes from the quarries of Piraeus; Vallois (1966), 19. Despite the fact that the provenance of the limestone used for the construction of the temple cannot be secured, for historical reasons, as Bruneau and Ducat (2005), 182 admit, the “*Porinos Naos*” has been attributed to the Athenians during the period of Peisistratos' (546-528/7 BC) or his sons' (528/7-510BC) rule.

<sup>175</sup> Vallois (1944), 22.

<sup>176</sup> For the date, see Bruneau and Ducat (2005); Gneiss is known to be used on Delos as early as the first half of the seventh century (e.g., temple A of Hera), while the granite as early as the beginning of sixth cent. BC (s.v., “*Oikos of Naxians*”); for the use of gneiss and granite on Delos during the archaic period as foundation material, see Vallois (1966), 11-13.

<sup>177</sup> Courby (1931), 208, 214-215.

<sup>178</sup> Cf. Gruben (1997), 372, 376 who considers that the foundation material comes from an earlier temple (temple X, dated before mid-sixth century BC), which he situates 4m further south, and where the archaic cult statue of the god might have stood.

Athenians and attested in Attica no earlier than 525 BC.<sup>179</sup> Taking into account that the “*Porinos Naos*” should be dated c.520 BC, Peisistratos could not have been involved in founding the temple, since he died in 528/7 BC.<sup>180</sup> Thus, according to the archaeological evidence, the temple was commissioned during the period of the Peisistratidai without necessarily implying that they were responsible for building it since no written text, literary or epigraphic, supports such a view.<sup>181</sup>

In addition, Courby and Gallet de Santerre, among others, supported the idea that owing to Peisistratos’ activity on the island the tyrant might have been also responsible for the erection of a statue group, “a *chorus* of seven statues placed around the old statue of Apollo”.<sup>182</sup> Of the statue group only the base – a horseshoe-shaped Attic pedestal of Parian marble (socle), limestone (underpinnings of the base) and dark Eleusinian limestone (*orthostate* and crown), which preserves circular and rectangular cuttings for statues, was found in the “Temple of the Athenians”<sup>183</sup> and dated c.425-420 BC on architectural grounds.<sup>184</sup> According to this view, the base, which held seven chryselephantine statues as the epigraphic (*ID* 1409, Ba, II, 46-7,

---

<sup>179</sup> Gruben (1997), 373; The “*Porinos Naos*” is a unique example where double-T clamps were used in the archaic period, a structure technique found on Delos mainly from the fifth century BC; for the use of double-T clamps on Delos, see Vallois (1978), 537; Martin (1965), 261, 271, comments that the use of double-T clamp enjoyed its greatest favour in the Athenian architecture and remarks that the Athenians appear to be the first to use it. E.g., Old Temple of Athena on the Akropolis, last quarter of the sixth century BC (Hurwit, 1999, 111; c. 508/7 BC: Childs, 1994, 3); Temple of Zeus Olympios in Athens – Olympieion –, c.515BC (Travlos, 1971, 402); the temple of Apollo in Delphi, rebuilt by the Alkmaionidai (Hdt. 5.62.2; Philochorus, *FGrH* 3b, 328 fr.115), c.514-506 BC (infra p. 112). For the use of the double-T clamps in Greek architecture, see also Orlandos (1966), 106-109.

<sup>180</sup> *Supra* n. 161.

<sup>181</sup> Note that Gruben (1997), 373, does not attribute the temple to Peisistratidai, but he mentions that it has been commissioned during the period of Peisistratidai; contra: Chankowski (2008), 11; See also Parke, *infra* n. 193.

<sup>182</sup> Courby (1931), 218; Gallet de Santerre (1958), 302; Also Shapiro (1989), 48.

<sup>183</sup> The temple was known by this name from *Amphictyonic* inventories of the fourth century (e.g., *ID* 101, 32, 372-367 BC); for the epigraphic evidence, see Courby (1921), 179; Bruneau (1970), 53.

<sup>184</sup> For the base, see Courby (1931), 189-194. Scholars, such as Courby (1931), 205, 223, Shear (1963), 399-407, and Bruneau and Ducat (2005), 184, dated the “Temple of the Athenians” c.425-420 BC due to the similarities in its architectural form to the Parthenon (dated 447-432 BC, *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 436-451, Hurwit, 1999, 313-314) and in its plan to the Temple of Athena Nike on the Athenian Akropolis (dated 430’s-420, Mark, 1993, 76-92).

mid-second cent. BC) evidence and preserved cuttings suggest,<sup>185</sup> together with the earlier statue of Apollo by Tektaios and Angelion, all were transferred from the “*Porinos Naos*” to the “Temple of the Athenians”. Courby’s theory regarding the transportation of the statue group was based on the idea that the base should be dated before the last quarter of the fifth century BC due to its “archaic” construction and the fact that the *cellae* had a similar width (“*Porinos Naos*”: 8,20m; “Temple of the Athenians”: 8,34m), which reinforces the possibility that both temples might have accommodated the statue group.<sup>186</sup> As some scholars correctly point out, the base would have been contemporary with the “Temple of the Athenians” since an earlier date for the pedestal is based on very fragile architectural indications,<sup>187</sup> while the dimensions of the *cella* (8, 34m x 7, 49m) of the “Temple of the Athenians” recall the proportions of other fifth-century Attic temples with a tendency towards a square *cella*.<sup>188</sup> Moreover, the view that the old statue of Apollo, i.e., that of Tektaios and Angelion, also would have stood in the “Temple of the Athenians” does not correlate

---

<sup>185</sup> The seven statues are not mentioned by any ancient writer nor have any representation of them been recognized (e.g., on coins). The only statue that we know that stood among the seven was that of Leto, since it is mentioned in inscriptions (e.g., *ID* 103, 51, 372/67-364/3 BC); for the identity of the seven statues, see Bruneau (1970), 62; and Lapatin (2001), 108-109. For the evidence that the seven statues were chryselephantine, see Lapatin (2001), 105, 107, with previous bibliography.

<sup>186</sup> Courby (1931), 193-194, 214, comments that the materials of the base – white marble, limestone, and Eleusinian limestone – are not observed to have been used for any other part of the “temple of the Athenians”, the limestone for the underpinnings of the base is almost identical to the one used in the “*Porinos Naos*” and the clamps, used to join the blocks of the base, are made of iron and have a double T shape in contrast to the bronze clamps of the temple.

<sup>187</sup> Among the scholars who accept a late fifth century date for the base are: Bruneau (1970), 62; Roux (1979), 112; Lapatin (2001), 106-107. For a detail discussion regarding a late fifth century date for the base, see Lapatin who considers that (a) the blocks of the base do not show any evidence of being re-used or moved and (b) there is little evidence for the use of Eleusian stone before the middle of the fifth century BC.

<sup>188</sup> E.g., temple of Athena Nike (4,15m x 3,78m, 427-424BC: Travlos, 1971, 148-149; 420s BC: Mark, 1993, 79, 92), the “Ilissos Temple” (4,681m x 4,678m, 448 BC: Travlos, 1971, 113; 435-430 BC: Miles, 1980, 316, 320, 325); for a discussion regarding the proportions of the *cella* of the “Temple of the Athenians”, “Ilissos Temple” and temple of Athena Nike, see Shear (1963), 389, 399-400.



with the epigraphic evidence.<sup>189</sup> According to Delian inventories, the ancient image of Apollo was still in the “*Porinos Naos*” at least down to 302/1 BC (*IG XI*, 2 145, 24, “the temple in which the *kolossos* is”),<sup>190</sup> that is, before it was transferred to the Temple of Apollo or the “Grand Temple” (two construction phases)<sup>191</sup> as a third-century inscription testifies (*IG XI*, 2 161 B, 25).<sup>192</sup>

Taking into account all the above, it is clear that Peisistratos’ activity on Delos can be confirmed only regarding the purification of one part of the island. No evidence, literary, epigraphic or archaeological, supports his involvement in building the “*Porinos Naos*”, the reestablishment of the Delia, or the erection of a statue-group, whose base, as it has been noted, dates to the late fifth century BC and stood in the “Temple of the Athenians”. The Peisistratidai may have been involved in founding the temple, though there is no written evidence to confirm this supposition. The only activity that we can observe on the island after Peisistratos’ death (528/7 BC) is that of the tyrant Polykrates of Samos, who chained Rheneia to Delos and dedicated it to Apollo during the period of his naval supremacy around 523 BC (i.e., before his

---

<sup>189</sup> As Bruneau (1970), 61 notes, the Delian inventories after 315 BC (e.g., *IG XI*, 2, 154, 61, 296 BC) refer to the temple as the “Temple of the Seven Statues” and obviously not as the “Temple of the Eight Statues.”

<sup>190</sup> Note that the inscription not only mentions the old statue (line 24), but also the seven statues (line 61). For a discussion regarding the word “*kolossos*” as indication of the old statue of Apollo, see Romano (1980), 172-174, who considers that there is no reason to eliminate the possibility that the *kolossos* was a cult-image of over life-size dimensions. In fact, Romano points out that the word in Herodotus (book 2) does carry the meaning of “huge”. See also Roux (1960) who discusses that the term “*kolossos*” does not mean a statue of great size and that the word acquired the connotation of a statue of gigantic size after c. 304 BC with the erection of the “*Kolossos* of Rhodes”. Roux’s view has been accepted by Donohue (1988), 27; Ridgway (1993<sup>2</sup>), 27.

<sup>191</sup> The construction of the so called “Grand Temple” started c.475-470 BC, but the work was interrupted in the 450s due to the transfer of the Delian treasury to Athens. Its construction resumed after 314 BC as testified by various inscriptions, which refer to the addition of the ceiling, roof and floor, payment methods, workers, constructors, architects, etc. For the temple, see Courby (1931), 1-106, 218-220, and 227-230 for the epigraphic evidence regarding the resumption of the work. Bruneau and Ducat (2005), 185 comment that the phases of the temple seems to coincide with the history of Delos; its construction starts when the Delian League was founded, and stopped when the League’s treasury was transferred to Athens, then the work resumed when Delos was freed from the Athenian domination.

<sup>192</sup> Romano (1980), 177-178. Also note that no written text mentions that the cult statue of Apollo and the seven statues were ever transferred to the “Temple of the Athenians”.

death in 522 BC, Thuc.3.104.2).<sup>193</sup> And if Peisistratos' activity on Delos is limited, there is no support for the view that the Apollonian triad depictions in sixth-century vase paintings are closely associated to Peisistratid activity on Delos. Instead, we must ask again why and how the motif was linked to Attica, issues that we shall investigate in chapter 4.

---

<sup>193</sup> For the date, see Parke (1946), 106, who also argues that the Peisistratidai in their first years may not have felt strong enough to assert themselves abroad. For Polykrates' intervention on Delos, see also Gallet de Santerre (1958), 309; Chankowski (2008), 14-15.

### Chapter 3. The Apollonian triad in libations scenes

A major development regarding the iconography of the Apollonian triad occurs in Attic vase painting of the fifth century BC. The deities no longer appear in scenes where Apollo plays the kithara between Artemis and Leto, but they are shown in a new iconographical context carrying *phialai* and *oinochoai* and often performing or about to make libations. This motif is attested from the beginning of the fifth cent. BC, but most examples date between 475 and 450 BC.<sup>194</sup> I should point out that the motif under consideration is not yet attested in other media (e.g., sculpture) during the fifth century BC.<sup>195</sup> Chapter 3 provides a detail examination of depictions of the Apollonian triad in libation scenes (3.1), and offers an analysis of the theories that scholars proposed on the subject (3.2).

---

<sup>194</sup> The majority of vases are attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter and the Niobid Painter and his circle; see Appendix I, Group C and D; cf. Prange (1989), 71. Exceptions of non-Attic vase paintings are: (a) a Boeotian *kalyx-krater*, dated after the second half of fifth century BC, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1385; Lullies (1940), 14; and (b) a late fifth-century Lucanian *volute-krater* attributed to the Palermo Painter, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AE.101; Jentoft-Nilsen and Trendall (1991), 27-28.

<sup>195</sup> Note that sixth- or fifth-century representations of Apollo and Artemis (without Leto), together or alone, have been confirmed in other media as well. From Attica: e.g., (a) a bronze statue of a *kouros*, found in Piraeus (Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 4645), that used to hold a bow (left hand) and a *phiale* (right hand) of which fragments remain, has been identified by scholars as Apollo on the basis of attributes. The statue was variously dated. For a date around the last quarter of fifth cent. BC on stylistic grounds, see Romano (1980), 337; Patton (2009), 59; Dontas (1986), 189 proposes a date c.480 BC on the basis of its construction and style; Palagia (1997), 183-185, attributes it to the archaistic trend of Athenian sculpture and argues for a date in the second century BC. (b) A terra-cotta relief (*pinax*) of 500-480 BC (on stylistic grounds) from Brauron shows Artemis holding out a *phiale* (Brauron Museum K2616+2452); *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 978 [Kahil]; for the date, see Mitsopoulos-Leon (2009) 243, with previous bibliography. Outside Attica, the earliest example is the remains of a chryselephantine statue – presumably Apollo – of the mid-sixth cent. BC from the Halos deposit at Delphi (the date is based on the context of the deposit, technique and style). The god holds a *phiale* in his (restored) right hand; for the statue, see Amandry (1939), 117; Maass (1997), 139, 143; Lapatin (2001), 57-60, 147; Patton, (2009), 60. For other sixth-and fifth-century examples of Apollo or Artemis with a *phiale*, see *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, figs. 423, 431, 434, 435a, 436 [Palagia]; s.v. Artemis, fig. 981 [Kahil].

### 3.1 Vase paintings

Approximately 48 red- and two black-figure vases of the fifth century BC bear depictions of the Apollonian triad holding *phialai* and *oinochoai*, either alone (Group C1-C35) or in the presence of other, usually divine, figures (Group D1-D15). My focus is on the way the triad is depicted, i.e., attributes and dress, pose, movements, action and gestures; other iconographical features in the scene such as animals, plants, or architectural installations (e.g., altar, column, etc.); and accompanying figures.

Let us start by considering the way the Apollonian triad is represented on vases of Group C and D. Usually, Apollo wears a *chiton* and *himation*, but occasionally he is dressed in a *himation* only as on a red-figure *hydria* of 460-450 BC attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter (C9, fig. 42). The beardless god has long locks of hair, sometimes tied up in a knot, and most times he wears a laurel wreath around his head. His typical attributes are a kithara or lyre and a *phiale*. In some cases he holds a laurel staff (e.g., figs. 18, 28a, 42), while once he appears with a bow as we see him on a red-figure *volute-krater* of c.450 BC attributed to the School of the Niobid Painter (C16, fig. 44). Most of the times he stands among the others, but he may also appear seated on a *klismos* (e.g., fig. 19) and once riding a griffin as on a red-figure *oinochoe* from Vulci dated in the end of the fifth century BC and attributed to the Painter of London E543 (C22, fig. 43).<sup>196</sup>

Artemis and Leto wear long *chitones* and *himatia* and apart from one instance where Artemis has an animal skin above her *chiton* (fig. 42) differentiations in dress cannot be observed. Both goddesses have their hair usually tied up in a knot (e.g.,

---

<sup>196</sup> For a better photo, see *BAPD* 240000.

figs. 16a, 18), fixed with ribbons or *tainiai*, occasionally in a *sakkos* (e.g., figs. 19, 28a, 43) or hanging down, and often crowned with a diadem (e.g., fig. 17). They may carry a flower (e.g., fig. 17), a torch, a wreath (e.g., fig. 44), or laurel branches (e.g., figs. 18, 19, 26, 27). It is worth noting that the gesture of lifting up the edge of the dress, which has been attested on vases of the two previous Groups, is rarely observed on vases of Group C and D, i.e., depictions of the triad holding vessels alone (Group C) or accompanied by other figures (Group D). Despite the similarities that we can observe between the two goddesses regarding their dress, hairstyle and some attributes that they both might carry, distinctions between them become more evident on vases of Group C and D. This can be explained owing to the frequent representation of Artemis with her telltale attributes, such as the bow and the quiver. In addition, Leto appears more frequently than before with a veil (e.g., figs. 19, 44) accentuating, as noted, her maternal nature, and on some occasions with a sceptre (e.g., figs. 18, 19), which implies prestige and authority, thus underling her high status in her capacity as the mother of Apollo and Artemis. While Leto's most common attribute is the *phiale*, Artemis' is the *oinochoe*. Nevertheless, there are instances where Artemis holds both vessels as, for example, on a red-figure *hydria* from Athens of 460-450 BC attributed to the Circle of the Villa Giulia Painter (C10, fig. 45), or a red-figure *kalyx-krater* from Agrigento attributed to the Manner of the Meidias Painter of 420/410 BC (D10, fig. 46).

I turn now to the action itself. As I already noted in Chapter 1.2 (pp. 33-34), libation scenes with the Apollonian triad varies. There are cases where the gods or at least one of them pour a libation onto the ground (e.g., fig. 26), sometimes onto an altar (e.g., figs. 27, 42) and very rarely onto an egg (or navel)-shaped stone, an

*omphalos*, as on a red-figure *bell-krater* from Nola attributed to the Manner of the Dinos Painter of 420-400 BC (D11, fig. 47). It is worth noting that in some instances vase painters even depict the liquid that is being poured as we see on a red-figure *oinochoe* attributed to the Washing Painter of 430-420 BC (C21, fig.48).<sup>197</sup> In other cases, vase painters choose to represent the moment before performing the rite, where Artemis (or Leto or any other figure) pours from an *oinochoe* into Apollo's *phiale* without tipping the liquid onto ground (or altar). Such an example we have observed in figure 19, where Artemis pours liquid into a *phiale* held by Apollo. There are also occasions where the act of pouring is not represented. However, since (at least) one of the deities carries a *phiale* we might consider the scene as implying a libation, which either has finished or has not yet started. An excellent example is figure 44: Apollo extends his *phiale* towards Artemis who carries an *oinochoe*, while Leto stands aside with a wreath. It is clear that the gods do not pour a libation, but Apollo's gesture, i.e., holding out his *phiale* to be filled, recalls the familiar rite. In scenes where the triad appears with other – mainly – divine figures, these figures may accompany the divine family or they can be directly involved in the ritual, since she/he carries one of the required vessels for the performance of a libation. For example, as observed in figure 17, the ritual is about to be performed by Apollo and Nike (or Iris): the god extends his *phiale* towards the winged goddess who holds an *oinochoe* ready to pour.

Unlike vases of Group A and B, vase painters of Group C and D show a remarkable effort to denote where the scene takes place as documented by the depiction of an altar (eleven times), a column (three times) and an *omphalos* (three

---

<sup>197</sup> For a better picture, see *BAPD* 214990.

times). On the one hand, altars are the focus of ritual activity, upon which the divine family pours (e.g., figs. 27, 42, 48) or is about to pour a libation (e.g., fig. 18). In fact, the prominent position of altars in the composition emphasizes the importance of the actions shown.<sup>198</sup> It is worth noting that in figure 48 we find an altar with bloodstains on it, perhaps as an allusion to the use of altars in animal sacrifice.<sup>199</sup> On the other hand, depictions of altars in libation scenes with the Apollonian triad can be markers of sacred space, namely a sanctuary.<sup>200</sup> A specific location though cannot be confirmed without epigraphic or further iconographical evidence.

The representation of columns in Attic vase painting depends largely on the context within which they appear. Therefore, according to context columns can be indicators, for example, of a private setting such as a house, thus marking the distinction between private and public space, the interior and exterior world.<sup>201</sup> In our case, the inclusion of a column in a scene where the triad performs (or is about to perform) libations suggests that the deities are in a sacred space (figs. 18, 44). In this context, a column can be understood as a reference to monumental architecture, but we cannot specify further where the scene occurs.<sup>202</sup>

Considering the close-association of the *omphalos* with the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, it is often assumed that its presence in libation scenes with Apollo (e.g., figs. 45, 47), alludes to the Delphic sanctuary.<sup>203</sup> The idea that Delphi was thought to be the centre of the world, the *omphalos* (navel) of the Earth, is attested

---

<sup>198</sup> For altars in Attic vase painting in general supra n. 158

<sup>199</sup> On the iconographical motif of bloodstains on altars, see Ekroth (2005), esp. 19-26, (2006), 42.

<sup>200</sup> For representations of altars on Attic red-figure vases and their function, see Ekroth (2009).

<sup>201</sup> On columns in Attic vase painting, see Lynch (2006), who stresses the importance of columns in various contexts as they mark the transition between spatial zones. Also supra n. 156.

<sup>202</sup> Simon (1953), 24, considers that columns in libation scenes with Apollo allude to the sanctuary at Delphi because her interpretation regarding libation scenes with Apollo are associated with a Delphic myth. For her theory see further pp. 71-76. Contra: Metzger (1977), 427, finds no reasons to assume that the iconography brings to mind the sanctuary at Delphi.

<sup>203</sup> E.g., Simon (1953), 24; Bndrick (2005), 144; Patton (2009), 136.

from the fifth century BC onwards (e.g., Pind. *Pyth.* 4.74; Paus. 10.16.3). According to the legend, first narrated by Pindar (*Pyth.* 4.6; fr. 54; Strabo 9.3.6), Zeus sent two eagles from the opposites ends of the earth to meet each other over Delphi (9.3.6), thus establishing Delphi as earth's central point.<sup>204</sup> According to late writers, the *omphalos* of Delphi is thought to be the tomb of the serpent Python, which Apollo killed at Delphi and took over the oracle (Varro, *Ling.*7.17), or that of Dionysos (Tatianus, *Ad Gr.* 8).<sup>205</sup> Representations of Apollo seated on an *omphalos* are found on several coins struck by the Delphic Amphictyony as, for example, a silver stater of 338/6-334/3 (fig. 49).<sup>206</sup>

As documented, the *omphalos* is closely linked to the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. However, it is not an exclusive element of this sanctuary, since it is found in other places where Apollo was worshipped as verified by epigraphic and archaeological evidence. More specifically, two *omphaloi* of Hymettan marble were found in a late Roman level at the northeast corner of the Metroon from the Athenian Agora, thus not far from the fourth century temple of Apollo Patroos located next to the Metroon.<sup>207</sup> Another was found near the sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia at Eretria where Apollo's cult has been also attested.<sup>208</sup> Furthermore, an *omphalos* would have

---

<sup>204</sup> For a commentary on the fourth Pythian *Ode*, see Braswell (1988), 65. For literary sources regarding Delphi as the *omphalos* of the world, see Rutherford (2001), 393-395; *DNP* 8, s.v. Omphalos, 1201 [Auffarth].

<sup>205</sup> Fontenrose (1959), 374-377; *DNP* 8, s.v. Omphalos, 1201 [Auffarth].

<sup>206</sup> Numismatic collection of Alpha Bank 7345, Tsangari (2011), 69; for more examples see Kinns (1983). We should note that in the course of the French excavations at Delphi, archaeologists have discovered an egg-shaped stone, which have identified as *omphalos* on the basis of literary (e.g., Strabo, 9, 3, 6), epigraphic (e.g., *CID* II, 56 A I, 30-33, 342 BC) and pictorial (e.g., representations on Delphic coins, fig. 49) evidence. The *omphalos* has been discovered west of the Treasury of the Athenians and probably dates in the fourth century BC; On the Delphic *omphalos*, see Cook (1925), 169-192; Courby (1927), 69-77; Bousquet (1951); Amandry (1992), 177-205; Bommelaer (1991), 131, 179; Martinez (1997).

<sup>207</sup> Thompson (1937), 110-112; for the temple of Apollo Patroos *infra* p. 82.

<sup>208</sup> Kourouniotis (1900), 19.



stood at the sanctuary of Apollo in Argos as we can infer from a third-century BC inscription from Argos reporting its establishment at the site.<sup>209</sup>

Moreover, representations of Apollo with the *omphalos* outside Delphi offer a noteworthy amount of evidence that this egg-shaped stone should not be considered as a reference to a specific locale. In fact, a variety of examples in different media from a number of places of the Greek world support this view. An example is a votive-relief of c.330-320 BC (fig. 50),<sup>210</sup> from the *Pythion*<sup>211</sup> at the sanctuary of Dionysos in the Attic deme of Ikarion, where the worship of Apollo has been attested from c.525 BC onwards as testified by a dedication (found near the *Pythion*) to both Apollo Pythios and Dionysos (*IG I*<sup>3</sup> 1015).<sup>212</sup> The relief shows Apollo seated on an *omphalos* carrying a laurel branch with his left hand and holding out a *phiale* above an altar with his right hand; behind him stands Artemis, identified by a quiver on her back. Opposite the god stands a worshipper, who probably dedicated this votive according to the inscription on the upper and lower edges of the relief: “Πυθαιστής Πεισικράτης Ἀκροτίμου ἀνέθηκεν” (“Peisikrates, a *pythaist*, the son of Akrotimos, dedicated this”, *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 2817).

The idea that the *omphalos* does not have to imply always Delphi is clearly demonstrated by a red-figure *pyxis* from Spina that has been attributed to the Marlay

---

<sup>209</sup> Vollgraff (1903), no. 28, 270-272, 275.

<sup>210</sup> Buck (1889a), 175 (1889b), 471-472; Voutiras (1982), 231 dates the relief according to style and typology. He supports the view that the architectural frame and the elongated proportions of the figures point to a date in the second half of fourth cent. BC. He adds that this relief is directly comparable in style with a relief that was found in the Athenian Agora and which dates around 330-320 BC (Agora Museum I 7154).

<sup>211</sup> At the sanctuary of Dionysos in the *deme* of Ikarion, archaeologists have identified a building (H) possessing a *pronaos*, *cella* and perhaps *adyton* as a *Pythion*, dated no earlier than the fourth cent. BC on the basis of a fourth-century inscription on its threshold: “The Pythion of the Ikarians”. See Buck (1889a), 174-175; Biers and Boyd (1982), 15-18; Goette (2001), 263.

<sup>212</sup> Robinson (1948), 142; Goette (2001), 263; Humphreys (2004), 147.

Painter and dated between 440 and 400 BC (D9, fig. 51).<sup>213</sup> On the particular vase we see Apollo and Artemis, flanked by a palm and an olive (or laurel) tree,<sup>214</sup> making a libation over an *omphalos* in the presence of Leto, who also carries a *phiale*, Hermes, and the personification of Delos – identified by the name ΔΗΛΙΟΣ painted above the figure – seated on an *omphalos* and holding a *phiale*. A deer and a tripod complete the scene. The presence of the personified Delos indicates that the ritual takes place on the legendary island.<sup>215</sup> The particular example suggests that the *omphalos* should be linked to Apollo, as god's attribute, and should not be considered as an allusion to Delphi.

As demonstrated, the *omphalos* should be rather understood as a generic indicator of sacred space that is closely associated with Apollo rather a marker of specific location (i.e., Delphi).<sup>216</sup> Even if we think of the *omphalos* as the emblem of Apollo as the god of Delphi, we have to recall that the god of Delphi or as he is known also by the cult-epithet Pythios, a cult-title that Apollo received after killing the dragon at Delphi (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 373),<sup>217</sup> is worshipped throughout the Greek world (e.g., *Pythion* at the Attic deme of Ikarion).<sup>218</sup> The widespread worship of

---

<sup>213</sup> For bibliography, see Appendix I (Group D).

<sup>214</sup> The olive tree has been identified by several scholars, such as Gallet de Santerre (1976), 292, Simon (1983), 85, Bruneau (1985), 552, *LIMC* 3, s.v. Delos I, 368 [Bruneau], Metzger (1987), 113 and Smith (2011), 35. Herodotus (4.34) informs us that an olive tree grew on the island above the tomb of the Hyperboreans, while Euripides (*IT*, 1101) refers to a palm tree, a laurel tree and an olive tree on Delos. Moreover, an olive tree is mentioned by Callimachus (4.262) as one of Delos' foundations when Apollo was born. The olive tree is linked to Delos through myth, but the consideration of the tree being a laurel cannot be excluded on the basis that the laurel tree is mentioned on Delos as suggested by literary sources, it is closely associated with Apollo, and finally the depiction itself does not clearly indicate whether this is an olive or laurel tree.

<sup>215</sup> Shapiro (1988), 208 argues for the popularity of local personifications because true landscape according to the scholar is absent in Classical art. Therefore, the primary purpose of such figures is to inform us where the scene takes place. See also Smith (2011), 34-35.

<sup>216</sup> Following Van Straten (1995), 21; Lissarrague (2000), 55-59.

<sup>217</sup> According to the *Hymn to Apollo* the dragon (later known as serpent) is said to have been rotten in the sun after its death (371, 374). The cult-title Pythios derives from the verb *πίθω* which means "to make rot" (or "to rot").

<sup>218</sup> For the widespread worship of Apollo Pythios, see Davies (2007a).

Apollo Pythios probably explains why representations of Apollo with an *omphalos* in different media (e.g., coins, reliefs) are attested in many Greek places.<sup>219</sup> To return to our three examples with representations of the *omphalos* (figs. 45, 47, 51), only figure 51 localizes the scene on Delos because of the appearance of the island personified. As far as figures 45 and 47 are concerned, the *omphalos* may refer to a shrine of Apollo inside, as well as, outside Attica.<sup>220</sup>

Other iconographical features may also appear in the scene with the trio such, as animals and plants. The only animals depicted with the Apollonian triad on vases of Group C and D are deer (16 times) and birds (twice), which have been also attested on vases of Group A and B. As I already stressed, these animals serve as divine attributes of Artemis due to her role as “Mistress of the Wild” (see Chapter 2.1, p. 49). On one occasion, a red-figure *hydria* from Vulci of c.490 BC attributed to the Manner of the Nikoxenos Painter (C3, fig. 52), we find Apollo and Leto performing a libation over an altar, Artemis, and a siren seated on a schematically depicted plant. Representations of sirens in Attic vase painting, as well as in Greek art in general are numerous, and their appearance in various contexts is well-documented.<sup>221</sup> These mythical creatures charmed men with their seductive songs and make them to forget their home and perish (Hom. *Od.* 12. 39-54). They are often

---

<sup>219</sup> Coins that depict Apollo seated on *omphalos*: e.g., silver stater of c.370-300 BC struck in Chersonesus; Grose, 1926, pl. 237, 16, 486; silver tetradrachm of c.330-300 BC struck in Cyzicus; Grose, 1929, pl. 260, 8, 47; silver tetradrachm of 281-261 BC struck in the Seleucid Kingdom; Grose, 1929, pl. 335, 14, 326. Coins from Myrina (Aeolis) depict Apollo pouring a libation upon an *omphalos*, such as a silver tetradrachm of mid second cent. BC; Grose, 1929, pl. 274, 15, 101. Depictions of Apollo pouring a libation upon an *omphalos* are also attested in reliefs; e.g., a relief from Aegina (Aegina, Archaeological Museum Inv. 1506) dated on stylistic grounds in the mid fourth cent. BC; Svoronos (1912), 254; see also Walter-Karydi (2000), 95, who notes that the *omphalos* does not suggest that the scene occurs on Delphi.

<sup>220</sup> Cf. Sabetai (2006), 17.

<sup>221</sup> E.g., black-figure belly amphora (type B) attributed to the Swing Painter of 550-500 BC (wedded pair in chariot); Beverly Hills (CA), Summa Galleries; *BAPD* 6429; black-figure *skyphos* from Tanagra of the late sixth century BC attributed to CHC Group (Dionysiac scene); Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1113; *BAPD* 46539; *LIMC* 8, s.v. Seirenes, fig. 86 [Hofstetter].

compared with the Muses because of their delightful voices (Alcm. 30 *PMG*) and were known for singing laments and playing instruments (Eur. *Hel.* 169-172).<sup>222</sup> Because they were closely associated with music and song this may explain why a siren has been depicted in a scene with the god of music.<sup>223</sup>

Depictions of plants are not so common on vases of Group C and D. On a few occasions, we find a palm tree (three times, e.g., figs. 46, 51), an olive (or laurel) tree (fig. 51) and a plant (twice, e.g., fig. 52). The representation of a palm tree with the Apollonian triad serves primarily as an attribute of the divine family, since it is closely connected, as noted, with the legendary birth of Apollo on Delos (see chapter 1.1, pp. 14-15).

The presence of a small range of deities in the company of the Apollonian triad is attested on vases of Group D. In some instances, they not only accompany the triad, but also, as pointed out, take part in the ritual (e.g., Iris or Nike, fig. 17).<sup>224</sup> According to Table 3 (Appendix II), Hermes is the most frequently depicted god with the divine family as he appears 13 out of 15 times. Other figures who make their appearance are Iris or Nike (once, fig. 17), Athena (once, fig. 17), Dionysos (once, D6), Delos (twice, figs. 46, 51), Mousaios (or Orpheus, once, D14),<sup>225</sup> and a boy

---

<sup>222</sup> For sirens in literature and art, see *DNP* 11, s.v. Sirenen, 593-594 [Nünlist and Bäbler]; Pollard (1977), 188-191; *LIMC* 8, s.v. Seirenes, 1093-1094, 1103-1104 [Hofstetter].

<sup>223</sup> See also Simon (1953), 24 who explains the appearance of a siren in connection to Delphi, since according to the literary tradition the third Delphic temple, which was made of bronze, had sirens above the pediments (Pind. *Pae.* fr. 52i, 71, Snell-Maehler; Paus. 10.5.12).

<sup>224</sup> The figures that carry a *phiale* or an *oinochoe* are listed in Appendix I, Group D.

<sup>225</sup> As Mousaios: *LIMC* 6, s.v. Mousaios, fig. 10 [Kauffmann-Samaras], *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1116, 35; as Orpheus: Montanari (1957), 14, *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1013 [Kahil]. Note that the figure is not listed in *LIMC* 7, s.v. Orpheus [Garezou]. The identification of the figure as Mousaios is more probable because his appearance playing lyre among the Muses, closely associated with Apollo, or with Apollo himself, is attested on other Attic vases as well. For Mousaios (named *ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΣ*) with Muses or with Apollo, see examples in *LIMC* 6, s.v. Mousaios, figs. 2, 3, 4 (with muses), fig. 11 (with Apollo) [Kauffmann-Samaras].

(four times),<sup>226</sup> whom scholars identify either as Ganymede or Ion. I consider the identity of this figure later in this chapter.

Overall, vases of Group C and D show the Apollonian triad, either alone or in the company chiefly of other divine figures, carrying *phialai* and *oinochoai*. In most cases they pour (or they are about to pour) a libation onto the ground, sometimes over an altar, and very rarely over an *omphalos*. Besides the kithara (or lyre), which emphasizes Apollo's musical role, the god is given new attributes, a *phiale* and a laurel staff. The distinction between Artemis and Leto is more prominent on vases of Group C and D, as they both appear quite often with characteristics that denote their identity, such as bow and quiver for Artemis, veil and scepter for Leto. Vase painters make an effort to denote the sacred space, marked by the depiction of an altar, a column, or an *omphalos*. Apart from two occasions where the scene is set on Delos, indicated by the presence of the personified Delos, a specific location cannot be confirmed because iconographic or any other evidence (e.g., epigraphic) is lacking. Finally, the frequent representation of Hermes with the Apollonian triad in libation scenes is impressive and a further investigation is required. Part 3.1 examined various scenes depicting the Apollonian triad engaged in the performance of libation in fifth-century vase paintings. In the following part (3.2), I will focus on the theories that have been advanced regarding the meaning that this motif may have had for the Athenians in the fifth century BC.

---

<sup>226</sup> Criteria for the identification of the figure as boy have been considered the size (height and bodily forms), the beardless face, hair, dress, attributes that may indicate his possible age status, as well as comparative material. On the methodological criteria for the identification of a young figure in the pictorial and plastic arts of Classical Greece, see further Beaumont (1994), (1995), (2012), 24-37, and Seifert (2006).

### 3.2 Previous interpretations

Depictions of the Apollonian triad engaged in the performance of a libation have been interpreted as artistic representations of Apollo's atonement for slaying the monster Python, guardian of the oracle at Delphi (a). Alternatively, these scenes have been linked to political affairs of the Athenian life of the fifth century BC (b).

#### (a) A mythological approach

Erika Simon argues on mythological grounds that libation scenes with Apollo are associated with the god's purification after the killing of the serpent Python, guardian of the oracle at Delphi.<sup>227</sup> According to the myth, Apollo went to Tempe (Theopompus, 2b 115, *FGrH* fr. 80) or Crete (Paus. 10.7.2) to be purified for the murder he committed, since following Greek beliefs a murderer was polluted, and, until cleansed, he was excluded from his society.<sup>228</sup> After the purification, the god crowned himself with laurel and returned back to Delphi with a laurel branch (Theopompus, 2b 115, *FGrH* fr. 80; Schol. Pind. *Pythian hypothesis* c). Ancient writers link this myth to a Delphic festival called *Septerion* (Plut. *Quest. Gr.* 293c), first attested in the fourth century BC.<sup>229</sup> During the *Septerion*, celebrated every eight

---

<sup>227</sup> Simon (1953), 13-38; (1998), 136; (2004), 243. For literary and visual evidence regarding the myth of Python, see Chapter 1, pp. 29-31, with bibliography.

<sup>228</sup> A variety of evidence (literary, oratorical, historical, etc.) confirms this dogma; on the subject, see Parker (1983), 104-143.

<sup>229</sup> It is worth noting that only Plutarch mentions the name "*Septerion*"; see Fontenrose (1959), 454, n. 19. See also Snell (1938, 439) who considers a fragmentary *Paeon* of Pindar (10a fr. 521, Snell-Maehler) as the earliest reference to the *Septerion* festival. For a further analysis of the Pindaric fragment see, Rutherford (2001), 200-205 who points out that there is a possibility that the surviving fragment could be a speech made by Apollo (name not mentioned in the fragment) after his purification for the establishment of the festival (204). However, the fragment is too ambiguous given that many words are missing and therefore its meaning is uncertain. It does not even mention the killing of Python which is the given explanation for god's purification. Rutherford himself admits that the fragment is an enigma and despite the fact that it gives some tantalizing clues it is hard to combine them into a rational interpretation (201). That the festival is first attested in the fourth century BC has

years, the Delphians sent noble boys to Tempe and after a sacrifice they return to Delphi carrying laurel branches from which laurel crowns were made for the victors in the Pythian Games (Theopompus, 2b 115, *FGrH* fr. 80).<sup>230</sup>

According to Simon, Apollo's attributes point to his identification as Pythios, as the god of Delphi. More specifically, the quiver and arrows accentuate Apollo's role as *Pythoktonos* (i.e., killer of Python), the lyre and kithara stress Apollo as the founder of the Delphic cult (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 514), and the laurel wreath and staff evoke the purification myth.<sup>231</sup> Simon suggests that Apollo pours a libation to Zeus and the chthonian Erinyes in expiation for the murder of Python as attested in literary sources.<sup>232</sup> Artemis is also engaged in the ritual because according to Pausanias' account (2.7.7) both children were responsible for the killing. As far as Leto is concerned, Simon considers that her presence reaffirms Apollo's reconciliation with Zeus on the basis that Leto intervened in order to save her son from Zeus' wrath.<sup>233</sup> For Simon, libation scenes with the Apollonian triad take place at the Tempe Valley, where the god was said to be purified, and sometimes at Delphi – indicated by an

---

been stressed by other scholars, such as Konstantinou (1970), 39, Parker (1983), 378 and Aktsele (1996), 24.

<sup>230</sup> For the *Septerion* in general, see Fontenrose (1959), 453-456; *DNP* 11, s.v. *Septerion*, 428-429 [Bendlin].

<sup>231</sup> Simon (1953), 22-24, 32.

<sup>232</sup> Simon (1953), 31. Theopompus (2b 115, *FGrH* fr. 80) informs us that Zeus was the one who order his son's purification. Note that the god *par excellence* who presided over purification from killing was Zeus (e.g., Aesch. *Eum.* 718), especially known by the cult title *Katharsios* (e.g., Hdt. 1.44.2; Arist. *Mund.* 401a23; Ap. Rhod. 4.708; Paus. 5.14.8; Poll. 8.142); for Zeus' association with purification in Greek myth and cult, see Cook (1925), 1096, 1100; Parker, (1983), 139; Larson (2007), 22-24. Plutarch (*Def. Or.* 418b-c) mentions that Apollo pours libations onto earth, to daemons known as *alastores* and *palamnaei*, i.e., avenging deities. The belief that Erinyes, chthonian goddesses who sprang from Earth (Hes. *Theog.* 185) and leave in the Underworld (Hom. *Il.* 9.571; Aesch. *Eum.* 395-6), were punishers of crimes, avengers of blood, is well-attested in Greek literature (e.g., Aesch. *Choeph.* 1048-1062; *Eum.* 194-177, etc.). On Erinyes in Greek myth and cult, see Dietrich (1965), 91-156; *DNP* 4, s.v. *Erinys*, 71-72 [Johnston]; *LIMC* 3, *Erinys*, 825-826 [Sarian].

<sup>233</sup> Leto prevents Zeus from throwing Apollo into the Tartaros, because he killed the Cyclops (Apollod. 3.10.4); Simon (1953), 32.

altar, a column or an *omphalos* – because it was the place where the murder happened and had to be cleansed as well.<sup>234</sup>

Simon also interprets the inclusion of some other figures with the divine trio. She argues that Hermes acts as mediator between Zeus and Apollo, or between Apollo and the Erinyes because of his capacity as the messenger of the gods and his ability to transit from the one world to the other.<sup>235</sup> Another figure for which she offers an interpretation is that of a boy with a hoop, a stick and an *oinochoe* on a red-figure *bell-krater* of c.430 BC by the Polygnotos Group (D8, fig. 53), whom, among other scholars,<sup>236</sup> she identifies as Ganymede on the basis of attributes (hoop, stick, and *oinochoe*).<sup>237</sup> Because of Ganymede's close relationship with Zeus, well-demonstrated in literary and artistic tradition,<sup>238</sup> she argues that he serves as a link between Apollo and Zeus under whose orders the libation is performed.<sup>239</sup>

Simon's mythological interpretation is very interesting.<sup>240</sup> However, a detailed investigation of the material used as evidence reveals that her theory is not convincing. The major weak point of Simon's thesis is the purification myth itself upon which her argumentation is based. It is worth recalling that the story of Apollo's cleansing after the murder is known to us from literary sources of the fourth century onwards though the account of Apollo killing the serpent has been already

---

<sup>234</sup> Simon (1953), 32-33.

<sup>235</sup> Simon (2004), 244.

<sup>236</sup> Beazley (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1053, 32); *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 747 [Kokkorou-Alewras]; *LIMC* 4 s.v. Ganymedes, fig. 67 [Sichtermann]; *LIMC* 5, s.v. Hermes, fig. 702 [Siebert].

<sup>237</sup> Simon (1953), 44, no. 63.

<sup>238</sup> The story of Ganymede's abduction to serve the house of Zeus as "wine-pourer" in eternal youth is known in literary tradition (e.g., Hom. *Il.* 20.231-235) and representations of Zeus pursuing Ganymede, usually depicted with a hoop and a stick, or depictions of Ganymede as *oinochoos* serving the father of the gods are well attested in Attic vase painting; for examples see *LIMC* 4, s.v. Ganymedes, 156-157. [Sichtermann]. On Ganymede in Greek literature and art in general, see *LIMC* 4, s.v. Ganymedes, 154, 167-169 [Sichtermann]; Arafat (1990), 65-76.

<sup>239</sup> Simon (1953), 36.

<sup>240</sup> Boardman (1955), 183, Milne (1955), 250, Möbius (1956), 62 and Picard (1956), 116, who reviewed Simon's book, have accepted her mythological interpretation regarding libation scenes with Apollo.



attested in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* (300-304, 7/6 BC) and Euripides's play *Iphigenia in Tauris* (1242-1255, 414 or 413 BC). In fact, the Homeric *Hymn* describes the murder as a great deed presenting, thus, Apollo as saviour of humans from great misfortunes without any mention of god's purification. Therefore, the claim that fifth-century vase paintings with the Apollonian triad performing a libation reflect the story of Apollo's expiation for the bloodshed is dubious.

Another point which we need to reconsider concerns Apollo's attributes, which according to Simon show him in his capacity as the god of Delphi and bring to mind the purification myth. Having examined the material (50 vases), it is worth pointing out that Apollo appears with a quiver and bow only twice (C16, D7). If these attributes emphasize his role in the *Pythoktonia*, as Simon argues, we would expect to see him more often bearing these particular attributes.<sup>241</sup> The representation of Apollo holding a laurel staff, laurel branches, or crowned with laurel in libation scenes does not necessarily have to evoke the story of god's cleansing, since its association with Apollo and his sanctuary at Delphi is already attested in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* (396) where the purification myth is not mentioned.<sup>242</sup> In fact, Apollo appears commonly crowned with laurel or carrying a laurel staff in Attic vase painting of the fifth century BC.<sup>243</sup> The argument that the kithara and lyre allude to the god's role in the foundation of the Delphic cult lacks compelling evidence, since his appearance with a kithara or lyre is as frequent as is, for example, Hermes

---

<sup>241</sup> See also Himmelmann (1998), 124 who argues that Apollo does not appear as a nude hero, an appearance that we would have expected for a conqueror of Python, but as lyre-player.

<sup>242</sup> *Supra* p.37; see also Konstantinou (1970), 38 who comments that the laurel is linked to Apollo's role as oracular god based on literary evidence.

<sup>243</sup> E.g., red-figure *pyxis* of 470-450 BC, attributed to the Wedding Painter, Paris, Musée du Louvre L55 (N 3348), *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 924, 33; *Para* 431; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 305; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 849 [Mathiopoulou-Tornaritou]; red-figure *column-krater* of 450-425 BC, attributed to the Io Painter, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale 684, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1122, 2; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 699 [Kokkorou-Alewrass]. Note that these are not libation scenes.

with the caduceus. Finally, the sacred setting of the scene, indicated sometimes by a column, an altar, and an *omphalos*, cannot provide evidence, as argued, for a specific location apart from two exceptions where the scene takes place on Delos.<sup>244</sup> Neither the god's attributes nor the setting itself support the idea that libation scenes with the Apollonian triad reflect the myth.

In addition, I consider that the mythological explanation for the involvement of Artemis and Leto is based on inadequate evidence. Artemis' role in the *Pythoktonia* is known only in later literary sources (e.g., Pausanias), and, as mentioned, the idea that deities had to be cleansed after the murder is not attested in the fifth century, i.e., when libation scenes with the Apollonian triad begin to appear in Attic vase painting. Moreover, if we think of the *phiale* in Apollo's hands as an allusion to the purification myth and thus the *phiale* as a sign of god's cleansing, how we would explain the sacrificial bowl in Leto's hands for a crime that she did not commit?

Another point that requires further investigation is the identification of a boy as Ganymede in figure 53, whose depiction with the Apollonian triad is attested in three more occasions: on a red-figure *pelike* of c.460 BC attributed to the Oinante Painter a boy is depicted without any attribute (D13, fig. 54), while on a red-figure *hydria* of c.450 BC by the Nausicaa Painter (D7) and a red-figure stand of c.450 BC by the Villa Giulia Painter (D6, fig. 55) he holds an *oinochoe*.<sup>245</sup> Whether this boy should be called Ganymede is open to debate, since not every young figure who

---

<sup>244</sup> i.e., D9 (fig. 51) and D10 (fig. 46), where the personification of Delos appears with the Apollonian triad, thus suggesting that the scene occurs on Delos.

<sup>245</sup> As Ganymede identified in D6: Beazley (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 623, 73), *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 778 [Kokkorou-Alewrás]; *LIMC* 4 s.v. Ganymedes, 158, fig. 66 [Sichtermann]; *LIMC* 5, s.v. Hermes, fig. 700 [Siebert]. Note that Simon (1953), no.19, calls him servant. D7: *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 778 [Kokkorou-Alewrás]; *LIMC* 4 s.v. Ganymedes, 158, fig. 68 [Sichtermann]. D13: *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 747a [Kokkorou-Alewrás].

carries a hoop, a stick or an *oinochoe* is Ganymede. As Arafat notes, hoops are part of everyday life and a representation of a young figure with a hoop is identified as Ganymede if he is pursued by Zeus, thus evoking the myth regarding Ganymede's abduction by the father of the gods (e.g., *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 202-203).<sup>246</sup> After examining a number of Attic vase paintings in which Ganymede appears in his role as wine-pourer, it is worth pointing out that Zeus is the god whom he always serves.<sup>247</sup> Since Ganymede in his capacity as *oinochoos* appears only in scenes with Zeus, I find it hard to accept that the boy with the Apollonian triad should be identified with Ganymede as well. A different interpretation has been proposed by Shapiro whose theory is discussed below.

(b) "Reflections of Propaganda"<sup>248</sup>

---

<sup>246</sup> Arafat (1990), 66; cf. Shapiro (2009a) 269 remarks that a hoop is not an attribute specific to Ganymede. In several generic scenes we find a boy with a hoop and stick. An excellent example is an Attic red-figure *hydria* of the third quarter of the fifth cent. BC, attributed close to the Clio Painter, which depicts a boy with a hoop and a stick within a household setting (women working with wool); Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, SL 476; Beaumont (2003a), 75-76, fig. 12. For examples of Zeus pursuing Ganymede, see *LIMC* 4, s.v. Ganymedes, 156-157, figs. 25, 30, 38, 48, etc. [Sichtermann].

<sup>247</sup> It should be noted that Ganymede's name is preserved on some vases in which he appears pouring wine from an *oinochoe* into Zeus' *phiale* (e.g., red-figure cup from Tarquinia attributed to Olto of 510 BC; Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale RC6848; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 60, 66; *Para* 327; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 81; *LIMC* 4, s.v. Ganymedes fig. 60 [Sichtermann]). The consideration that Ganymede appears only in scenes with Zeus is based on my investigation of vase paintings listed in the *CVA* and the Beazley archive (*BAPD*). Note that all the examples in which Ganymede appears as *oinochoos*, listed in *LIMC* 4, s.v. Ganymedes [Sichtermann], include Zeus. The only exceptions that Sichtermann cites are the ones with the Apollonian triad. See also Topper (2012), 61-65 who discusses Ganymede's role as *oinochoos*.

<sup>248</sup> The term "propaganda" originated in 1622 when Pope Gregory XV established the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, i.e., a committee of cardinals of the Roman Catholic Church responsible for foreign missions in order to promote the Catholic Faith. I should briefly note that "propaganda" is variously defined in dictionaries of English language, such as "information or ideas that are spread by an organized group or government to influence people's opinions, especially by not giving all the facts or by secretly emphasizing only one way of looking at the facts (Cambridge Dictionaries Online, <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/>), or "information, rumor deliberately spread to help or harm a person, group...nation, etc." (s.v. propaganda, 1152, *The Random House Dictionary of English Language*). Because the concept of the word is complex in the sense that it has negative or positive connotations, I consider that the application of the term to the classical antiquity requires caution. For a definition of the word "propaganda" and its use for the ancient world, see *DNP* 10, s.v. Propaganda, 411-413 [Weber]; *OCD*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. propaganda, 1257 [Hornblower]; Enekel and Pfeijffer (2005), 1-12.

Michael Tiverios discusses the representation of the Apollonian triad pouring libations on fifth-century vases in connection to political affairs of the Athenian life of the fifth century BC.<sup>249</sup> He considers that the large number of vases with such representations between 475 and 450 BC should be associated with the newly formed Delian League (478/7 BC), an alliance of Greek (mainly Ionic) city-states under the Athenian leadership formed to protect the Greek world from the Persians (Thuc. 1.95. 1-2, 96.1; Hdt. 8.3.2; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 23.4).<sup>250</sup> According to his reasoning, Apollo was regarded as the patron deity of the alliance because the League had its headquarters on Delos, the sacred island of Apollo, Leto and Artemis. In support of this view, one might consider that the majority of vases with the Apollonian triad coincide with the first construction phase of the “Grand temple” to Apollo on Delos by the Delian League dated c.475-450 BC.<sup>251</sup>

Tiverios focuses on an Attic red-figure *lekythos* attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter of 460-450 BC, which shows Apollo with a kithara and Artemis pouring a libation from an *oinochoe*.<sup>252</sup> For Tiverios, the libation itself alludes to registration procedures regarding the admission of new members to the League,<sup>253</sup> but this is speculation without any documentation. He also considers that the frequent representation of Apollo with a kithara, instead of a lyre, emphasizes Apollo’s role as god of Delos.<sup>254</sup> However, his argument is not convincing, since, as noted, the god’s appearance with a lyre is confirmed in libation scenes as well. In fact, iconographic

---

<sup>249</sup> Tiverios (1986).

<sup>250</sup> Tiverios (1986), 600. For the formation of the Delian League, see for example Meiggs (1972), 42-49; Rhodes (1992), 34-40, (2006), 14-21; Hornblower (2011), 8-17.

<sup>251</sup> For the date supra n. 191.

<sup>252</sup> Archaeological Collection of Serres; Tiverios (1986), 595-598, figs. 1-3.

<sup>253</sup> Tiverios (1986), 602.

<sup>254</sup> Tiverios (1986), 600, n. 18, bases his view on an article by Kostoglou-Despini (1976) who argued that the kithara is an attribute of Apollo Delios, while the lyre of Apollo Pythios (of Delphi) as testified by some references in literature and by some representations of the kithara on Delian coins.

evidence from Delos and Delphi support the idea that we should understand both instruments as attributes that accentuate the god's association with music rather his connection to a particular site.<sup>255</sup> Because the vase was found in ancient Argilos, a member city-state of the Delian League (Thuc. 5.18.5), the scholar argues that by promoting the protector deities of the Confederation, the Athenians would have ensured the cohesion of the alliance.<sup>256</sup> Depicting the “gods of Delos”, as Tiverios maintains, Athenian vase painters “propagandize” (*προπαγανδίζουιν*) in favour of the newly formed League and consequently contribute to its consolidation.<sup>257</sup>

Alan Shapiro agrees with Tiverios and notes that the *phiale* and *oinochoe*, held by Apollo, Artemis, or Leto, should be seen as indirect references to the worship and sacrifices to Apollo.<sup>258</sup> Moreover, he offers a new interpretation regarding the identity of the boy who occasionally appears with the Apollonian triad and whom other scholars, as noted, called Ganymede. For Shapiro, the boy is Ion,<sup>259</sup> the son of Apollo, as confirmed in Euripides' tragedy *Ion* (69-80), written sometime between 420 and 410 BC.<sup>260</sup> Although Shapiro acknowledges that the earliest reference to Apollo's paternity of Ion is found in the homonymous tragedy, he considers that the Athenians were aware of the relationship between Ion and Apollo long before

---

<sup>255</sup> E.g., on the Delphic stater of figure 49 we find Apollo seated on *omphalos* with a kithara and not with a lyre. Delian didrachm or stater (dated c.470 BC) shows a kithara on the reverse and a lyre on the obverse (*Numismatica Ars Classica*, Auction 59, 2011, no. 601).

<sup>256</sup> Tiverios (1986), 602.

<sup>257</sup> Tiverios (1986), 601.

<sup>258</sup> Shapiro (1996), 104.

<sup>259</sup> Shapiro (2003), 87, (2009a), 266-270; *LIMC* Suppl. s.v. Ion, 85, add1- add3 [Shapiro]. Note that Shapiro refers to three examples, i.e., D6, D8 and D13.

<sup>260</sup> There is uncertainty concerning when the play was produced. Dates have been proposed on the basis of metrical criteria, style and taking into consideration possible indications to contemporary events. 420-410 BC: Lape (2010), 95, with previous bibliography; Swift (2008), 30 (metrical considerations); 418 or 417 BC: Owen (1939), XLI (metrical criteria and allusions to contemporary events); c.413BC: *DNP* 4, s.v. Euripides, 284 [Zimmermann], Lee (1997), 40 (metrical criteria); 413-411 BC: Walsh (1978), (metrical grounds, genre, and form); 412 BC: Zacharia (2003), 3-7 (metrical criteria and indications to contemporary events).

Euripides wrote the particular play.<sup>261</sup> To support this, he explores the implications of the image of Ion and Apollo on Athenian vases a generation earlier than the Euripidean play. According to his reasoning, Ion played an important role in the Athenian religious “propaganda” as the legendary founder of the Ionians. As evidence, Shapiro cites an inscription in the Attic dialect and script found at Khora on Samos, a boundary stone of the “shrine of Ion at Athens”, which Baron dates c.450-440 BC.<sup>262</sup> This inscription, including others that have been found on the island (e.g. “Athena mistress of the Athenians”, *SEG* 32:835, 450-440 BC), is a reference, as Baron argues, to a tradition that Athens was the “oldest land of Ionia”, a belief that goes back at least as far as Solon (fr. 4a, West).<sup>263</sup> Owing to Ion, the Athenians continued to include Apollo in their religious “propaganda” and showed great interest in promoting his worship in the second half of the fifth century BC, because, as Shapiro suggests, they acknowledged the fact that Apollo was Ion’s father, thus ancestor god (Patroos) of the Ionians (Plat. *Euthyd.* 302d).<sup>264</sup> In other words, for Shapiro, the pairing of Ion and Apollo on Athenian vases recalls the ongoing importance of Ion’s and Apollo’s role in the Athenian religious and political “propaganda”, basically after the transfer of the Delian League treasury from Delos to Athens (454 BC), in justifying Athens’ claim to leadership of the Ionian Greeks.

---

<sup>261</sup> Shapiro (2009a), 270.

<sup>262</sup> Shapiro (2009a), 271. Baron (1964), 37, 39, 43-46, dates the inscription (Samos, Archaeological Museum of Vathy, Inv. no. 5) on the basis of its letter-forms, the context of its text, and compares it to other Attic inscriptions. It should be noted that Baron refers to another identical inscription from Samos found in Tigani. The second inscription has the same text, letter-forms, and date as the one from Khora (Samos, Vathy, Archaeological Museum Inv. no. 6; *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 1496).

<sup>263</sup> For the particular inscription, including others, see Baron (1964), 35-48.

<sup>264</sup> Shapiro (2009a), 272 points out that the Athenian concern with Apollo is testified by Apollo’s role as the patron deity of the Delian League, by a series of vases from about 450 BC depicting a sacrifice to Apollo and by major Athenian building projects and dedications at important Apollo’s sanctuaries, such as Delphi and Delos throughout the fifth century BC. He discusses the evidence with bibliography in a previous article (Shapiro, 1996, 105-113).

Although the identification of the boy as Ion may sound attractive, especially when one considers that he would fit perfectly in a scene that shows the members of Apollo's family, there are various difficulties with this interpretation. Shapiro's analysis is based on the ungrounded assumption that the relationship between Apollo and Ion was well established before Euripides' time. The information that we have about Ion's genealogy before Euripides wrote the homonymous play is that he was the son of Xuthus and Kreousa (e.g., Hes. fr. 10a.21-24 M.-W.; Hdt. 7.94), thus grandson of Hellen (Hes. fr. 9 M.-W.) and the king of Athens Erechtheus. As far as the literary tradition is concerned, no evidence earlier than *Ion* confirms Ion's connection to Apollo.<sup>265</sup>

Another problem of Shapiro's theory concerns Ion's role in fifth-century Athenian religious "propaganda". Considering Ion and his close association with the Athenian tradition as grandson of Erechtheus and thus member of the royal house of Athens, commander of the Athenian army (Hdt. 8.44), and eponym of all the Ionians (Hdt. 7.94), we tend to imagine that his place in Athenian religion during the fifth century BC would have been essential. However, apart from the fifth-century inscriptions from Samos, there is no further evidence to support that Ion was part of the Athenian religious "propaganda" in the years under discussion. In fact, it is worth noting that Ion's worship is hardly attested in fifth-century Attica and representations of him in Attic art of the classical period, so far at least, cannot be confirmed.<sup>266</sup>

---

<sup>265</sup> Earlier plays of Sophocles, titled *Kreousa* and *Ion*, may have dealt with the same story, but we do not know anything about them; see *TrGF* IV, 308-309 (Ion), 321-323 (Kreousa). For literary sources on Ion, see *RE* 9, s.v. Ion, 1857-1860 [Oldfather]; Owen (1939), X-XVI; Gantz (1993), 167; Lee (1997), 38-39; *LIMC* 5, Ion, 703 [Simon].

<sup>266</sup> On Ion's worship in Attica: *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 383, 147-149, 429/8 BC; sacrificial calendar of Salaminiói (line 87, 363/2 BC, Lambert, 1997); tomb at Potamoi (Paus. 1.31.3); for the evidence, see Kearns (1989), 174; Parker (1996), 313; Bremmer (1997), 11. One possible representation of Ion in Attic art is listed in *LIMC* 5, s.v. Ion, fig. 1 [Simon]. Although Simon herself admits that representations of Ion in ancient art are rare, she identifies a youth on the West pediment of the Parthenon (438/7-434/2 BC

Taking into consideration all the above, Ion seems to be a shadowy figure, and apart from a few references, little is known of his place in fifth-century Athenian politics, art, and religion during the years 460-440 BC, i.e., the period in which vases with “Ion” have been attested.

In addition, the idea that the Athenians continued to include Apollo in their religious “propaganda” owing to his role as the ancestral god of the Ionians, through Ion, is only speculation. There is no doubt that the Athenian interest in both of Apollo’s Panhellenic sanctuaries, Delos and Delphi, is well-attested in the fifth century BC.<sup>267</sup> However, this concern with Apollo does not prove, as proposed, that the Athenians acknowledged god’s paternity of Ion, especially when we consider that Athenian presence both at Delphi and Delos was already strong in the sixth century BC.<sup>268</sup> It is also important to point out that evidence for the worship of Apollo in his capacity as Patroos in Attica, ancestor of the Ionians, dates from the fourth century BC onwards, thus suggesting that Patroos’ worship was introduced in Attica no

---

based on the temple’s accounts, *IG I<sup>3</sup> 445-449*) as Ion (figure E, Brommer, 1963, 35). For an alternative interpretation as Erysichthon/Erechtheus or Erichthonios, see *LIMC* 4, s.v. Erysichthon II, fig. 4, s.v. Erechtheus, fig. 75 [Kron] and Jeppesen (1963), 75, 78, respectively.

<sup>267</sup> Delos: e.g., “Temple of the Athenians”, Athenian purification (426 BC), re-establishment of the Delia, Athenian *theoria* to Delos, (see pp. 53-57 with bibliography). Delphi: e.g., (1) Ionic Stoa (Portico) of Parian marble which the Athenians dedicated after a naval victory as indicated by an inscription on the *stylobate*. Amandry (1953), 91-121 dates it around 470s and argues that the Stoa functioned to display spoils taken by Athenians from Persians; a date around 450s by Walsh, (1986), who argues that the occasion for the erection of the Stoa was the first Peloponnesian War; not later than 470 BC by Hansen (1989), who supports the view that the monument commemorates all the wars in which Athenians participated; Jacquemin (1999), 58, no. 082 dates *c.*478 BC. (2) Pausanias reports that shields were dedicated on the temple of Apollo after the battle of Marathon by the Athenians (10.19.4). (3) Athenian treasury in Doric order, of Pentelic marble, built in 490 BC after the battle of Marathon (Xen. *An.* 5.3.5; Paus. 10.11.5), Jacquemin (1999), 57, no. 086. (4) Base that once held sculptures bears a fragmentary inscription, as an Athenian dedication after Marathon, Jacquemin (1999), 57, no. 078. (5) Statue of Athena in a palm-tree, dated 469-465 BC (after the victory over Persians at the mouth of the Eurymedon River in 469 BC), on the east side, temple terrace (Paus. 10.15.4-5); Jacquemin (1999), 58, no. 081. (6) Horse statue by the Athenian Callias (Paus. 10.18.1), *c.*460 BC, on the east side, temple terrace; Jacquemin (1999), 58, no. 093. For the Athenian dedications and buildings at Delphi, see also Valavanis (2004), 220-227, Barringer (2008), 162-164, Scott (2010), 77-81, 95-97.

<sup>268</sup> For Delos, see p. 53; for Delphi, see p. 112.



earlier than the fourth century BC.<sup>269</sup> In fact, his close association with the political life of Athens is testified by the establishment of a late fourth-century temple in the South-western side of the Athenian Agora,<sup>270</sup> an area where various elements of the Athenian constitution were accommodated such as the Old (c.500 BC) and New Bouleuterion (end of fifth cent. BC), the Tholos (470/60 BC), and the Metroon (end of fifth cent. BC).<sup>271</sup>

According to the extant evidence, the hypothesis that Apollo was known as Ion's father before the play *Ion* cannot be supported. As several scholars argued, the Euripidean version of Ion's birth not only accentuates, among other things, that the Athenians were ancestors of all the Ionians, but also argues that they were legitimate

---

<sup>269</sup> Note that Euripides' version of Apollo's paternity of Ion is not a foundation myth for the establishment of the cult of Apollo Patroos in Attica, since Euripides never calls him "Patroos". Evidence for Apollo Patroos' cult in Attica: Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 55, 3; Dem. 57, 54, 67; Pl. *Euthyd.* 302d; Hyp. fr. 67 (Jensen); Paus. 1.3.4; Poll. 8.122; schol. Ar. *Nub.* 1468a-b; schol. Ar. *Av.* 1527; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 4557, 400-350 BC, dedication to Patroos (found in the south slope of Akropolis); *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2602, fourth-century BC *horos* (from Kephisia of the Elasedai phratry or *genos*); *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 4973, fourth-century BC *horos* (unknown provenience of the Therrikleidai phratry); *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 4984, altar of the late fourth- early third- century BC (found by the Varvakeion); I5569, *horos* of 480/79-330 BC (found in a modern house wall outside the market square to the southeast of the Athenian Agora, Meritt, 1957, 91, no. 38); *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 4726, dedication to Apollo Patroos and Artemis of first cent. AD (found in the church of St. Thomas near the Stoa of Attalos); Apollo Patroos is reported receiving offerings in the sacrificial calendar of Salaminioi (line 89, 363/2 BC, Lambert, 1997). For the evidence, see Wycherley (1957), 51-53; Hedrick (1983), 301, (1991), 244; Lalonde (1991), 24; Cromeley (2006), 47-48. On the assimilation of Apollo Pythios with Apollo Patroos, see Dem. 18.141; *Harp.* 48.13; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 4995, altar of the first AD (found in a private house at Hadrianou Street).

<sup>270</sup> In Thompson's view (1937), 102-104, the temple should be dated during Lykourgos' building programs, 338-326 BC, based on architectural comparisons with other structures, pottery finds, and a statue of Apollo Patroos by Euphranor (Paus. 1.3.4). But, see Lawall (2009) who proposes a date in the late fourth cent. BC after reconsideration of the excavation records, pottery, and other finds from the vicinity of this temple along with the relevant literary testimonia. The traditional view (Thompson, 1937, 79, 83-84) of an apsidal mid-sixth century temple as a predecessor of the fourth-century temple which was destroyed during the Persian sack of 480/79 BC, has been correctly challenged by Hedrick (1988, 190-191) who has argued that its traces are so scarce which make the identification of the temple difficult. He explicitly says that its plan and orientation are almost completely restored. A block of grey *poros*, the only surviving architectural member of the building, might belong to another structure. In addition, the fragments of moulds for an Archaic bronze *kouros* – found in a pit near the "sixth-century building" –, which Thompson (1937, 104) thought to be a cult statue of Apollo, could have been a statue of a *kouros*. Hedrick's view has found acceptance; e.g., Goette (2001), 79; Cromeley (2006), 67-68.

<sup>271</sup> For a discussion regarding the various facilities for civic administration situated in the South-western side of the Agora, see Thompson and Wycherley (1972), 25-81; Camp (2001), 39, 52, 77, 90-91.

leaders of all Greeks.<sup>272</sup> Therefore, the emphasis on Ion's parentage, both autochthonous – through Kreousa – and divine – through Apollo – is closely associated with Athens' claim to maintain its control over the Ionians and its primacy among the Greeks in general.<sup>273</sup> Euripides' *Ion* and its allusions to Athenian political affairs clearly corresponds to the period within which the play was written, the era marked by the Peloponnesian War (431- 425, 404 BC) and Athens' effort to retain control over its allied cities upon whom the Athenian power depended. Considering that (a) Euripides is the one who makes Ion the son of Apollo, (b) the few references for Ion's place in Athenian politics, art, and religion before *Ion* was produced, and (c) the historical context within which Euripides wrote the play, it therefore seems convincing that Euripides elaborated Ion's connection to Athenian political life and he should be credited for the invention of Ion's divine parentage.<sup>274</sup> As I demonstrate, I find no reasons to accept the identification of the boy with the Apollonian triad as Ion. I consider that the boy's identity remains for the present enigmatic until the emergence of new literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence.

---

<sup>272</sup> According to the literary tradition the other two children of Xuthus and Kreousa, Achaeus and Dorus, eponyms of the Achaeans and Dorians respectively (*Ion*, 1589-1593), are not Apollo's descendants. Several scholars noted the political implications of *Ion*, such as Owen (1939), ix-xvii; Walsh (1978), 310-313; Lee (1981), 34; Dougherty (1996), 257, 262; Bremmer (1997), 12; Swift (2008), 78-85; Cromey (2009), 44; Lape (2010), 98.

<sup>273</sup> For the theme of autochthony in the play, see, for example, Lee (1981), 35-36; Loraux (1993), 184-236; Swift (2008), 73-78; Lape (2010), 95-136.

<sup>274</sup> Apollo's paternity of Ion as an invention by Euripides is favoured by Bremmer (1997), 12; Cromey (2006), 45. Cf. Ekroth (2003) who argues that Euripides is responsible for the invention of Iphigenia's cult at Brauron, since there are no indications – epigraphic, iconographical or archaeological – for her presence at the sanctuary.

#### **Chapter 4. The Apollonian triad in sixth and fifth centuries Attic vase painting: an iconological analysis.**

After examining the iconography of the Apollonian triad in sixth- and fifth-century Attic vase painting and having discussed and evaluated previous interpretations, let us proceed to my iconological interpretation of this motif for the Athenians. As noted, depictions of Apollo playing the kithara between Artemis and Leto, which appear mainly on sixth-century vases, focus on Apollo, since he is consistently placed in the centre of the scene, while the distinction between Artemis and Leto is not particularly evident. In the fifth century BC, as observed, the motif changes and the deities appear in a new iconographical context, where they carry *phialai* and *oinochoai*, and often perform or are about to make libations. Artemis is usually shown pouring, or about to pour, liquid into Apollo's *phiale*, while Leto's appearance – holding out a *phiale* as well, – signifies her involvement in the ritual. Additionally, the distinction between Leto and Artemis becomes more pronounced. As the motif changes from the sixth to fifth century BC, the focus shifts from Apollo to the concept of a trio, and emphasis is placed on the concept of family.

Chapter 4 consists of two parts, which examines the iconology of the Apollonian triad motif in the sixth and fifth centuries BC. The first part attempts to explain the meaning of the motif of Apollo playing the kithara between Artemis and Leto on sixth- and early fifth-century Attic vases. Focusing on the libation scene, which is the dominant scene in the fifth century BC, the second part aims to explore what the change in emphasis may signify.

#### 4.1 The Apollonian triad, the *Symposion*, and Aristocrats

As discussed in chapter 2.1 (pp. 46-47), depictions of the Apollonian triad in sixth- and early fifth-century Attic vase painting accentuate Apollo's function as the god of music by depicting him playing a kithara (or lyre) as opposing to just holding it while standing between Artemis and Leto. Taking into account the above, let us take the study a step further. The consideration of the motif in association with the shapes on which it appears as well as the accompanying scenes on the same vase suggest that we should view these vessels within the world of the *symposion*, that is, a "drinking together" event according to the strict etymological sense of the word.<sup>275</sup> In the archaic period, the *symposion*, as an expression of an aristocratic mode of life, was the place where ideals, values and preoccupations of the aristocratic elite, such as warfare, success in contests (*agones*) – athletic or musical –, hunting, and pederasty, i.e., the love relationship between an older man (*erastes*=lover) and a young adolescent (*eromenos*=loved one), were promoted.<sup>276</sup> According to Theognis of Megara (sixth cent. BC),<sup>277</sup> it was the place where aristocratic youths were educated by their association with the "nobles", the "good men" (*agathoi*, *esthloi*,

---

<sup>275</sup> Relying on textual and archaeological evidence, scholars have defined the *symposion* as a drinking feast that followed a meal linked to both private (e.g., family event) and public celebrations (e.g., celebration of a victory) and as a social institution of male activity regulated by ritual and tradition. For the *symposion* in general and the definition of the term, see Lissarrague (1990), 19, 25; Murray (1993), 207-210; (1994), 5-7; (1996), 1461, (2009); Schmitt-Pantel (1994), 15; Vetta (1999).

<sup>276</sup> For a discussion regarding the aristocratic lifestyle in general, see Murray (1983), 263-264, (1993), 201-219 who considers that the great majority of depictions on painted pottery reflect aristocratic tastes and inclinations. He (2009) also remarks that the *symposion* was the focus of aristocratic culture in the archaic age. But, see Topper (2009), (2012), 13-22, 159-161, who challenges the idea of the *symposion* as an elite institution. She argues that representations of symposia in Greek art and literary sources of the archaic and classical periods define the *symposion* as an institution practiced in Greece since time immemorial, prerogative of all citizens, and not as privilege of the wealthy elite.

<sup>277</sup> On Theognis' date supra n. 40. Although Theognis was from Megara, he presents his poetry as idealized and which would have been appropriate for performance at symposia in any state (*Eleg.* 237-254), Levine (1985), 176. See also Shapiro (1981), 137-138 who stresses that his poetry was surely known in Athens and he might have been in Athens at some point as documented by the painted inscription *ΘΕΟΓΝΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΝΕ ΔΙΑ* on an unattributed Attic black-figure lip cup of 550s BC from Selinus; Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale 306474; *ABV* 675.

Thgn, *Eleg.* 28, 31),<sup>278</sup> and constituted essential preparation for participation in public life.<sup>279</sup> In the sympotic context, the Apollonian triad reflects values, concerns and aspirations of the Athenian aristocrats or “the elites” as modern scholars define them.<sup>280</sup> First I shall argue that the *symposion* was the intended setting for the vases under consideration (a) and then consider how the images should be understood in this social framework (b).

#### (a) Shape, Image, and *Symposion*

The constant appearance of Apollo playing a kithara or lyre between Artemis and Leto on vases of Group A and B accentuates Apollo’s role as the god of music. The image of Apollo as musician recalls the importance of music at his festivals, which commonly included musical performances (e.g., the Pythian Games in Delphi; Paus. 10.7.2-7),<sup>281</sup> as well as the integral role of music in other contexts where

---

<sup>278</sup> The adjective *ἀγαθός* acquired social and political connotations at an early stage, and along with its synonym *ἔσθλός*, have been used by the aristocrats themselves to denote their noble status, Donlan (1973), 367. The terms *ἀγαθός-ἔσθλός* and their opposites, appear more frequently in Theognis than in any other archaic author who repeatedly stressed the idea that only the aristocrat could have been a morally good man; for the usage of the terms in Theognis, see Donlan (1999), 77-95; Levine (1985). Note that in the Homeric epics the term *agathos* denotes men who are successful warriors, wealthy and of high birth, Adkins (1972), 12; Donlan (1999), 4, points out that the word *agathos* is linked to excellence proved by success in battle, and thus the term is usually translated as “brave”.

<sup>279</sup> Scholars have repeatedly stressed the importance of the *symposion* as a learning place, as a “locus for paideia”. E.g., Levine (1985), 176-180; Rösler (1995), 109; Calame (1999), 94-97; Steiner (2007), 245-247; Murray (2009), 519-520, argues for pederasty as a rite of transition, i.e., the introduction of the youth into the adult male world. Evidence for youths’ participation at symposia is documented by a number of fragments of sympotic poetry which refers to boys (e.g., Thgn. *Eleg.* 1235-1238) and by several representations of youths in sympotic scenes on Attic vases (such an example on page 100); for the participation of youths at symposia, see Bremmer (1994), 137, 143, Beaumont (2012), 126; on pederasty as pedagogical practice of the elite in Archaic Greece, see Lear and Cantarella (2008), 12-14. See also Barringer (2001), 70-124 who discusses the link between hunting, pederasty and *symposion* and stresses the importance of hunting and pederasty in the ideology of aristocratic masculinity in Athens.

<sup>280</sup> I.e., a privileged group characterized by high birth, wealth, social standing, power, excellence, and education. On the term “elites”, see Ober (1989), 11-13 who points out ancient and modern definitions for the word. Note that both terms, i.e., “aristocrats” and “elites”, are used throughout this study.

<sup>281</sup> Pausanias notes that the oldest competition – held every eight years – was musical, but in 586 BC, namely, the year of the 48<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, athletic events were added and the Pythian Games were held every four years. For musical contests (“*mousikoi agones*”) at the Pythian Games, see Fontenrose

Apollo is evoked in this capacity, such as the *symposion*.<sup>282</sup> That the motif appears on shapes that denote, as it will be indicated, sympotic function, and that the reverse of the same vessels bear scenes that also point to the *symposion*, suggest that the *symposion* is the intended setting within which we should view the motif under discussion. This idea is further supported when taking into account Apollo's wider association with the sympotic world.

Let us begin by noting the shapes on which we find depictions of Apollo playing the kithara between Artemis and Leto alone (Group A) or accompanied by other deities (Group B). Table 4a shows that such representations appear on amphorae (83), *lekythoi* (17), *hydriai* (10), *krateres* (2), cups (2), *oinochoai* (4), and on a cylindrical support (see app. II). The great number of amphorae with the motif in question is striking, but this should not come as a surprise given that scenes with gods predominate on amphorae during the period 550-480 BC.<sup>283</sup>

According to table 4a, we can observe that most of the shapes are linked to storage (amphora), and preparing (*krater-hydria-oinochoe*), serving (*oinochoe*) and drinking (cup) wine at symposia as indicated by literary, pictorial and archaeological evidence.<sup>284</sup> Drinking pure wine was considered by the Greeks to be a barbaric custom (Pl. *Leg.* 1.637e), and thus the wine had to be mixed with water before being

---

(1988), 124-129; Landels (1999), 5; Valavanis (2004), 188,194-195; Bundrick (2005), 7-8; for the literary tradition about the foundation of the Pythian Games, see Davies (2007b), 49-52.

<sup>282</sup> Music accompanied any activity performed at the *symposion* such as libations at the outset of the evening, hymns, songs, drinking, dancing, etc. Literary sources and visual representations of music players and musical instruments in several scenes that depict symposia provide evidence for the importance of music in this context. On the role of music at the *symposion*, see Bundrick (2005), 80-92.

<sup>283</sup> Scheffer (2001), 134-135.

<sup>284</sup> For the shapes in general, see, Richter and Milne (1935), 3-4, 6-8, 11-12, 18-19, 24-25; Webster (1972), 99-101; Valavanis (1996),18; Cook (1997), 210-219.

served and consumed (Anac. fr. 11, 356 *PMG*, 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC);<sup>285</sup> wine was poured from an *oinochoe* (*oinos*-wine + *cheo*-to pour), and mixed together with water from a *hydria* (*hydor* = water), in a *krater* (*kerannymi* = to mix).<sup>286</sup> After the mixing procedure, wine was ready to be served with the help of a metal ladle or an *oinochoe* into cups. I should clarify that amphorae functioned also as storage vessels for solids and oil, but are best known as containers of wine.<sup>287</sup> As it will be demonstrated, the amphorae under consideration would fit well in the sympotic context because they bear scenes that indicate a link to the *symposion*.

That the above-mentioned shapes are painted into *symposion* scenes provides visual evidence for their use in a sympotic context.<sup>288</sup> That these shapes were intended for sympotic use is further supported by the fact that they have been attested in some Greek sites where symposia were celebrated (e.g., a house near the northwest corner of the Athenian Agora, c.525 BC),<sup>289</sup> while there is a high possibility of their

---

<sup>285</sup> Note that Anacreon was from Teos, a coast town of Asia Minor near Smyrna, but he was brought to Athens by Hipparchos. His stay at Athens is confirmed by literary evidence (Pl. *Hipparch.* 228c; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 18.1) and it is worth mentioning that three Attic vases painted between 520-490 BC may depict Anacreon – identified by label – in sympotic scenes with youths playing the lyre or the barbitos: (a) an Attic red-figure *kalyx-krater* of 500 BC attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, Copenhagen, National Museum 13365; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 185, 32; *Para* 340; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 187; (b) an Attic red-figure *lekythos* of the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC from Gela attributed to Gales Painter, Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi 26967; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 36.2; *Para* 325; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 158; (c) an Attic red-figure cup from Vulci of 520-510 attributed to Oltos, London, British Museum E18; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 62,86; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 165; on the subject, see Budelmann (2009), 227, 235-236.

<sup>286</sup> On the procedure of drinking wine at *symposion*, see, for example, Lissarrague (1990), 6-7.

<sup>287</sup> Webster (1972), 100; Schreiber (1999), 73.

<sup>288</sup> Shapes such as *oinochoai*, *kraters* and cups, are frequently depicted in sympotic scenes on Attic vases; see, for examples, Gericke (1970), 13-15, 32, 36-42; Lissarrague (1990), fig.11,73; Boardman (2001), 248-254. For the *krater* in its sympotic space, see esp. Lissarrague (1994). Although amphorae and *hydriai* are rarely represented in sympotic scenes, their presence in archaeological contexts where sympotic activity has been attested suggests that they would have been also used at symposia; see Boulter, Steiner, Rotroff and Oakley (infra n. 289).

<sup>289</sup> Lynch (2011), 5-39 provides evidence for the use of painted (figural) pottery for symposia in an Athenian domestic setting. In particular, she considers some figured vases from a well's deposit (J 2:4), which was located within a private house north of the Piraeus-Kefissia railroad tracks and across Hadrian Street. She proposes a late sixth century date for both the well's fill and the house's construction based on stratigraphic analysis and examination of the finds from the well. Further archaeological evidence indicates that the Athenians used figural pottery in sympotic settings. E.g., (a) the Dema House, a late fifth-century house in Attic countryside (50m north of the cart-road and

use in Etruscan banquets, according to archaeological indications.<sup>290</sup> The above evidence clearly contradicts the view held by a minority of scholars that painted pottery was not used at symposia, but was considered imitative of vessels made of precious metal, most of which have not survived, which were employed by the aristocrats for their symposia.<sup>291</sup>

Moreover, within a sympotic setting we can also understand the use of black- and red-figure *lekythoi*, i.e., containers for oil, on which the motif of the Apollonian triad appears.<sup>292</sup> The sympotic use of black- and red-figure *lekythoi* draws support from the fact that their presence within the household has been confirmed by literary

---

Athens-Eleusis railway) dated in the late fifth century BC based on ceramic, structural and stratigraphic evidence, preserves a room identified as possible *andron* and few figural pottery among the pottery finds; see Jones et al. (1962), esp. 87-100. (b) Deposit from a well (section Σ, 45/Θ, grid reference N7) discovered near the middle of the north side of the Athenian Agora preserves among the finds figured vases. The chronological limits of the deposit have been determined 460-450 BC based on the red-figure vases that it contained. Boulter (1953), 62, argues that the appearance of loom-weights among the finds suggests that some of the fill must belonged to a private rather a public establishment and that the finds from the well present a picture of the ceramic furnishings of Athenian households of the mid-fifth century BC. Note that Lynch (2011), 127, 130, considers that figural amphorae and *hydriai* were optional elements in sympotic assemblages, because their presence in archaeological contexts is rare. However, both shapes have been attested in sites where sympotic activity has been attested; e.g., Boulter (1953), 62-64; Rotroff and Oakley (1992), 12. For a further discussion regarding the sympotic function of amphorae and *hydriai*, see Steiner (2004a), 455-457, (2007), 237-239, who underlines that iconography and *dipinti* on amphorae and *hydriai* reflect sympotic mores, thus suggesting that were part of the repertory of shapes used in symposia. For the use of painted pottery in Greek symposia according to archaeological evidence, see also Boardman (2001), 245 and Steiner (2007), 232-233.

<sup>290</sup> For the use of Attic painted pottery in Etruscan banquets, see Reusser (2003b, c). As evidence, Reusser (2002), 191-202 also considers the representation of vases in Etruscan tomb paintings. Contra: Small (1994), 35-39 remarks that the wall-paintings do not seem to represented Attic vases and argues that the banqueters dine from gold, silver and bronze vessels.

<sup>291</sup> Vickers and Gill (1994); cf. Hoffmann (1994) considers that painted vases were “surrogate offerings, grave goods, and household *devotionalia* simulating banquetting equipment – not the real thing”. However, he accepts the fact that if these were used for drinking then most likely they would have been employed at funeral *perideipna*, which in classical times took place in the home. Several scholars have argued against the view that considers that painted pottery was not used at symposia. For example, see Stissi (1999), 97 who remarks that the few decorated vessels in precious metal seem to imitate pottery instead of the other way round; Simon (1996), 231 remarks that vases made of fired-clay actually keep the wine cooler than those of metal, important criterion for a long *symposion*; for the use of painted pottery at symposia, see also supra nn. 289, 290.

<sup>292</sup> For the use of *lekythoi* as flasks for toilet oil and perfume, see Gericke (1970), 77; Cook (1997), 221. We should note that these are not white-ground *lekythoi*, namely, shapes that were used exclusively in the funerary ritual for anointing the dead and as grave offerings. For the use of white ground *lekythos* as a funerary vessel based on literary, pictorial, and archaeological evidence, see esp. Oakley (2004), 4, 8-11, 215-219, 223-227 and *passim*.



evidence (Ar. *Plut.* 810), and they also have been attested in sympotic archaeological contexts (e.g., a house near the northwest corner of the Athenian Agora, c.525 BC).<sup>293</sup> In a sympotic setting, as suggested, the oil could have been used not only for food flavouring but also for perfume.<sup>294</sup>

Another factor that points to a sympotic setting for our vases is that a few of them, particularly four vases (three amphorae and a cylindrical support, i.e., A4, A11, A12, A39),<sup>295</sup> preserve the word “*kalos*”, a designation that means “beautiful”. Although we cannot be sure whether these acclamations of beauty refer to the painter, the potter, the customer, or someone else altogether, they certainly reveal a concern for male beauty, particularly that of boys (Solon fr. 25, West).<sup>296</sup> This admiration corresponds to the pederastic ethos of archaic Athens, including the *symposion* as indicated by literary and iconographic evidence (Anac. fr. 1, 346; fr. 15, 360, *PMG*; Thgn. *Eleg.* 1279-1282).<sup>297</sup>

---

<sup>293</sup> On the different functions of *lekythoi* as mentioned in the literary sources, see Richter and Milne (1935), 14-15. For the potential connection of black- and red-figure *lekythoi* with the *symposion*, see Lynch (2011), 139-140, who considers that even though black-figure *lekythoi* were the most common grave offering in Attic graves of the Archaic and early Classical period (for this view, see Kurtz and Boardman, 1971, 209), they “should be seen as domestic objects first and grave offerings second”. Note that a deposit from a household well in the Athenian Agora (N7, supra n. 289) produced few black- and red-figured *lekythoi*, Boulter (1953), 70-72, no. 15, 16, 21, 22.

<sup>294</sup> Lynch (2011), 140.

<sup>295</sup> Listed in Appendix I. Moore (1997), 35 points out that cylindrical supports were probably used for pointed amphora or those of Panathenaic shape with a small foot. According to Moore’s view, is highly likely that the particular cylindrical support, which was found in the Athenian Agora, may have functioned as a supporter of a pointed amphora filled with wine.

<sup>296</sup> The painted word *kalos* appear in vase paintings from 540 BC in the workshop of Exekias down to the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the fifth century BC. Scholars agree that commonly it is not attached to any particular figure, but appear freely in the visual space naming individuals, stating that “the boy is *kalos*”, while there are also some occasions of the feminine use of the word *kalos*, i.e., *kale*. For *kalos* on Attic vases, see Dover (1989), 114-122; Lissarrague (1990), 33, and (1999), 359-373; Slater (1999), 143-161; Hart (2002), 100; Steiner (2007), 83-85, 238 points out that black-figure amphorae preserve more *kalos*-inscriptions than any other black-figure shape. See also Donlan (1973), 367-368 who argues that the term *kalos* refers to physical beauty only, but in 372 he refers that *kalos* came increasingly to be associated with the “noble” groups in Greek society. Some scholars attempted to identify the members of prominent Athenian families to some of the *kalos* names; for the subject see, Immerwahr (1972, 1974); and esp. Shapiro (1980, 1982, 1983a, 1987, 2004).

<sup>297</sup> For the pederastic ethos of the *symposion*, see Murray, Bremmer, Lear and Cantarella, Barringer (supra n. 279).

“Vases used for banqueting”, as Lissarrague rightly states, “were not only containers but they were vehicles for images”.<sup>298</sup> Having discussed the link between shape and symposia, let us examine what kind of scenes vase painters chose to juxtapose to the Apollonian trio on the same vase and in what way, if any, these scenes related to the motif under examination here. The investigation of these issues will enable us to understand that both the Apollonian triad motif and accompanying images are part of the same decorative program, which would have been appropriate in a sympotic context.

A detailed examination of juxtaposed scenes in relation to the Apollonian triad motif reveals connections that invite the viewer to see the vase as a visual whole. I already pointed out that typical of the iconographical motif of the Apollonian triad motif – either alone or accompanied by others – is the symmetrical placement of figures around Apollo, who plays the kithara. Most of the scenes juxtaposed to the Apollonian triad on the same vase also exhibit a symmetrical composition, whether a single figure (e.g., Dionysos between his followers, fig. 20b) or a central group flanked by others (e.g., Herakles wrestling with the lion between two figures, fig. 21b). Even though vase painters chose to depict different subjects on the same vase, there is cohesion of the compositions, which invites one to make iconographical comparisons. In a few other cases, coherence is fostered by visual repetitions, that is, features that can be observed on both sides of a vase.<sup>299</sup> So, for example, the connection between the Apollonian triad (obverse) and the scene in which Athena mounts a chariot (reverse) on a black-figure belly-amphora of 520-500 BC from

---

<sup>298</sup> Lissarrague (1990), 11.

<sup>299</sup> For repetition beyond its aesthetic significance and as part of a system that suggests meaning to the viewer, see Steiner (1997), (2004b), (2007), *passim*.

Agrigento attributed to the Dikaios Painter (A6, fig. 56) is reinforced by the nearly identical appearance of Apollo as a kithara player and Artemis lifting up her *chiton* on both sides of the vase. These, two compositionally discrete scenes are related by common protagonists, Apollo and Artemis.<sup>300</sup>

I turn now to consider which images are paired with the Apollonian triad motif on the same vase, and how their subjects can further our understanding of the connection between the triad image and the *symposion*. According to Appendix I, we can observe that Dionysiac, warlike and heroic scenes are frequently paired with the Apollonian triad. This should not surprise us, especially when one considers the large number of Dionysiac, warfare and heroic scenes from the last quarter of the sixth century BC,<sup>301</sup> i.e., the period when most examples of the Apollonian triad were created.

I define Dionysiac scenes as those that include representations of Dionysos with his followers, i.e., satyrs and nymphs, or any other element that alludes to the Dionysiac realm, such as Hephaistos on a mule between satyrs (only once, A44). In most cases, we find Dionysos holding a drinking horn or *kantharos* and ivy or vine branches standing between his followers (e.g., fig. 20b). Satyrs may appear dancing, while nymphs usually stand and sometimes carry an *oinochoe* (e.g., the Attic black-figure neck-amphora of 520 BC attributed to the Antimenes Painter, A23, fig. 57). Because of Dionysos' strong connections with wine (Hes. *Op.* 614) and therefore the

---

<sup>300</sup> I follow Steiner (2007) 231-262 who argues that illustrious and verbal repetitions, i.e., repetition of written words and images, on Attic vases sent messages which echo both the activities and culture of *symposion*. She considers that "Athenian figural pottery reflects physical space, the entertainments, and the social purposes of the *symposion*". In general, she understands vase paintings as a reflection of the "world view of the elites who use them". See also Barringer (2001), 33 who argues that "even if there is no iconographical or iconological connection" (i.e., between two scenes on the same vessel), "there may still be a decorative one".

<sup>301</sup> According to a pottery database, constructed by Giudice and Giudice (2009), 51, Dionysiac scenes are the most popular in Attic vase paintings, followed by heroic and warfare scenes.

*symposion*, Dionysos and his world would have been appropriate images for vases used at drinking occasions.<sup>302</sup> Moreover, the god is frequently invoked in sympotic poetry (e.g., Anac. fr. 12, 357 *PMG*).<sup>303</sup> Finally, we should keep in mind that the attention paid to Dionysiac scenes also could have been influenced by the firm establishment of the god's worship in Attica in the course of the sixth century BC according to literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence.<sup>304</sup>

The warlike scenes vary. Some show warriors engaged in fighting as on the shoulder of an Attic black-figure *hydria* of 530-510 BC attributed to the Antimenes Painter: two groups of three hoplites flank another hoplite, and all are armed with spears, shields and helmets (B11, fig. 59). In other scenes, a warrior appears in a chariot with a charioteer (e.g., an Attic black-figure neck-amphora of 520-510 BC attributed to the Circle of the Antimenes Painter, A22, fig. 60) or simply stands between other warriors (e.g., an Attic black-figure belly-amphora of c.510 BC attributed to the Painter of Louvre, B21, fig. 58).<sup>305</sup> There are also scenes in which one or two warriors appear between an old man – identified by his white hair and

---

<sup>302</sup> Note that from the earliest representations of the first half of the sixth cent. BC, Dionysos is the bringer of wine, carrying a grape-vine or an amphora as he appears on the Sophilos' *lebes* and on the François Vase respectively (for bibliography, supra nn. 47, 50). On Dionysos and wine, see Carpenter (1986), 8, 10-12; Lissarrague (1990), 16-18, comments on Pausanias' (1.3.1) account that Kerameikos, i.e., the potters' quarter, is named after Keramos, son of Dionysos and Ariadne, and suggests that Dionysos was not only the master of wine but he was also indirectly linked to the production of vases, which explains his popularity on vases. The view that Dionysos and his followers are suitable motifs on vases associated with the symposia is noted by many scholars, e.g., Burkert (1987), 177; Scheffer (2001), 132-133; Seaford (2006), 16.

<sup>303</sup> Budelmann (2009), 231-232 comments that Dionysos is frequently found in the fragments of Anacreon and that his fragments mentioning the god would have been as appropriate in a sympotic context as in a public festival. For the connection between Anacreon and Athens, see supra n. 285. Dionysos' association with the aristocrats, i.e., the participants at symposia, can be perhaps demonstrated by depictions of Dionysos among male and female worshippers in sixth-century vase paintings. The women wear jewellery and elaborated *peploi*, which denote their noble status. E.g., black-figure amphora of c.550-540 BC attributed to Amasis Painter, Paris Musée du Louvre F36; *ABV* 150, 6; *Para* 63; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 42. Black-figure amphora of c.550-540 BC attributed to Amasis Painter, Basel, Antikenmuseum, 420; *Para* 65; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 43; Von Bothmer (1985), 47, fig. 40, b.

<sup>304</sup> For the cult of Dionysos in Attica during the sixth century BC, see Shapiro (1989), 84-100; Goette (2001), 50, 115, 218, 262. See also pp. 119-122 for Dionysiac festivals.

<sup>305</sup> See picture in *BAPD* 301648.

beard – and a woman. An example is on an Attic black-figure neck amphora of 530-510 BC attributed to the Antimenes Painter, which depicts a hoplite and a Scythian archer<sup>306</sup> – identified by his pointed cap – between an old man and a veiled woman (B13, fig. 61), a variation of the scene that scholars have labelled “warrior’s departure”.<sup>307</sup> Mythological battles, such as the Gigantomachy, Amazonomachy, and Centauromachy, are also juxtaposed to the Apollonian triad motif although these are rare occurrences. We see such an example on a black-figure neck-amphora of c.520 BC from Vulci attributed near the Group of Toronto 305 depicting a warrior armed with a shield, spear and helmet fighting between two centaurs with rocks (A28, fig. 62). This representation recalls, as suggested, the episode of the Lapith Kaineus who was invulnerable to conventional weapons so centaurs pounded him into the earth with trees and rocks to destroy him (Pind. *Thren.* fr. 128f, Maehler).<sup>308</sup>

Warlike scenes, including depictions of warriors, chariots, horsemen, battles and the like, should be viewed within the world of the *symposion*. They present an idealized vision of warfare closely linked to the aristocratic concern with warfare as a heroic ideal.<sup>309</sup> As scholars point out, representations of warriors riding chariots allude to Homeric descriptions of warfare according to which heroes usually used the

---

<sup>306</sup> For the iconography of Scythian archers, see Vos (1963) 64-66 who argues that actual Scythian archers served in sixth century Athenian army. Among other scholars Ivanchik (2005) rejects Vos’ theory and argues that there is no solid evidence of the presence of Scythians in Athens before the Persian Wars. See most recently Shapiro (2009b) with a review of previous interpretations and bibliography.

<sup>307</sup> On old age in Athenian vase painting, see Matheson (2009b) who discusses the signs (e.g., white or thinning hair, stooped posture, wrinkles, baldness, etc.) that distinguish old age in both sexes on Attic vases and comments that old men are typical in family scenes of departing warriors.

<sup>308</sup> Jongkees-Vos (1972), 22, with bibliography. For literary sources, see *DNP* 6, s.v. Kaineus, 137 [Visser].

<sup>309</sup> See Lissarrague (2002), 113 who remarks that “the heroic model was widely dominant in the ideology of war in archaic Greece especially in Athens”.

chariot not as a combat vehicle but as a prestigious way to arrive in the battlefield.<sup>310</sup>

It is interesting to note that there is no evidence for the use of chariots in sixth-century Attic warfare, and we cannot reconstruct a picture of Athenian military organization before Kleisthenes due to the lack of evidence.<sup>311</sup> Moreover, a true cavalry force (i.e., use of the horse in warfare) does not appear in sixth-century Athens, and this clearly explains, for example, why Hippias used Thessalian, instead of Athenian, cavalry when he was attacked and defeated by the Spartan army in 510 BC (Hdt. 5.64.2; Arist. *Ath.Pol.* 19.5).<sup>312</sup> The horse's association with wealth, prestige and power is well rooted in Greek social and political thought (Arist. *Pol.* 1289B 33-39). When Athenian aristocrats took part in equestrian competitions, such

---

<sup>310</sup> Webster (1972), 189; Osborne (2004), 50; Snodgrass (1964), 162, (1967), 20, and Gaebel (2002), 40, consider that the rough Greek landscape was inappropriate for the use of chariot in the battlefield. Moreover, Snodgrass (1967), 46 points out that the role of the chariot in Greek warfare after the Bronze Age is uncertain and if it was used in war, then it was used as a transport vehicle for the rich warriors. Gaebel (2002), 43 remarks that chariots were symbols of the aristocratic warrior's prestige and position; on the use of chariot in Homeric warfare, see also Sage (1996), 14-16; Greenhalgh (2011), 9-18.

<sup>311</sup> Frost (1984), lists a catalogue of Athenian military ventures before Kleisthenes' reform which he considers "surprisingly modest for a people who were supposed to have been so fond of fighting" and evaluating some military events as reported by Herodotus and Thucydides argues that no regular military mobilization ever seems to have taken place; cf. Singor (2000), 110 remarks that nearly all information that has come down to us of archaic wars in which Athens was involved is legendary in character; Pritchard (2010), 8-12 points out that before Kleisthenes, Athens did not have a publicly controlled army, military ventures of archaic Athens are poorly documented, and the picture we have is of privately raised armies (e.g., Peisistratos' mercenaries).

<sup>312</sup> Contra: Bugh (1988), 3-38 who believes that Athenian cavalry did exist in the Archaic period on the basis of literary and iconographic (vase paintings) testimonia. The literary sources that he cites do not support the view that Athenians had an organized cavalry (cf. Anderson, 1961, 130), and the aristocrats who rode a horse did not necessarily have to be part of an Athenian cavalry. However, Bugh agrees that the "regular", as he names it, Athenian cavalry was a creation of the Athenian empire, i.e., after the Persian wars. Webster (1972), 179 considers that the appearance of horsemen is natural especially if the potters' patrons belonged to the class of Hippeis. On Greek cavalry, see Sage (1996), 46- 55 who discusses the technical problems from which the Greek cavalry suffered such as the lack of stirrups and horseshoes – important inventions for fighting from horseback in a land as rough as Greece – and provides evidence (literary) for the use of cavalry in Athens, Thessaly, Boeotia, Thebes, Sicily, Syracuse, and Sparta; Gaebel (2002), 20 remarks that no verbal description of Greek cavalry fighting exists prior to the histories of Herodotus; Snodgrass (1967), 85-87, points out that Sicily and Southern Italy were important cavalry region of the Greek, since the majority of finds of horse armour were found there.

as those at Athens or Olympia,<sup>313</sup> they clearly advertised their high social status since participants would have possessed great wealth because of the expense entailed in keeping horses.<sup>314</sup> The assumption that warlike scenes are closely linked to aristocratic ideology becomes clearer when we consider that Athenian aristocrats who died in war were often praised for their virtues in archaic funerary epigrams (e.g., Tettichos as *agathos*, *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1194bis*, c.575-550 BC).<sup>315</sup> Sometimes, they were even commemorated by their depiction as fully armed warriors standing, or mounting a horse or a chariot, on Attic grave monuments.<sup>316</sup> Such representations evoke the Homeric ideal of gaining everlasting memory by dying bravely on the battlefield (e.g., *Hom. Il. 22.71-3; 304-305; 7.86-91*).<sup>317</sup>

Heroic scenes include depictions of Herakles, Theseus and heroes from the Trojan cycle. Most of them demonstrate a warlike character sometimes fostered by the hero's appearance – armed with helmet, shield, spear and sword – as is usually the case with the heroes of the Trojan War even if they do not actually fight. An example is on a black-figure neck-amphora of 525-500 from Vulci attributed to the

---

<sup>313</sup> Some of the sixth century Athenian victors in equestrian competitions came from wealthy and powerful families, e.g., (a) Alkmeon I, son of Megakles I won a chariot victory at Olympia (Hdt. 6.125.5); Kyle (1987), 196, A5; Davies (1971), 371; (b) Callias I, son of Fainippos, won a horserace victory at Olympia and a second-place finish in the chariot race (Hdt. 6.122.1), Kyle (1987), 203, A30; Davies (1971), 255.

<sup>314</sup> Sweet (1987), 89; Kyle (1987), 111-113, (2007), 126-127, 161.

<sup>315</sup> Hansen (1983), 11, no. 13; on Tettichos' epigram and the description of Tettichos as an ideal warrior, see Day (1989), 17-18, 22; for a discussion on archaic funerary epigrams in relation to epic, see Trümper (2010), 174, who points out that the epigram is a reminder of the heroic deeds of the dead; for archaic epigrams of warriors, see also Derderian (2001), 97-102.

<sup>316</sup> E.g., a warrior mounting a horse decorates a cavetto capital of 575-545 BC found in the area of the ancient *deme* of Lamprai (Athens, National Archaeological Museum 41); Richter (1988c), no. 20, 18-19, fig. 68; the lower part of a grave *stèle*, dated 535-525 BC and found in Attica, depicts a warrior mounting a four-horse chariot and a charioteer holding the reins (New York, Metropolitan Museum 36.11.13); Richter (1988c), no. 45, 32-33, figs. 126-128; a grave *stèle* from Attica dated c.510 BC depicts a standing warrior named Aristion according to the inscription on its preserved base (Athens, National Archaeological Museum 29); Kaltsas (2002), 70, no. 100.

<sup>317</sup> On archaic epitaphs reflecting aristocratic ideology and grave *stelai* decorated with warriors and chariot scenes as probably "heroic" images of war, see Sourvinou-Inwood (1995), 170-171, 222-226; cf Pritchard (2010), 14-15.

Leagros Group, on which Aeneas – fully armed – carries his old father Anchises (A32, fig. 63).<sup>318</sup> Other times the hero is actually involved in a struggle, as in the case of Herakles wrestling with an opponent, such as the Nemean lion (e.g., fig. 21b),<sup>319</sup> or as Theseus, slaying the Minotaur (e.g., an Attic black-figure neck-amphora of c.540 BC attributed to Group E, A13, fig. 65). It is noteworthy that there are altogether more scenes of Herakles than any other hero in the archaic period. The son of Zeus and Alkmene (Hom. *Il.* 14.323-324) appears not only in combat scenes but also is shown next to Athena, sometimes riding a chariot together with the goddess, and accompanied by Apollo playing on his kithara, Artemis and Hermes (e.g., an Attic black-figure belly-amphora of c.510 BC related to the Antimenes Painter, B3, fig. 64). In some other instances, the hero simply stands alongside Athena and accompanied usually by other divine figures (e.g., an Attic black-figure neck-amphora of c.510 BC from Vulci attributed to the Antimenes Painter, B25, fig. 66). Chariot scenes with Athena and Herakles have been identified as the “apotheosis of Herakles” (i.e., the introduction of Herakles to Mt. Olympos), perhaps inspired, as Boardman proposed, by Peisistratos’ return to Athens in the early 550s after his first exile (Hdt. 1.60).<sup>320</sup> In other words, Boardman argues for the political exploitation of

---

<sup>318</sup> Aeneas as Anchises’ son: Hom. *Il.* 20.208; Hes. *Theog.*1008-1009. Aeneas carrying his father is attested in Sophocles’ fragmentary tragedy *Laocoon* (fr. 373, *TrGF* IV), though his survival is predicted already in the *Iliad* (20.307-308). For the literary sources and discussion regarding the iconographical theme, see Woodford and Loudon (1980), 30-33. Note that the scene can be identified as that of Aeneas carrying Anchises based on what we know from literary descriptions. In addition, the figures are occasionally named as on an Attic black-figure amphora of c.510 BC attributed to the Leagros Group (New York, Metropolitan Museum L.69.11.11/Malibu, the J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.82); see Clark (1988), 40-41, pl.41, 44, 3-4; c.500 BC: *LIMC* 1, s.v. Aineias, fig. 68 [Canciani].

<sup>319</sup> For Herakles in combat with other creatures and deities, such as Triton (A24, A37), Amazon (A12), Kyknos (B8, B17), and Apollo over the tripod (A35, B31); on vases examined in this research, see Appendix I.

<sup>320</sup> Boardman (1972), 60- 65, mentions that in the 550s artists begin to show the procession by chariot, thus forming a different episode of the introduction of Herakles to Olympos which departs from an earlier version of the subject where Athena leads Herakles before Zeus on foot as known in vase paintings (*LIMC* 5, s.v. Herakles, pp. 122-123) and from a limestone pediment from the Akropolis



the “apotheosis” episode by the tyrant Peisistratos who considered Herakles as his “alter ego”.<sup>321</sup> However, many scholars opposed to Boardman’s view correctly remark that the chariot scenes with Herakles cannot originate with the tyrant’s return (550s BC), since the chariot procession already appeared in vase painting c.560 BC.<sup>322</sup> Also, it should be taken into account that the vast majority of the above mentioned depictions belong to the period after 510 BC, i.e., when the tyranny already had fallen.

What meaning did images of heroes on sixth-century Attic vases possibly convey to their viewers/users? Heroic scenes may have appealed to Athenian aristocrats as exempla for aristocratic youths, thus promoting aristocratic concerns and values.<sup>323</sup> According to this thinking, for example, Herakles, saviour of mankind from various threats, averter of evil, was admired for his strength and courage, and his image served as a role model for young aristocratic males.<sup>324</sup> The idea of

---

(Athens, Akropolis Museum 9; *LIMC* 5, s.v. Herakles, fig. 2862) which he dates c.550-540 BC (560-540 BC: Ridgway, 1993, 291). In *LIMC* 5, s.v. Herakles, however, Boardman lists some earlier examples of the chariot procession with Herakles (figs. 2877-2880) and admits (p. 131) that the motif appears on Attic vases c.560 BC.

<sup>321</sup> Boardman in various articles develops the theory that Herakles’ image was politically exploited in Athens by Peisistratos and his sons, (1972; 1975a; 1985, 246; 1989, 159).

<sup>322</sup> E.g., Bazant (1982), 22, 25; Shapiro (1989), 162 remarks that “if Peisistratos wished to be identified with Herakles, then it was with Herakles the mortal hero... not with Herakles the god...the equation would have been unthinkable for a Greek ruler before Alexander the Great”. For other interpretations regarding the chariot scenes, see Moon (1983), 102 who explains the popularity of the “apotheosis” and likewise of other chariot scenes by suggesting that horses and chariots are symbols of wealth and power and thus would have been associated with all aristocrats and attitudes toward class distinction; Ferrari (1994) argues that the chariot scene actually represents an episode from the account of Gigantomachy – Herakles joins the Olympians in a triumphal procession (Eur. *Her.* 179) to celebrate the victory over the Giants that the gods won with the help of Herakles (Hes. fr. 43a.65 M.-W.) – and associates the scene with the festival of Panathenaea which has been reorganized in 566 BC, since the Gigantomachy and specifically the victory of Athena over the Giant Asterios is considered to be one of the foundation myths of the festival (Arist. fr. 637, Rose). For an overview of Boardman’s view and debate, see Stafford (2012), 164-165, who remarks that links between Peisistratids and Herakles remain difficult to prove.

<sup>323</sup> Following Steiner (1993), 211-219, (2007), 148-149, 157, who argues for the paradigmatic value of the deeds of Herakles and Theseus for Athenian elites.

<sup>324</sup> Stafford (2012), 165, 170. Even Boardman (1985) accepts Herakles as an “easy figure with whom an aristocratic or bourgeois tyrant could identify, and whose divine patronage he might aspire also to enjoy”. See also Moon (*supra* n. 322).

Herakles as an exemplar can be supported by recalling Herakles' close connection to athletics and games, panhellenic or local, at least from the fifth century onwards, as well as his role as one of the patron deities of the *gymnasion* and *palaistra*, where youths received physical education and engaged in athletics.<sup>325</sup> Heroes of the Trojan War clearly recall the glorious past when noble and wealthy kings, such as Ajax, Achilles etc., achieved fame (*kleos*) and glory (*kudos*) through their personal skills, abilities and valour. These images are part of an idealized heroic world in which the "best" (*aristoi*) were both wealthy and victorious warriors, whose excellence was proved by success in war.<sup>326</sup> That the heroic ideal was stressed in the *symposion* is confirmed by sympotic poetry as well, as testified, for example, by two late sixth- or early fifth-century Attic drinking songs (*skolia*) that praise Ajax and Achilles (fr. 15, 16, 898, 899 *PMG*).<sup>327</sup>

So far I have argued that the shapes on which the motif appears and the images that were chosen as decoration for the vases under discussion point to the

---

<sup>325</sup> Herakles himself was the ultimate athlete and according to some sources is the legendary founder of the Olympic Games (Pind. *Ol.* 10.24-25; Paus. 5.7.9). His association with the Panhellenic sanctuary of Olympia, the site where the Olympic Games were held, is not only documented by literary evidence but also in monumental art as well (e.g., the representation of Herakles' labours on the twelve *metopes*, 470-456 BC, Barringer, 2008, 20-22); on Herakles' link to Olympia, see Barringer (2008), 9, 22. Games and festival to Herakles were known to be held at Marathon from the fifth century BC according to literary and epigraphic evidence (games: Pind. *Ol.* 9.89, 13.110; *Pyth.* 8.79; inscribed stele dated shortly after 490 BC on epigraphic and historical grounds, Athens, Epigraphical Museum 13046, Vanderpool, 1942, 333-337; *temenos*: Hdt. 6.108.1). For Herakles' role as patron of gymnasia and *palaistra*, see Kyle (1987), 47, 84, and for Herakles' worship in Attica see Woodford (1971), 215-225; on gymnasia, i.e., definition of the term, buildings, individual Athenian gymnasia, see Kyle (1987), 64-92 who provides literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence. Note that the earliest physical remains for the gymnasia are from the mid-fourth cent. BC, Kyle (2007), 83-84.

<sup>326</sup> On the "heroic ideal", see Donlan (1999), 1-33.

<sup>327</sup> Attic *skolia* (25 in total) have been preserved by Athenaeus in his *Deipnosophistae* (884-916 *PMG*). Scholars, such as Bowra (1961), 397, Furley and Bremmer (2001a), 258, date them between late sixth and early fifth cent. BC. For the performance of poetry and *skolia* at the symposia, see Bowra (1961), 373-376; Mathiesen (1999), 141-151; Murray (2009), 509-510; Carey (2009), 32-38.

*symposion*. I turn now to consider Apollo's larger connection to the sympotic world as documented in sympotic poetry and vase paintings.<sup>328</sup>

According to Theognis of Megara, symposiasts invoked Zeus and Apollo before pouring libations to the gods and before starting to drink (*Eleg.* 1, 757-764).<sup>329</sup> Moreover, one of the anonymous Attic drinking songs (*skolia*) of the early fifth century BC (fr. 3, 886 *PMG*) makes an invocation to the Apollonian triad, referring to Leto who gave birth to Apollo and Artemis on Delos.<sup>330</sup> In fact, some vases that depict sympotic scenes and bear inscriptions provide evidence for the performance of songs to Apollo, god of music and poetry, in a sympotic setting. On a fragmentary Attic red-figure *kalyx-krater* of the late sixth century BC by Euphronios,<sup>331</sup> two pairs of symposiasts, all named, hold drinking cups and enjoy the music of a flute-player (*ΣΥΚΟ*) as they recline on *klinai* (fig. 67a). At the far right, the symposiast Ekphantides reclines on the same *kline* next to a beardless youth named Smikros, a representation that stresses the relationship between an older man (*erastes*) and a youth (*eromenos*) – well documented in written sources – thus emphasizing one of the characteristics of the *symposion*, i.e., pederasty.<sup>332</sup> Ekphantides has thrown his head back and with his mouth open sings to Apollo (fig. 67b): “Apollo you and the blessed...” (*ΟΠΟΛΛΙΟΝ ΣΕ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΚΑΙ[ΠΑΝ]*).<sup>333</sup> Another such example is a fragmentary Attic red-figure cup of c.480 BC attributed to the Brygos Painter where

---

<sup>328</sup> Murray (2009), 511, points out that vase-paintings and lyric poetry should be studied together in order to understand the world of the *symposion*.

<sup>329</sup> On Theognis and *symposion*, see Lissarrague (1990), 130; also supra n. 277.

<sup>330</sup> Bowra (1961), 387-388; Furley and Bremer (2001a), 259.

<sup>331</sup> Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen and Glyptothek 8935, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1619, 3bis; *Para* 322; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 152.

<sup>332</sup> For pederastic scenes in sympotic context, see Lear and Cantarella (2008), 57-59.

<sup>333</sup> Beazley (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1619, 3bis) suggests completing the verse as *ὄπολλον σε τε και μάκαι (ραν--)*, considering the possible inclusion of Leto and Artemis in the next line; see also Vermeule (1965), 34-39 who discusses the *symposion* scene in relation to Ekphantides' song considering it either as *hymn* or as an Attic *skolion* in the form of a *hymn*.

once again a symposiast, reclining on his left elbow sings to Apollo (*OIIOΛION*) as his open mouth and his head thrown back indicate (fig. 68).<sup>334</sup>

Apollo's association with the *symposion* may well explain the representation of the god as a symposiast on a red-figure cup of c.510 BC from Orvieto attributed to the Ambrosios Painter (fig. 69).<sup>335</sup> This cup presents two pairs of male deities, all identified by labels, each dressed in a *himation* draped around hips and legs, wearing a wreath around his head and reclining on richly ornamented cushions. On one side, Apollo (*A[IIOΛ]ION*) is paired with Poseidon (*IIOΣEΛION*) holding his trident (fig. 69c), while on the other side we find Hermes (*HEPMEΣ*) carrying his caduceus with Herakles (*HEPA[K]AEΣ*) and a billy goat (fig. 69a). All gods, except Hermes, hold drinking cups for wine.<sup>336</sup> Unlike Herakles and Hermes who are frequently paired in a sympotic context, Poseidon and Apollo – as far as I know – are never depicted together as symposiasts.<sup>337</sup> The association of Apollo and Poseidon is considered later in this chapter. The interior decoration of the cup shows a young archer (hunter?)

---

<sup>334</sup> Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 546; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 377, 26; *Para* 365; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 225; for the fragment, see Lissarrague (1990), 129; Vermeule (1965), 38.

<sup>335</sup> Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 73127; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 173, 4; *LIMC* 7, s.v. Poseidon, fig. 172 [Simon]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 797 [Kokkorou-Alewrās]; *LIMC* 4, s.v. Herakles, fig. 1499 [Boardman]; *LIMC* 5, s.v. Hermes, fig. 550 [Siebert]; Magi (1959), 4; brief reference in Shapiro (1989), 104.

<sup>336</sup> Note that the cup of Poseidon is not depicted because the vase is damaged at this point. However, the god would have held a cup as well, since his extended hand recalls the way Herakles holds his own cup.

<sup>337</sup> Another example of Apollo reclining at a *symposion*, this time with Dionysos (both on *klinai*), is a later Attic red-figure *kalyx-krater* of the beginning of the fourth century BC from Thebes (Athens, National Archaeological Museum 12253); *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 769 [Kokkorou-Alewrās]. Nevertheless, Apollo is rarely depicted reclining at a *symposion*. He may appear though as a kithara-player in a few sympotic scenes where Herakles or Dionysos reclines on a *kline*; examples of Herakles or of Dionysos in *LIMC* 4, s.v. Herakles, figs. 1492, 1493, 1502, [Boardman] and in *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 767 [Kokkorou-Alewrās] respectively. Poseidon is also paired with Amphitrite when he appears reclining in a sympotic context, e.g., *LIMC* 1, s.v. Amphitrite, fig. 52 [Kaempf-Dimitriadou]. Herakles is usually feasting with Hermes and Dionysos, reclining on a *kline* or on the ground. Feasting with Hermes on vases around 500 BC is always on the ground, *LIMC* 4, s.v. Herakles, 817, 820 [Boardman]; for the pair Herakles-Hermes as symposiasts, see *LIMC* 4, s.v. Herakles, 818 [Boardman]; see also Verbanck-Piérard (1992) for a discussion regarding Herakles at feast in Attic Art.

– ΕΥ[Θ]ΥΒΟΛΙΟΣ according to the inscription – dressed in a short *chiton* wrapped around his hips, boots, and a wreath, and he strings his bow; his helmet lies on the ground (fig. 69b). Considering the vase as a whole, the sympotic and hunting scenes on the exterior and interior respectively are certainly appropriate decoration for a cup, the drinking vessel *par excellence* that displays important events of the aristocratic lifestyle, such as the *symposion* and hunting.<sup>338</sup>

As demonstrated, the consideration of shapes on which the motif occurs and scenes which vase painters choose to juxtapose to the Apollonian triad motif suggest the *symposion* as the intended setting for the vases under discussion. Apollo’s strong connection to the sympotic world, well documented in sympotic pottery and vase painting, provides further support to this view. Taking into account that the motif should be viewed within the sympotic context, it seems worth exploring its possible aristocratic connotations, an investigation to which we shall proceed in the following section.

#### (b) The Apollonian Triad and Aristocrats

This section examines how depictions of Apollo playing the kithara between Artemis and Leto alone or accompanied by other figures reflect aristocratic concerns in sixth-century Athens. As I shall demonstrate, the motif promotes the idea of Apollo as protector of youths, a concept closely connected to the preoccupation of aristocratic families to ensure the continuation of their bloodlines and *oikoi*<sup>339</sup>

---

<sup>338</sup> For a discussion regarding reflections of aristocratic ideals and preoccupations in vase paintings of the sixth and first quarter of the fifth century BC, see Barringer (2001), 10-59 who stresses the important place of hunting in the life of an aristocratic youth. For Barringer’s view *infra* p. 110.

<sup>339</sup> I use the term “*oikos*” in the broad sense of the word as denoting the “house”, the “family” and “property”. For a definition of the word “*oikos*”, see Pomeroy (1997), 20, and for a more detailed examination see Cox (1998), 130-167.

through male offspring. The investigation of the connection between the Apollonian triad and their most common companions, i.e., Hermes, Poseidon, and Dionysos, furthers our understanding of the motif in its religious and socio-political context.

As discussed, the motif of the Apollonian triad in sixth-century vase paintings emphasizes Apollo as the god of music because of his constant appearance playing the kithara (or lyre). One wonders if the representation of Artemis and Leto together with Apollo served a function and if so, what and why. The identification of Apollo as musician does not depend on their presence since he is easily distinguished without them; so why they are included? I propose that the presence of Leto and Artemis, goddesses associated with motherhood and child-care respectively, on either side of Apollo accentuate a particular role of the god that was of special importance to the aristocrats: Apollo as protector of youths.

Let us consider the above supposition. I have already mentioned Leto's connection to motherhood (chapter 1). We should briefly recall that ancient writers repeatedly emphasized the close family relations of Apollo, Leto and Artemis and stressed Leto's capacity as a mother by the story of her giving birth (e.g., *Hymn. Hom. Ap.*). As discussed, Leto appears as a divinity closely associated with motherhood from her earliest certain representation in Greek art (i.e., Sophilos' *lebes*, fig. 1), while her presence with Apollo and Artemis in narrative and non-narrative scenes demonstrates her maternal character. The perception that Greeks had of Leto as a maternal figure certainly explains, as noted, the equation between Leto and the "mother goddess" in Lycia during the fourth century BC.

Artemis' function in nourishing children is well attested at her sanctuary in Brauron, where cult activity dates at least from the eighth century BC onward.<sup>340</sup> An important element of the cult of Artemis at Brauron was the *arkteia*.<sup>341</sup> Despite the scarcity of literary sources to inform us regarding this rite,<sup>342</sup> scholars consider the special pottery vessels known as *krateriskoi* (miniature *kraters*; e.g., fig. 70a)<sup>343</sup> – dated from the late sixth to the late fifth century BC and found mainly, but not exclusively, in Artemis' sanctuaries –<sup>344</sup> valuable evidence that contribute to our further understanding of the ritual and Artemis' role as *kourotrophos*.<sup>345</sup> These vases are decorated with figures of young girls, both nude and clothed, dancing, standing, running, progressing towards altars holding garlands, torches, or with their arms outstretched (fig. 70a-d). On the basis of literary and archaeological evidence, scholars interpret the *arkteia* as a puberty rite according to which young girls (age 5-

---

<sup>340</sup> A temple was built in the late sixth cent. BC, while a Π-shaped *stoa* was constructed between 425 and 416 BC; for the site and its topography, see Kondis (1967), 169; Hollinshead (1979), 31-38; Themelis (2002); Parker (2005), 228-230; Vikela (2009), 83-85; Nielsen (2009), 101-108.

<sup>341</sup> According to literary (infra n. 342) and archaeological evidence (infra n. 344), the rite was performed at Artemis' sanctuary at Mounichia as well; for discussion, see Palaiokrassa (1983), 68-78.

<sup>342</sup> Aristophanes' play *Lysistrata* (645) is the earliest evidence; Harpokration s.v. *arkteusai*; *Suda*, s.v. *arktos*; Hsch, s.v. *arkteia*; sch. Ar. *Lys.* 645; Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 641-647 is discussed by Sourvinou-Inwood (1971), (1988), 136-148.

<sup>343</sup> Kahil (1965), 24-25 has proposed that they must have been used as *thymiateria* (i.e., incense burners) on the basis that a number of *krateriskoi* bear traces of burning in their interior.

<sup>344</sup> The greatest number of *krateriskoi* was found at Brauron itself, but *krateriskoi* have been also recovered from the sanctuaries of Artemis at Mounichia, Halai Araphenides, Melite and the Braurion on the Akropolis. Other areas (apart from Artemis' shrines), which have yielded such vessels, are the Athenian Agora and the cave of the Pan at Eleusis. See, Kahil (1965), 22, 23-24, (1981), 254-255.

<sup>345</sup> Calame (2001), 101 clarifies that the term "*kourotrophos*" applied to Artemis implies divine supervision over the whole of the child's education until the child passes into adulthood; on the *kourotrophic* nature of Artemis, see Hadzisteliou-Price (1978), 21; Lundgreen (2009), 117-126; see also Kahil (1983), 232-243, esp. 233, who mentions an example of a terracotta statuette – found at Brauron – figuring a woman with a baby in her arms. These statuettes (8 examples in total) – dated around or shortly after 500 BC – are enthroned female figures with a seated girl on their knees (variant A) or a small child in their arms (variant B); for a detail discussion with previous bibliography, see Mitsopoulos-Leon (2009), 179-185. For an overview regarding Artemis' functions in cult and myth, see Vernant (1991), 196-206; Cole (1998). On the definition of the word *kourotrophos*, see Pirenne-Delforge (2004), 172-175.

10)<sup>346</sup> were involved in ritual acts marking their transition to womanhood.<sup>347</sup> In fact, Artemis' role as safe-keeper of children is well documented by numerous marble statues of young children – boys and girls – dating on stylistic grounds to the second half of the fourth and the third centuries BC, which were dedicated at her sanctuary at Brauron. Scholars consider these statues as thank-offerings to Artemis by parents for the safety and well-being of their children.<sup>348</sup>

That Artemis occupies an essential place in the ritual life of the Athenians can be understood when we think of the establishment of her cult on the most prominent sacred site of Athens, i.e., the Athenian Akropolis, where the patron goddess of the *polis* (e.g., *Ar. Eq.* 581),<sup>349</sup> Athena, was worshipped. Some scholars assume that Peisistratos and his sons may have been responsible for transferring the cult of Artemis Brauronia from Brauron to the southwest corner of the Athenian Akropolis.<sup>350</sup> This supposition is based on literary evidence that claims that Peisistratos belonged to the later *deme* of Philaidai (*Pl. Hipparch.* 228b), which was affiliated with Brauron (*Plut. Sol.* 10.2).<sup>351</sup> The evidence for the sixth-century

---

<sup>346</sup> The proposed age for *arktoi* varies. Age 7 to 12: Kahil (1965), 22, but in (1977), 86 admits that it is “difficult to determine the age” (perhaps from 8 to 13); age 5-10: Sourvinou-Inwood (1988), 21-29, 67; “not older than 10 or younger than five”: Parke (1977), 139; age 10: Simon (1982), 86. Note that Simon (1982), 86 considers that all girls participated in the *arkteia* in the fifth century BC, while Parke (1977), 140, Turner (1983), 191, and Sourvinou-Inwood (1988), 111-117 argue for the participation of a certain number of girls.

<sup>347</sup> On the rite of *arkteia*, see Kahil (1965), (1977), (1988); Simon (1982), 83-88; Parke (1977), 140; Hollinshead (1979), 56-64; Cole (1984), 238-242; Sourvinou-Inwood (1988); Scanlon (1990); Lonsdale (1993), 172-194; Parker (2005), 233-248; Nielsen (2009), 84-99.

<sup>348</sup> E.g., Hollinshead (1979), 42; Kahil (1983), 237; Neils (2003), 152; Nielsen (2009), 95. Note that the number of statues of boys was far greater than the statues of girls implying perhaps the preoccupation of parents to have strong male offspring, Kondis (1967), 180, 203.

<sup>349</sup> Several references in literary sources mention Athens as the *polis* of Athena; e.g., *Aesh. Pers.* 347-348; *Soph. OC.* 108; *Eur. Hec.* 466.

<sup>350</sup> Among the scholars who stress the association with Peisistratos: Kondis (1967), 169; Travlos (1971), 124; Kahil (1981), 261, (1988), 801 (Peisistratos or his sons); Shapiro (1989), 65 is more sceptical about the connection between the Brauronia and the tyrants since no specific evidence supports this view.

<sup>351</sup> For Peisistratos' property at Brauron, see Davies (1971), 452; for a detail analysis of Philaidai and Brauron, see Lavelle (2005), 171-179, 180 who considers that the *deme* of Philaidai would have been



Braurion on the Akropolis is limited to cuttings in the bedrock, stelai cavities, two crouching marble hounds of c.520 BC, and a single late sixth century *krateriskos* (c.510-500 BC).<sup>352</sup> There are no traces of a temple, and it is not until the second half of the fifth century BC that the Braurion was embellished with *stoai*.<sup>353</sup> The establishment of Artemis Brauronia's cult at the most sacred place of Athens clearly demonstrates the importance of her worship for the Athenians, and particularly their concern for the safe growth of their children, given that Artemis was worshipped on the same site as Athena, another goddess known as virgin, warrior and *kourotrophos*.<sup>354</sup> The idea that the cult of Artemis Brauronia was significant for the Athenians becomes clearer when we consider that fourth-century BC copies of the inventories of the sanctuary of Brauron record dedications made by women – mainly garments and personal ornaments – on the occasion of marriage or successful childbirth, which were set up at the Braurion on the Athenian Akropolis.<sup>355</sup>

---

located quite close to the precinct of Braurionian Artemis on the basis of literary, archaeological and topographical evidence.

<sup>352</sup> Contra: Osborne (1985), 154-155 who argues that evidence for cult activity of Artemis Brauronia on the Athenian Akropolis is lacking. For the date of the *krateriskos*, see Kahil (1981), 259. Hurwit (1999), 117, 197, among other scholars such as Hollinshead (1979, 109), suggests that the Peisistratidai may have established the Braurion rather than Peisistratos, since the archaeological evidence for the early Braurion dates c.520 BC. For the Braurion, see Rhodes and Dobbins (1979), 325-341; Hurwit (1999), 117, 197-198.

<sup>353</sup> But, see Despini (2010), 151-156, who considers the existence of a temple and remarks that its foundation could have been ruined. His main argument (in detail, 125-150) is based on the consideration that the marble (Parian) head (Athens, Museum Akropolis 13601, 56 cm), which was found just near the Braurion and once belonged to a female statue as indicated by the hairdressing, is the cult statue of Artemis Brauronia that Pausanias reports was made by Praxiteles (1.23.7). As no structure has been preserved that indicates a temple, this statement is completely hypothetical.

<sup>354</sup> Note that already from the Homeric era Athena appears as nurse of Erechtheus (Hom. *Il.* 548). For the *kourotrophic* nature of Athena in Attica, see Hadzisteliou-Price (1978), 101-104; for Artemis' and Athena's fostering role, see discussion in Blundell (1995), 44-45; also supra n. 53 for literary sources.

<sup>355</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1514-1518, 1521-1525, 1528-1530, 349/8-336/5 BC. Among the dedications we find also children's or men's clothes and even implements used in wool-working underlining the role of Artemis Brauronia as the protector of the domestic activities exercised by women; see Linders (1972), 12-19, 67-73; Cleland (2005), 1, 6. Unfortunately, the inventories from the sanctuary at Brauron remain unpublished. See also Barringer (2008), 59-108, who discusses the important role of women in Athenian society during the fifth century BC as revealed through myth, religion and art on the Parthenon and the Akropolis.

Leto's maternal character and Artemis' capacity as safe keeper of children, which was emphasized by her manifestation as Brauronia and the ritual of the *arkteia*, suggest that their presence on either side of Apollo underlines the god's function as protector of male children. Although evidence for Apollo's role as deity in charge of the well-being of boys and youths in Attica comes from the classical period onwards, it is worth noting two texts from the last quarter of the eighth century BC that offer evidence for the perception of this role for the god. In *Odyssey* 19.86, we learn that Telemachos, son of Odysseus, is favoured (ἔκητι) by Apollo, and the *scholion* (sch. Hom. *Od.* 19.86) on this particular verse mentions Apollo as *kourotrophos* (“τῶν ἀρρένων κουροτρόφος ὁ θεός”). The *kourotrophic* role of Apollo also is attested in Hesiod's *Theogony* 347, where he is referred to, along with the nymphs and the Rivers, as nurturer of youths. Hesiod uses the verb *kourizousi* which, as noted, is associated with the word “*kouros*”, a term that designates an adolescent and belongs to the root *ker-*, which means “to shear”.<sup>356</sup> The practice of cutting off the hair and dedicating it to a god or a hero at the moment of one's maturation is well attested in Greek tradition.<sup>357</sup> In fact, Theseus, one of the great role-models for young Athenians and whose excellence is proved by the accomplishment of several deeds, is said to have dedicated his adolescent hair to Apollo at Delphi (Plut. *Thes.* 5.1-2).<sup>358</sup>

According to the above, the successful growth of boys under the watch of Apollo would have guaranteed the maintenance, as well as the integrity, of an *oikos*.

---

<sup>356</sup> For the commentary, see West (1966), 263-264; Graf (2009), 84.

<sup>357</sup> E.g., for Dionysos (Eur. *Bacch.* 494), for the river Alpheios (Paus. 8.20.2), for the river Spercheios (Hom. *Il.* 23.144). Ritual cutting of the hair is also attested in funeral rites. Girls dedicated a lock of hair before marriage especially to Hera, Artemis and the Fates (Poll. 3.38), or to heroes and heroines as is the case with Megara (Paus. 1.43.4) and Troezena (Eur. *Hipp.* 1424-1426), offerings to Iphinoe and Hippolytus respectively. Herodotus (4.34) reports that Delian boys and girls make hair-offerings to the Hyperborean maidens on Delos. For the practice, see Leitao (2003), 109-129.

<sup>358</sup> Graf (2009), 85. On the paradigmatic role of heroes, see pp. 98-99 with references.

As Aristotle remarks, an *oikos* would not have been complete without children (*Pol.* 1.1253b). The importance of children to the preservation of an *oikos* is already stressed in book 2 of the *Iliad* (701), where we learn that Protesilaus' house was left incomplete (*δόμος ἡμιτελής*) because Protesilaus died childless.<sup>359</sup> Male children were the future *kyrioi* (masters)<sup>360</sup> of their *oikoi* and the ones that were entitled to inherit the family's wealth.<sup>361</sup> In sixth-century Athens, aristocrats attached great importance to the maintenance of their *oikoi* since their political power was based upon them. We should briefly mention that during this period wealth, particularly land ownership, was an important prerequisite for holding the highest office of the state, the archonship, which was open only to the two upper Solonian classes, namely, the *pentakosiomedimnoi* and *hippeis* (*Arist. Ath.Pol.* 7.3).<sup>362</sup>

---

<sup>359</sup> Lacey (1968), 237, n. 4.

<sup>360</sup> For *kyrios* as the head of the *oikos*, see for example, Lacey (1968), 21-22; MacDowell (1986), 84-85.

<sup>361</sup> For male children as heirs of an *oikos*' property, see Harrison (1968), 130-132; MacDowell (1986), 92-95, 100. There cases when a man died and left a daughter as heiress of his property, known as *epikleros*. It should be noted that the *epikleros* did not really own the property, but it belonged to the son that she might eventually produce; on *epikleros*, see further, Harrison (1968), 132-138; Lacey (1968), 139-145; MacDowell (1986), 95-98.

<sup>362</sup> Solon instituted four property classes (i.e., *pentakosiomedimnoi*, *hippeis*, *zeugitai* and *thetes*) the membership of which was defined by an individual's wealth (on the division of classes, see also *Plut. Sol.* 18.1-2). According to the *Athenaion Politeia* (26.2), it is not until 457/6 BC when the archonship opened to *zeugitai* as well; Ober (1989), 60-61; Rhodes (1993), 137-141, 148, 330. It should be noted that although Peisistratos and his sons ruled over Athens as tyrants (c.546-510 BC), not only they did not disturb the existing Solonian constitution and laws (*Hdt.* 1.59.6; *Thuc.* 6.54.6; *Arist. Ath.Pol.* 14.3; 16.2) but they also show efforts to foster good relations with other noble families (*Arist. Ath.Pol.* 16.9). In fact, the discovery of a fragmentary archon list from the Athenian Agora, dated c.425 BC on the basis of lettering (*Inv.* I4120, *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1031), reveals that under the tyranny of the Peisistratidai, other aristocrats, such as the Alkmaionid Kleisthenes and Miltiades IV of the Philaid family (Pherekydes, fr. 20, Müller) held the Eponymous Archonship in 525/4 and 524/3 BC respectively. The dates are been inferred from the known fact that Miltiades was archon in 524/3 BC (*Dion. Hal. Ant.Rom.* 7, 3.1). For the list of names, see Meritt (1939), 59-65 whose restoration has been accepted by most scholars, such as Cadoux (1948), Elliot and McGregor (1960), Thompson (1960), Davies (1971), 375, Arnheim (1977), 138, Lewis (1988), 288, Lavelle (2005), 152. See also Dillon (2006) who considers the name Pleisthenes instead of Kleisthenes and argues based on Herodotus' account (6.123.1) that Kleisthenes could not have been archon, since the Alkmaionidai were in exile during the tyranny. Contra: Forsdyke (2005), 121-125 who argues that elite families did not go into permanent exile under the tyranny, but show collaboration with the tyrants; On the way Peisistratos and his sons ruled and precisely on their attitude towards the nobles, see Andrewes (1982), 406-407; Lewis (1988), 288-289; Lavelle (2005), 152-161. See also Shapiro (1981) who discusses the love relationship between a youth and a man in the so-called "courtship scenes" on Attic vases of sixth century BC arguing that the

Despite the advent of democracy, the Athenian aristocracy continued to maintain social and, to some extent, political power. Whatever his true motives, Kleisthenes' reforms (508/7 BC) benefited the demos.<sup>363</sup> However, the reforms neither abandoned property qualifications for the archonship, which remained restricted to the two above-mentioned classes,<sup>364</sup> nor apparently did anything to reduce the competence of the old aristocratic Council of the Areopagos, which retained its authority until Ephialtes' reforms of 462 BC (Arist. *Ath.Pol.* 25.1-2).<sup>365</sup> Even the Kleisthenic law on ostracism (Arist. *Ath.Pol.* 22.1, 53.5; Philoch. *FGrH* 3b, 328, fr. 30), according to which the Athenians inscribed on *ostraka* the name of the person whom they considered to be the greatest threat to the state and then the person with the most votes (i.e., *ostraka* used as ballots) was forced into exile,<sup>366</sup> was not

---

appearance of those scenes in vase paintings should be understood in relation to the rise of Peisistratos in his effort to foster good relations with the old aristocratic families of Attica.

<sup>363</sup> E.g., the four old Ionian tribes – dominated by powerful aristocratic families whose influence was based on kinship, wealth, or control of important cults in their region – were replaced by ten new tribes, involving a division of Attica into demes and trittyes, while the Council (*Boule*) was expanded from 400 to 500 members, i.e., 50 members from each tribe (Hdt. 5.66.2, 69.2; Arist. *Ath.Pol.* 21.2-3). It seems that this tribal reform (the “mixing up” the people) would have not only broken up the ties – social, political, or religious – between aristocratic houses of Attica and their regions that would have led to the reduction of aristocratic influence, but also combining in one tribe men from different parts of Attica would have encouraged the unification of the state. The tribal reform would have an impact on the new Council of 500 since more citizens would have taken part in the government and candidates for office would have had to appeal not only to their friends but also to all their fellow-tribesmen to vote them. For commentary, see Rhodes (1993), 249-254; on Kleisthenic reforms, see Ostwald (1988); Ober (1989), 70-75; Lewis (2004), 292-304; for discussion on whether the Kleisthenic reforms actually benefited his family the Alkmaionidai at the expense of other aristocratic families, see Forrest (1966), 199-200; Arnheim (1977), 139-140; Lewis (2004), 308.

<sup>364</sup> *Supra* n. 362.

<sup>365</sup> Aristotle (*Pol.* 5.1304a, 20) notes that the Council of Areopagos “won prestige” (“*εὐδοκίμησασα*”) after the Persian Wars and “made the constitution tighter” (“*συντονωτέραν ποιῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν*”). Note that Kleisthenes' connection to Areopagos is not mentioned in any ancient source. On the Areopagos in connection to Kleisthenes and Ephialtes, see Forrest (1966), 199-200; Rhodes (1972), 200-210, (1993), 309-317; Ober (1989), 73, 77-78; also Wallace (1985), 72-87 who considers that Solon's reforms granted the Areopagos broader powers (Arist. *Ath.Pol.* 8.4), but remained largely unused – except the period 479-462 BC – as no ancient source supports the view that the Areopagos exercised these “extra” powers after Solon, during the rule of Peisistratos and sons, and the Kleisthenic reforms. It should be also noted that no ancient source reports that Peisistratos and sons or Kleisthenes made any changes regarding the authority of the Areopagos as established by Solon.

<sup>366</sup> A considerable number of *ostraka* has been found in excavations at Athens, mainly in the Athenian Agora and the Kerameikos. *Ostraka* were also found on the North Slope of Akropolis and elsewhere in Athens, Lang (1990), 7-8.

applied until 488/7 BC and was only used then for a short time.<sup>367</sup> It is also worth mentioning that men of aristocratic background continued to hold key-positions in the democratic government of archaic and classical Athens.<sup>368</sup>

Even when the Athenian democracy was in its early stages, aristocratic values and ideals were still held in high esteem. This may explain, for example, the continuous appearance of monumental *kouroi*, those lavish aristocratic dedications that functioned as votives or funerary markers, until the Persian sack of Athens in 480/479 BC.<sup>369</sup> Moreover, it becomes clear why heroic and warlike scenes in Attic vase painting, which, as demonstrated, possessed aristocratic connotations, were still popular until *c.* 475 BC.<sup>370</sup> The same explanation applies to the increased number of hunting scenes during the period 520-470 BC, suggesting, as Barringer argues, an aristocratic reaction to the social and political changes that occurred in Athens at the end of the sixth century and an aristocratic effort to assert and maintain social control.<sup>371</sup>

The consideration of this historical context within which depictions of the Apollonian triad occur provide further evidence of the aristocratic implications of the motif under discussion in Archaic Athens. As we can observe, the motif appears in a period when Peisistratos established his tyranny (*c.*546 BC), and reaches its peak, as

---

<sup>367</sup> According to *Athenaion Politeia* (22.4) the first victim of ostracism was Hipparchos, son of Charmus of Collytus. On ostracism in Athens, see Forsdyke (2005), 144-177.

<sup>368</sup> E.g., Hipparchos, son of Charmus of Collytus, and relative of Peisistratos (Arist. *Ath.Pol.* 22.4; Davies, 1971, 451) served as eponymous archon in 496/5 BC (Cadoux, 1948, 116); Miltiades IV (Hdt. 6.103.1; 104.2) served as general in 490 BC; Kimon II, Miltiades' IV son, served as general and commanded the armed forces of the Delian League in the operations between 476-463 BC (Thuc. 1.98-101; Plut. *Cim.* 6.1); Davies (1971), 301-302, 310-311.

<sup>369</sup> Richter (1988b), 1, 127, 130. It should be noted that a *kouros* could also functioned as a cult image; e.g., the bronze *kouros* from Piraeus (supra n. 195) that represents Apollo, Romano (1980), 337, 420.

<sup>370</sup> Giudice and Giudice (2009), 51.

<sup>371</sup> Barringer (2001), 43-44.

the concentration of images c.520-500 BC demonstrates, in a period marked by the tyranny of Peisistratidai and its violent overthrow, the advent of democracy and the struggle of the Athenian aristocracy to retain its social and political power. Finally, the motif trails off after c.460 BC, that is, soon after the Ephialtes' reforms.

It is also worth noting that members of known and powerful families demonstrated a particular interest in Apollo's worship both inside and outside Attica, as confirmed by literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence. I have already mentioned Peisistratos' involvement in purifying one part of Delos (see chapter 2.2). Moreover, we are aware of two Athenian dedications made by well-known aristocrats at the Theban sanctuary of Apollo Ptoieus north of Thebes (Hdt. 8.135.1). The first was made around 550-540 BC by Alkmeonides, son of Alkmeon,<sup>372</sup> who won a horse race at Athena's festival (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1469*).<sup>373</sup> The second was made by Hipparchos, son of Peisistratos, between 520 and 514 BC (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1470*).<sup>374</sup> It is not certain whether these dedications were politically motivated,<sup>375</sup> but they certainly demonstrate an interest in Apollo's worship by two of the most important families of

---

<sup>372</sup> For Alkmeonides' genealogy, see Davies (1971), 372.

<sup>373</sup> 550-540 BC: Ducat (1971), 246, (1973), 65; c.540 BC: *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1469*, Jeffery (1990), 73. The date of the inscription is based on the type of lettering, the text's context, and comparative material. Schachter (1994), 292 remarks that all that can be said for certain about its date is that it was made after the reorganization of the *Panathenaea* in 566/5 (during the archonship of Hippokleides: Marcellinus, *Vita Thucydides* 3). Note that the name of the festival is not mentioned, but scholars, including Jeffery, assume that this was the *Panathenaea*.

<sup>374</sup> 520-515 BC: *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1470*; 520 BC: Ducat (1971), 256, but c.515 BC in 1973, 66; earlier than 514 BC: Jeffery (1990), 75. The inscription is dated on the basis of the similarity of the lettering to that of the altar of Apollo Pythios (dated 522/1 BC, see *infra* n. 377) and comparative material.

<sup>375</sup> Davies (1971), 373 considers that Alkmeonides' dedication should be understood as a response to the Theban support for the return of Peisistratos' in 547/6 BC. Ducat (1971), 248 suggests that the dedication was made while the Alkmaionidai were in Athens and Peisistratos was in exile. Jeffery (1990), 73 connects the dedication with the exile of Alkmeonides' family suggesting that he had to leave Athens before he could make his dedication at Athens. But, see Schachter (1994), 299 who considers that Alkmeonides' dedication was made at Ptoion, because it was the main oracular sanctuary in central Greece which was active during this period. The sanctuary at Delphi was temporarily out of action due to the fire that destroyed Apollo's temple in 548 BC. As far as Hipparchos' dedication is concerned, scholars attribute his dedication to the general interest shown by the Peisistratids in oracles and the good relations between the Peisistratids and Thebes; e.g., Ducat (1971), 256-257; Lewis (1988), 294; Schachter (1994), 302.

Athens, i.e., the Peisistratidai and Alkmaionidai. The latter were also responsible for one part of the reconstruction of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, which had been destroyed by fire in 548 BC (Paus. 10.5.13); they sponsored the embellishment of the east pediment with marble sculptures (Hdt. 5.62.2-3) c. 530 to 506 BC as opposed to the limestone sculptures that had ornamented the earlier structure and the contemporary west pediment.<sup>376</sup> We should also note the dedication of an altar to Apollo Pythios by Peisistratos the Younger in the year of his archonship, according to Thucydides (6.54.6-7) in 522/1 BC (*IG I<sup>2</sup> 761*; *IG I<sup>3</sup> 948*).<sup>377</sup> The altar was found on the western side of the Ilissos River and south of the *Olympieion*, which, along with other finds from the same area,<sup>378</sup> confirm the existence of a shrine of Apollo Pythios (*Pythion*), which was mentioned by Thucydides (2.15.4).<sup>379</sup>

Having discussed how depictions of the Apollonian triad reflect aristocratic concerns, let us explore the connection between the Apollonian triad and their most

---

<sup>376</sup> Literary evidence for the reconstruction of the temple by the Alkmaionidai: Pind. *Pyth.* 7; Philochorus, *FGRH* 3b, 328, fr.115; Arist. *Ath.Pol.* 19. 3-4. Proposed dates: c.530 BC: Childs (1993), 415-441 (based on similarities with the sculptures of the Siphnian Treasury); c.514-506 BC: De la Coste-Messelière (1946), 285, Bommelaer (1991), 182, Scott (2010), 60 (based on literary evidence); Also 515-510 BC: Barringer (2008), 158-159 (based on compositional and iconographical similarities of the west pediment, which present a Gigantomachy, with the one of the pediments of the Old Temple of Athena on the Athenian Akropolis of c.510 BC).

<sup>377</sup> Note that the name of Peisistratos is included in the archons' list, Meritt (1939), 60. Most scholars accept the date 522/1 BC for the altar, such as Shapiro (1989), 50, Lewis (1988), 288-9, Camp (2001), 156. But, see also Arnush (1995), 144-152, who argues for a date in 496/5 BC on the basis of its architectural features and comparing the text with other inscriptions. Arnush supports the view that Peisistratos the Younger dedicated the altar to commemorate his earlier archonship.

<sup>378</sup> Apart from the altar, several other dedications (the earliest just before 450 BC) by victorious *choregoi* have been also recovered from the site, and confirm continued cult activity in the area at least from the fourth quarter of the sixth century BC; for the epigraphic evidence, see Travlos (1971), 100; see also Amandry (1977), 165-202 and Wilson (2000), 304, (2007), 154 who include further dedications by victorious *choregoi* at *Thargelia* and provide bibliography. It should be also noted that the boundaries of the *Pythion* have not been precisely identified; see Wycherley (1959), 71, (1963), (1978), 167-168; Travlos (1971), 100-103; Parker (2005), 55-56.

<sup>379</sup> Thucydides is our earliest source mentioning that the *Pythion*, along with other shrines, such as the *Olympieion*, is located in the most ancient part of the city of Athens, i.e., the area that lay southeast of the Akropolis, in the vicinity of the Ilissos River. I consider that Wycherley (1959), 71-72, (1963) has correctly argued on literary, epigraphic and archaeological grounds that Thucydides in 2.15.4 does not call *Pythion* the cave on the northwest slope of the Akropolis, but the shrine of Apollo Pythios near the Ilissos. For the opposite view, see Keramopoulos (1932), 86-92; Broneer (1960), 54-62.

common companions in vase painting, i.e., Hermes, Dionysos, and Poseidon. As already noted, this investigation will advance our knowledge of the motif in its religious and socio-political context. Recalling the association of Dionysos with the *symposion* and the fact that the depiction of all three deities in sympotic scenes has been confirmed in vase painting of the sixth century, we may consider them appropriate figures to accompany the Apollonian triad, particularly Apollo, whose links with the world of the *symposion* have been discussed above. However, it is worthwhile pursuing the investigation a bit further to explore more connections between Apollo, Hermes, Dionysos, and Poseidon as revealed through myth, religion and art.

Let us start with Hermes. Hermes often acts as an escort of both mortals and deities because of his ability to cross borders and different spheres, such as between the divine and human realms, or that of the world of living and the world of the dead.<sup>380</sup> Owing to his role as a guide, the god frequently accompanies figures in Attic vase painting.<sup>381</sup> Although Hermes seems to be the most appropriate escort for deities, we cannot exclude the idea that his constant appearance with the Apollonian triad (32 out of 38 times) implies a special relationship between him and the trio, particularly with Apollo.

---

<sup>380</sup> Hermes guides humans when they set out on a journey and keeps them safe (e.g., Hom. *Il.* 24.334-336; Aesch. *Eum.* 90-93), while he leads their souls after death to the underworld (e.g., Hom. *Od.* 24.1-14). He also accompanies deities who cross the boundary between divine and human spheres, as in the case when Hermes leads Hera, Athena and Aphrodite to Paris. The theme is known from several representations in Attic vase painting (e.g., black-figure *hydria* of c.510 BC attributed to the Antimenes Painter; Basel, Antikenmuseum BS 434; *ABV* 268, 32; *Para* 118; *Add<sup>2</sup>* 70; *LIMC* 7, s.v. Paridis Iudicium, fig. 14, Kossatz-Deissmann) as well as from literary sources (e.g., *Cypria* 1, West, 2003); for the literary sources, see *LIMC* 7, s.v. Paridis Iudicium, 176, Kossatz-Deissmann). We should also refer to the occasions that Hermes escorts deities (e.g., Persephone in *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 377) or heroes (e.g., Heracles in Hom. *Od.* 11.626) from Hades. The idea that Hermes is god of boundaries is stressed by many scholars, e.g., Burkert (1987), 156-158; also infra n. 391.

<sup>381</sup> Examples of Hermes escorting other deities (e.g., Athena, Dionysos, etc.) or heroes (e.g., Herakles, Theseus, etc.) are numerous in vase painting; see *LIMC* 5, s.v. Hermes [Siebert].



The close relationship between Apollo and Hermes is, in fact, well documented by the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* (end of the sixth century BC).<sup>382</sup> The *Hymn* narrates how the young Hermes stole Apollo's herd of cattle and how the two half-brothers reconciled by exchanging gifts: Hermes gave the seven-stringed lyre to Apollo, while Apollo bestowed the caduceus on Hermes (490-499). Their close association is confirmed in Attic iconography, as well. We have already mentioned Hermes standing next to Apollo in a chariot from early Attic black-figure vase painting, e.g., the Sophilos' *lebes* (c.580 BC, fig. 2).<sup>383</sup> Hermes also is often depicted in other scenes with Apollo, as, for example, the dispute over the Delphic tripod between Apollo and Herakles,<sup>384</sup> or, as noted (Chapter I), in chariot scenes with the triad (fig. 13). Moreover, Hermes and Apollo appear standing among youths with spears on a few black-figure amphorae of 550-540 BC attributed to the Amasis Painter.<sup>385</sup> As far as Hermes' cult is concerned, it should be noted that he and Apollo are frequently worshipped at the same site, as, for example, at Olympia where they share an altar, according to Pausanias (5.14.8).<sup>386</sup>

Another point to consider is Hermes' responsibility for the safety and protection of children, a role that justifies his appearance alongside deities, who are, as discussed, *kourotrophoi*. The association of Hermes with children is well attested both in literature and in iconographic tradition. From the literary sources we learn

---

<sup>382</sup> Janko (1982), 143; Richardson (2010), 24; Vergados (2013), 130-147.

<sup>383</sup> *Supra* n. 47.

<sup>384</sup> E.g., an Attic black-figure *hydria* of 520-510 BC attributed to the Leagros Group; Berlin Antikensammlungen Museum F1907; *ABV* 360, 8; *Add<sup>2</sup>*; *LIMC* 5, s.v. Herakles, fig. 3036 [Woodford].

<sup>385</sup> E.g., Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig L20; *Para* 65; *BAPD* 350465; Bothmer (1985), 88-90; Berlin, Antikensammlungen F1688; *ABV* 150,9; *Para* 63; *Add<sup>2</sup>* 42; *BAPD* 310436; Bothmer (1985), 91-92;

<sup>386</sup> Pausanias (8.32.2) also informs us that a sanctuary was built in common to the Mousai, Apollo and Hermes in Arkadia.

that Hermes brought the infant Herakles to Olympos (Paus. 9.25.2), and rescued baby Dionysos (Apollon. *Argonautica* 4, 1131-1137), Ion (Eur. *Ion* 29-36), Arkas (Paus. 8.3.6), Asklepios (Paus. 2.26.6), and Aristaios (Pind. *Pyth.* 9.59-61).<sup>387</sup> In sixth-century vase painting, Hermes usually appears in scenes where Peleus delivers his child Achilles to the centaur Cheiron, as on a fragmentary Attic Siana cup c.560 BC by the Heidelberg Painter (fig. 71).<sup>388</sup> Cheiron's role as nurturer of young heroes, such as Achilles (Hom. *Il.* 11.832), Medeios (Hes. *Theog.* 1001), Jason (Pind. *Nem.* 54), and Asklepios (Pind. *Nem.* 54) is a well-established mythological tradition.<sup>389</sup> The inclusion of Hermes in scenes depicting Cheiron receiving his young *protégé* clearly underlines the god's *kourotrophic* nature. From the late sixth century BC on, Hermes becomes a *paidophoros* (i.e., the one who carries a child) as we see on an Attic black-figure amphora of the late sixth century, attributed to the Dot-Band Class, where Hermes (*HEPMEΣ*) carries the baby Herakles (*HEPAKAEΣ*) to Cheiron, who appears on the other side of the vase (fig. 72).<sup>390</sup> Scholars explain Hermes' role as *kourotrophos* by his own childhood as described in the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*. According to this reasoning, the *Hymn* is a "coming-of-age tale", since it narrates, as pointed out, Hermes' passage toward manhood.<sup>391</sup> Though a baby, Hermes jumps out of his cradle and accomplishes impressive deeds such as the invention of lyre from a

<sup>387</sup> Hermes as rescuer of children is discussed by Huys (1995), 301-302, 307, 308-312.

<sup>388</sup> Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale 1856, *ABV* 65, 45; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 17; *LIMC* 5, s.v. Hermes, fig. 358 [Siebert]; *LIMC* 3, s.v. Cheiron, fig. 45 [Gisler-Huwiler]. For the theme of Peleus bringing his son to Cheiron in Attic vase painting, see *LIMC* 3, s.v. Cheiron, 248 [Gisler-Huwiler]; Schefold (1992), 211-214; Gantz (1993), 231; Shapiro (2003), 91.

<sup>389</sup> For the literary sources, see West (1966), 430; *LIMC* 3, s.v. Cheiron, 237 [Gisler-Huwiler]; Gantz (1993), 91, 190-191, 231.

<sup>390</sup> Munich Antikensammlungen 1615a, *ABV* 484, 6; *Para* 221; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 122; *LIMC* 5, s.v. Hermes, fig. 383 [Siebert]. For a discussion regarding Hermes's role as *paidophoros* and *kourotrophos*, see Hadzisteliou-Price (1978), 70-71; Ajootian (2006), 617.

<sup>391</sup> Baudy (1998), 428-429; Johnston (2003), 157-161; Ajootian (2006), 617; See also Marinatos (2003), who stresses the fact that Hermes, as the god who crosses boundaries and particularly age boundaries, was appropriate to maturation rites using as evidence the worship of Hermes at Kato Syme on Crete.

tortoise shell (20-61), stealing Apollo's cattle (75-78) and a sacrifice to the twelve gods (128-129). Therefore, Hermes appears as a baby who suddenly grows, acts as an adolescent, and then returns to his cradle. In doing all this, he justifies scholars' characterization of him as the god who crosses boundaries, both literally and metaphorically.

I turn now to the consideration of Dionysos as another common companion of the Apollonian triad. Connections between Dionysos and the Apollonian triad are not limited to the sympotic realm. In fact, the association of Dionysos with Apollo is well attested beyond the *symposion* in myth and cult.

As already mentioned (s.v. Chapter 3.1), the worship of Apollo at the sanctuary of Dionysos in the *deme* of Ikarion existed from c.525 BC as testified by an inscription (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1015*). It is interesting to note that the first appearance of Dionysos with the Apollonian triad on vases under discussion is c.525/520, i.e., the period when the worship of both gods – Apollo and Dionysos – is confirmed at the site of Ikarion.<sup>392</sup>

Outside Attica, the shared worship of Apollo and Dionysos is attested, as well.<sup>393</sup> At the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, the cult of Dionysos is also confirmed

---

<sup>392</sup> Note that earliest evidence for the establishment of Dionysos' cult at the site, apart from the inscription (i.e., *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1015*), is a fragmentary, archaic seated cult statue of Dionysos, wearing a robe, sandals and holding a *kantharos* (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Inv. 3897, 3073, 3074, 3072). The statue has been dated between c.530 and 525 BC on stylistic grounds. For the statue, see Romano (1982), who rightly argued that this is a cult statue and not a mask as has been originally considered. Her argument is based on the following factors: (a) epigraphic *testimonia* (*IG I<sup>2</sup> 187*, mid-5th century BC; *IG II<sup>2</sup> 2851*, 4<sup>th</sup> century BC), (b) there are no other marble masks from the archaic period, (c) most of the sculptures identified as masks have flat backs, while the head from Ikarion has a roughly picked surface, (d) its features exhibit asymmetries in contrast to true masks which are usually symmetrical, and (e) the size of the head is colossal which makes it unlikely to have been placed on a pillar or column. See also Despini (2007), who discusses the statue and considers two marble fragments from the sanctuary of Ikarion (Athens, Marathon Museum Inv. Λ125; National Archaeological Museum Inv. 4888) that were part of a marble canopy under which the seated figure of Dionysos would have been placed. This view provides further evidence for its interpretation as a cult statue.

<sup>393</sup> On the worship of the two deities on other sites, see Detienne (2001).

at least from the fifth century BC onwards as indicated by literary (e.g., Aesch. *Eum.* 22-26),<sup>394</sup> epigraphic (e.g., Philodamos' *paian* to Dionysos, 340-339 BC),<sup>395</sup> and archaeological evidence (e.g., Apollo and Dionysos shaking hands above the Delphic *omphalos* on an Attic red-figure *kalyx-krater* of the end of the fifth century BC attributed to the Kadmos Painter).<sup>396</sup> In fact, the worship of both deities at Delphi is well exemplified by the pediments of the fourth-century temple of Apollo, which Pausanias described (10.19.4): Apollo, Leto, Artemis and the Muses adorn the east pediment, while Dionysos and his female followers, the Thyiades,<sup>397</sup> the west pediment. The reconstruction of the pediments presents the following picture: the east pediment depicts Apollo, seated on a tripod, between two standing females, Artemis and a veiled Leto. The Apollonian triad is accompanied by the Muses, who stand or sit on rocks; the west pediment presents Dionysos, who wears a *mitra* and

---

<sup>394</sup> Also: Eur. *Ion* 714-717; 1125-1127; *IT.* 1239-1244; *Phoen.* 226.228; *Bacch.* 306-309; *Likymnios* fr. 477 (Nauck); Ar. *Nub.* 603-606; Plut. *de E ap. Delph.* 388e, f; Plut. *Mor.* 389c; see also infra n. 397 for Thyiades worshipping Dionysos at Delphi. On Dionysos at Delphi, see Parke (1939), 14-16, 30, 335-336, 344-346; Amandry (1950), 196-200; Jeanmaire (1951), 187-197; Fontenrose (1959), 374-394; Burkert (1987), 224; Strauss-Clay (1996); Furley and Bremer (2001a), 126-127; Sourvinou-Inwood (2005), 162-168; Larson (2007), 137-138; Barringer (2008), 148-156; Graf (2009), 139; on Parnassus, in particular, sacred to both Apollo and Dionysos, see McInerney (1997).

<sup>395</sup> The *paian* was inscribed on a *stèle* in which an honorary decree (at the bottom) recording privileges granted to the poet (Philodamos of Skarpheia) and his brothers (Epigenes and Mantidas) was also included. The *paian* was performed in the year when Etymondas, according to the inscription, was archon, i.e., in 340/399 BC. For the text, commentary, dating and content of the *paian*, see Furley and Bremer (2001a), 121-128; (2001b) 52-84; also Croissant (2003), 7-11, 19-22.

<sup>396</sup> St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum St. 1807; ARV<sup>2</sup> 1185, 7; *Para* 460; *Add<sup>2</sup>* 341; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 768a [Kokkorou-Alewrás]. The vase as evidence of Dionysos' worship at Delphi is discussed by many scholars, such as Jeanmaire (1951), 187; Simon (1982), 90; Barringer (2008), 154, etc. See also Themelis (1992) who discusses the representation of a cult scene, i.e., a female worshipper of Dionysos offering a dead animal to the idol of Dionysos, on the *polos* of the Siphnian Karyatid at Delphi (530-525 BC). If the interpretation of this scene as depiction of Dionysiac ritual is correct, then we may consider the possibility that Dionysos' worship at Delphi existed at least from the sixth century BC onwards.

<sup>397</sup> Literary evidence for Thyiades worshipping Dionysos at Delphi: Soph. *Ant.* 1146-1152; Paus. 10.4.3; 6, 4; Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 365a; *De Primo Frigido* 953d; *De mul.vir.* 249ef; *Quaest. Graec.* 293d; on the Thyiades, see Henrichs (1978), 136-137, 152-155; McInerney (1997), 269-283; Versnel (1990) 137-138; Sourvinou-Inwood (2005), 211-240; Villanueva-Puig (2009), 45-46.

originally held a kithara, flanked by the Thyiades, who wear animal skins and appear standing, kneeling or reclining, while panthers fill the corners of the pediment.<sup>398</sup>

The association of Dionysos with the Apollonian triad can be explored further by considering whether Dionysos has a connection with children and youths as we observed for both Apollo and Artemis. A series of vases, dated around the third quarter of the sixth century BC, presents the god of wine along with a female figure, identified by scholars as Ariadne,<sup>399</sup> Aphrodite,<sup>400</sup> or Kourotrophos,<sup>401</sup> carrying two small children in her arms or occasionally one child.<sup>402</sup> A charming example is the scene on an Attic black-figure neck-amphora of 540-530 BC attributed to the London B213 Painter (fig. 73), in which Dionysos joins a female who holds two small children in her arms.<sup>403</sup> The appearance of a female figure with children within the Dionysiac realm, whether she is Ariadne, Aphrodite, or Kourotrophos, stresses Dionysos' connections with children. On a single vase, a black-figure neck-amphora

---

<sup>398</sup> The fourth century temple replaced its predecessor after an earthquake in 373/2 on the basis of inscribed building accounts and literary sources. On the fourth-century temple, its date, structure, and sculptural programme, see Stewart (1982), 207-211; Bommelaer (1991), 177-181; Picard (1991), 77-84; Croissant (2003); Barringer (2008), 149-151.

<sup>399</sup> Simon (1963), 13; Webster (1966), 25; Schefold (1992), 18; Hedreen (1992), 34-35; *LIMC* 3, Addenda, s.v. Ariadne, 1069-1070 [Berhard and Darzewski]; *LIMC* 7, s.v. Staphylos, 807-808 [Parlama]; *LIMC* 8, s.v. Oinopion, fig. 921 [Touchefeu-Meynier]. The interpretation is based on the fact that Ariadne is known as Dionysos' wife (Hes. *Theog.* 947), and the perception that the two children are the children of Dionysos and Ariadne, Staphylos and Oinopion (Diod. 5.79.1; Apollod. 1.113). See also Isler-Kerényi (2007), who prefers to name her "mother of twins" or "anonymous mother" (117-120), but she does not consider the name Ariadne incompatible in light of the mythology and information on the *hieros gamos* (123).

<sup>400</sup> Carpenter (1986), 24, bases his argument on the evidence of a fragmentary unattributed black-figure *skyphos* from Akropolis 603a dated c.575-550 BC (*LIMC* 2, s.v. Aphrodite, fig. 1502, Delivorias, Berger-Doer, Kossatz-Deissmann) that presents Aphrodite (named) carrying a child and following Dionysos presumably in a procession. However, as rightly argued by Hedreen (1992), 34-35, the deities do not face each other and Dionysos is not even looking in Aphrodite's direction as in the scenes of Dionysos with the figure carrying a child or children. He concludes that the scene of the fragmentary *skyphos* and the scenes of Dionysos with the female with children are not typologically the same.

<sup>401</sup> Shapiro (1989), 95, 122 points out that the motif of the mother with children almost never occurs outside the sphere of Dionysos. He prefers to see her as Kourotrophos, not as an epithet but as an autonomous divinity.

<sup>402</sup> See Hedreen (1992), 53-54, n. 37 and Isler-Kerényi (2007), 117 who provide a list of vases.

<sup>403</sup> London, British Museum B213; *ABV* 143, 1; *Para* 59; *Add<sup>2</sup>* 39; Shapiro (1989), pl. 54b.

signed by Exekias (fig. 74), Dionysos appears with his son Oinopion (Diod. 5.79.1) – identified by his painted name –, a nude youth with an *oinochoe* ready to pour wine into Dionysos’ *kantharos*.<sup>404</sup> Moreover, Dionysos’ association with youths can be observed on some earlier examples, where the god of wine stands between young hunters, who carry dead animals on poles or he is flanked by youths bringing wineskins, as we see on two black-figure amphorae of 550-540 by the Amasis Painter (figs.75-76).<sup>405</sup>

The association that the god of wine had with youngsters is well demonstrated by the involvement of children, youths and *ephebes* in Athenian festivals honouring Dionysos, such as the *Anthesteria*, *Oschophoria*, and City Dionysia as we know them from the classical period onwards.<sup>406</sup>

The *Anthesteria*,<sup>407</sup> according to both ancient writers and modern scholars, is considered the oldest festival of Dionysos, celebrated from the 11<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> of the month of *Anthesterion* at the shrine of Dionysos “*en Limnais*” or the *Limnaion* (Thuc. 2.15.4).<sup>408</sup> As scholars point out, children’s participation in the festival, particularly

---

<sup>404</sup> London, British Museum 1836.2 (B210); *ABV* 144, 7; *Para* 60; *Add<sup>2</sup>* 39; *LIMC* 8, s.v. Oinopion, fig. 3 [Touchefeu-Meynier]; Mackay (2010), 315-326.

<sup>405</sup> Munich, Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1383; *ABV* 150, 7; *Para* 63; *LIMC* 3, s.v. Dionysos, fig. 807 [Gasparri]. Munich, Antikensammlungen 8763; *Para* 65; *Add<sup>2</sup>* 43.

<sup>406</sup> Representations of Dionysos with a female carrying children (or child) in relation to the festival of *Anthesteria* has been discussed by Dasen (2005), 214-219, who underlines Dionysos’ role presiding over the initiation of children in the religious life of the *polis*. Moreover, the association of Dionysos with youths and tragedy is stressed by Barringer (2001), 53-58.

<sup>407</sup> Note that the name *Anthesteria* appears in literary sources after the second century BC, Hamilton (1992), 5.

<sup>408</sup> According to Thucydides’ account the festival was celebrated by all Ionians and thus it should be dated prior to the Ionian migration toward the end of the second millennium; Burkert (1983), 213, (1987), 237; Simon (1982), 92; Shapiro (1989), 84-85, arguing for the antiquity of this cult remarks that it was Archon Basileus who was responsible for the festival. Although the sanctuary has not been found in excavations, Thucydides mentions it along with other shrines, such as that of Zeus Olympios, Apollo Pythios and Ge, located south of the Akropolis in the Ilissos area. Pickard-Cambridge (1968), 19-25 mentions the theories regarding the possible location of the sanctuary *en Limnais*. On the possible location of the *Limnaion* along the Ilissos, see Hooker (1960); Wycherley (1978)172; Slater (1986), 259-263. On *Anthesteria* in general, see Deubner (1956), 93-123; Pickard-Cambridge (1968), 1-18; Parke (1977), 107-119; Simon (1982), 92-99; Burkert (1983), 213-247, (1987), 237-242;

on the second day (*Choes*) is attested by literary (e.g., Ar. *Thesm.* 746-747; Philostr. *Her.* 12.2) and epigraphic evidence (e.g., grave *stele* of a boy, Athens, National, Archaeological Museum 3088, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 13139, second century AD), and by a considerable number of small *choes* (under 15.0 cm in height) dated c.430-390 BC that commonly depict small children (aged between two and three).<sup>409</sup> In particular, children – mostly naked boys, but girls are also depicted – often wear amulets and sometimes a wreath; they appear crawling, stooping, lying on the ground, kneeling, playing with toys or pets; other objects, such as a table, a stool, a *chous*, a cart, a roller, cakes, grapes, are repeatedly found in the scene with a small child.<sup>410</sup> Some suppose that these small *choes* functioned as gifts for children or held children's portion of wine.<sup>411</sup> Whatever their actual function was, the particular shape of vase, its size and iconography together with literary and epigraphic evidence denotes children's association with the festival.

---

Hoffman (1989), 97-99; Hamilton (1992), *passim*; Robertson (1993); Parker (2005), 290-305, 313-316.

<sup>409</sup> On participation of children at *Anthesteria*, see, for example, Pickard-Cambridge (1968), 9; Parke (1977), 107-108; Simon (1982), 94; Burkert (1983), 216, 221; Neils (2003), 145-147; Parker (2005), 298, 315; Beaumont (2012), 70,73. See also Hamilton (1992), 84 who excludes the use of the small *choes* at the festival because they would have held hardly any wine due to their small size and if they were used at the festival we would expected an early and continuous production. However, he considers that the small *choes* do reflect the *Choes* festival, but only as a metaphor. He also remarks that children played no official part in the proceedings, but he accepts the fact that they were present at the periphery (117-118). Contra: Ham (1999) who suggests that the small *choes* were produced between 430 and 390 BC as a cultic response to the decline of the male citizen population due to the Peloponnesian Wars and the plague. For a discussion on the age of children on small *choes*, see Sourvinou-Inwood (1988), 48-50; Hamilton (1992), 209-219.

<sup>410</sup> For the iconographical analysis of small *choes* in particular, see Hamilton (1992), 83-121. The small *choes* show almost exclusively boys: Hamilton (1992), 84; Ham (1999), 205, 207. Though rarely, girls do appear on small *choes* as well: Beaumont (1995), 354, 356 (fig. 14); Neils (2003), 146; Parker (2005), 300, fig.18. Beaumont (2012), 76 explains that girls appear less frequently on small *choes* than boys because of the higher social value placed on male children.

<sup>411</sup> E.g., Parke (1977), 108; Simon (1982), 95; Garland (1990), 122; Hamilton (1992), 121; Neils (2003), 145; Beaumont (2003a), 75.

The *Oschophoria* festival honoured both Dionysos and Athena Skiras on *Pyanopsion* 7.<sup>412</sup> Two aristocratic youths (*neaniai*, *neaniskoi* or *paides*),<sup>413</sup> dressed as women and carrying vine branches (*oschoi*), led a procession of a choir that sang oschophoric songs and a group of women called *deipnophoroi* (“dinner-bearers”) from a sanctuary of Dionysos in Athens to the temple of Athena Skiras at Phaleron.<sup>414</sup> The festival also included a footrace of *ephebes* from each Attic tribe.<sup>415</sup> Cross-dressing is widely attested, as remarked, for both private and public Dionysiac ritual,<sup>416</sup> and has been also associated with coming-of-age and initiation rituals.<sup>417</sup> Whether we should consider the *Oschophoria*, as proposed, an “*ephebes*’ rite”,<sup>418</sup> is

---

<sup>412</sup> Scholars, such as Deubner (1956), 142-146, Simon (1982), 90-91, Hedreen (1992), 84, assign the festival exclusively to Dionysos, because it took place at the time of vintage (7 *Pyanopsion*, i.e., October), some of its features, such as vine-branches, are exclusively Dionysiac, and some texts (e.g., Plut. *Thes.* 23.4) treat the rite as thanksgiving to Dionysos. Others, including Ferguson (1938), 38-41, and Parke (1977), 79, linked the festival primarily to Athena. However, scholars, including Calame (2001), 137, Parker (2005), 215, and Pilz (2011), 160, rightly argued that literary sources mention both Dionysos and Athena Skiras in association to the festival (e.g., Procl. *Chest* = Phot. *Bibl.* 239, p. 322a) and therefore we would rather attribute the festival to both deities.

<sup>413</sup> Procl. *Chest.* (Phot. *Bibl.* 239, p. 322a, 14); Plut. *Thes.* 3; Hsch. s.v. *Oschophoria*.

<sup>414</sup> Demon, fr. 4, Müller (Plut. *Thes.* 23.2-4); Istros fr.13, Müller; Procl. *Chest.* (Phot. *Bibl.* 239, p. 322a); Paus. 1.1.4; Hsch. s.v. *Oschophoria*, *Oschophorion*; Harp. s.v. *oschophoroi*; Phot. s.v. *oschophorein*, *oschophoroi*. The earliest evidence for the festival is considered to be Pindar, who composed an “oschophoric song” for an unknown Athenian (*Isthm.* fr. 6c, Maehler) and the sacrificial calendar of Salaminioi 363/362 BC (under the archonship of Charakleides; *SEG* 21: 527) that reveals the involvement of the *genos* in the organization of the *Oschophoria*. On Pindar’s *oschophorikon*, see Parker (2005), 212 who suggests that the song must have honoured one of the two *oschophoroi* and was performed to accompany the procession based on Proclus’ account (Phot. *Bibl.* 239, p. 322a); contra: Rutherford and Irvine (1988) who consider it as a victory song on literary basis. On the Salaminioi inscription, see Lambert (1997). On the *Oschophoria* in general, see Deubner (1956), 142-147; Parke (1977), 77-81; Simon (1982), 89-92; Hoffman (1989), 93-94; Parker (2005), 211-217; Pilz (2011), 156-164.

<sup>415</sup> Procl. *Chest.* (Phot. *Bibl.* 239, p. 322a, 28). A contest is alluded in the Salaminioi inscription, *SEG* 21: 527, 61; on the race at *Oschophoria*, see Kadletz (1980); Parker (2005), 213-214; Pilz (2011), 158.

<sup>416</sup> On Dionysiac transvestism, see Seaford (1994), 273-274; Csapo (1997), 262-263; Miller (1999), 242; Bremmer (1999).

<sup>417</sup> E.g., During the festival of *Ekdysia* in honour of Leto Phytia at Hellenistic Phaestos, youths had to swear an oath of citizenship before entering society and they were required to cast off feminine clothes and put on masculine clothes (Nic. *Met.* fr.45, Schneider = Ant.Lib. *Met.* 17). When young Cretans, particularly from Malia, Lyttos, Dreros, and Axos, took their oath of citizenship are referred to inscriptions (e.g., *IC* I.XIX. 1, 17-18) as *ekdyomenoi* (“disrobing”); on the festival of *Ekdysia* and ritual transvestism, see Leitao (1995). For a general discussion regarding cross-dressing, see Miller (1999), 141-146. On the term “initiation”, see Parker (2005), 208, who defines it as “a *rite of passage* through which one moves from one social status to another”.

<sup>418</sup> Parker (2005), 217.



uncertain, since participants in the festival were not only *ephebes* but also women and youths/boys.<sup>419</sup> Nevertheless, it is worth noting that youths and *ephebes* had a prominent place in the festival.

The City Dionysia (Thuc.5.20.1) or “Great Dionysia” (Arist. *Ath.Pol.* 56.4) was established in honour of Dionysos Eleuthereus and celebrated from the 9<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> of *Elaphebolion* (end of March).<sup>420</sup> According to Pausanias, the wooden statue (*xoanon*)<sup>421</sup> of Dionysos Eleuthereus had been brought to Athens from Eleutherai and was housed in the old temple of Dionysos (1.20.3; 1.38.8), which was founded on the south slope of the Akropolis in the second half of the sixth century BC.<sup>422</sup> We know from literary (e.g., Arist. *Ath.Pol.* 56.3) and epigraphic evidence (e.g., *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2318, 333/2BC)<sup>423</sup> that boys took part in dithyrambic competitions organised by the Kleisthenic tribes at Great Dionysia. Moreover, iconographic evidence suggests that *ephebes* performed in tragic and satyric *choruses* at the dramatic contests of the festival.<sup>424</sup> That the *ephebes* played an important role in the festival is demonstrated

---

<sup>419</sup> Pilz (2011), 161 rightly remarks that the two *oschophoroi* and perhaps also the members of the *chorus* may have represented a younger age group in contrast to the ones that compete in the tribal race, i.e., *ephebes*.

<sup>420</sup> Simon (1982), 102. Whether the City Dionysia were established during the rule of Peisistratos is uncertain. Pickard-Cambridge (1968), 58, mentions that the festival became important in the sixth century BC, probably through the policy of Peisistratos. Shapiro (1989), 86, suggests that Peisistratos elaborated a festival which already existed. Csapo and Slater (1994), 104 consider that the Great Dionysia was one of the new urban festivals created by Peisistratos without providing further explanation. In the light of the sixth century sanctuary of Dionysos Eleuthereus (infra n. 422), among other evidence, Sourvinou-Inwood (2003), 104 argues that the festival was pre-Kleisthenic in date.

<sup>421</sup> Simon (1982), 103 refers to the form of the idol as a column with a mask, based on a fragment of Euripides’ work *Antiope* fr. 203 (Nauck), a tragedy which is set in Eleutherai, and on the many archaic terracotta masks of a bearded Dionysos found in Boeotia.

<sup>422</sup> Pickard-Cambridge (1946), 3 discusses the temple’s characteristics that were found in other buildings of the Peisistratean epoch; Travlos (1971), 537; Wycherley (1978), 183; Shapiro (1989), 85; Sourvinou-Inwood (2003), 104.

<sup>423</sup> Csapo and Slater (1994), 40, 115-116.

<sup>424</sup> See Winkler (1990), 43-47, 57 who suggests that tragic-satyric *choruses* – performed at the City Dionysia – were composed of young men (*ephebes*). His argument is based on iconographical evidence, such as the so-called Pronomos Vase, a late fifth Attic red-figure *volute-krater* from Ruvo attributed to the Pronomos Painter. The obverse is decorated, as generally accepted, with a theatrical scene including three actors in costumes, each holding a mask for his role, a *chorus* of eleven

by their participation in the great procession to Dionysos' precinct as confirmed by second century BC inscriptions (e.g., *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1006, 13; 122-121 BC).<sup>425</sup>

Another god commonly depicted with the Apollonian triad is Poseidon. The relationship between Poseidon and Apollo is already stressed in the *Iliad*. In book twenty, we are informed that Poseidon and Apollo are opponents in the battle of the gods (67-68). However, they do not fight each other, since Apollo decides not to take arms against his uncle despite Artemis' accusations of being a coward (*Il.* 21.461-477). In fact, the two gods are said to have built the walls of Troy (*Il.* 7.452-453) and together served Laomedon, the legendary king of Troy, at the order of Zeus (*Hom. Il.* 21.441-457).<sup>426</sup>

Paul Zanker and Alan Shapiro discuss the appearance of Poseidon with the Apollonian triad on sixth-century Attic vases. In particular, Zanker justifies Poseidon's presence with the trio because according to some later accounts, it was he who provided refuge to Leto on Delos (e.g., *Ael.Arist. Or.* 46.14).<sup>427</sup> He considers that the inclusion of Poseidon in scenes with the Apollonian triad indicates that the scene is set on Delos. Shapiro explains Poseidon's presence with the Apollonian triad as owing to the affinity of Apollo and Poseidon as the Ionian gods *par excellence*.<sup>428</sup>

---

members in costume and holding their masks, an *aulos-player*, a lyre-player, and a poet (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale H 3240; *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 1336.1; *Para* 480; *Add<sup>2</sup>* 365). Note that nine of the eleven *chorus*-members are labelled, but we cannot say whether these names can be associated to real people. Winkler points out that the appearance of eleven youths in the scene indicates that *ephebes* participated in the play as *chorus* members. In addition, Winkler proposes a new etymology for "*tragoidoi*" arguing that *tragoidoi* designates ephebic-singers whose voices changed because of puberty (58-61). On the "Pronomos Vase" with extensive bibliography, see Taplin and Wyles (2010). See also Csapo and Slater (1994), 53-79 who discuss the influence of theatre on Attic vase painting including the "Pronomos Vase".

<sup>425</sup> For the inscriptions see, Pickard-Cambridge (1968), 60; Csapo and Slater (1994), 111. On City Dionysia in general, see Pickard-Cambridge (1968), 57-66; Parke (1977), 125-135; Simon (1982), 101-104; Sourvinou-Inwood (2003), 67-120; Parker (2005), 317-318.

<sup>426</sup> For the pair Apollo-Poseidon, see Burkert (1987), 221-222; Simon (1998), 66.

<sup>427</sup> Zanker (1965), 72-73; cf. Burow (1989), 58.

<sup>428</sup> Shapiro (1989), 104.

Shapiro's view derives from his general theory, as discussed in chapter 2.2, that the motif of the Apollonian triad in sixth-century vase paintings reflects Peisistratos' efforts to assert Athens' leading role among the Ionian Greeks. Considering Poseidon's links to the Ionian world, Shapiro argues that Peisistratos might have promoted the cult of Poseidon to demonstrate once again Athens' supremacy among the Ionians and in an extent to legitimate his rule, since Poseidon was regarded the patron god of his royal ancestors the Neleids of Pylos (Hdt. 5.65.3-4).<sup>429</sup>

Let us consider Zanker's and Shapiro's interpretations and explore further connections between Poseidon and the Apollonian triad. In his attempt to localize the deities on Delos, Zanker ignores some important aspects regarding the iconography of the Apollonian triad and cites late sources, such as Aelius Aristides (*Or.* 46.14), for Poseidon's intervention on Delos. In fact, what we know about Poseidon's presence on Delos comes from even later sources (e.g., Hyg. fab.140; Lucian, *Dial. mar.* 9),<sup>430</sup> while epigraphic evidence that confirms his worship on the island dates from the late fourth century onwards (e.g., *IG XI*, 2, 144, B, 7; shortly before 301 BC).<sup>431</sup> My objections to Zanker's view are based on the investigation of the motif on sixth- and some early fifth-century vases in chapter 2.1, where I emphasize that

---

<sup>429</sup> Shapiro (1989), 103-104. Neleus, son of Poseidon and Tyro, was king of Pylos (Hom. *Od.* 248-254), who in the later tradition was the son of the Athenian king Kodros, and the founder of the Ionian cities on the coast of Asia Minor including Miletos (Hdt. 9.97). The Athenian version which makes Neleus son of Kodros is attested by Hellanicus as well (*FGrH* 323a, fr. 11). Moreover, Neleus, Kodros and Basile were worshipped in the same shrine according to an inscription dated 418/7 BC (*IG I<sup>3</sup>* 84), Kearns (1989), 107, 188; for the role of genealogy in Peisistratos' politics, see Shapiro (1983b), 87-96.

<sup>430</sup> Contra: Gallet de Santerre (1958), 160 who considers that Poseidon's involvement in the stabilization of the floating island of Delos, narrated in later literary sources (e.g., Lucian. *Dial.mar.* 9), is already mentioned by Pindar (*hymn*, fr. 33c-d, Maehler) and Callimachus (*Hymn to Delos*, 30-35). However, Pindar refers only to the fact that four columns rose up from the earth and fixed the island without mentioning Poseidon, while Callimachus explains the stabilization of Delos due to the birth of Apollo (53-54). For literary sources mentioning Poseidon on Delos, see Bruneau (1970), 258; Gantz (1993), 38.

<sup>431</sup> On the worship of Poseidon on Delos in general, see Bruneau (1970), 257-267.

the vase paintings do not indicate a locale. I also pointed out that the few depictions of the palm tree next to the Apollonian triad should be seen as an attribute of the divine family rather than as an indicator of a particular location. It is worth noting that Poseidon does not even appear in scenes depicting the Apollonian triad in which we find representations of a palm tree.<sup>432</sup> Accordingly, the claim that the inclusion of Poseidon with the Apollonian triad on sixth-century vases implies a setting on Delos is based on insufficient evidence.

In chapter 2 (2.2), I argued against Shapiro's view and emphasized that the depictions of the Apollonian triad should not be read in association with Peisistratos' activity on Delos. Instead, as I proposed (pp. 102-108), the motif accentuates Apollo's capacity as protector of youths, an idea closely associated with the concern of elite families to preserve their *oikoi* through male offspring. As far as Peisistratos' genealogical relation with Poseidon through the Neleids is concerned, we cannot be sure whether these relations were acknowledged in sixth-century Athens, since there is no evidence to confirm this view before Herodotus' account.<sup>433</sup>

Recalling the links between shapes, the trio motif, accompanying scenes, and aristocrats, it seems possible that Poseidon would have been considered an appropriate figure to accompany the Apollonian triad on sixth century vases because of his role as the god of horses (*Hymn. Hom. Pos. 5*).<sup>434</sup> As already mentioned, the horse had connotations of wealth and power, which were well-rooted in social and

---

<sup>432</sup> This remark is stressed by Shapiro (1989), 104.

<sup>433</sup> Note that Poseidon is depicted with the Apollonian triad more frequently on vases dated after Peisistratos' death.

<sup>434</sup> Note that Poseidon is said to be the father of legendary horses such as Pegasus (Hes. *Theog.* 278-283), and Arion (Paus. 8.25.4). Poseidon is known for giving immortal horses to Peleus (Hom. *Il.* 23.277) or Pegasus to Bellerophon as gift (Hes. fr. 43a, 84, M.-W.). Moreover, Pausanias informs us that Poseidon received horse offerings from the Argives in old times (8.7.2). On Poseidon and horses, see Bremmer (2001), 201-202; Burkert (1987), 138; Gantz (1993), 62.

political Greek thought (see pp. 95-96). Considering the connection between horses, horse racing, and aristocrats, we understand that the god who first taught men to manage horses (e.g., Hom. *Il.* 23.307) and rules over horse races (e.g., Pind. *Pyth.* 6.50) would have been an appropriate figure in scenes with aristocratic connotations.<sup>435</sup>

The investigation of the possible connections between the Apollonian triad, Hermes, Dionysos and Poseidon as revealed through myth, art, and cult was an attempt to understand why these particular deities were appropriate to accompany the divine trio. The preference for depicting Hermes, Dionysos and Poseidon in scenes with the triad provides additional evidence for the motif's socio-political and religious context. It should be noted that a further examination of the relationship between the above mentioned deities and the divine family must await a future study.

This section has proposed a new interpretation regarding the possible meaning that the motif of Apollo playing the kithara between Artemis and Leto, alone or accompanied by other deities, had for the Athenians. As demonstrated, the correlation between motif, shape, and accompanying scenes on the same vase points to the *symposion* as the intended setting within which we should understand depictions of the Apollonian triad. In this context, the motif, which promotes the idea

---

<sup>435</sup> The worship of Poseidon Hippios ("of horses") is widespread in the Greek world; see Farnell (1907), 14-22 who provides a list of places for his worship. In Attica, Poseidon Hippios is worshipped at Kolonos along with Athena Hippias (Paus. 1.30.4) and earliest evidence for his cult is *Oedipus at Kolonos* (55, 714-715, 887-888, 1070-1073) by Sophocles (496/5-406/5 BC); on Poseidon Hippios at Kolonos, see Shapiro (1989), 108; Kelly (2009), 68-69, 93-95, 100. See also Siewert (1979), 283 who argues that the cult of Poseidon Hippios at Kolonos is of high antiquity based on Sophocles' reference to a sacrifice to Poseidon Hippios as taking place at the time of Theseus (*OC* 887-888). But, Siewert also admits that the earliest direct evidence for his cult at Kolonos is dated around 420s BC. Epigraphic evidence for Poseidon Hippios is dated from 413/2-412/1 BC onwards; see Woodward (1963), 155-156; Thompson (1971). Poseidon's worship in archaic Attica is attested by the dedication of archaic monumental *kouroi* at Poseidon's sanctuary at Cape Sounion. Note that no large constructions had been built until the end of the sixth century BC. For cult activity on the site during the archaic period, see Goette (2000), 19-23, 31-32, (2001), 203.

of Apollo as nurturer of youths, is closely connected to aristocratic values concerning the perpetuation of *oikoi* from which the wealth and power of aristocratic families stemmed. Finally, the investigation of the association of the Apollonian triad and Apollo in particular with Hermes, Dionysos, and Poseidon, i.e., the most common companions of the trio, provides further information of the motif within its religious and socio-political context.

#### **4.2 The Apollonian triad in ritual performance: image, context, and meaning**

In chapter 3.1 we saw that depictions of the Apollonian triad in libation scenes of the fifth century BC place emphasis on the trio. As noted, Apollo and Artemis are commonly involved in the ritual act of pouring a libation, while Leto's presence holding out a *phiale* also indicates her participation in the ritual. My aim is to consider the possible meaning that the motif of the Apollonian triad in its new iconographical context had for the Athenians, especially the years between 475 and 450 BC when most examples were produced.

In this section, I shall explore the wider iconographical context within which libation scenes with the Apollonian triad occur, an investigation that is critical to an understanding of the motif in question (a). Taking into account this context, I shall proceed to examine what information or messages images of the Apollonian triad in libation scenes convey (b).

(a) Wider Iconographical Context

Apart from the Apollonian triad, several other examples of deities – alone, in pairs or in groups – appear pouring (or about to pour) libations on Attic black- but mainly red-figure vases dated from *c.*520/510 BC to 400 BC, most of which occur in the second half of the fifth century BC.<sup>436</sup> A detailed discussion of divine libation scenes as a whole is beyond the scope of this section. My focus is on examples that are dated between 475-450 BC and show deities, in pairs or in groups, who are also associated with each other by ties equal, or similar, to those between close family members. Because of the large amount of vase paintings depicting such scenes, I will confine myself to some representative examples of the period under consideration.

Our first example is a red-figure *skyphos* of 470-450 BC from Cerveteri attributed to the Lewis Painter (fig. 77).<sup>437</sup> The vase depicts Athena, identified by her typical attire, i.e., aegis over her long chiton, helmet, and spear, pouring into a *phiale*, held by a bearded figure seated in a throne and holding a sceptre. Considering that the female figure is Athena, the male figure should be Zeus, whose appearance with his daughter in libation scenes has been confirmed in other examples where the god sometimes carries his typical attribute, the thunderbolt.<sup>438</sup>

The scene does not seem to represent any specific mythological episode and it is interesting to note that the child with whom Zeus is usually depicted in libation

---

<sup>436</sup> For the purposes of this research I have taken into account a significant amount of vases dating between *c.*520/510 and 400 BC. The material has been collected from the published corpus of Attic vases listed in *CVA*, *LIMC*, Beazley addenda (*ABV*, *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, *Para*, *Add<sup>2</sup>*) the Beazley archive on-line (*BAPD*), museum catalogues, monographs and any other article about the subject.

<sup>437</sup> Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum IV 3711; *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 972, 3; *Add<sup>2</sup>* 309; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Athena, fig. 186 [Demargne].

<sup>438</sup> E.g., a red-figure *hydria* from Capua attributed to the Providence Painter of *c.*470 BC, Warsaw, National Museum 142460; *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 639, 62; *LIMC* Supplementum, s.v. Zeus, add.93 [Felten].

scenes is Athena.<sup>439</sup> Their appearance together alludes to Athena's intimate association with her father, established from the moment of Athena's birth, since she was born from her father's head (Hes. *Theog.* 924).<sup>440</sup> The birth myth is commonly represented in Attic art particularly from the second quarter of the sixth century onward and continues into the fifth century BC.<sup>441</sup> For example, a red-figure *pelike* from Vulci attributed to the Painter of the Birth of Athena of 470-460 BC depicts a miniaturized adult Athena (named),<sup>442</sup> fully dressed and armed with helmet, spear and aegis, springing out of Zeus' head (named; fig. 78).<sup>443</sup> The most prominent display of this myth, however, was on the east pediment of the Parthenon (447-432 BC; Paus. 1.24.5), which did not show the actual moment of the birth, but Athena standing or striding next to her father as indicated by the majority of reconstructions.<sup>444</sup>

---

<sup>439</sup> Arafat (1990), 102 cites six vases which Beazley though might represent Zeus with his daughter Hebe engaged in the performance of libations. Zeus is identified only in one case by his thunderbolt (Syracuse, Museo Arch. Regionale Paolo Orsi 22174; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 672, 1), while Hebe's identity is difficult to be confirmed because she lacks attributes. It should be noted that Zeus also appears in libation scenes, although these are seldom occasions, where he presents the infant Dionysos to the nymphs of Nysa (e.g., Paris, Musée du Louvre 1675; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 508, 1; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 252), receives Herakles (e.g., Palermo, Museo Regionale V780; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 592, 32; *Para* 394) or Apollo (e.g., London, British Museum E444; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 208, 149) at Olympos.

<sup>440</sup> The birth of Athena from Zeus is mentioned in book five of the *Iliad* (880), but without any references to the way she was born, i.e., from Zeus' head. For the literary sources regarding the myth of Athena's birth, see *LIMC* 2, s.v. Athena, 985 [Cassimatis]. See also Deacy (2008), 17-32 who discusses the establishment of the special relationship between Zeus and Athena through the myth of her birth.

<sup>441</sup> Note that Athena's birth is represented in Greek art from the seventh century BC onwards, while it first appears in the Attic repertoire in the second quarter of the sixth century BC. For visual representations of Athena's birth in general, see Cook (1940), 662-726; Schefold (1992), 7-16; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Athena, 985-990, 1021-1023 [Cassimatis]; Arafat (1990), 33-39.

<sup>442</sup> In all scenes of Athena's birth, both in sixth and fifth century BC, the goddess appears as a miniaturized adult figure. As Vollkommer (2000), 376, notes, only the difference in size and the context indicate that this is the newly born Athena. Also, Beaumont (1995), 349, comments that the representation of Athena in her fully adult form corresponds to the literary tradition.

<sup>443</sup> London, British Museum E410; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 494, 1; *Para* 380; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 250.

<sup>444</sup> See Mostratos (2004), 120-130, with previous bibliography.



The close relationship between Athena and Zeus is well documented in Attic art, literature and cult of the fifth century BC.<sup>445</sup> We may briefly mention some of the evidence. Apart from the scenes of birth, father and daughter are represented in other mythological narratives, such as the Gigantomachy and the introduction of Herakles to Olympos, themes that first appear in Attic art around 560 BC.<sup>446</sup> According to an early fifth-century Attic drinking song (fr. 1, 884 *PMG*),<sup>447</sup> Athena and Zeus are invoked as protectors of the well-being of Athens and its citizens, while from Aeschylus' *Eumenides* (827-828), performed at the City Dionysia of 458 BC,<sup>448</sup> we learn that Athena is the only deity to whom Zeus entrusts the keys to the house where his powerful weapon, the thunderbolt, is locked.<sup>449</sup> In the realm of cult, the special relationship between Athena and Zeus is evident by a number of common cult epithets and instances of joint worship, such as Zeus Polieus<sup>450</sup> and Athena Polias, Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria,<sup>451</sup> Zeus Boulaios and Athena Boulaia,<sup>452</sup> etc.

---

<sup>445</sup> For a discussion regarding the unique relationship of Athena and Zeus in Attic art, literature and cult, see Neils (2001), 219-232.

<sup>446</sup> For the introduction of Herakles to Olympos, see pp. 97-98 with bibliography; for Gigantomachy, see Shapiro (1989), 38-39; Arafat (1990), 11-29; Schefold (1992), 55-67; for several examples, see *LIMC* 4, s.v. Gigantes [Vian and Moore].

<sup>447</sup> Furley and Bremmer (2001a), 258-259.

<sup>448</sup> Sommerstein (2008), ix.

<sup>449</sup> Athena's intimate connection with Zeus is well emphasized in the *Eumenides*, such as in verses 738, 826, 850, 996-1002, etc.

<sup>450</sup> The cult of Zeus Polieus has been also attested on the Athenian Akropolis where Athena Polias – the goddess of Athens *par excellence* – was worshipped. According to Pausanias (1.24.4; 1.28.10), the god had a statue and an altar. He also had his own shrine – located to the northeast of the Parthenon – where the festival of the *Dipolieia* was celebrated. Hurwit (1999), 40, 190-192, dates the shrine – marked by a complex of rock-cut walls, shallow trenches and holes – to the third quarter of the fifth century BC based on the remodelling of the area northeast of the Parthenon during this period. For the festival of the *Dipolieia*, see Simon (1982), 8-12. As indicated by the sacred calendar of the deme of Erchia (first half of fourth cent. BC: *LSCG* 18; 360-350 BC: Dow, 1965, 182), on the 12<sup>th</sup> of *Metageitnion*, Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus received sacrifices by the Erchians on the Akropolis (*LSCG* 18ΓΔ, 15), but they also received offerings on 3<sup>rd</sup> *Skirophorion* at the deme (*LSCG* 18ΑΓ, 59-63); Humphreys (2004), 141, 181, 183, 188.

<sup>451</sup> Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria were worshipped as the primary deities of the phratries (Pl. *Euthydemus* 302d). The evidence for Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria at Athens, particularly

Our next example that shows deities who are closely associated with each other in a libation context is an unattributed white-ground *lekythos* of c.460-450 BC from the Athenian Kerameikos (fig. 79 a-b).<sup>453</sup> The vase depicts two females. The female, to the viewer's left, holds a flaming torch in her left hand and pours a libation onto the ground (liquid visible) with her extended right hand (fig. 79a). A woman, crowned with a *polos* and holding a staff and ears of wheat stands before her (fig. 79b). Scholars identify the two females as Demeter and Persephone, also known as Kore,<sup>454</sup> on the basis of attributes (ears of wheat, torch) and because of their close mother-daughter relationship that justifies their appearance together.<sup>455</sup> The second female might be Demeter considering that ears of wheat are Demeter's most common attribute (Hes. *Op.* 466; *Hom. Hymn. Cer.* 450-456). Nevertheless, we should note that Demeter and Kore are not easily distinguished from each other unless identified by a painted name. Both goddesses may appear wearing a *polos*, holding a torch, a sceptre, and/or sheaves of wheat, while in several examples, as the one we have discussed, differentiation in age or physical appearance cannot be observed.<sup>456</sup> Considering the funerary function of the shape, Simon interprets the scene as Demeter's farewell to her daughter and the performance of a libation before

---

epigraphic material, is quite plentiful; e.g., an inscribed fourth-century altar (based on letter forms; Lambert, 1993, 357-358, T24) of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria was found in the Agora (Athens, Agora Museum Inv. 3706) near the Stoa of Attalos. For further evidence and discussion regarding their role as patron deities of the phratries, see Lambert (1993), 206-211, 338-341(T17), 342-343 (T18), 351 (T22), 359 (T25); They are also mentioned as the recipients of sacrifices in a fragment (Athens, Agora Museum Inv. 727; 403/2-400/399) of the sacrificial calendar of Athens; see further Lambert (2002), 358, 364.

<sup>452</sup> According to the Athenian orator Antiphon (6, 45; 419/8 BC), Zeus Boulaios and Athena Boulaia had a shrine in the Bouleuterion at the Athenian Agora. For textual evidence, see Wycherley (1957), 128-137; Thompson and Wycherley (1972), 34.

<sup>453</sup> Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1754; Oakley (2004), 90, 94.

<sup>454</sup> For the names of Persephone *infra* n. 470.

<sup>455</sup> Several scholars identify the couple as Demeter and Kore; e.g., Simon (1953), 72; Oakley (2004), 93, 98, etc.

<sup>456</sup> For their iconography in fifth-century vase paintings, see Peschlow-Bindokat (1972), 78-102, 108.

Kore's descent to Hades.<sup>457</sup> Rejecting Simon's mythological interpretation, Oakley considers that no particular story is intended and the appearance of Demeter and Kore on a funerary vessel can be explained solely because of their chthonic nature.<sup>458</sup>

The most numerous representations of Demeter and Kore performing libations, however, are in scenes that show the mission of Triptolemos to which we shall now turn our attention. According to the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* (474-479), Triptolemos was one of the kings of Eleusis to whom Demeter taught her Mysteries. His role as Demeter's agent in distributing her gift of agriculture to mankind is first attested in Sophocles' play *Triptolemos* (F596-617a, *TrGF* IV), dated to 468 BC (Plin. *HN* 18.12),<sup>459</sup> and he is principally known in Greek literature for this missionary role.<sup>460</sup>

Although Triptolemos' mission appears in Attic vase painting *circa* 540 BC,<sup>461</sup> it is in fifth-century representations of the myth that show Triptolemos in a libation scene commonly flanked by Demeter and Kore.<sup>462</sup> A fine example is offered by a red-figure *hydria* attributed to the Niobid Painter of 460-450 BC (fig. 80).<sup>463</sup> As

---

<sup>457</sup> Simon (1953), 72.

<sup>458</sup> Oakley (2004), 98. He also notes that the pair appears performing libations on red-figure vases as well.

<sup>459</sup> According to Pliny the Elder Sophocles wrote the play *Triptolemos* 145 years before the death of Alexander the Great (323 BC; Arr. *Anab.* 7.28.1; Plut. *Alex.* 75.4).

<sup>460</sup> For Triptolemos in Greek literature, see Gantz (1993), 69; Bremmer (2002b), 829; Schwarz (1987), 1-6, 7-27, who provides a list of literary sources; *LIMC* 8, s.v. Triptolemos, 57 [Schwarz].

<sup>461</sup> According to the extant evidence, the earliest scene of Triptolemos' mission appears on a black-figure amphora by the Swing Painter of c.540-525 BC, Göttingen, Georg-August-Universität J14; *ABV* 309, 83; *Add<sup>2</sup>* 83; Shapiro (1989), 76; Schwarz (1987), 29, no. 2. For sixth-century examples, see Schwarz (1987), 29-32, 73-82; Shapiro (1989), 76-80.

<sup>462</sup> For the theme of Triptolemos' mission in Attic vase painting, see Dugas (1950), 7-23; Simon (1953), 67-69; Peschlow-Bindokat (1972), 78-92; Raubitschek and Raubitschek (1982), 109-117; Clinton (1994), 165-169; Matheson (1994), 345-372; *LIMC* 4, s.v. Demeter, 886, 890 [Beschi]; *LIMC* 8, s.v. Triptolemos, 66-67 [Schwarz]. For a detail analysis of fifth-century vase paintings, see Schwarz (1987), 84-144.

<sup>463</sup> New York, Metropolitan Museum 41.162.98; Schwarz (1987), 43, no. 78; *LIMC* 8, s.v. Persephone, fig. 112 [Güntner].

a beardless youth,<sup>464</sup> Triptolemos sits in a wheeled cart, winged and accompanied by snakes as described in Sophocles' *Triptolemos* (596). He carries sheaves of wheat, a sceptre and holds out a *phiale* slightly tipped downward. The wheeled cart is not just an attribute of Triptolemos,<sup>465</sup> but also an indicator of his long journey, as far as Italy, Carthage, Illyria, and the land of Getae<sup>466</sup> (Soph. *Triptolemos* 598-604), to bring grain and teach its cultivation to humans.<sup>467</sup> Demeter and Kore, both holding torches, stand on either side of the vehicle. One carries an oinochoe, while the other, sheaves of corn. As several scholars noted, without inscriptions it is difficult to distinguish Demeter from Kore given that differentiation in age, clothing, and attributes cannot be observed.<sup>468</sup> We have already pointed out this complication in figure 79. The motif of Triptolemos between Demeter and Kore performing libations is attested in several scenes, including some examples where all figures can be identified by painted names, as we see on a red figure *hydria* from Vulci attributed to the Chicago Painter of 450-440 BC (fig. 81).<sup>469</sup> Triptolemos, seated in his winged

---

<sup>464</sup> Note that in sixth-century representations of the mission myth Triptolemos appears as a bearded man; for examples, see *LIMC* 8, s.v. Triptolemos, figs. 53, 54, 57, 59, 60 [Schwarz]. Dugas (1950), 11 comments that the change of Triptolemos from a bearded man to a beardless youth was not a simple preference but it derived from scenes showing departures (does not specify what sort of departures).

<sup>465</sup> Triptolemos' appearance, seated in a wheeled cart is not only attested in vase paintings but also in other media as well, such as votive reliefs and coins. E.g., bronze coins struck by the deme of Eleusis c. 350's-early or mid-330's BC; see Kroll (1993), 27-34, pl. 4-6. Votive reliefs from Eleusis: e.g., Eleusis, Archaeological Museum 5060 (340/30 BC), 5062 (340/330 BC), relief dedicated by Lakrateides, *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 4701 (c.115-108 BC; Clinton, 2005, 265-266), Eleusis, Archaeological Museum 5287; *LIMC* 8, s.v. Triptolemos, figs. 144, 145, 148 [Schwarz]. See also note 472 with references to reliefs from the City Eleusinion.

<sup>466</sup> Greeks called Getae the people of Thracian origin that inhabited the regions south of the Lower Danube in modern Dobrudža and the hinterland of the north-western Greek colonies on the Black Sea coast; Von Bredow (1998), 1025.

<sup>467</sup> The wheeled cart with wings as an allusion to Triptolemos' journey is noted by several scholars; e.g., Dugas (1950), 11.

<sup>468</sup> E.g., Simon (1953), 67; Matheson (1994), 355; *LIMC* 4, s.v. Demeter, 890 [Beschi]. Also, supra n. 456.

<sup>469</sup> Munich, Antikensammlungen 2432 (J340); *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 630, 31; *Add<sup>2</sup>* 272; Schwarz (1987), 46, no. 95; *LIMC* 4, s.v. Demeter, fig. 367 [Beschi]; *LIMC* 8, s.v. Triptolemos, fig. 132 [Schwarz].

cart holding his sceptre, sheaves of corn and *phiale*, is flanked by Demeter (*ΔΕΜΕΤΕΡ*) who carries an oinochoe and Kore (*ΠΕΡΟΦΑΤΑ*)<sup>470</sup> who holds a wreath.

The Demeter-Triptolemos-Kore trio, also known as the Eleusinian triad because their joint worship has been confirmed at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore both at Eleusis<sup>471</sup> and Athens (City Eleusinion) already well established by the fifth century BC,<sup>472</sup> may appear performing libations alone (as above) or accompanied by

---

<sup>470</sup> ΠΕΡΟΦΑΤΑ for ΦΕΡΡΕΦΑΤΤΑ. Pherrephatta is an Attic variant of the name Persephone/Kore, and it is the only form of the goddess name that we find in a few mission scenes. For the different forms of Persephone's name, see Sourvinou-Inwood (2000), 600.

<sup>471</sup> Although Mycenaean remains (building) have been attested under the Telesterion site at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis (see Mylonas, 1961, 23-54; contra: Darcque, 1981), the earliest evidence of cult activity at the site is indicated by a large votive deposit that contained various votive dedications dating from the end of the eighth or beginning of the seventh century BC, Binder (1998), 139. For the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis, its site and history, see Mylonas (1961), 23-129; Binder (1998), 131-139; Goette (2001), 270-279; Evans (2002), 227-239. The Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, dated around the late seventh to early sixth century BC (supra n. 60), is our earliest literary source that associates Demeter with Eleusis and bears religious connotations regarding rites of Demeter and Kore; see for example Richardson (1974), 12-30; Foley (1994), 79-97; Parker (1991), 4-13. The festivals that took place at Eleusis in honour of Demeter and Kore, such as the Eleusinia, Haloa, Proerosia (attested in other demes of Attica as well), and the Eleusinian Mysteries which were celebrated both at Eleusis and at the City Eleusinion in Athens (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 6, C 44-45, 470-460 BC*, Clinton, 2008, 38-43) are discussed in detail by various scholars providing a range of evidence. For the Eleusinian Mysteries, see Deubner (1956), 69-92; Mylonas (1961), 224-285; Simon (1982), 24-35; Burkert (1987), 285-290; Clinton (1988), 69-79, (1993), 110-120, (2008), 5-23; Foley (1994), 65-71; Evans (2002), 239-251. For the Eleusinian festivals in general, see Parker (2005), 327-368. Triptolemos is mentioned as a recipient of sacrifice at the Eleusinia (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 5, c.500 BC*, Clinton, 2005, 16-17) and the Proerosia (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 78A, 38, c.440-435 BC*, Clinton, 2008, 52). Further evidence for Triptolemos worship at Eleusis: *IG II<sup>2</sup> 142, 21 (353/2 BC)*; Paus. 1.38.6 (temple); representations on coins from Eleusis (supra n. 465 for examples); votive reliefs with Triptolemos (supra n. 465 and infra n. 472 for examples); see also Kearns (1989), 201; Clinton (1994), 164-169, (2005), 37-39, 133-135, (2008), 36, 48, 133; Parker (2005), 328, 332.

<sup>472</sup> Although the City Eleusinion is partly excavated, located below the Akropolis (North Slope) and southeast of the Agora, the discovery of various deposits of terracotta votive offerings (mainly female figurines), of which the earliest dates to the mid-seventh century BC, suggest that cult activity at the site goes as back as the mid-seventh century BC, Miles (1998), 8, 16-20. Demeter and Kore are mentioned in several inscriptions dated from the mid-fifth century onwards (e.g., *IG I<sup>3</sup> 953*, Athens, Agora Museum I5484, c.450 BC; Miles, 1998, 187), while the earliest epigraphic evidence from the site that refers to the celebration of the Mysteries dates c.510-500 (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 231, 510-500 BC*; Miles, 1998, 8, 200). Miles (1998), 35-52, identifies the remains of a temple (foundation blocks, traces of cutting in the bedrock, marble roof), located at the northern extension of the Eleusinion, as the temple of Triptolemos based on Pausanias' description (1.14.1). She dates the foundations of the temple c.500 BC based on the context of a well (T 19:1) located next to the building and filled with black-figure pottery and household ware (29, 38). She suggests that the remaining pieces of its superstructure indicate that the temple was reconstructed in the second quarter of the fifth century BC (40). Further evidence for Triptolemos' worship at the City Eleusinion is some votive reliefs (e.g., Athens, Agora Museum S1013, end of fifth century BC; *LIMC 8, s.v. Triptolemos*, fig. 143, Schwarz). For the Eleusinion in Athens, see Wycherley (1957), 74-83; Travlos (1971), 198-199; and for a detail analysis, see Miles (1998) who provides a variety of evidence.

other figures closely linked to the Eleusinian realm. An excellent example is a red-figure *bell-krater* from Agrigento attributed to the Oreithyia Painter of c.470-465 BC where all figures are named (fig. 82).<sup>473</sup> Demeter (*ΔΕΜΕΤΕΡ*) raises her *oinochoe* and is about to pour into Triptolemos' (*ΤΡΙΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΣ*) *phiale*. Kore (*ΦΕΡΕΦΑΣΑ*) extends a *phiale*, as well. The Eleusinian triad is flanked by the Eleusinian king Keleos (*ΚΕΛΕΟΣ*; *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 97)<sup>474</sup> and the Eleusinian hero Hippothoon (*ΙΠΠΟΘΩΝ*; Hes. fr.227 M.-W.), who was also one of the ten tribal heroes of Athens (Paus. 1.38.4; 5.2).<sup>475</sup> Usually, vase painters do not indicate where the scene takes place. However, there are some exceptional efforts to denote the sacred space marked by the depiction of column (fig. 82),<sup>476</sup> or an altar in conjunction with a column.<sup>477</sup> On two occasions, the scene is explicitly set at Eleusis as supported by the appearance of a female figure identified by her painted name as the personification of Eleusis.<sup>478</sup>

As some scholars suggest, Triptolemos' association with Demeter and Kore can be considered parallel to that between close family members.<sup>479</sup> This view is supported by comparing libation scenes with the mission of Triptolemos to libation

<sup>473</sup> Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale V779; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 496, 5; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 250; *LIMC* 8, s.v. Triptolemos, fig. 108 [Schwarz], s.v. Persephone, fig. 107 [Güntner]; *LIMC* 5, s.v. Hippothoon, fig. 10 [Kron], s.v. Keleos fig. 1 [Proskynitopoulou]; Schwarz (1987), 39, no. 61.

<sup>474</sup> For Keleos, see Kearns (1989), 176; *LIMC* 5, s.v. Keleos, 981 [Proskynitopoulou].

<sup>475</sup> For Hippothoon, see Kearns (1989), 82-83, 173; *LIMC* 5, s.v. Hippothoon, 468-469 [Kron].

<sup>476</sup> Matheson (1994), 354 notes that according to the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* (297) Keleos was the one who built the temple to Demeter at Eleusis and the column depicted behind him may allude to that building.

<sup>477</sup> E.g., red figure *volute-krater* from Etruria attributed to the Niobid Painter of c.455 BC, Paris, Musée du Louvre G343; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 600, 17; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 266; *LIMC* 8, s.v. Triptolemos, fig. 100 [Schwarz].

<sup>478</sup> Red-figure *skyphos* from Capua attributed to Makron of c.480 BC (London, British Museum E140); *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 459, 3; *Para* 377; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 243; *LIMC* 4, s.v. Demeter [Beschi]; *LIMC* 3, s.v. Eleusis, fig. 1 [Gondicas]; Smith (2011), 149, VP1; red-figure *dinos* attributed to the Syleus Painter of c.470-460 BC (Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 89.AE.73); *LIMC* 8, s.v. Triptolemos, fig. 69 [Schwarz]; Smith (2011), 150, VP4. Matheson (1994), 353, notes that the personification is a woman in contrast to the literary idea that Eleusis was a king. For the personification of Eleusis, see also Clinton (1992), 124; Smith (2011), 33.

<sup>479</sup> E.g., Simon (1953), 69; Peschlow-Bindokat (1972), 91.

scenes of departing warriors.<sup>480</sup> The comparison, as we shall see below, reveals compositional and iconographic similarities between the two types of libation scenes.

Before making any comparison, let us briefly examine a representative example of a scene depicting a warrior departing for battle. A red-figure *column-krater* attributed to the Harrow Painter of c.470 BC shows a beardless hoplite armed with a shield, helmet, and spear standing between a woman and a bearded man with a staff (fig. 83).<sup>481</sup> The woman holds an *oinochoe* with one hand, while with the other, raises a *phiale* about to pour a libation. It should be noted that before one's departure for battle it was expected to make offerings (e.g., Thuc. 6.32.1-2). The central placement of a warrior between the members of his family is typical for these scenes.<sup>482</sup> The woman could be his mother or wife, while the man with a staff, sometimes white-haired,<sup>483</sup> his father. This identification, as Matheson points out, is supported by a few occasions where the figures are given heroic names. For example, the hoplite is named Hektor, the bearded (old) man Priamos, and the woman Hekuba<sup>484</sup> or Andromache.<sup>485</sup> Another example in which the figures are labelled is that of the hoplite named Theseus and the woman Aithra<sup>486</sup> or Ariadne.<sup>487</sup>

---

<sup>480</sup> Matheson (1994), 357 notes that the libation theme appears in the mission scene at about the same time that it occurs in scenes of departing warriors, i.e., in the late archaic period (examples are cited).

<sup>481</sup> Kassel, Staatliche Museen T716; Lullies (1972), 54, pl. 33.

<sup>482</sup> For the theme of departing warriors in fifth-century Attic vase paintings, see especially Matheson (2005), 23-33, (2009a), 373-413. Note that according to Matheson's criteria a warrior could be a hoplite, a light-armed infantry man, an ephebe, or a cavalry man (2009a), 377.

<sup>483</sup> E.g., red-figure *pelike* attributed to the Niobid Painter of 460-450 BC, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 280; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 604, 56; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 267.

<sup>484</sup> E.g., an Attic red-figure amphora from Vulci attributed to the Hektor Painter of 450-440 BC Rome, Museo Etrusco Gregoriano Vaticano 16570; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1036, 1; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 318; *LIMC* 4, s.v. Hektor, fig. 7 [Touchefeu].

<sup>485</sup> E.g., an unattributed Attic red-figure *oinochoe* of c.430 BC, Basel Market; *LIMC* 1, s.v. Andromache I, fig. 6 [Touchefeu-Meynier]; *LIMC* 4, s.v. Hektor, fig. 20 [Touchefeu]. Note that this is not mentioned by Matheson (2005), 26; (2009a), 386-388.

<sup>486</sup> E.g., red-figure *kalyx-krater* attributed to the Methyse Painter of 460 BC; Bologna Museo Civico Pell. PU 285; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 633, 6; *LIMC* 1, s.v. Aithra I, fig. 47 [Kron]; Matheson (2009a), 407.

The representation of a warrior within his close family environment before departing for battle, as shown in figure 83, in several other variations of the same theme,<sup>488</sup> and in scenes depicting mythical warriors, emphasises his connection to his family. This association is further accentuated by the libation. The ritual not only marks the warrior's departure from his family, but also underscores the familial ties and the family's connection to the gods whom they honour.<sup>489</sup>

Let us return to scenes of Triptolemos' mission and consider them in connection to libation scenes that show a departing warrior in order to understand how Triptolemos' strong relationship with Demeter and Kore can be regarded analogous to that between close family members. The two above mentioned types of scenes share thematic and compositional similarities. Both Triptolemos and warriors receive special attention owing to their central placement in the scene (at least most of the time). They both set out on an expedition: Triptolemos, at Demeter's service, sets out to bring the gifts of Demeter to humankind, while a warrior, in service to the *polis*,<sup>490</sup> leaves for battle. In both cases, the offering of a libation marks their

---

<sup>487</sup> E.g., an Attic red-figure amphora attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter of 460-450 BC; Munich, Antikenmuseum 2330 (J329); *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 621, 45; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 270; *LIMC* 3, s.v. Ariadne, fig. 2 [Bernhard]; Matheson (2009a), 407.

<sup>488</sup> For further examples, see Matheson (2005), (2009a).

<sup>489</sup> Lissarrague (1989), 45; cf. (2001), 144; (2012), 570.

<sup>490</sup> Matheson (2005), 33 (2009a), 410-412 argues that fifth-century representations of warriors setting out for battle accentuate their roles as Athenian citizens. See also Ridley (1979) who discusses the hoplite's role as a citizen in fifth century Athens. Notable is a red-figure cup from Nola attributed to Aison of 420 BC (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale H2634; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1174, 2; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 339; *BAPD* 215558; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Argeia, fig. 8, Berger-Doer) that provides further evidence for the military obligations of an Athenian citizen. The particular vase depicts a departure scene with warriors, a scene that meets the criteria of Matheson's (2005, 25, 28; 2009a, 377-379) definition of a departure scene, in which one of them is actually labelled citizen (*ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ*). In fifth-century Athens, Athenian citizen or *metics* (resident aliens) were obligated to serve the army when required and those who failed to perform this duty were charged with several offences, as for example desertion or cowardice (e.g., Lys. 14.5; Pl. *Leg.* 943a), and were punished with *atimia* (e.g., Lys. 14.9; And. 1.74), i.e., loss of citizen rights; for *atimia*, see MacDowell (1978), 74. For military service in fifth-century Athens, see Sinclair (1988), 55-56; MacDowell (1978), 159-161; Van Wees (2004), 99; Liddel (2007), 282-290, provides mainly fourth-century literary evidence.



departures and reinforces the connection between those who perform it.<sup>491</sup> Taking the two types of departures into account, we can observe that Demeter and Kore assume the roles of a warrior's mother and sister, i.e., his close family members and the ones who were responsible to prepare and assist in the libation. As scenes of departing warriors emphasize the relationship between a warrior and his family, scenes that show the mission of Triptolemos accentuate Triptolemos' close association with Demeter and Kore, as well as his prominent role within the Eleusinian realm.<sup>492</sup>

The divine libation scenes I have discussed so far, including scenes with the Apollonian triad, show deities behaving as if they are humans,<sup>493</sup> holding cultic instruments for libations, and performing the ritual. A number of scholars focusing on the issue of why deities, the ones who receive libations from mortals, should be shown in the act of giving offerings underline the religious significance of these scenes.<sup>494</sup> Some scholars argue that the deities are not offering libations to

---

<sup>491</sup> See also Hayashi (1992), 84, who considers that the libation alludes to the proclamation of the sacred truce, the period according to which the *spondophoroi* travelled to announce the Mysteries on the basis of textual evidence (e.g., *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 6, just before c.460 BC; Aesch. 2.133). For Hayashi, Triptolemos appears as the peace-giving hero; cf. Clinton (1994), 166, who views the role of Triptolemos as *spondophoros*.

<sup>492</sup> Matheson (1994), 358 also argues that scenes of Triptolemos' mission might also be understood as a dedication of Demeter's ambassador to the service of Athens on the basis that scenes of departing warriors emphasize, among other things, the civic role of a family, i.e., providing sons to serve the *polis*.

<sup>493</sup> We should note that Adolf Furtwängler (1881), 106-118 was one of the first to discuss scenes of divine libations based on the idea that gods act as humans. For Furtwängler, the act of pouring was understood as indication of honour by the younger god for the older (e.g., Kore pours into Demeter's *phiale*), 116-117. In other words, the one who pours, the younger deity, serves the older (deity), the one who occupies a higher place in the divine hierarchy. This view, however, cannot be supported, since several vase paintings show the contrary as, for example, Athena pouring into Herakles' *phiale*, namely a goddess of high status serving a hero (e.g., Athens, Akropolis Museum 328; *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 460, 19; *Add<sup>2</sup>* 244).

<sup>494</sup> This issue has been a scholarly debate over a century and several theories have been advanced to date. For an analysis of the different interpretations with extensive bibliography, see Patton (2009), 121-159.

themselves.<sup>495</sup> Instead, they carry the objects that serve to honour them and in their hands these become symbols of the offerings that they receive,<sup>496</sup> or indicate the link between the divine and mortal realms.<sup>497</sup> Others support the idea that gods perform libations in their own divine sphere, and by manifesting their own sanctity they represent themselves as archetypes, namely perfect examples for religious behaviour towards the divine on the part of mortals.<sup>498</sup> According to this idea, we may understand why mortal libations are sometimes juxtaposed to divine libations on the same vase.<sup>499</sup> For example, as we observed on vase C8, the Apollonian triad is about to perform libations on one side (fig. 16a). On the other side, an old man with a sceptre stands between two females, one of whom holds a *phiale* with her left hand while prepares to pour from an *oinochoe* held in her extended right hand (fig. 16b). It is interesting to note that the woman's gesture, i.e., extending the right hand in order to pour, is nearly identical to Artemis' gesture on the other side of the vase. Although libations are about to be performed by different protagonists, the vase painter successfully links the two scenes together by using a three-figure composition

---

<sup>495</sup> Arafat (1990), 90, a great supporter of the idea of the humanization of the deities, explicitly says that "nothing is going on beyond the libation we see". For Arafat, gods perform libations in the same way as they are involved in other human activities such as drinking, fighting, etc.

<sup>496</sup> Lissarrague (2001), 144, 150; cf. Manakidou (1994), 149. Ekroth (2009), 97, considers that the deities are represented in their capacity of receiving attention. In other words, divine libation as a reference to the idea that gods receive cult, especially when they are depicted next to an altar with bloodstains and fire, signs of human ritual activity. See also Veyne (1990), 19, 27-28 who maintains that the *phiale*, held by deities, should be understood as an equivalent to an adjective such as "holy" or "saint".

<sup>497</sup> Eckstein-Wolf (1952), 64 maintains that the *phiale*, as cultic equipment, belongs to the human as well as to the divine sphere and in the hands of the gods it serves to link the two spheres together. Note that for libation scenes with Apollo, she rejects the idea that the god himself performs the act. Instead she considers that "the bowl is pouring libations not the god" (54). This view obviously does not correspond to the several representations in which Apollo is actually shown in the act of pouring.

<sup>498</sup> Himmelmann (1998) 125-129. The idea that gods perform a libation in an archetypal way is also supported by Bakalakis (1967), 54-67; cf. Mitropoulou (1975), 90. See also Patton (2009), esp. 170-180, who suggests a new theoretical approach on the subject: divine reflexivity. According to this theory the libating gods should be seen as both natural objects of cult and as natural source of cult, the ones who perform their rites in on-going cultic time thus reinforce their own worship.

<sup>499</sup> Also noted by Patton (2009), 176.

and almost identical gestures on both sides of the vase. The compositional and thematic similarities that we observe between the two types of scenes on vase C8 (fig. 16a, b) support the idea that a divine libation scene can be understood as an exemplum for mortal religious behaviour.

Humans offered libations to the gods on several occasions.<sup>500</sup> As already noted, the ritual not only marks their connection to gods whom they honour, but also strengthens the relationship between those who make it.<sup>501</sup> Recalling that divine and mortal libation scenes share thematic and compositional similarities, we may consider that vase painters choose to depict deities who are closely associated with each other in this context to underscore the relationship that unites them.<sup>502</sup>

According to the above, each of the aforementioned examples (i.e., Athena-Zeus, Kore-Demeter, and Kore-Triptolemos-Demeter) highlights a particular type of relationship. Scenes with Athena-Zeus emphasise a paternal bond, scenes of Demeter-Kore a maternal bond, and finally scenes with the Eleusinian triad stress connections which, as argued, can be considered parallel to that between close family members. Therefore, libation scenes with the Apollonian triad underscore the familial bond that connects Artemis, Apollo and Leto. Why vase painters accentuate the strong bond that ties Apollo and Artemis with their mother is an issue that we shall address in the following discussion.

---

<sup>500</sup> Supra n. 117.

<sup>501</sup> Supra n. 489.

<sup>502</sup> Cf. Laurens (1985), 51, 54, 56, views the libation as a sign of agreement (or a contract) and peace that guarantee alliances between the deities who are each time engaged in its performance. The deities pour libations to exalt the cohesion of Olympos. It should be noted that Laurens considers that the frequent representation of Apollo in libation scenes can be explained because of his role as the god who provides conciliation and reconciliation at the time of conflict, the only god in Homer, as she notes, who refuses to take part in the struggle of the gods (*Il.* 21.461-469).

(b) The Apollonian triad: a *kourotrophic* triad

As suggested, vase painters chose to depict Apollo and Artemis with their mother in a libation context to underline their familial ties. I consider that Leto's presence with her children in this context is more significant than previously thought. Her inclusion in the particular iconographical motif reinforces, as I shall demonstrate, Apollo's and Artemis' *kourotrophic* functions. The growth of children, particularly boys, under the protection of Apollo and Artemis would guarantee the continuation of an *oikos* and the integrity of the *polis*. This view is further supported by considering the socio-historical context in which the motif appears.

The *kourotrophic* role of Apollo and Artemis is well-documented in the classical period in Attica. In the previous section (4.1) we referred to the participation of girls in the rite of the *arkteia* in honour of Artemis Brauronia and Apollo's general persona as nurturer of youths. We may also briefly mention that in Athens Apollo presided over youth's growth into manhood under the appellation Delphinios as indicated by literary evidence.<sup>503</sup> Moreover, as Lykeios, the god was responsible for the protection of youth (Aesch. *Suppl.* 687) as well as the cavalry and hoplites of Athens (*IG I<sup>3</sup>* 138, 434 BC; Ar. *Pax.* 356).<sup>504</sup> In addition, we should remark the participation of boys at two major festivals of Apollo, i.e., the *Pyanopsia* and *Thargelia*,<sup>505</sup> in which boys played a prominent role. Moreover, we should

---

<sup>503</sup> Parker (2005), 436 suggests that Apollo under the title Delphinios presided over youths' growth into manhood. As evidence, Parker considers: (a) the oaths taken in the temple of Apollo Delphinios (*Delphinion*), located south of the *Olympieion* and founded in the mid-fifth century BC (as indicated by the pottery from the foundations), regarding boy's legitimacy (Dem. 40.11; Isae. 1.12.9, fourth cent. BC); and (b) the *Delphinion* as the site where Theseus has been recognized as Aegeus son (Plut. *Thes.* 12.5) and has thrown a bull over its top as a response of the teasing that he received of his girlish appearance (Paus. 1.19.1). See also Graf (1979), 2-22 who stresses the connection of Apollo Delphinios to *ephebes*. For the *Delphinion*, see Travlos (1971), 83, Goette (2001), 101.

<sup>504</sup> For the worship of Apollo Lykeios in Athens, see Jameson (1980), 213-235; Parker (2005), 402.

<sup>505</sup> Evidence for the participation of boys at *Pyanopsia*: Plut. *Thes.* 22.4-5; *Suda* s.v. *Eiresione*; schol. Ar. *Eq.* 729; Plut. 1054. Also see, Deubner (1956), 199-200; Parke (1977), 76; Simon (1982), 76;

underline the association that the god had with the phratries, i.e., the hereditary associations in which every Athenian citizen was enrolled, and their festival, the *Apatouria* (Hdt. 1.147.2),<sup>506</sup> during which children were admitted to phratries (Xen. *Hell.* 1.7.8), and issues regarding their legitimacy were resolved (Andoc. 1.126).<sup>507</sup> Finally, we may also note the close association that Artemis had with *ephebes* as indicated by their participation at Artemis' festival the *Mounichia*<sup>508</sup> and the sacrifices of *ephebes* to Artemis Agrotera before starting their military service.<sup>509</sup>

After this brief review of the role of Apollo and Artemis as deities who protect children and preside over their growth into adulthood, let us examine how Leto's presence in the scene stresses the aforementioned functions. We may find some answers by considering the nature of Leto's worship in Attica. Despite the

---

Scherf (2001), 608-609; Baudy (1997), 922-923; Parker (2005), 204, 436, 480. Evidence for the participation of boys at *Thargelia*: Arist. *Ath.Pol.* 56.3; *Suda*, s.v. *Eiresione*; schol. Ar. *Eq.* 729; *Plut.* 1054; bases of choragic dedications at *Thargelia* (e.g., *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 3022, mid fourth cent. BC; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 3063, fourth cent. BC). Also see, Deubner (1956), 192,198; Parke (1977), 148; Simon (1982), 76,78; Parker (2005); 204; Bremmer (2002a), 243; Baudy (1997), 922-923; Wilson (2000), 33; (2007), 151.

<sup>506</sup> Herodotus reports that the festival was celebrated by all Ionians except Ephesians and Colophonians. For the Dorian and West Greek cities the festival was called *Apellai*; Nilsson (1951), 151; Burkert (1987), 144. For the festival in general, see Deubner (1956), 232- 234; Cole (1984), 233-237; De Schutter (1987), 104-114; Lambert (1993), 152-161; Parker (2005), 458-61.

<sup>507</sup> Note that evidence for the association of Apollo (Patroos) with the phratries dates from the fourth century onwards; on this issue, see p. 82, n. 269. According to late literary sources (e.g., Hsch., *Suda*, s.v. *koureotis*), Artemis was also associated with the *Apatouria*, particularly on the third day, during which boys offered their hair to the goddess. The rite was called *koureion* (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1237, 28, 396/5 BC; Poll. 8.107.8, etc.). Several scholars discuss the *koureion* as a rite that marks boys' transition from childhood to adolescence; e.g., Cole (1984), 234; Lambert (1993), esp.161-163, etc.; for the ritual cutting of the hair supra n. 357.

<sup>508</sup> According to epigraphic evidence, *ephebes* took part in processions (e.g., *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1029, 13; 95/4 BC), sacrifices (e.g., *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1009, 116/5 BC; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1028, 21, 100/99 BC) and naval contests (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1006, 29-30, 123/2 BC; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1011, 16, 106/5 BC) at the festival of Artemis Mounichia; for the evidence, see Palaiokrassa (1983), 12-13. For the *Mounichia* in general, see Simon (1982), 81-82; Palaiokrassa (1983), 21-26; Parker (2005), 231, n. 59, 476.

<sup>509</sup> Aristotle (*Ath.Pol.* 58.1) informs us that the *polemarch* made offerings to Artemis Agrotera and Enyalios, while Xenophon (3.2.12) mentions that the sacrifice to Artemis Agrotera was considered as a thank-offering for the victory of Greeks over the Persians at Marathon. Epigraphic evidence for the association of *ephebes* with Artemis Agrotera: *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1006, 6-8 (122/1 BC), *SEG XXI* 476, 3-4 (120 BC), *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1008, 4-7 (118/7 BC), *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1011, 7 (106/5 BC), *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1028, 5-8 (101/0 BC), *SEG XXIV* 189, 3-4 (late second BC), *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1029, 6 (95/4 BC), *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1030, 5, 94/3 BC, *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1040, 5, 47/6-43/2BC; for Artemis Agrotera, see also Jameson (1993), 210-211; Barringer (2001), 47-49; Cole (2004), 188-190.

scarcity of evidence, Leto's cult is attested in Attica. In fact, the sanctuary of Apollo at Cape Zoster, founded in the late 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, included Leto's worship with Apollo and Artemis, which we know from literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence.<sup>510</sup> As we mentioned in chapter 1.1, this is the place where Leto loosed her girdle before giving birth to Artemis and Apollo on Delos.

Furthermore, according to epigraphical evidence of the late fifth and fourth century BC, Leto is often listed elsewhere in Attica as a recipient of sacrifices. For example, the late fifth-century calendar of Thorikos (line 40-46, *SEG* 33:147) mentions Leto receiving offerings together with Artemis Mounichia, Apollo Pythios and Kourotrophos in the month Mounichion.<sup>511</sup> Moreover, Leto's name appears in three of thirteen preserved fragments of the sacrificial calendar of the Athenians.<sup>512</sup> On one fragment (403/2-400/399 BC), she is mentioned with Apollo, Kourotrophos and Zeus (Athens, Agora Museum I 4310); on another (403/2-400/399 BC), her name appears with that of Poseidon and after the name of Apollo with a reference to his shrine on Delos (Athens, Agora Museum I 251).<sup>513</sup> Her name also occurs on a third fragment (410/9-405/4 BC) with Kourotrophos and Athena (Athens, Agora Museum I 945). Additionally, the calendar of the deme Erchia (*LSCG* 18; first half of fourth cent. BC) mentions a substantial *deme* festival in honour of Leto, Apollo, Zeus, the Dioskouroi and Hermes on the fourth of *Thargelion*.<sup>514</sup> Another type of epigraphical evidence in which Leto's name is mentioned as a recipient of offerings is an arbitration report of 363/2, inscribed on a *stele* that was found re-used on the

---

<sup>510</sup> For the literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence, see Kourouniotis (1927), 2-46; Goette (2001), 197; Camp (2001), 136.

<sup>511</sup> Humphreys (2004), 156-160.

<sup>512</sup> Lambert (2002), with previous bibliography.

<sup>513</sup> Lambert (2002), 382 considers that the fragment might refer to the *theoria* to Delos.

<sup>514</sup> Dow (1965), 180, 191; Humphreys (2004), 187.

Kolonos Agoraios (Athens, Agora Museum I 3244), concerning religious issues of the *genos* of the Salaminioi (*SEG* 21: 527).<sup>515</sup> According to this record, sacrifices were made on the seventh of Metageitnion to Apollo Patroos, Leto, Artemis and Athena Agelaa (*SEG* 21:527, 89-90).

Although the aforementioned inscriptions are fragmentary, it is worth noting that the presence of Leto's name alongside that of Apollo and Artemis denotes that her worship is linked to that of her children. In addition, the frequent appearance of the appellation *Kourotrophos* in connection with the names of Leto, Apollo and Artemis underscores the *kourotrophic* function of this divine family group.

Finally, I would like to comment on the appearance of Leto's name on a *stèle* of 400 BC – found at the old mouth of the Kephisos River – because it provides more evidence regarding the nature of Leto's worship in Athens. The *stèle* lists the following deities: Hestia, Kephisos, Apollo Pythios, Leto, Artemis Lochia, Eileithyia, Acheloos, Kallirhoe, and the Geraistian Nymphs of Birth and Rhapso (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 4547; *LSCG* 1962, 17).<sup>516</sup> First, we should remark that Leto appears once again with her children, Apollo Pythios and Artemis Lochia in her capacity as goddess of childbirth. Secondly, she is included among deities who are associated with childbirth, i.e., Eileithyia and the Geraistian Nymphs of Birth, and among river-deities, i.e., Acheloos, Kephisos and Kallirhoe, who are known as nurturers of children.<sup>517</sup> Once again, Leto is worshipped alongside her children, and associated with other deities, who nourish children.

---

<sup>515</sup> Parker (1996), 308-316; Lambert (1997), 85-88.

<sup>516</sup> Stais (1909), 244; Purvis (2003), 15, 18-19.

<sup>517</sup> The name "Rhapso" is enigmatic given that we do not know anything about her. For Eileithyia see, n. 39. Rivers (e.g., Kephisos, Acheloos) and Nymphs (e.g., Kallirhoe and the Geraistian Nymphs of Birth) were well-known for nurturing children (e.g., Hes. *Theog.* 346-347); for the *kourotrophic* role of rivers and nymphs, see Hadzisteliou-Price (1978), 126, 194-195; Larson (2001), 98-99.

As demonstrated, the worship of Leto in Attica, attested from the late sixth century BC, is closely linked with that of her children and other *kourotrophic* deities. Leto's maternal character, well-established in the mythological tradition, is stressed in her cult in Attica, as well. To return to the iconography, Leto's appearance with her children in a context where, as noted, emphasis is placed on the close family ties between this mother and her children, highlights Apollo's and Artemis' *kourotrophic* functions. In other words, Leto appears with her children, Apollo and Artemis, to reinforce their capacities as deities in charge of the well-being of children. With this in mind, then, when we look at libation scenes with the trio, it is clear that Leto's presence is of the utmost importance and should encourage us to view these scenes as representing a divine family whose function was concerned with the nurturing of the young in Athens. This *kourotrophic* role is further accentuated in scenes where the divine trio is accompanied by others, especially by the frequent appearance of Hermes, whose association with the protection of children has been already mentioned in the previous section (pp. 114-116). It is because of Apollo's and Artemis' role presiding over the successful growth of children into adulthood that we may justify the presence of a boy among the divine trio, whom scholars, as noted, call "Ion" or "Ganymede".

Having discussed that the motif promotes the idea of Apollo and Artemis as *kourotrophoi*, I turn now to explore the socio-historical context within which the motif occurs. This investigation will further our understanding of the meaning that this motif conveys.

According to table 4b (app. II), the representation of the Apollonian triad on a stand of a nuptial *lebes* from Athens attributed to the Earliest Mannerists of c.470 BC



(D2, fig. 84), a shape closely associated with the wedding,<sup>518</sup> offers evidence of the motif in a nuptial setting. The *lebes* depicts a wedding procession where the groom leads his veiled bride by the wrist, a gesture known as *χείρ ἐπι καρπῶ*.<sup>519</sup> In this scene we can observe further features closely associated with the wedding iconography, such as a man playing on his lyre, thus evoking the integral part that music played in the bridal ceremony,<sup>520</sup> and a woman carrying torches, namely, the mother of the bride (e.g., Eur. *IA* 732) or the mother of the groom (e.g., Eur. *Phoen.* 3444-346), who usually carried torches in the procession.<sup>521</sup> Considering that the primary purpose of marriage was the production of children (e.g., Xen. *Oec.* 7.11; Dem. 59, 122), the appearance of the motif on a nuptial vessel and the juxtaposition of the Apollonian triad motif to a wedding scene provide further support to the idea that the motif under discussion promotes the role of Apollo and Artemis as deities who preside over the successful growth of children into adulthood.<sup>522</sup>

The majority of shapes on which we find depictions of the Apollonian triad, however, indicates a link to the world of the *symposion* (i.e., *kraters*, *oinochoai*, *pelikai*, amphorae, *hydriai*, black-figure *lekythoi* and a cylindrical support), since

---

<sup>518</sup> Although the specific use of a *lebes gamikos* during the bridal ceremony is uncertain, its close association with the wedding is supported by its depiction in nuptial scenes and by the fact that this type of vessel is usually decorated with nuptial scenes or scenes that show women's quarters. For the shape, its function, and iconography, see Richter and Milne (1935), 11; Cook (1997), 220; Oakley and Sinos (1993), 6-7; Sgourou (1997), 73-81; Krauskopf (2005), 173-176. See also Sgourou (1997), 72, who notes that *lebetes gamikoi* have been attested in domestic contexts both in Attica and Olynthus as well as in funerary contexts, particularly female burials.

<sup>519</sup> For the gesture *cheir' epi karmo* in the nuptial context, see examples in Oakley and Sinos (1993), figs. 82, 85, 86, 87, 90, 91, 94, 97, 106, 110, etc.

<sup>520</sup> For the significant role of music in the wedding ceremony, see Bundrick (2005), 179-192 who provides literary and iconographic evidence on the subject. Note that the identification of the man playing the lyre as Apollo (as some may suggest) requires further indications, such as a painted name, more attributes, etc.

<sup>521</sup> Oakley and Sinos (1993), 26.

<sup>522</sup> Note that a girl would dedicate her toys and a lock of hair to the goddess prior to her wedding (Poll. 3.38); for pre-marital offerings and rituals, see, Dillon (2002), 215-218 with previous bibliography. The role of Artemis presiding over girls' transition from *parthenos* to a married woman has been discussed by many scholars; see for example Vernant (1991), 199-200.

their presence in a sympotic context has been confirmed by literary, iconographic and archaeological evidence (table 4b, app. II).<sup>523</sup> In fact, two of them were actually recovered from a site where sympotic activity has been attested. More specifically, the red-figure *stamnos* C30 (460-450 BC) and the *bell-krater* C31(c.450 BC) were found in a large deposit (H 4:5) of debris (c.475-425 BC)<sup>524</sup> from a public dining place (*syssition*)<sup>525</sup> at the northwest corner of the Athenian Agora.<sup>526</sup> As argued, the high proportion of vases associated with mixing, pouring and drinking wine points to the importance of wine consumption at this particular *syssition* where public officials dined and drank together.<sup>527</sup>

---

<sup>523</sup> The use of the *krater*, amphora, *oinochoe*, *hydria*, *lekythos*, and the cylindrical support in the sympotic setting is discussed in the first section of this chapter (pp. 87-90) with bibliography. For *pelike* as a vessel for storage of liquids (oil, water and wine), and solids, see Richter and Milne (1935), 4-5; Cook (1997<sup>3</sup>), 213; Schreiber (1999), 209-213; Lynch (2001), 171-173. For *stamnos* as wine container or wine mixer, see Richter and Milne (1935); Gericke (1970), 8-9; Schreiber (1999), 247. It should be noted that both *stamnos* and *pelike* have been recovered from sites where sympotic activity has been attested based on archaeological evidence; see, for example, Lynch (2011), 126-127, 181, 224-227.

<sup>524</sup> The deposit has been dated on the basis of the painted pottery among the finds; Rotroff and Oakley (1992), 4, 9.

<sup>525</sup> Literary sources (e.g., Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 43, 3; Hsch, s.v. *prytaneion*; Plut. *Vit. X orat.* 847d) inform us about three *syssitia* in Athens that took place in the *Prytaneion*, *Tholos*, and *Thesmotheteion*, but as Rotroff and Oakley (1992) 38-39 remark, there may have been other *syssitia* as well. For further discussion regarding public eating in Athens, see Steiner (2002), 348-351.

<sup>526</sup> Rotroff's and Oakley's (1992) argument for the existence of a *syssition* or public dining place at the northwest corner of the Agora is based on the following: (a) pottery (figured and plain) and other finds associated with dining and drinking have been discovered in deposit H 4:5 (12m west of the Royal Stoa). Similar material has been also recovered from a well (H 6:5), located under the Stoa of Zeus (3-4, 11-34). (b) An important amount of pottery, inscribed with ΔΕ ligature for "demosion" (public property), has been found in deposit H 4:5 and well H 6:5 (35-37, 41-42). (c) A series of rooms located under the Stoa of Zeus and behind the Royal Stoa have been associated with the *syssition*. Because of their proximity to both deposits (H 6:5 and H 4:5) and because the pottery that has been recovered from these rooms is similar to that from deposit H 4:5, Rotroff and Oakley argued that they must have functioned as storage and food preparation areas for the *syssition* (5-8).

<sup>527</sup> Rotroff and Oakley (1992), 46-47, comment that the high proportion of drinking vessels evokes *symposion* rather than *syssition*. Because *kraters* are present in considerable numbers, Rotroff and Oakley suggest that at least some of them may have been gifts to the *syssition* from the participants, i.e., cavalry officers and some of the archons who were active at this site of the Agora based on epigraphic and literary evidence (37-41, 43-45). See also Steiner (2002), esp. 357-377, who argues on the basis of textual and archaeological evidence that elite attitudes and behaviors well documented in the private space of the *symposion* are present in this context of public eating as well (e.g., pederastic flirting, engagement in parodies, sexual insults, etc.).

Recalling the link between the Apollonian triad, particularly Apollo, and the sympotic world (pp. 100-102), the consideration that the motif appears predominantly on sympotic shapes, and the fact that two of our vases were found in archaeological context where sympotic activity has been confirmed together suggest that the intended setting at least for the majority of vases under discussion was the *symposion*. In fifth-century Athens, the *symposion* continued to be an important male institution of the Athenian society, especially of its wealthier members, where values, both public and private, were promoted.<sup>528</sup> In this context, the motif, which highlights, as noted, the idea of Apollo and Artemis as *kourotrophoi*, reflects a concern of the Athenian society for the well-being of children. Under the protection of Apollo and Artemis, children would grow and fulfil their roles within their family units and the *polis*. Boys, as already noted (pp. 107-108), contributed to the perpetuation and survival of their *oikoi* (e.g., Eur. *IT*. 57),<sup>529</sup> while as future citizens and warriors would have ensured the prosperity and security of the *polis* (e.g., Thuc. 2.44.3).<sup>530</sup> Girls' important role in the Athenian society lay primarily on their capacity as future wives and mothers of Athenian citizen.<sup>531</sup>

The importance of children within Athenian society of the fifth century BC can be better understood by considering the increasing interest in children's

---

<sup>528</sup> The idea of the *symposion* as a social institution that belonged primarily to the wealthier classes in fifth-century Athens has been pointed out by many scholars; see for instance Bowie (1997), 3; Henderson (2000), 9; Steiner (2007), 256-262; Murray (2009), 514,522. For objections to this view, see for example Topper (supra n. 276); Corner (2010).

<sup>529</sup> According to Euripides, "male children are the pillars of the house" (*στῦλοι γὰρ οἴκων παῖδες εἰσὶν ἄρσενες*).

<sup>530</sup> Pericles urges the parents of the dead to have more children given that they will contribute to the security of the *polis*.

<sup>531</sup> For woman's position in classical Athens and her role within the *oikos* and the *polis*, see for example, Lacey (1968), 151-176; Blundell (1995) 113-149; Sourvinou-Inwood (1995), 112-118.

iconography, observed especially between 475 and 450 BC.<sup>532</sup> I should note that this investigation should not be regarded as an exhaustive treatment of the subject, but rather a brief examination, which is enough to clarify a few points.<sup>533</sup> As Beaumont notes, children – shown as miniaturized adult figures – were not a common subject in black-figure vase painting of the sixth century BC and were restricted to specific contexts, such as scenes of departing warriors, marriage processions, funerary ceremonies, etc.<sup>534</sup> On the contrary, in fifth-century red-figure vase-painting, children, whose artistic representation developed so that three principal life stages of childhood can be identified,<sup>535</sup> are represented with greater frequency and in a wider variety of iconographic contexts.<sup>536</sup>

Before we proceed to some examples, we should point out that depictions of children during the first half of the fifth century occur more commonly in vase painting than in other media.<sup>537</sup> From the second half of the century, however, examples in sculpture also appear,<sup>538</sup> such as architectural sculpture (e.g., the west pediment of the Parthenon, 438/7-434/3 BC, *IG I<sup>3</sup> 445-449*),<sup>539</sup> votive reliefs (e.g.,

---

<sup>532</sup> Scenes depicting children, including youths, reach their peak of production the period between 475 and 450 BC, Giudice and Giudice (2009), 58, figs. 6, (3), 14, (3).

<sup>533</sup> For a detail analysis of the artistic representation of children in classical Athens, see most recently Beaumont (2012), *passim*.

<sup>534</sup> Beaumont (2003a), 61-62, (2003b), 108. Vollkommer (2000), 381, refers that young mythological children are found in relatively few episodes in Archaic art (e.g., Achilles brought to Cheiron, Astyanax, etc.)

<sup>535</sup> Beaumont (2012), 38-42, suggests three major developmental stages of childhood and youth: infancy, prepubescent childhood, and pubescent youth, which may be further subdivided into two phases (a younger and an older phase), on the basis of six categories of iconographical criteria that she proposes (*supra* n. 226).

<sup>536</sup> Beaumont (2003a), 65, (2003b), 108-109.

<sup>537</sup> Beaumont (2003a), 69. Notable is a votive relief of the early fifth century BC, from the Athenian Akropolis (Athens, Akropolis Museum 581), which represents a family (i.e., a couple with three children) bringing sacrificial animals to Athena. Considering that the relief was found along with other fragments of sculptures that were destroyed during the Persian sack of 480 BC, Palagia (1995), 493 argues that a date after 480 BC should be excluded.

<sup>538</sup> For children in sculpture, see Beaumont (2003a), 72.

<sup>539</sup> For the west pediment, see for example, Palagia (1993), 40-52; Pollitt (2000), 221-226.

dedication of Xenokrateia, *IG II<sup>3</sup> 987*, c.400 BC)<sup>540</sup> and grave *stelai* (e.g., Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3845, c.420 BC).<sup>541</sup>

A new scene type, among others,<sup>542</sup> which appears in Attic vase painting from the early second quarter of the fifth century BC, depicts a young child commonly in a domestic context with its mother (or nurse).<sup>543</sup> For example, the painting on a white-ground *lekythos* from Eretria attributed to the Timokrates Painter of 460 BC depicts a woman reaching for a young boy, who is seated on a girl's shoulders (fig. 85).<sup>544</sup> The representation of a column and *oinochoai* hanging on the wall indicate that the figures appear in an interior. The domestic setting, the woman's large size in contrast to that of the girl, her affectionate gesture in reaching for the baby, denote that she is the mother of the infant, while the girl, if not a member of the family, might be considered a servant.<sup>545</sup> In other instances, the child is not depicted as an infant but as a prepubescent child, as we see, for example, on the interior of a red-figure cup attributed to the Briseis Painter of 470 BC (fig. 86).<sup>546</sup> A boy, tightly wrapped in a *himation*,<sup>547</sup> stands in front of a woman, perhaps his mother,

---

<sup>540</sup> Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2756; Stais (1909), 251-263; Dragoumis (1911), 220-222; Cook (1925), 182-184; Walter (1937), 13-119; Linfert (1967), 149-157; Larson, (2001), 131-134; Purvis (2003), 15-32. For further representations of children in Attic votive reliefs of the classical period, see Lawton (2007).

<sup>541</sup> Kaltsas (2002), 147, no. 281. According to the inscription (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 12147*), carved on the epistyle, the *stèle* commemorates Mnesagora and Nikochares, sister and brother, and was erected by their parents. Oakley (2003), 181, notes that a significant number of grave stones depict children after their reappearance around 440-430 BC and explains that this concern for children should be connected to the great loss of population as a result of the plague and the Peloponnesian War.

<sup>542</sup> E.g., schoolroom scenes, which appear in the first decade of the fifth century BC, depict boys at their lessons; Beaumont (2003a), 65-67.

<sup>543</sup> Beaumont (2003a), 68, 72, (2003b), 109.

<sup>544</sup> Athens, National Archaeological Museum 12771; *ARV<sup>2</sup> 1561*; *Para 521*; *Add<sup>2</sup> 284*; Oakley (2004), 44, fig. 14.

<sup>545</sup> As servant: Oakley (2004), 42; Lewis (2002), 17.

<sup>546</sup> Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS442; *Para 372, 32bis*; Slehoferova (1984) 35-36; Beaumont (2012), 108, fig. 4.3.

<sup>547</sup> As Beaumont (2012), 40, indicates, that the *himation* tightly wrapped around the boy's body is characteristic attire for a boy of the prepubescent childhood.

who holds up a wreath. The domestic space is designated by the representation of a stool behind the woman. Usually, a young child appears only with a female, but occasionally domestic scenes also incorporate the adult male figure of husband and father,<sup>548</sup> thus emphasizing the aspect of family unit.<sup>549</sup>

An important development of children's iconography, which occurs in vase painting in the early fifth century BC, concerns the representation of deities or heroes as infants in scenes associated with a particular story or without a clear mythological context.<sup>550</sup> For example, a red-figure *hydria* from Agrigento attributed to the Syleus Painter of 490-470 BC depicts Zeus (named) presenting the baby Dionysos (named), crowned with ivy and holding an ivy branch, to a seated woman, who holds an ivy branch as well (fig. 87).<sup>551</sup> Behind her stands another woman, also crowned with ivy and carrying a scepter. Between Zeus and the two women, the vase painter has depicted a column to indicate the women's appearance within a building. According to the Homeric *Hymn to Dionysos* (9-10), Zeus entrusted the infant to the care of the nymphs of Nysa. However the inclusion of the column in the vase painting reinforces the idea that the women are not nymphs, who are known to have been living in the wild.<sup>552</sup> As suggested, the seated figure might have been intended to represent Ino, the wife of Athamas, the king of Orchomenos, to whom the infant sometimes was

---

<sup>548</sup> For examples, see Beaumont (2003a), 72; (2012), 231, n. 41.

<sup>549</sup> The emphasis on family devotion is also well documented in scenes of departing warriors that sometimes include a woman holding an infant in her arms. For examples, see Beaumont (2003a), 68.

<sup>550</sup> For mythological children in fifth-century vase-painting, see Beaumont (1995). It should be noted that apart from few exceptions goddesses and heroines appear seldom as small children on fifth-century vases. Beaumont (1995), 339, 349, considers depictions of Athena and Aphrodite as exceptions, but even they, as she notes, are represented as fully formed adults in scenes of their birth. The situation is similar in vase paintings of the sixth century BC; see Vollkommer (2000), 381.

<sup>551</sup> Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 440; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 252, 51; *LIMC* 3, s.v. Dionysos, fig. 701 [Gasparri].

<sup>552</sup> Carpenter (1997), 56; Lissarrague (2001), 202. Arafat (1990), 48 considers that the column indicates Olympos based on Euripides' *Bacchae* (289) that the child was taken to Olympos.

entrusted (Apollod. 3.4.3).<sup>553</sup> According to other variations of this theme, which appeared in vase painting in the first quarter of the fifth century BC,<sup>554</sup> the infant is delivered to the nymphs (or Papposilenos)<sup>555</sup> by a satyr<sup>556</sup> or Hermes.<sup>557</sup> Other divine children are also attested in fifth-century vase paintings (e.g., Hermes, Zeus, Apollo, etc.), but Dionysos, is by far, the most frequently depicted deity.<sup>558</sup>

Moreover, it is interesting to note that some scenes depicting divine/heroic children are placed in a family setting. A red-figure *pelike* of 480-470 BC from Vulci attributed to the Siren Painter, for example, shows Herakles and his family (fig. 88).<sup>559</sup> Most figures are identified by their names. Herakles (*HEPAKAEΣ*) stands next to his wife Deianeira (*ΔAIANEIPA*) who holds the infant Hyllos (*HYΛΛOΣ*) in her arms. The family is flanked by Athena and Oineus (*OINEYΣ*). The central placement of Hyllos in the scene reaching out to his father makes him the center of attention. The representation of Herakles with Deianeira and Hyllos, a theme known in Attic vase painting from c.500 BC onwards,<sup>560</sup> projects the idea of family unity and devotion. We should point out that Herakles himself appears as an infant in fifth-

---

<sup>553</sup> See Carpenter, Lissarrague (supra n. 552). As nymphs are listed in *LIMC* 3, s.v. Dionysos, fig. 701 [Gasparri].

<sup>554</sup> Carpenter (1997), 54.

<sup>555</sup> E.g. red-figure *kalyx-krater* from Vulci attributed to the *Phiale* Painter of 440-430 BC, Rome, Museo Etrusco Gregoriano Vaticano 559; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1017, 54; *LIMC* 3, s.v. Dionysos, fig. 686 [Gasparri].

<sup>556</sup> Red-figure *hydria* from Nola attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter of 460-450 BC, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art X313.1; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 623, 69; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 271; *LIMC* 3, s.v. Dionysos, fig. 692 [Gasparri].

<sup>557</sup> E.g., red-figure *bell-krater* from Nola attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter of 460-450 BC, London, British Museum E492; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 619, 16; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 270; *LIMC* 3, s.v. Dionysos, fig. 682 [Gasparri].

<sup>558</sup> Beaumont (1995), 341.

<sup>559</sup> Paris, Musée du Louvre G229; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 289, 3; *LIMC* 4, s.v. Herakles, fig. 1676 [Boardman].

<sup>560</sup> See examples in *LIMC* 4, s.v. Herakles, 834 [Boardman].

century vase painting, such as scenes where he strangles the two snakes sent by Hera to destroy him (Pind. *Nem.* 1.35-50),<sup>561</sup> a theme attested between 480-450 BC.<sup>562</sup>

Another example that stresses the concept of family is offered by a red-figure *kalyx-krater* from Agrigento attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter of c.460-450 BC (fig. 89).<sup>563</sup> The vase depicts a satyr boy (named *Posthon*) holding a flaming torch and walking in a procession among a maenad (named *Mainas*) holding a *thyrsos* and a *kantharos*, and two other satyrs, an adult satyr (named *Soteles*) who also carries a *thyrsos* and a *kantharos*, and an aged satyr (named *Marsyas*) – indicated by his white hair – who plays the double flute. This example demonstrates a different type of mythological family, namely, a satyr family.<sup>564</sup> As the female companion of a satyr (Hes. fr. 123, 60; M-W), the maenad assumes the role of a mother, the adult satyr the role of a father, the satyr-boy the role of the child and the aged satyr the role of the grandfather.<sup>565</sup>

Finally, I would like to point out that during the period under consideration we often find representations of baby Erichthonios, the ancestor of all Athenians who was “born from the earth” (*γηγενοῦς*, Eur. *Ion* 20) and whose role in the formation of the Athenian identity is of the utmost importance. For example, an Attic red-figure *stamnos* of 460-450 BC from Vulci attributed to the Painter of Munich 2413 depicts Athena (identified by the aegis) receiving a baby from a female figure, who appears

---

<sup>561</sup> The theme is attested on four vases, all listed in *LIMC* 4, s.v. Herakles, 830, figs. 1650-1653 [Woodford].

<sup>562</sup> *LIMC* 4, s.v. Herakles, 831 [Woodford]. Schefold (1992), 94 indicates that the theme has not been depicted until the classical period.

<sup>563</sup> Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 208; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 618, 3; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 270; *LIMC* 8, s.v. Silenoi, 1115, fig. 46 [Simon].

<sup>564</sup> For the satyr family as a different model of family life, see Shapiro (2003), 104-105.

<sup>565</sup> Shapiro (2003), 105; for images of satyrs having different ages, see further Lissarrague (1993), 216-217, (2013), 63-66.



as a torso emerging from the ground (fig. 90).<sup>566</sup> A bearded male figure wearing only a *himation* above his shoulder and holding a staff stands by their side. Two Erotes flank the scene. It is generally agreed that the motif of a female figure rising from the ground and handing an infant to Athena, attested on other vases as well, is an artistic representation of the birth of Erichthonios as indicated by literary descriptions.<sup>567</sup> On some occasions Erichthonios, Athena, and Gaia can be identified by painted names.<sup>568</sup> To return to the iconography, we can observe Gaia emerging from the ground and offering the infant Erichthonios to Athena. The male figure nearby can be identified with Hephaistos, according to the literary tradition (e.g., Paus. 1.14.6), and the fact that his appearance in this context has been already confirmed on other vases where all figures are labeled.<sup>569</sup> Although the theme of the birth of Erichthonios appears in Attic art, particularly in vase painting, around 500/490-480 BC,<sup>570</sup> the majority of examples have been attested after the Persian Wars.<sup>571</sup> As several scholars argued, depictions of the birth of Erichthonios underline Athens' claim of autochthony, namely that the Athenians sprung from the soil of Attica just like Erichthonios who was born from the earth.<sup>572</sup> Therefore, by promoting the idea of autochthony, the Athenians underlined their special connection to their land and accentuate their Athenian identity.<sup>573</sup>

---

<sup>566</sup> Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2413; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 495, 1; *Para* 380; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 250; *LIMC* 4, s.v. Erechtheus, fig. 6 [Kron]; *LIMC* 4, s.v. Hephaistos, fig. 217 [Hermayr].

<sup>567</sup> For literary sources concerning the birth of Erichthonios, see *LIMC* 4, s.v. Erechtheus, 925 [Kron].

<sup>568</sup> E.g., red-figure cup from Tarquinia attributed to the Codrus Painter of 440-430 BC, Berlin, Antikensammlungen F2537; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1268, 2; *Para* 471; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 177; *LIMC* 4, s.v. Erechtheus, fig. 7 [Kron].

<sup>569</sup> E.g., supra n. 568; *LIMC* 4, s.v. Hephaistos, fig. 218 [Hermayr].

<sup>570</sup> The earliest example is a black-figure *lekythos* from Sicily attributed to Painter of Ampurias of 500-480 BC (Kron) or 490-480 BC (Moore), Palermo, Coll. Mormino 769; *LIMC* 4, s.v. Erechtheus, fig. 1 [Kron]; s.v. Ge, fig. 13 [Moore].

<sup>571</sup> See examples in *LIMC* 4, s.v. Erechtheus, 928-931 [Kron]; s.v. Ge, 173 [Moore].

<sup>572</sup> E.g., Shapiro (2003), 89.

<sup>573</sup> The myth of the birth of Erichthonios and its association with the idea of autochthony is discussed by several scholars; see for example Parker (1987), 194-195; Loraux (1993), 37-71.

This brief investigation of the artistic representation of children, including mortal, divine, heroic and mythological children, in Attic art of 475-450 BC underlines the great importance of children in the Athenian society during the period under discussion. Regarding the fact that boys are more frequently depicted than girls in Attic vase painting and sculpture of the fifth century BC, scholars point out that this emphasises the social significance of male offspring for the continuity of family line and inheritance purposes.<sup>574</sup> I should clarify that this growing interest in the iconography of the child between 475-450 BC should not be understood as an implication of a change in the social status of children, which remained in the lowest position of the Athenian social order.<sup>575</sup> It rather demonstrates a social concern for children, for the ones who will ensure as future citizens, among other things, the prosperity and safety of the *polis*.<sup>576</sup> That the idea of the protection of the *polis* was held in high esteem, especially in the period under discussion, can be better understood when one considers that this time was marked by ongoing military campaigns, which the Athenians and their allies undertook in order to eliminate the Persian threat (e.g., Thuc. 1.94.2; 1.98).<sup>577</sup>

Overall, this section focused on the interpretation of the Apollonian triad motif in its new iconographical context. As demonstrated, depictions of the Apollonian triad in libation scenes underscore the strong family ties between Apollo, Artemis and Leto, and thereby, accentuate their *kourotrophic* nature. This idea is closely associated with a concern of the Athenian society for the successful growth

---

<sup>574</sup> E.g., Beaumont (2003a), 76; Oakley (2003), 191.

<sup>575</sup> For Athenian social attitudes towards children, see Golden (1990), 5-7; Beaumont (1995), 358.

<sup>576</sup> Cf. Oakley (2003), 177.

<sup>577</sup> Pritchard (2010), 17.

of children as indicated by the consideration of the socio-historical context within which the motif occurs.

To conclude, this chapter examined the iconology of the Apollonian triad motif in Attic vase painting of the sixth and fifth centuries BC. As I demonstrated, depictions of Apollo playing the kithara between Artemis and Leto on six- and early fifth-century vases not only emphasize the role of Apollo as the god of music, but also his capacity as protector of youths, an idea that is linked to the concern of aristocrats to ensure the perpetuation of their bloodlines and *oikoi* through male offspring in Archaic Athens. The development of the Apollonian triad motif and its appearance in a new iconographical context, i.e., performing or about to make libations, in fifth-century vase paintings promote the concept of family, and thereby, underscore the functions of Apollo and Artemis as deities in charge for the well-being of Athenian children. This view corresponds to the perception of the fifth-century Athenian society that children, especially boys, were important for the survival of an *oikos* and the *polis*.

## Conclusion

This thesis examined the iconography of the Apollonian triad motif in Attic art of the sixth and fifth centuries BC. Although sixth- and fifth- century Attic vase paintings are the primary evidence for this study, further evidence (8<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards) from Attica and other regions has been also taken into consideration for comparative reasons or as additional information, such as inscriptions, sculpture, coins, literary sources and architecture.

My research focused on representations of Apollo, Leto and Artemis as a group, that is, depicted together as a trio, in scenes without a clear mythological context, either alone or accompanied by other figures. In particular, I have examined depictions of Apollo playing the kithara between Artemis and Leto, which are found mainly on sixth-century vases, and images of the divine trio holding *phialai* and *oinochoai* and often performing (or about to perform) libations in fifth-century vase paintings. What the Apollonian triad motif in Attic vase painting of the sixth and fifth centuries meant to the Athenians was the main issue explored in this thesis. In an effort to interpret the above mentioned scenes, not only I have investigated the motif itself, but also the motif in its intended setting, i.e., the *symposion*, its visual and wider iconographical context, as well as its religious, and socio-political framework.

As argued, depictions of Apollo playing the kithara between Artemis and Leto place emphasis on Apollo and not only do they stress his capacity as the god of music, but also promote his role as nurturer of youths. The idea of Apollo as protector of male children is linked to values and concerns of aristocratic families to ensure the continuation of their bloodlines and *oikoi*. As the motif changes in the

fifth century BC, the focus shifts from Apollo to the concept of family. The representation of the Apollonian triad in a libation context not only underlines their familial ties, well emphasized in literary sources, but also reinforces Apollo's and Artemis' *kourotrophic* functions. The importance of children, particularly boys, for the maintenance of an *oikos* and the *polis*' survival is well rooted in the Athenian society of the fifth century BC.

This study has addressed many issues concerning the Apollonian triad in Attic art, including the criteria for identifying a trio as Apollonian, what was the connection between the triad and their most common companions, i.e., Hermes, Dionysos, and Poseidon, and how accompanying scenes can further our understanding of the meaning that the motif under discussion had for the Athenians. However, there are issues that we need to consider for a future study, such as the investigation of the Apollonian triad motif in connection to other family groups on sixth- and fifth-century Attic vases. Moreover, it would be interesting to explore the motif in other media than Attic vase paintings, such as sculpture, as well as expanding the research beyond Attica and the fifth century BC.

## Appendix I. Depictions of the Apollonian triad on Attic vases of the sixth and fifth centuries BC and.

Attic vases are arranged in four groups according to subject and composition (Group A-D). Group A presents the iconographical motif of Apollo playing his kithara between Leto and Artemis (A), while Group B illustrates the divine family accompanied by other gods (B). Group C presents the Apollonian triad holding *oinochoai* and *phialai*, involved in the ritual act of performing (or about to perform) a libation (C), while in Group D the triad appears performing (or about to perform) a libation in the presence of other, mainly, divine figures (D). It should be noted that depictions where no ritual is represented have been also included considering that the appearance of deities with *phialai* or *oinochoai* allude to the familiar rite. Too fragmented vases on which the motif cannot be identified have been excluded from the list.

In each category, vases are arranged chronologically according to the dates that have been established in *ABV*, *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, *Para*, *Add<sup>2</sup>*, *CVA* and *LIMC*, otherwise bibliography will be provided. Undated vases – though a more general date is given according to the Beazley Archive Pottery Database (*BAPD*) – are listed at the end of each thematic group. The following abbreviations are used: A: obverse; B: reverse; N: neck; S: shoulder; PR: predella; I: interior of cups; BF: black-figure; RF: red-figure; fr: fragment.

All figures are depicted in profile and standing, unless otherwise noted. Attributes of Apollo, Leto and Artemis are given, and all inscriptions are written in Greek. The question mark indicates that the figure which has been identified as Leto may be Artemis and the figure identified as Artemis may be Leto especially when Artemis does not appear with an attribute.

### GROUP A:

#### I. Confirmed representations

A1. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AE.45 (fig. 33)

BF neck-amphora (fr.), Group E, c.550 BC (Carpenter; after the mid-sixth cent. BC: Tiverios)

Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (seated on chair, bow, lion skin) and Leto.

*BAPD* 14611; Tiverios (1987), 874; Carpenter (1994), 73, fig. 6.8.

A2. Orvieto, Museo del Duomo 333

BF neck-amphora (damaged), near or related to Group E, c.540 BC (Shapiro)

A: Apollo wreathed with laurel (kithara) between Artemis (bow) and Leto (flower or branch).

SA: Fight, warriors, one fallen between horsemen.

*BAPD* 43331; Shapiro (1989), 57, pl. 27c.

A3. Switzerland, Private Collection

BF neck-amphora, the Antimenes Painter, 530-520 BC (Burow, 55)

A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (bow) and Leto, deer.

B: Dionysos (*kantharos*, ivy branches) between satyrs.

*Para* 120, 92ter; *BAPD* 340482; Burow (1989), 79, cat., no. 6.

A4. Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum L220 (fig. 20)

BF neck-amphora from Vulci, the Pasikles Painter, 520-510 BC (Kahil; c.520 BC: Daumas)

A: Apollo (*ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ*, kithara) between Artemis (*ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ*) and Leto (*ΛΕΤΟΣ*).

B: Dionysos (drinking horn, ivy branches) between a nymph and a satyr.

Inscriptions: on Leto's lower right, *ΠΑΣΙΚΛΕΣ ΚΑΛΙΟΣ*.

*ABV* 328, 1; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 89; *BAPD* 301758; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1107 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 631e [Daumas].

A5. London, British Museum B680

BF cup from Vulci, 520-500 BC (Kahil)

A, B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (quiver, bow, *polos*) and Leto. The triad is between eyes.

*BAPD* 20510; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1117 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 631c [Daumas].

A6. Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Nazionale C1954 (fig. 56)

BF belly-amphora (type A) from Agrigento, the Dikaios Painter, 520-500 BC (Calderone)

A: Athena mounting a chariot, Apollo, goddess (Artemis?), Hermes.

B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (quiver, branch) and Leto (branch), deer, bird.

*ABV* 400, 2; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 104; *BAPD* 303017; Calderone (1985), 11, pl. 14.1-2.

A7. Philadelphia, University Museum 5399 (fig. 14)

RF belly-amphora (type A) from Vulci, by the potter Menon (*MENON*) and the painter Psiax, 520-510 BC (Kahil)

A: Apollo (*ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ*, kithara) between Artemis (*ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ*, small branch) and Leto (*ΛΕΤΟΣ*, veil).

B: Youth (*chlamys*, boots, hat, spear) leading horses. Inscriptions: *ΣΚΟΝΘΟΝ*, *ΠΥΠΕΣ*.

*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 7, 3; *BAPD* 200023; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1110 [Kahil].

A8. Hannover, Kestner Museum 753 (fig. 39)

BF neck-amphora from Tarquinia, the Nikoxenos Painter, c.510 BC (Kahil)

A: Apollo at altar (kithara, quiver) between Artemis (quiver, bow, flower) and Leto (quiver), palm tree. All figures wear wreath (of laurel?)

B: Apollo is seated on *diphros* (kithara) between Artemis (quiver, bow) and Leto (bow), tree. All figures wear wreath (of laurel?)

*BAPD* 3254; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 634b, 641 [Daumas]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1123 [Kahil]; Follmann (1971), 23-25, pl. 9, 3.

A9. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.120 (fig. 41)

BF *hydria* (fr.), unattributed, 510-500 BC (Clark)

Apollo seated on *diphros* next to a burning altar (*ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ*, kithara) between Artemis (*ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ*, veil) and Leto (*ΛΕΤΟ*).

BAPD 30531; Clark (1988), 63-64, pl. 56, 2.

A10. Los Angeles County Museum of Art 50.8.20

BF neck-amphora, the theme close to Berkeley 8.3376 (CVA: USA 5, pl. 21, 2b; ABV 391, 2: related to the Painter of Munich 1416 of the Leagros Group) and London B259 (CVA 4, pl. 63, 3a; ABV 331, 12: the Priam Painter), c.510 BC (Packard and Clement; 530 BC: Queyrel)

A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (quiver) and Leto, deer.

B: Athena between Hermes and Dionysos, goat.

BAPD 4643; Packard and Clement (1977), 12-13, pl. 10; LIMC 6, s.v. Mousa, Mousai, fig. 27f [Queyrel].

A11. London, British Museum E256 (fig. 31)

RF belly-amphora (type A) from Vulci, near the Bowdoin-eye Painter, end of sixth cent. BC (Kahil)

A: Apollo (kithara, ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΟΣ) between Artemis (quiver, leopard skin, *sakkos*) and Leto (flower, *sakkos*), deer, panther.

B: Athletes (*diskovolos*, accontist, boxer). Inscriptions: ΦΑΥΛΛΟΣ, ΚΑΛΟΣ, ΑΛΛΑΜΑΣ

ARV<sup>2</sup> 168; Add<sup>2</sup> 183; BAPD 201543; LIMC 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1122 [Kahil]; LIMC 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 630r [Daumas]; Walters (1927), III. Ic. 4, pl. 3, 2a.

## II. Possible representations

A12. Paris, Musée du Louvre F218

BF neck-amphora, near Group E, c.550-525 BC (Daumas)

A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess with *polos* and flower, deer.

B: Herakles in combat with Amazon.

Inscriptions: ΑΠΙΣΤΟΜΕΝΕΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ (over the whole scene of A).

ABV 139, 9; Add<sup>2</sup> 37; Para 57; BAPD 310341; LIMC 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 630b [Daumas].

A13. Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 1472 (fig. 65)

BF neck-amphora, Group E (the Painter of London B213), c.540 BC (Kunze-Götte)

A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess with wreath, deer.

B: Theseus and Minotaur between a draped man and a woman.

SA: Deer and sirens.

SB: Panthers and sphinxes.

ABV 143 (Apollo and goddesses); Add<sup>2</sup> 39; BAPD 310382; Kunze-Götte (1970), 54-55, pl. 350.

A14. Berlin, Antiken Museum F1717

BF neck-amphora from Vulci, near Group E, c.540 BC (Mommsen)

A: Herakles fighting with a lion between Athena and Iolaos.

B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?)

SA: Foot-race.

SB: Pegasus flanked by a youth and man (both running), seated figures.



*ABV* 141, 7 (Apollo between two women); Mommsen (1980), 30-31, pl. 18; *Add<sup>2</sup>* 38; *BAPD* 310367; *LIMC* 6, s.v. Mousa, Mousai, fig. 27b [Queyrel], Apollo and two goddesses.

A15. Munich, Antikensammlungen 1473 (J1153) (fig. 30)  
BF neck-amphora, Group of London B174 (near Group E), c.540 BC (Daumas)  
A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess holds a wreath, palm tree.  
B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), palm tree.  
*BAPD* 743; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 639 [Daumas]; Kunze-Götte (1970), 52-53, pl. 348.

A16. Paris, Musée du Louvre C10619 (fig.37)  
BF neck-amphora, the Ready Painter, c.540-530 BC (Shapiro)  
A: Apollo sits on a large tripod (kithara, under the tripod quiver and bow) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), dolphins.  
B: Courting (youths-men, some with hares).  
*ABV* 685, 8; *Para* 53; *Add<sup>2</sup>* 35; *BAPD* 306550; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 381 [Lambrinudakis]; Shapiro (1989), pl. 29 a-b.

A17. Munich, Antikensammlungen 1650 (J486)  
BF neck-amphora from Vulci, the Three-line Group, 530-520 BC (Kunze-Götte)  
A: Abduction of Thetis by Peleus between Nereids.  
B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?)  
*BAPD* 7544; Kunze-Götte (1982), 68-69, pl. 61.

A18. Agrigento Museo Archeologico Regionale C1533  
BF neck-amphora from Agrigento (much restored), the Leagros Group, 525-500 BC (Calderone)  
A: Dionysos (kantharos) between nymphs (one with oinochoe), goat.  
B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), deer.  
*ABV* 374, 192; *Add<sup>2</sup>* 99; *BAPD* 302187; Calderone (1985), 13-14, pl. 24-25 (Apollo between two women).

A19. Paris, Musée du Louvre F252  
BF neck-amphora from Etruria, 525-500 BC (Daumas)  
A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess seated with flower, palm tree, deer.  
B: Warrior fallen between archers on horseback.  
*BAPD* 7860; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 640 [Daumas]; Pottier (1928a), III. He. 28, pl. 51, 3+7.

A20. Athens, National Museum, Akropolis Coll. 1.825  
BF *oinochoe* (fr.) from the Athenian Akropolis, near the Madrid Painter, c.520 BC (for the date see a black figure amphora of c.520 BC, from Vulci, attributed near the Madrid Painter as well, Berlin, Antikenmuseum F1870; Mommsen, 1980, pl. 21)  
Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (*APTEMIS*) and Leto (?), only small parts of Leto and Artemis survive.

*ABV* 330, 1; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 89; *BAPD* 301775.

A21. Aberdeen, University, Marischal Museum Collection 64015 (690)

BF neck-amphora, Manner of the Antimenes Painter, 520 BC (Kahil)

A: Dionysos (kantharos, vine branches) seated on a *diphros* between two satyrs (one with kithara).

B: Apollo (kithara, seated) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?).

*BAPD* 9024158; Moignard (2006), 8-9, pl. 13, 1-3 (Apollo between Artemis and Leto or Muses); *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 634a [Daumas]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1105 [Kahil].

A22. Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts II1B41 (fig. 60)

BF neck-amphora, Circle of the Antimenes Painter, c.520-510 BC (Sidorova)

A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), deer.

B: Warrior, charioteer in frontal chariot.

*BAPD* 46116; Sidorova N. (1996), 14, pl. 9.

A23. Basel, Market, Palladion (fig. 57)

BF neck-amphora, the Antimenes Painter, c.520 BC (Mizuta)

A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), both goddesses with *polos*, one holds a flower, deer.

B: Dionysos (drinking horn, ivy branches) between satyr and nymph with *oinochoe*.

*BAPD* 6975; Mizuta (1991), 68-69, pl. 58.1-3.

A24. Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi 50820

BF neck-amphora from Syracuse, the Pasikles Painter, 520-510 BC (Beazley; for the date see A4)

A: Herakles and Triton, Poseidon.

B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?).

*ABV* 328, 3; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 89; *BAPD* 301760.

A25. Frankfurt, Museum für Kunst Handwerk WM 016

BF neck-amphora, 520-510 BC (Daumas)

A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), deer.

B: Warrior with horse between a woman and a draped man with staff.

*BAPD* 12553; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 630e [Daumas]; Deppert (1964), 29, pl. 29.1-2.

A26. Berlin, Antikensammlungen F1867

BF neck-amphora from Etruria, the Leagros Group, 520-500 BC (the Leagros Group was active during 520-500 BC; Hart, 2002, 45)

A: Tomb of Patroklos, snake, chariot, warriors, panther.

B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one seated, deer.

*ABV* 371, 148; *Para*<sup>2</sup> 162; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 99; *BAPD* 302143.

A27. Washington, National Museum of Natural History 1369

BF neck-amphora from Veii or Pompeii, attributed to the Group of Munich 1519, 520-500 (*ABV* 393: Leagros Group, Companion of the Nikoxenos Painter; the Leagros Group activated in 520-500 BC, Hart, 2002, 45)

A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?)

B: Warriors, one with shield, one falling.

*BAPD* 1369.

A28. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden PC40 (fig. 62)

BF neck-amphora from Vulci, near the Group of Toronto 305 (circle of the Antimenes Painter), c.520 BC (Kahil)

A: Kaineus (as hoplite) between centaurs with rocks.

B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?)

*BAPD* 620; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1108 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 631b [Daumas]; Jongkees-Vos (1972), 22-23, pl. 27.1-2; *LIMC* 6, s.v. Mousa, Mousai, fig. 27d [Queyrel], Apollo and two goddesses.

A29. Munich, Antikensammlungen 1535 (J180)

BF neck-amphora from Vulci, the Pasikles Painter, 520-510 BC (Daumas)

A: Charioteer (spears) riding chariot, Artemis, Hermes, god (Ares?) or a warrior?

B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess with *polos*.

*BAPD* 1581; Kunze-Götte (1973), 58-60, pl. 404, 3-4; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 631f [Daumas].

A30. Munich, Antikensammlungen 1536 (J399)

BF neck-amphora from Vulci, the Pasikles Painter, 520-510 BC (Kunze-Götte)

A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), deer.

B: Charioteer, warrior riding quadriga.

*BAPD* 1579; Kunze-Götte (1973), 57-58, pl. 404, 1-2.

A31. Firenze, Museo Nazionale 151142

BF neck-amphora (fr.), circle of the Antimenes Painter, 520-510 BC (Sarti and Venuti)

Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), both goddesses with flower, one with branches.

Sarti and Venuti (2009), 29, pl. 27.

A32. Würzburg Martin von Wagner Museum 212 (fig. 63)

BF neck-amphora, from Vulci, the Leagros Group, 520-500 BC (the Leagros Group was active during 525-500 BC, Hart, 2002, 45; c.490 BC: Queyrel)

A: Aeneas carrying Anchises between women.

B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess with flower.

*ABV* 371, 150; *BAPD* 302145; *LIMC* 6, s.v. Mousa, Mousai, fig. 30c [Queyrel].

A33. New York, Market

BF neck-amphora from Vulci, the Leagros Group, 520-500 BC (the Leagros Group was active during 520-500 BC; Hart, 2002, 45)

A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), both goddesses seated (one on chair with branches, the other on *diphros* with flower).

B: Dionysos (*kantharos*, vine branches) between satyrs, goat.  
*ABV* 372, 160; *BAPD* 302155.

A34. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 3396  
BF neck-amphora from Vulci (?), the Pasikles Painter, 520-510 BC (Borgers and Brijder)

A: Dionysos (drinking horn, ivy branches) between nymphs (one with *oinochoe*).  
B: Apollo wreathed with laurel (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), both goddesses wear *poloi*, one holds a flower, deer.  
*ABV* 328, 6; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 89; *BAPD* 301763; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 630i [Daumas]; Borgers and Brijder (2007), 13-14, pl. 239-240.

A35. Paris, Musée du Louvre F312

BF *column-krater* from Etruria, 520-510 BC (Kahil)

A: Herakles and Apollo (struggle for the tripod) between Artemis and Athena.

B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?)

*BAPD* 7828; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 631g [Daumas]; Pottier (1923), III.He.4, pl. 4.9; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1302 [Kahil].

A36. Dublin, University College 101 (old V3049)

BF neck-amphora (restored), 515-510 BC (Johnston and Souyoudzoglou-Haywood)

A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?)

B: Apollo with kithara between Hermes and Artemis.

Johnston and Souyoudzoglou-Haywood (2000), 15, pl. 12, 1-5 (Apollo between females).

A37. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 61.24

BF neck-amphora, the Leagros Group, 515-500 BC (Weiss; end of sixth cent. BC: Kahil)

A: Herakles fights Triton.

B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), both goddesses with branches, one with flower.

*Para* 171, 8 (Apollo between two women-Muses); *Add*<sup>2</sup> 102 (the Chiusi Painter); *BAPD* 351263; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1114 [Kahil]; Weiss (1990), 40-41, pl. 15; *LIMC* 6, s.v. Mousa, Mousai, fig. 30a [Queyrel], Apollo and two goddesses.

A38. Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum L218

BF neck-amphora, the Class of Cambridge 49, c.510 BC (Daumas)

A: Aeneas carrying Anchises, Askanios, man squatting, dog.

B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess with flower. All figures wreathed with laurel.

*ABV* 316, 2; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 85; *BAPD* 301643; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 631d [Daumas]; *LIMC* 6, s.v. Mousa, Mousai, fig. 30b [Queyrel], Apollo and two goddesses.

A39. Athens, Agora Museum P4744 (P4683)

RF cylindrical support (fragments) from Athenian Agora, signed by Euthymides (*EΥΘΥΜΙΑΕΣ ΕΓΡΑΦΣΕΝ*), c.510-505 BC (Kahil; c.510 BC: Moure)

Apollo (*ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ*, kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess holds a flower). All figures flanked by palm trees. Behind Artemis *ΚΑΛΙΟΣ*.  
*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 28.17; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 156; *BAPD* 200128; Moore (1997), cat., no. 585, fig. 32; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1157 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 642 [Daumas].

A40. Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts 50.612  
BF neck-amphora, the Rycroft Painter, c.510 BC (Kahil)  
A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), deer.  
B: Dionysos (drinking horn, ivy branch) between nymphs.  
*Para* 149, 19bis; *BAPD* 351099; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1119 [Kahil].

A41. Firenze, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 141798  
BF neck-amphora, the Leagros Group, 510-500 BC (Sarti and Venuti; c.530 BC: Kahil, Shapiro; 550 BC: Daumas)  
A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), deer.  
B: Hoplite between two archers.  
Sarti and Venuti (2009), 29-30, pl. 28; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1109 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 630a [Daumas]; Shapiro (1989), 57, n. 81.

A42. New York, Metropolitan Museum 67.44.1 (fig. 21)  
BF neck-amphora, the Pasikles Painter, c.510 BC (Kahil)  
A: Apollo wreathed with laurel (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?)  
B: Herakles and the lion between Athena and man (Iolaos?).  
*ABV* 328, 5; *Para* 145; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 89; *BAPD* 301762; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1106 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 631a [Daumas]; Moore and Bothmer (1976), 35, pl. 34.

A43. Vienna, Universität and Professor Franz V. Matsch 631B  
RF belly-amphora (type A, fr.) from Orvieto, the Dikaios Painter, 510-500 BC (Kahil)  
A: Apollo (kithara, *ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ*) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess with flower, deer.  
B: Arming (legs of a warrior).  
*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 30, 1; *BAPD* 200174; Kenner (1942), 19-20, pl. 9, 1-6; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1121 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 663 [Daumas].

A44. Munich, Antikensammlungen 1587 (J360)  
BF neck-amphora, from Vulci, 510-500 BC (Kunze-Götte)  
A: Hephaistos on mule between two satyrs  
B: Apollo (lyre) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?)  
*BAPD* 9026854; Kunze-Götte (2005), 42-43, pl. 40, 1-2.

A45. Munich, Antikensammlungen J528  
BF neck-amphora from Vulci, 510-500 BC (Kunze-Götte)  
A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?)  
B: Three females (nymphs?).  
*BAPD* 9026855; Kunze-Götte (2005), 43-44, pl. 40, 3-4.

A46. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 288 (C6)

BF belly-amphora (type A) from Bologna, the Dikaios Painter, 510-500 BC (Kahil)  
A: Athena mounting chariot, Apollo, Artemis, Hermes.  
B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess with flower, deer.  
*ABV* 400, 1; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 104; *BAPD* 303016; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1111 [Kahil].

A47. Leipzig, Universität T4277  
BF belly-amphora (type B, fragments), c.510 BC (Daumas)  
Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), deer.  
*BAPD* 1901; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 631h [Daumas].

A48. Firenze, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4188  
BF neck-amphora, end of sixth cent. BC (Sarti and Venuti)  
A: Apollo (lyre) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess with wreath, deer.  
B: Hoplite flanked by two draped men with spears.  
Sarti and Venuti (2009), 43-44, pl. 51-52.

A49. Firenze, Museo Nazionale 3838  
BF neck-amphora (damaged), the Leagros Group (near the Acheloos Painter), 510-500 BC (Sarti and Venuti)  
A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), deer.  
B: Dionysos (*kantharos*, vine branches) between satyrs, goat.  
Sarti and Venuti (2009), 35-36, pl. 38, 39.

A50. Paris, Musée du Louvre F253  
BF neck-amphora from Etruria, the Leagros Group, c.525-500 BC (the Leagros Group was active during 525-500 BC, Hart, 2002, 45)  
A: Apollo (kithara) between Leto (seated, flower) and Hermes (seated, flower).  
B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), both goddesses with branches, one with flower.  
*ABV* 372, 159 (Apollo and Muses); *Add*<sup>2</sup> 99; *BAPD* 302154; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 631i [Daumas]; Pottier (1926), III.He.28, pl. 51, 1+5.

A51. London, British Museum B283  
BF small neck-amphora from Vulci, the Dot-band Class (the Bompas Group) c.525-500 BC (Beazley: the style is related to the Edinburgh Painter's, who stems from the Leagros Group)  
A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?)  
B: Charioteer riding a four-horse chariot.  
*ABV* 485, 2; *BAPD* 303479; Walters (1929), III.He.11, pl. 70, 3a-b (Apollo and women).

A52. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 19296  
BF neck-amphora from Pharsala (Thessaly), the Rycroft Painter, c.510 BC (Daumas; 510-500 BC: Kahil)  
A: Apollo (lyre) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), deer.  
B: Dionysos (drinking horn) between satyrs.  
*Para* 149, 21bis; *BAPD* 351100; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1120 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 630h [Daumas].

- A53. Berkeley, University of California 8.3376  
 BF neck-amphora from Apulia, the Leagros Group, c.510 BC (Daumas)  
 A: Athena between Hermes and Herakles, panther.  
 B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), both goddesses with branches, deer.  
*ABV* 391, 2; *Para* 172; *Add<sup>2</sup>* 103; *BAPD* 302910; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 630k [Daumas]; Smith (1936), 29-30, pl. 21, 2a-c (Apollo between Artemis and Leto or two Muses).
- A54. London, British Museum B259  
 BF neck-amphora from Vulci, the Priam Painter, c.510 (Siebert)  
 A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), deer.  
 B: Dionysos (ivy, kantharos) between a nymph (Ariadne?) and Hermes.  
*ABV* 331, 12 (Apollo with goddesses); *Add<sup>2</sup>* 90; *BAPD* 301790; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 630j [Daumas]; Walters (1929), III.He.9, pl. 64, 3a-b (Apollo and nymphs); *LIMC* 6, s.v. Mousa, Mousai, fig. 27e [Queyrel], Apollo and two goddesses; *LIMC* 5, s.v. Hermes, fig. 653 [Siebert].
- A55. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81175  
 BF *hydria* from Etruria, 510-490 BC (Kahil; c.490 BC: Daumas)  
 Apollo (kithara, seated on *diphros*) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), deer.  
*BAPD* 43703; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1118 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 630o [Daumas].
- A56. Karlsruhe, Budishessp Landesmuseum B25 (164)  
 BF neck-amphora, c.500 BC (Daumas)  
 A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), deer.  
 B: Warrior with horse between an old man and a woman.  
*BAPD* 7829; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 630m [Daumas]; Hafner (1951), 17, pl. 8, 3-4; *LIMC* 6, s.v. Mousa, Mousai, fig. 27g [Queyrel], Apollo and two goddesses.
- A57. Firenze, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 151143  
 BF neck-amphora (restored), the Leagros Group, end of sixth cent. BC (Sarti and Venuti)  
 A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), both goddesses with flower, one with branches, deer.  
 B: Dionysos (*kantharos*, vine branches) between two satyrs, goat.  
 Sarti and Venuti (2009), 44-45, pl. 53, 1-2.
- A58. Brussels, Musées Royaux d' art et d' histoire R240  
 BF *olpe*, late sixth cent. BC (Daumas)  
 Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess with *polos*, deer.  
*BAPD* 12145; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 630g [Daumas]; Mayence and Verhoogen (1937a), III.He.9, pl. 18, 5a-b (Apollo and two females).
- A59. Gotha, Schlossmuseum Ahv33 (AK 294)  
 BF neck-amphora from Tarquinia, c.500 BC (Kahil)  
 A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess with flower, deer.

B: Dionysos (kantharos, vine branches) between nymphs.  
*BAPD* 12552; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1112 [Kahil]; Mayence and Verhoogen (1937b), 45-46, pl. 35, 1-2.

A60. Frankfurt, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte B289  
BF neck-amphora, the Leagros Group, c.500 BC (Daumas)  
A, B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), deer.  
*BAPD* 5005; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 630l [Daumas]; Deppert (1964), 30, pl. 31, 1-2; *LIMC* 6, s.v. Mousa, Mousai, fig. 27h [Queyrel], Apollo and two goddesses.

A61. Karlsruhe, Budischessp Landesmuseum 165 (B 757)  
BF small neck-amphora, the Dot-band Class (near the Edinburgh Painter), c.500 BC (Hafner; beginning of fifth cent. BC: Daumas)  
A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), both goddesses hold branches with no leaves.  
B: lost.  
*ABV* 484, 16; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 122; *BAPD* 303475; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 631j [Daumas]; Hafner (1951), pl. 8, 7; *LIMC* 6, s.v. Mousa, Mousai, fig. 27c [Queyrel], Apollo and two goddesses.

A62. Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 44314  
BF neck-amphora from Vei (damaged), c.500 BC (Kahil)  
A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess with *polos* and flower, panther.  
B: Athena and part of a helmet crest (of a giant?).  
*BAPD* 13085; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1115 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 630q [Daumas].

A63. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 2139.3  
BF small neck-amphora (fragments), unknown provenance, related to the Red-line Painter, late sixth to early fifth century BC (Borgers and Brijder)  
A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?).  
B: Nymph between two satyrs.  
Borgers and Brijder (2007), 38-40, pl. 257, 1-3 (Apollo between Muses).

A64. Altenburg Staatliche Museum 195  
BF *lekythos* from Nola, Class of Athens 581i, beginning of fifth cent. BC (Kahil, Bielefeld; 480-470 BC: Daumas)  
Apollo (kithara, seated on *diphros*) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), both goddesses sit on *diphros* with branches.  
*Para* 228 (Apollo and two goddesses); *BAPD* 361006; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1124 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 633b [Daumas]; Bielefeld (1959), 41, pl. 42, 4-6.

A65. Croatia, Zagreb Musée Archeologique 1041  
BF *lekythos* from Greece, the Sappho Painter or the Marathon Painter, beginning of fifth cent. BC (Vikić-Belančić, Damevski, and Kardianou-Michel)



Apollo (seated on *diphros*, lyre) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), both seated, one on *diphros* the other on altar?  
Vikić-Belančić, Damevski, and Kardianou-Michel (2008), 21, pl. 8, 1-4.

A66. Altenburg, Staatliche Museen 194  
BF *lekythos* from Sicily, the Haimon Painter, beginning of fifth cent. BC (Daumas)  
Apollo (lyre) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), all seated on *diphroi*.  
*Para* 282; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 633a [Daumas]; Bielefeld (1959), 39, pl. 41, 4-6.

A67. Palermo, Mormino Collection 131  
BF *lekythos*, the Haimon Group, 500-475 BC (De la Genière)  
Apollo (seated, lyre) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), both goddesses seated on *diphroi*.  
*BAPD* 3185; De la Genière (1971), III.H.10, pl. 12, 5-6.

A68. Athens, British School A3 (Ex.G. Mackworth Young Collection; bought at Athens)  
BF trefoil-mouthed *oinochoe*, probably from Athens, related to the Phanyllis Group, 500-475 BC (Smith; late sixth cent. BC: Van Hoorn)  
Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), deer.  
*BAPD* 16112; Smith (2003), 361, cat., no. 35, pl. 61e-f; Van Hoorn (1951), 101, fig. 420.

A69. Vibo Valentia, Museo Statale 'Vito Capialbi' C22  
BF *lekythos*, Manner of the Haimon Painter (class of Athens 581i), 500-475 BC (De Cesare)  
Apollo (lyre), between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), all seated on *diphroi*.  
De Cesare (1991), 23-24, pl. 15, 1-2.

A70. Athens, Agora Museum P 1344  
BF *lekythos* (fr.), Manner of the Haimon Painter, 490-480 BC (Moure and Philippides)  
Apollo (lyre) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?)  
Moure and Philippides (1986), cat., no. 1231.

A71. Dublin, University College 479 (old V4063)  
BF *lekythos*, Haimon Group, 490-480 BC (Kahil)  
Apollo (lyre) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), all seated on *diphroi*, deer.  
*LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1137 [Kahil]; Johnston and Souyoudzoglou-Haywood (2000), 20, pl. 16, 9-11.

A72. Brauron, Brauron Museum 593  
BF *lekythos*, c.480 BC (Daumas; first half of fifth cent. BC: Kahil)  
Apollo (lyre) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), all seated.  
*LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1125 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 633c [Daumas].

A73. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden ROII31  
BF *lekythos* (fr.) from Greece, Manner of the Haimon Painter, 480-470 BC (Vos)

Apollo (lyre) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), all seated.  
*BAPD* 1000; Vos (1978), 62, pl. 100, 9-11.

A74. Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale C802  
BF *lekythos*, the Haimon Painter, c.475 BC (Calderone)  
Apollo (lyre) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), all seated.  
*BAPD* 15699; Calderone (1985), 33, pl. 81, 3-4.

A75. Palermo, Mormino Collection 300  
BF *lekythos*, Group of the Haimon Painter, c.475 BC (De la Genière)  
Apollo (lyre) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), altar, deer, column.  
*BAPD* 2714; De la Genière (1971), III.Y. 3, pl. 2, 5-6.

A76. Palermo, Mormino Collection 552  
BF *lekythos*, Group of the Haimon Painter, c.475 BC (De la Genière)  
Apollo (lyre) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), all seated on *diphroi*.  
*BAPD* 2972; De la Genière (1971), III.H.12, pl. 14, 10-11.

A77. Palermo, Mormino Collection 122  
BF *lekythos*, Group of the Haimon Painter, c.475 BC (De la Genière; c.450 BC: Daumas)  
Apollo (lyre) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), all seated on *diphroi*.  
*BAPD* 2956; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 633d [Daumas]; De la Genière (1971), III.H.14, pl. 16, 13-14 (Apollo with two females).

A78. Paris, Musée du Louvre CA1671  
BF neck-amphora, unattributed, 550-500 BC (*BAPD*)  
A: Theseus with Minotaur between woman and a youth with staff.  
B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess with branches.  
Pottier (1928b), III.He.35, pl. 56, 3, 5, 6; *BAPD* 4803.

A79. Paris, Musée du Louvre F270  
BF neck-amphora from Etruria, unattributed, 525-475 (*BAPD*)  
A: Ajax carrying the body of Achilles, women.  
B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), both goddesses seated on *diphroi* holding branches.  
*BAPD* 7827; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 632 [Daumas]; Pottier (1928b), III.He.35, pl. 56, 8+11.

A80. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 27,  
BF neck-amphora (fr.), unattributed, 525-475 BC (*BAPD*)  
A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), deer.  
B: Poseidon (trident).  
*BAPD* 13079; Laurinsich (1932), III.He.12, pl. 22, 5.

A81. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 39 (GM4)  
BF neck-amphora (fr.) from Bologna, unattributed, 525-475 BC (*BAPD*)

A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess with branches, deer.

B: Satyr, Dionysos, goat.

*BAPD* 13081; Laurinsich (1932), III.He.11, pl. 22, 2.

## GROUP B:

### I. Confirmed representations

B1. Boston Museum of Fine Arts 68.46 (fig. 22)

BF belly-amphora (type A), the Lysippides Painter, c.530 BC (Kahil; 520 BC: Simon)

A: Bridal pair in chariot, Apollo, Artemis, Hermes.

B: Apollo wreathed with laurel (kithara) between Artemis (quiver) and Leto, Poseidon, deer, panther.

*BAPD* 753; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1154 [Kahil]; Von Hoffmann (1973), 10, pl. 13, 1-2; *LIMC* 7, s.v. Poseidon, fig. 171 [Simon].

B2. Madrid, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 11008 (fig. 32)

Bilingual belly-amphora (type A) from Vulci, signed by the potter Andokides (*ΑΝΔΟΚΙΑΔΕΣ ΕΠΙΘΕΣΕΝ*) and attributed to Psiax, 530-510 BC (Kahil; 530 BC: Cabrera)

A (red-figure): Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (quiver, leopard skin, diadem) and Leto (diadem), Ares.

B (black-figure): Dionysos (kantharos, ivy branches) between nymphs (one with *krotala*) and satyrs.

*ARV<sup>2</sup>* 7, 2; *Para* 128, 321; *ABV* 253, 1; *Add<sup>2</sup>* 150; *BAPD* 200022; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1141 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Ares, fig. 111 [Bruneau]; Cabrera (2004), III.He.8-9, pl. 23, 1a-b.

B3. New York, Metropolitan Museum 41.162.174 (fig. 64)

BF belly-amphora (type A), related to the Antimenes Painter, c.510 BC (Kahil)

A: Athena and Herakles in chariot, Apollo, Hermes, Artemis.

B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (quiver) and Leto (*polos*), Hermes, Dionysos.

*Para* 123; *BAPD* 340505; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 857 [Mathiopolou-Tornaritou]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1149 [Kahil].

B4. Turin, Museo d' Antichita 4116

BF belly-amphora (type A), Leagros Group, 510-500 BC (Lo Porto)

A: Athena and Herakles in chariot, Apollo, Artemis, Hermes, goddess.

B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (quiver, flower) and Leto, Hermes, Dionysos.

*BAPD* 10371; Lo Porto (1969), III.He.6, pl. 12-13 (Dionysos, Ariadne? Apollo, Artemis, Hermes).

B5. Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau- Museum 222 (fig. 23)

BF *hydria* from Vulci, Antimenes Painter, c.500 BC (Bielefeld)

Apollo wreathed with laurel (kithara) between Artemis (*polos*, quiver, bow) and Leto, Poseidon, Hermes.

S: Herakles fighting the lion between Athena, Iolaos, Hermes, and women.

PR: Lions attacking bull.

*ABV* 268, 27; *Para* 118; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 70; *BAPD* 320037; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 798 [Kokkorou-Alewras]; Bielefeld (1959), 28-29, pl. 29 (Hermes, Aphrodite, Apollo, Artemis, Poseidon); *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1101 [Kahil], Hermes, Aphrodite, Apollo, Artemis, Poseidon; Burow (1989), 93, cat., no. 119

B6. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1626 (CC1362) (fig. 15)

RF *lekythos* from Tanagra (Boeotia), signed by Mys (*ΜΥΣ*), c.470 BC (Goulaki-Voutira, Serbeti; c.470-460 BC: Kahil)

Artemis (*ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ*, quiver, *polos*, kithara) between Apollo wreathed with laurel (*ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ*, bow) and Leto (*ΛΕΤΟ*, *sakkos*, wreath), Hermes (*ΕΡΜΗΣ*), deer.

S: Two Nikai (*ΝΙΚΗ*) with tripods flanking an altar (bloodstains and fire).

N: Nike with lyre (*ΝΙΚΗ*).

*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 663; *BAPD* 207770; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1145 [Kahil]; Kaltsas (2006), 234; *LIMC* 6, s.v. Nike, fig. 106 [Goulaki-Voutira]; Serbeti (2007), 237-246.

B7. New York, Market

BF belly-amphora (type B), unattributed, 550-500 BC (*BAPD*)

A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (quiver, *polos*) and Leto, Dionysos, deer.

B: Dionysos (*οινοχοε*) between nymphs carrying satyrs.

*BAPD* 24084.

## II. Possible representations

B8. London, British Museum B212

BF neck-amphora from Vulci, the Princeton Painter, c.540 BC (Shapiro; 550 BC: Siebert)

A: Man and youth in chariot, woman, man, warriors.

B: Apollo (bearded, kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?) Poseidon, Hermes.

SA: Fight, charioteers in chariots, warriors fighting on foot.

SB: Herakles and Kyknos, Zeus, Athena, Ares (?), chariots.

*ABV* 297, 1; *Para* 129; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 78; *BAPD* 320400; *LIMC* 5, s.v. Hermes, fig. 708 [Siebert]; Shapiro (1989), 57, pl. 27b.

B9. Toledo, Museum of Art 56.70 (fig. 25)

BF *hydria*, the Antimenes Painter, 530-520 BC (Kahil)

Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess wears a *polos*, the other holds a flower, Poseidon, Hermes.

S: Herakles fighting lion between Iolaos, Athena and Hermes.

PR: Animal frieze, lions and boars.

*ABV* 268, 26; *Para* 118, 26; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 70; *BAPD* 320036; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1150 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 858b [Mathiopoulou-Tornaritou]; Burow (1989), 90, cat., no. 100.

B10. Turin, Museo d' Antichita 4100

BF belly-amphora (type B), from Vulci, the Antimenes Painter, 530-520 BC (Lo Porto; Burow)

A: Herakles fighting the lion between Athena, Iolaos and woman.

B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), Poseidon, Hermes, deer.  
*ABV* 274, 128; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 72; *BAPD* 320139; Lo Porto (1969), III.H.4, pl. 3-4; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 858e [Mathiopoulou-Tornaritou]; Burow (1989), 84, cat., no. 46.

B11. Basel, A. Wilhelm (fig. 59)

BF *hydria*, the Antimenes Painter, 530-520 BC (Burow)

Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess wears *polos*, the other holds a flower, Hermes, Poseidon.

S: Warriors (hoplites) in combat.

PR: Animal frieze, lions and boars.

*Para* 119, 27bis; *BAPD* 340471; Burow (1989), 87, cat., no. 72.

B12. London, British Museum B263

BF neck-amphora (small, type B) from Camiros (Rhodes), the Antimenes Painter, (Beazley), possibly the Antimenes Painter (Burow), 530-510 BC (Queyrel)

A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), Hermes.

B: Warriors fighting, between women.

*ABV* 271, 1 (Apollo, goddesses and Hermes); *BAPD* 320084; Walters (1929), III.He.9, pl. 64, 4a-b (Apollo, women, Hermes); Burow (1989), 96, M6 (Apollo, two goddesses and Hermes); *LIMC* 6, s.v. Mousa, Mousai, fig. 123 [Queyrel].

B13. Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum B256 (1496) (fig. 61)

BF neck-amphora, the Antimenes Painter, 530-510 BC (the Antimenes Painter was active during c.530-510 BC, Mommsen, 1996, 760)

A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess wears *polos*, Hermes, Poseidon, deer.

B: A hoplite and a Scythian archer between an old man and a woman.

*BAPD* 8410; Kunze-Goette, E. (1992), pl. 49, 2.

B14. Compiègne, Museum Vivenel 977

BF neck-amphora from Vulci, the Antimenes Painter, 525-500 BC (Kokkourou-Alewrass)

A: Apollo (lyre) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess with flower, Hermes.

B: Herakles fighting the lion between Athena and Iolaos.

*ABV* 277, 19 (Apollo with goddesses and Hermes); *Add*<sup>2</sup> 72; *BAPD* 320181; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 744 [Kokkourou-Alewrass]; Flot (1924), 4-5, pl. 5, 3+9 (Apollo or Orpheus, Hermes and two women).

B15. Hannover, Kestner Museum 1965, 30

BF *hydria*, the Antimenes Painter, 520-510 BC (Kahil)

Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess wears *polos*, Poseidon, Hermes, deer.

S: Achilles pursuing Troilos between Athena and women.

PR: Animal frieze, lions and boars.

*Para* 119; *BAPD* 340472; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1152 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 858f [Mathiopoulou-Tornaritou]; Follmann (1971), 29-30, pl. 18 (2-3), 19 (1-2); *LIMC* 5, s.v. Hermes, fig. 711a [Siebert]; *LIMC* 7, s.v. Poseidon, fig. 170 [Simon]; Burow (1989), 89, cat., no. 91.

B16. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 1578 (J159) (fig. 24)  
BF neck-amphora from Vulci, related to the Antimenes Painter, 520-510 BC (Kokkourou-Alewrass; c.520 BC: Boardman)

A: Athena in chariot, Herakles, Hermes, male figure (Iolaos?).

B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?), and Leto (?), one goddess wears *polos*, the other holds a flower, Hermes, deer.

*ABV* 281, 9; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 73; *BAPD* 320229; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1143 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 744a [Kokkourou-Alewrass]; Kunze-Götte (1973), 38-40, pl. 380 (4), 385 (1-2); *LIMC* 5, s.v. Herakles, fig. 2892 [Boardman].

B17. New York, Metropolitan Museum 57.12.6

BF belly-amphora (type A), related to the Antimenes Painter, c.520 BC (Kahil)

A: Athena and Herakles in combat against Kyknos (?)

B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), Dionysos, Poseidon.

Lip: Chariot race.

*Para*120; *BAPD* 340487; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1155 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 858d [Mathiopolou-Tornaritou]; Von Bothmer (1963), 26, pl. 33, 3.

B18. Leiden, Rijkmuseum Van Oudheden PC2

BF *hydria*, from Vulci, 520-510 BC (Kahil)

Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), Hermes, Dionysos.

S: Fighting, two warriors between onlookers (*chiton*, beardless) with spears.

*BAPD* 626; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1148 [Kahil]; Jongkees-Vos (1972), 7-8, pl. 7.

B19. Rome, Villa Giulia 60 (M487)

BF neck-amphora, the Antimenes Painter, c.520 BC (Kokkourou-Alewrass)

A: Apollo (lyre) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess holds a flower, Hermes, deer, wreath hanging.

B: Herakles and Pholos (trap-tree with hare, bird), Hermes, deer.

*ABV* 270, 63; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 70; *BAPD* 320073; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 749 [Kokkourou-Alewrass]; Burow (1989), 85, cat., no. 54.

B20. New York, Market Christies

BF neck-amphora, Group of Toronto 305 (circle of the Antimenes Painter), c.520 BC (for the date see A28)

A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), Hermes, deer.

B: Warriors on horseback fighting over fallen warrior.

*BAPD* 12966.

B21. Paris, Musée du Louvre F215bis (fig. 58)

BF small belly-amphora (type B), the Painter of Louvre, c.510 BC (Siebert; 525-500 BC: Kokkourou-Alewrass)

A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), both goddesses with flower, Hermes, two deer.

B: Hoplite between two Scythian archers with spears.

*ABV* 317, 2; *Para* 138; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 86; *BAPD* 301648; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1142 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 744b [Kokkourou-Alewrass]; *LIMC* 5, s.v. Hermes, fig. 697 [Siebert].

- B22. Milwaukee Art Centre M 1963.46  
 BF *hydria*, the Antimenes Painter, 525-500 BC (Kokkourou-Alewrass)  
 Apollo seated on *diphros* (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess with wreath, Hermes, Dionysos.  
 S: Chariot race.  
 PR: Lion and fawn, lion and boar.  
*Para* 122, 14bis (Apollo with two goddesses, Dionysos and Hermes); *Add*<sup>2</sup> 72; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 777e [Kokkourou-Alewrass].
- B23. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 48.268 (10197)  
 BF belly-amphora (type A), c.520 BC (Kahil)  
 A: Apollo (kithara), Leto? Artemis? Poseidon, Hermes, goddess?  
 B: Warrior, chariot, woman, old man (departure of a warrior).  
*LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1156 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 858a [Mathipoulou-Tornaritou].
- B24. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden PC1  
 BF *hydria* from Vulci, painter of the London B343, c.510 BC (Jongkees-Vos)  
 Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), Poseidon, Hermes.  
 S: Hoplite, Scythian archer, charioteer riding a quadriga, hoplite, old man (seated), woman behind him.  
*Para* 154 (Apollo between two goddesses, Poseidon, Hermes); *BAPD* 351144; Jongkees-Vos (1972), 9-10, pl. 9.
- B25. Munich Antikensammlungen 1576 (J 145) (fig. 66)  
 BF neck-amphora from Vulci, the Antimenes Painter (Kahil, Kunze- Götte), possibly the Antimenes Painter (Burow), c.510 BC (Kahil)  
 A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), Poseidon, Hermes, deer.  
 B: Athena and Hermes between Herakles, Dionysos and Iolaos (?).  
*BAPD* 1158; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1153 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 858c [Mathipoulou-Tornaritou]; Kunze-Götte (1973), 44-46, pl. 390, 1-2; *LIMC* 5, s.v. Hermes, fig. 711b [Siebert]; Burow (1989), 96, M8.
- B26. Los Angeles, University, California Museum of Cultural History 65.103.43 (Basel Market 24)  
 BF *lekythos*, the Gela Painter, 510-500 BC (Kahil; c.500 BC: Siebert)  
 Apollo (lyre, springs) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess seated, both with flower, Hermes, palm tree, deer.  
*Para* 215; *BAPD* 340822; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1144 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 744c [Kokkourou-Alewrass]; *LIMC* 5, s.v. Hermes, fig. 696 [Siebert].
- B27. Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau Museum 209 (fig. 35)  
 BF *oinochoe*, the Leagros Group, 510-500 BC (Kokkourou-Alewrass)  
 Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess with flower, the other with wreath, Dionysos, Hermes.  
*Para* 167, 246bis; *BAPD* 351235; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 777a [Kokkourou-Alewrass]; Bielefeld (1959), 30-31; pl. 31, 4-6 (Apollo, Hermes, Dionysos and two women).

- B28. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 561  
 BF neck-amphora, unknown provenance, 510-500 BC (Museum's label)  
 A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), Hermes, Poseidon.  
 B: Dionysos (kantharos, ivy branches) between satyrs and nymphs.
- B29. Geneva, Musée d'art et d'histoire 12048  
 BF *lekythos*, near the Gela Painter, c.500 BC (Siebert)  
 Apollo (kithara) between Leto (?) and Artemis (?), Hermes, Dionysos.  
*ABV* 475 (Apollo between two women); *Add<sup>2</sup>* 120; *BAPD* 303363; Dunant and Kahil (1980), 44, pl. 73, 14- 16; *LIMC* 5, s.v. Hermes, fig. 706 [Siebert].
- B30. Würzburg Martin von Wagner Museum L260  
 BF belly-amphora (type B) from Vulci, end of sixth cent. BC (Kokkorou-Alewrass)  
 A: Warrior in chariot (hoplite), Amazon.  
 B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), Hermes.  
*BAPD* 7845; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 749b [Kokkourou-Alewrass].
- B31. Munich, Antikensammlungen 1574 (J178)  
 BF neck-amphora from Vulci, Group of Munich 1501, c.500-475 BC (Woodford)  
 A: Herakles fights Apollo for the tripod between Athena and Artemis, deer.  
 B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?), Leto (?), Hermes, Poseidon.  
*BAPD* 7770; Kunze-Götte (1982), 32-33, pl. 25, 1-2; *LIMC* 5, s.v. Herakles, fig. 2998 [Woodford].
- B32. Athens, Agora Museum P 9276  
 BF neck-amphora (fragments) from the Athenian Agora, late sixth or early fifth cent. BC (Moore and Philippides)  
 Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), Dionysos, Hermes, deer.  
*BAPD* 31049; Moore and Philippides (1986), 207, pl. 24.
- B33. Athens, Agora Museum P 24483  
 BF *lekythos* (fr.) from the Athenian Agora, Class of Athens 581, 1 (the Geron Group), 500-490 BC (Moore and Philippides)  
 Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), Dionysos, satyr.  
*BAPD* 360917; Moore and Philippides (1986), 901.
- B34. Paris, Musée du Louvre CP10434  
 BF cup, Manner of the Haimon Painter, 480-470 BC (Beazley, for the date see A73)  
 A, B: Apollo (lyre) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), both goddesses seated, Dionysos, Hermes (seated), deer.  
 I: Youth running with club or staff (komast or hunter).  
*ABV* 561, 542; *BAPD* 331636; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1147 [Kahil].
- B35. Athens, National Museum, Collection Akropolis 742/ London, British Museum E 459  
 RF *kalyx-krater* from Athens (fr.), the Berlin Painter, c.470 BC (Kokkorou-Alewrass)  
 A: Athena mounting chariot, Zeus (*ZEYΣ*), Hermes (*EPMEΣ*).



B: Apollo wreathed with laurel (kithara, *ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ*) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), Dionysos wreathed with ivy (*ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ*).  
*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 205, 117; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 193; *BAPD* 201926; Lullies (1971), 52, add.2; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 763 [Kokkorou-Alewras].

B36. Havana, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes 125  
BF *hydria*, unattributed, 525-475 BC (*BAPD*)  
Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess with flower, Dionysos, Hermes.  
S: Achilles pursuing Troilos, women fleeing, seated figure (Priam?).  
PR: Animal frieze, panther and goat between palmettes.  
*BAPD* 41071.

B37. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 36 (A3)  
BF neck-amphora (fr.), unattributed, 525-475 BC (*BAPD*)  
A: Warriors fighting between two women.  
B: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), Hermes.  
*BAPD* 13090; Laurinsich (1932), III.He.10, pl. 20, 3-4.

B38. Fiesole Collezione Constantini  
BF neck-amphora, unattributed  
A: Apollo (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess holds a flower the other wears *polos*, Hermes.  
B: Athena with Herakles in chariot, Apollo, Dionysos, Hermes.  
*BAPD* 6838; Paribeni (1980), 10, pl. 13, 1-2.

## GROUP C

### I. Confirmed representations

C1. London, British Museum E252.4  
RF *hydria* (fr.) from Camiros (Rhodes), Earlier Mannerists (the Perseus Painter), beginning of fifth cent. BC (Kahil)  
Apollo wreathed with laurel between Leto (parts of her head) and Artemis (*oinochoe*, bow, quiver).  
*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 582, 18 (Apollo and Artemis); *BAPD* 206720; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 968 [Kahil]; Smith (1896), 190; Patton (2009), cat., no. 116.

C2. Mariemont, Musée Ac.568B  
BF *lekythos*, near the Gela Painter, 500-475 BC (Kahil)  
Apollo wreathed with laurel (lyre, *phiale*) between Artemis (torch, *oinochoe*) and Leto, deer.  
*LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1003 [Kahil].

C3. Once Canino (fig. 52)  
RF *hydria* from Vulci, Manner of the Nikoxenos Painter, c.490 BC (Simon)  
Apollo (lyre, *phiale*) between Leto (*oinochoe*, flower) and Artemis (bow, arrow), altar, sphinx seated on a plant.

ARV<sup>2</sup> 223, 5; BAPD 202082; LIMC 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 652b [Daumas]; Simon (1953), cat., no. 1.

C4. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale STG192

RF *hydria*, the Pan Painter, 480- 450 BC (Beazley)

Apollo wreathed with laurel (kithara, *phiale*) between Artemis (bow, arrow, *oinochoe*, *sakkos*) and Leto (branch) deer.

ARV<sup>2</sup> 556, 100; Para 387; Add<sup>2</sup> 258; BAPD 206343; LIMC 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 644a [Daumas]; Simon (1953), cat., no. 7; Beazley (1974), 14, cat., no. 54, pl. 17, 3.

C5. San Francisco, Palace of the Legion of Honor 1814a

RF *pelike* from Athens, the Spreckels Painter (the Niobid Painter's Group), 475-460 BC (Daumas)

A: Apollo wreathed with laurel (seated on *klismos*, kithara, *phiale*) between Artemis (quiver, bow, *oinochoe*, diadem) and Leto (scepter, laurel branch, diadem), column.

B: Three youths (one with staff, one with stick).

Inscriptions: *KAAE* (above Leto), *KAAE* (under the quiver), *KAAIOΣ* (above Apollo), *KAAE* (above Artemis).

ARV<sup>2</sup> 617, 1; Add<sup>2</sup> 269; BAPD 207135; LIMC 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 651a [Daumas]; Simon (1953), cat., no. 22; Smith (1943), 40-41, pl. 18, 2a-b.

C6. Paris, Market 0.7076

RF *pelike*, the Niobid Painter, 470-450 BC (the Niobid Painter was active during 470-450 BC, Oakley (2000), 957)

A: Apollo (seated, *phiale*, laurel staff), Leto (wreath), Artemis (*oinochoe*, bow).

B: Three youths.

ARV<sup>2</sup> 610, 29; BAPD 207076.

C7. Bologna Museo Civico 286

RF *kalyx-krater* from Bologna, the Blenheim Painter (the Niobid Painter's Group), c.465 BC (Daumas)

A: Dionysos and Giant, maenad.

B: Apollo wreathed with laurel (seated on *klismos*, kithara, *phiale*) between Leto (arrow, veil, diadem) and Artemis (*oinochoe*), deer.

ARV<sup>2</sup> 598, 3; Add<sup>2</sup> 265; BAPD 206925; LIMC 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 646 [Daumas]; Simon (1953), cat., no. 21; Montanari (1956), III.I.13, pl.76, 3-4; Prange (1989), cat., no. B3.

C8. New York, Metropolitan Museum 24.97.96 (fig. 16)

RF *bell-krater*, the Villa Giulia Painter, 460-450 BC (Beazley, very similar to C11)

A: Apollo wreathed with laurel (*AΠOΛΛΙΟΝ*, kithara, *phiale*) between Leto (*ΑΕΤΩ*, *phiale*, diadem) and Artemis (*ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ*, *oinochoe*).

B: Old man with scepter between two women (one with *oinochoe* and *phiale*).

ARV<sup>2</sup> 619, 17; Add<sup>2</sup> 270; BAPD 207169; Richter and Hall (1936), pl. 101; LIMC 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 645a [Daumas]; Simon (1953), cat., no. 12; Patton (2009), cat., no. 119.

C9. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 295 (1879.170) (fig. 42)

RF *hydria*, near the Villa Giulia Painter, 460-450 BC (Kahil)  
Apollo wreathed with laurel (*phiale*, laurel staff) between Artemis (*oinochoe*, bow, arrows, animal skin) and Leto (*phiale*, diadem), altar.  
*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 627, 2; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 271; *BAPD* 207279; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1006 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 651e [Daumas]; Simon (1953), cat., no. 5; Patton (2009), cat., no. 159.

C10. Athens, Benaki Museum 35415 (fig. 45)  
RF *hydria*, circle of the Villa Giulia Painter, 460-450 BC (Sabetai)  
Apollo wreathed with laurel (lyre) between Artemis (quiver, *oinochoe*, *phiale*, diadem) and Leto (scepter, large diadem), *omphalos*.  
Sabetai (2006), 16-17, pl. 2; *LIMC* Suppl. s.v. Apollon, add. 30 [Lambrinudakis].

C11. Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, LU49  
RF *pelike*, the Villa Giulia Painter, 460-450 BC (Daumas)  
A: Apollo wreathed with laurel (*AΠΟΛΛΩΝ*, kithara, *phiale*), Leto (*ΑΕΤΩ*, *phiale*, diadem), Artemis (*ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ*, bow, *oinochoe*, diadem).  
B: Old man with scepter, woman running with *phiale*.  
*Para* 399, 48bis; *BAPD* 275769; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 645b [Daumas].

C12. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 12060  
RF *hydria* from Ialysos (Rhodes), the Niobid Painter, c.460-450 BC (Kahil; c.450 BC: Simon)  
Apollo wreathed with laurel (lyre, laurel staff) between Leto (*phiale*, torch) and Artemis (quiver, *oinochoe*, *phiale*), altar (bloodstains), *klismos*.  
*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 606, 81; *BAPD* 207022; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1005 [Kahil]; Simon (1953), cat., no. 4; Webster (1935), cat., no. 50, pl. 21b; Patton (2009), cat., no. 161; Prange (1989), cat., no. N100.

C13. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B 2402 (205)  
RF *pelike* (damaged) from Orvieto, the Niobid Painter, c.450 BC (Simon)  
A: Apollo wreathed with laurel (lyre, *phiale*) between Artemis (quiver, bow, *oinochoe*, diadem) and Leto (scepter, laurel-wreath, diadem), altar.  
B: Three maenads.  
*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 604, 49; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 267; *BAPD* 206988; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 652d [Daumas]; Simon (1953), cat., no. 2; Prange (1989), cat., no. N61.

C14. Bologna, Museo Civico 270  
RF *volute-krater* from Bologna, the Achilles Painter, c.450 BC (Montanari)  
A: Apollo wreathed with laurel (kithara, *phiale*) between Leto (*phiale*, diadem) and Artemis (quiver, bow, *oinochoe*).  
B: Man in *chlamys* carrying spear, old man with staff.  
*BAPD* 14190; Montanari (1958), III.I.13, pl. 108, 1-5; Simon (1953), cat., no. 12a.

C15. Würzburg, Martin Von Wagner Museum H 4533 (503) (fig. 18)  
RF neck-amphora, the Niobid Painter, c.450 BC (Daumas; 460/450 BC: Simon)  
A: Apollo wreathed with laurel (lyre, *phiale*, laurel staff) between Leto (*phiale*, scepter, laurel branch) and Artemis (bow, *oinochoe*, diadem), column, altar.

B: Dionysos with *kantharos* and thyrsos, maenad with *oinochoe*, at altar, palm tree.  
*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 611, 32; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 268; *BAPD* 207079; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 653 [Daumas];  
Simon (1953), cat., no. 3; Patton (2009), cat., no. 162; Prange (1989), cat., no. N78;  
Simon (2004), cat., no. 27.

C16. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00347 (fig. 44)  
RF *volute-krater*, from near Licata (Italy), School of the Niobid Painter (Painter of  
Berlin *hydria* 2381), c.450 BC (Patton)  
A: Artemis (*oinochoe*, lyre) between Apollo wreathed with laurel (bow, *phiale*,  
laurel staff) and Leto (veil, diadem, wreath), column, bird.  
B: Three women at altar (one with scepter and *phiale*, one with spring and *oinochoe*).  
*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 616, 1; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 269; *BAPD* 207120; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 651b [Daumas];  
Simon (1953), cat., no. 11; Patton (2009), cat., no. 153; Prange (1989), cat., no.  
GN87.

C17. Berlin Antikensammlung F2407  
RF *oinochoe* from Vulci, the Painter of Munich 2528, 440-415 BC (according to  
Beazley he was an “imitator of the Eretria Painter” who was active around 440-415  
BC, Lezzi-Hafter, 1998, 60)  
Apollo wreathed with laurel (kithara, *phiale*), Leto (flaming torch, diadem plant),  
Artemis (quiver, bow, flaming torch, diadem), plant.  
*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1257, 3; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 355; *BAPD* 217059; Simon (1953), cat., no. 57; Patton (2009),  
cat., no. 189.

C18. Kavala Museum 1712  
RF *pelike* from Stryme (Thrace), Painter of the Louvre Centauromachy, c.440 BC  
(Bakalakis)  
A: Apollo wreathed with laurel (*phiale*, laurel staff) between Artemis (*oinochoe*, bow,  
quiver) and Leto (*phiale*)  
B: Satyr and maenad with torch.  
*Para* 450, 78bis; *BAPD* 276103; Bakalakis (1967), cat., no. 10, 54-67.

C19. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale H 3100  
RF *hydria* from Nola, Polygnotos Group, 440-430 BC (Matheson)  
Apollo (*phiale*, laurel branch) between Leto (wreath) and Artemis (bow, quiver,  
*oinochoe*), lyre placed on the floor.  
*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1061, 153; *BAPD* 213784; Simon (1953), cat., no. 56; Matheson (1955), cat.,  
no. PGU179.

C20. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage ST1677  
RF *oinochoe*, Aison, c.430 BC (Peredoiskaya)  
Apollo wreathed with laurel (lyre, *phiale*) between Leto (scepter, *phiale*, diadem)  
and Artemis (torch, *oinochoe*, diadem), altar.  
*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1175, 18; *BAPD* 215574; Simon (1953), cat., no. 53; Peredoiskaya (1967), 199,  
cat., no. 240.

C21. Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 52225 (fig. 48)

RF *oinochoe* from Taranto, the Washing Painter, c.430-420 BC (Kahil; 450-400: BC Daumas)

Apollo wreathed with laurel (lyre, *phiale*) between Leto (scepter, *phiale*) and Artemis (torch, *oinochoe*, diadem), altar (bloodstains).

ARV<sup>2</sup> 1132, 180; BAPD 214990; LIMC 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 652f [Daumas]; LIMC 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1022a [Kahil].

C22. London, British Museum E543 (fig. 43)

RF *oinochoe*, from Vulci, Painter of London E543, end of fifth cent. BC (Lambrinudakis; 420-400 BC: Museum's label)

Apollo wreathed with laurel riding a griffin (laurel staff) between Artemis (bow, *phiale*, *sakkos*) and Leto (scepter, wreath or branch)

ARV<sup>2</sup> 1348, 1; Add<sup>2</sup> 368; BAPD 240000; LIMC 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 364 [Lambrinudakis]; LIMC 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1259; Simon (1953), cat., no. 66; Patton (2009), cat., no. 205.

## II. Possible representations

C23. Zurich, Market Galerie am Neumarkt

BF *lektyhos*, the Athena Painter, 520-475 BC (Hatzivassiliou)

Apollo (lyre, *phiale*) between Leto (?) and Artemis (?), one goddess with *oinochoe*, deer, altar.

BAPD 20268; Hatzivassiliou (2010), cat., no. 120

C24. Warsaw, National Museum 142331 (ex. Goluchow, Musée Czartoryski 161)

RF *hydria* from Capua, the Providence Painter, 480-470 BC (Patton)

Apollo wreathed with laurel (*phiale*, kithara) between Leto (?) and Artemis (?) one goddess with *oinochoe*, flower, the other with wreath and diadem.

ARV<sup>2</sup> 639, 63 (Apollo and Muses); BAPD 207414; Bulas (1931), 19, pl. 21, 2a-b (Apollo between two Muses); Simon (1953), cat., no. 6; Patton (2009), cat., no. 65.

C25. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AE.12.2

RF *pelike* (fr.), the Villa Giulia Painter, c.470-450 BC (the Villa Giulia Painter was active during 470-450 BC; Wehgartner, 2002, 221-222)

Apollo wreathed with laurel (kithara, *phiale*) between Leto (?) and Artemis (?), one goddess with *phiale*, the other with *oinochoe*, both wearing diadem, deer.

BAPD 10104.

C26. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AE.12.1

RF *pelike* (fr.), the Villa Giulia Painter, 470-450 BC (the Villa Giulia Painter was active during 470-450 BC; Wehgartner, 2002, 221-222,)

Apollo wreathed with laurel (kithara, *phiale*) between Leto (?) and Artemis (?), one goddess with *phiale*, the other with *oinochoe*, both wearing diadem, deer.

BAPD 10105.

C27. Hamburg, Museum Fur Kunst und Gewerbe 1960.34

RF *kalyx-krater*, the Altamura Painter, 470-460 BC (Patton; c.460 BC: Gasparri)

A: Apollo wreathed with laurel (lyre, *phiale*) between Leto (?) and Artemis (?), both goddesses with *oinochoe*, branch, diadem, altar (flames).

B: Dionysos with drinking horn and *thyrsos*, nymph with *oinochoe*.

*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 591, 22; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 264; *BAPD* 206840; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 652c [Daumas]; Patton (2009), cat., no. 114; Prange (1989), cat., no. A31; *LIMC* 3, s.v. Dionysos, fig. 480 [Gasparri].

C28. Rome, Market 0.6884

RF *hydria* from Vulci, the Altamura Painter, 470-460 BC (Kahil)

Apollo wreathed with laurel (lyre, *phiale*) between Leto (?) and Artemis (?), one goddess with *phiale*, the other with *oinochoe*, flower and diadem, deer.

*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 594, 58; *BAPD* 206884; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1007 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 644b [Daumas]; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 265; Simon (1953), cat., no. 9; Prange (1989), cat., no. A72.

C29. London, British Museum E177 (fig. 26)

RF *hydria* from Vulci, the Altamura Painter, c.460 BC (Kahil)

Apollo wreathed with laurel (lyre, *phiale*) between Leto (?) and Artemis (?), one with scepter, *oinochoe*, the other with *phiale*, laurel branch.

*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 594, 56; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 265; *BAPD* 206880; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1004 [Kahil]; Simon (1953), cat., no. 10; Patton (2009), cat., no. 115; Prange (1989), cat., no. A70.

C30. Athens, Agora Museum P30126 A-C

RF *stamnos* (fragments), from the Athenian Agora, 460-450 BC (Retroff and Oakley)  
Apollo, Leto (?) and Artemis (?), one goddess with *phiale* the other with scepter, deer.

*BAPD* 44817; Retroff and Oakley (1992), pl.40, cat., no. 126 a-c; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1019 [Kahil]; Prange (1989), cat., no. A70.

C31. Athens, Agora Museum P30019

RF *bell-krater* (fr.), from the Athenian Agora, the Hermonax Painter, c.450 BC (Retroff and Oakley)

A: Apollo wreathed with laurel (laurel staff) between Leto (?) and Artemis (?), one goddess with *oinochoe*, the other with *phiale*, deer.

B: Woman between draped men, one leaning on staff.

*BAPD* 44673; Retroff and Oakley (1992), pl. 20-21, cat., no. 48.

C32. Paris, Musée du Louvre G375 (fig. 28)

RF *pelike*, from Cerveteri, Polygnotos, c.440 BC (Palagia; 450/440 BC: Vollkommer, Queyrel)

A: Apollo (*ΑΠΟΛΛΙΟΝ*) fights Tityos (*ΤΙΤΥΑΣ*), Leto (*ΜΕΛΙΟΣΑ?*).

B: Apollo wreathed with laurel (laurel staff) between Leto (?) and Artemis (?), one goddess with *phiale*

*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1032, 54 (Apollo and two goddesses); *Add*<sup>2</sup> 317; *BAPD* 213437; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1009 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 1073 *LIMC* 8, s.v. Tityos, fig. 22 [Vollkommer]; Simon (1953), cat., no.55; *LIMC* 6, s.v. Mousa, Mousai, fig. 68a [Queyrel].

C33. Winterthur (private)  
RF *oinochoe*, the Painter of Leipsic T64, 440-435 BC (Lezzi-Hafter)  
Apollo wreathed with laurel (lyre, *phiale*) between Leto (?) and Artemis (?), one goddess with *oinochoe*.  
*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1214 (Apollo and two goddesses); *BAPD* 216560; Lezzi-Hafter (1976), 101, pl. 74.

C34. Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls University Arch. Inst.E119  
RF *oinochoe* (fragments) the Shuvalov Painter, c.420 BC (Lezzi-Hafter)  
Apollo wreathed with laurel (seated on *klismos*, lyre) between Leto (?) and Artemis (?), one goddess with *phiale*, the other with branch.  
*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1208, 42 (Apollo and two women); *Add*<sup>2</sup> 346; *BAPD* 216501; Simon (1953), cat., no. 64; Lezzi-Hafter (1976), 108, pl. 122; Böhr (1984), 81-82, pl. 35, 5-6.

C35. Barcelona, Museo Arqueológico 590  
RF amphora of Panathenaic form (restored), from the Nekropolis of Portitxol (Spain), unattributed, 475-425 BC (*BAPD*)  
A: Apollo (kithara, *phiale*) between Leto (?) and Artemis (?), one goddess with *oinochoe*, altar, deer.  
B: Three figures (only lower part is visible), two with staffs.  
*BAPD* 9095; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 652a [Daumas]; I Gimpera and I Ràfols (1951-1957), 36, pl. 30 (a-d), 31 (a-b).

## GROUP D

### I. Confirmed representations

D1. Boston Museum of Fine Arts 1978.45 (fig. 17)  
RF *hydria*, the Berlin Painter, c.485 BC (Kahil)  
Apollo wreathed with laurel (kithara, *phiale*) between Nike or Iris (*oinochoe*, flower, diadem) and the pair Leto (*ΛΕΤΟ*, flower, diadem) and Artemis (*ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ*, quiver, diadem) at altar (wreath on it), Athena (*ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑ*), Hermes (*ΕΡΜΗΣ*).  
*BAPD* 84; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 860 [Mathiopoulos-Tornaritou]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1011a [Kahil]; Patton (2009), cat., no. 29.

D2. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1172 (CC1229) (fig. 84)  
RF *lebes gamikos* from Athens (Ampelokipoi), The Earlier Mannerists (undetermined), c.470 BC (Kahil)  
Lebes: Wedding  
Stand: Apollo wreathed with laurel (lyre) between Artemis (bow, diadem) and Leto (*phiale*), Hermes, deer, palm tree.  
*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 585, 33; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 263; *BAPD* 206763; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1010 [Kahil]; Simon (1953), cat., no. 17; *LIMC* 5, s.v. Hermes, fig. 699 [Siebert]; Patton (2009), cat., no. 111.

D3. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum 798 (St.1724)

RF *column-krater*, the Earlier Mannerists (the Agrigento Painter), 460 BC (Kokkourou-Alewrás)

A: Apollo wreathed with laurel (laurel staff) between Leto (lyre, diadem) and Artemis (bow, *sakkos*), Hermes (*phiale*).

B: Three youths (one with lyre, one with staff, one with stick and fruit?).

*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 574, 4 (Apollo and Muse, with Artemis and Hermes); *Para* 513; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 262; *BAPD* 206608; Simon (1953), cat., no. 16; Peredoiskaya (1967), 99, cat., no. 100; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 751 [Kokkourou-Alewrás], Artemis, Apollo, Muse with kithara, Hermes with *pyxis*.

D4. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 443 (fig. 19)

RF *hydria* from Nola, the Niobid Painter, c.460 BC (Kokkourou-Alewrás; 450 BC Siebert)

Apollo wreathed with laurel (seated on *klismos*, kithara, *phiale*) between Hermes and Artemis (quiver, bow, *oinochoe*, *sakkos*), Leto (scepter, veil, diadem, laurel branch, *phiale*), deer.

*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 606, 71; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 267; *BAPD* 207012; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 745a [Kokkourou-Alewrás]; Simon (1953), cat., no. 23; Patton (2009), cat., no. 160; *LIMC* 5, s.v. Hermes, fig. 812 [Siebert]; Prange (1989), cat., no. N90.

D5. St. Petersburg State Hermitage 4526

RF *hydria*, from Capua, the Niobid Painter, 460/450 BC (Kokkourou-Alewrás; 460 BC: Peredoiskaya)

Apollo wreathed with laurel (seated on *klismos*, kithara, *phiale*) between Hermes and Artemis (quiver, bow, *oinochoe*, *sakkos*), Leto (*phiale*, laurel branch, diadem), bird.

*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 606, 72; *BAPD* 207013; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 745b [Kokkourou-Alewrás]; Simon (1953), cat., no. 24; Prange (1989), cat., no. N91; Peredoiskaya (1967), 155, cat., no. 177.

D6. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR P13 (fig. 55)

RF cylindrical support from Naukratis (Egypt), the Villa Giulia Painter, c.450 BC (Kahil)

Boy (*oinochoe*) between Apollo (kithara, *phiale*) and Artemis (bow, arrow, *phiale*), Leto (*phiale*), Hermes, Dionysos.

*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 623, 73 (Ganymede); *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1012 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 778 [Kokkourou-Alewrás]; Simon (1953), cat., no. 19; *LIMC* 5, s.v. Hermes, fig. 700 [Siebert]; *LIMC* Supplementum, s.v. Ion, Add.2 [Shapiro]; *LIMC* 4, s.v. Ganymedes, fig. 66 [Sichtermann]; Shapiro (2009), 268.

D7. London, Market Sotheby

RF *hydria*, the Nausicaa Painter (the Later Mannerists), c.450 BC (Kokkourou-Alewrás)

Boy (naked, *tainia*, *oinochoe*) between Apollo wreathed with laurel (seated on *klismos*, quiver hanging from the chair, lyre, *phiale*) and Artemis (bow), Leto (wreath, diadem), Hermes.

*Para* 452, 43ter (boy); *BAPD* 276109; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 748 [Kokkourou-Alewrás]; *LIMC* 4, s.v. Ganymede, fig. 68 [Sichtermann].



- D8. Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi 45911 (fig. 53)  
 RF *bell-krater* from Camarina (Sicily), Polygnotos Group, 430 BC (Siebert)  
 A: Boy (*oinochoe*, stick and hoop) between Apollo wreathed with laurel (kithara, *phiale*) and Artemis (quiver, bow, wreath, diadem, *sakkos*), Leto (scepter, veil, diadem), Hermes, deer.  
 B: Three youths (one with staff, one with lyre), bag suspended.  
 Inscriptions: *ΚΑΛΙΟΣ* above the boy  
*ARV<sup>2</sup>* 1053, 32 (boy as Ganymede); *Add<sup>2</sup>* 322; *BAPD* 213661; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 747 [Kokkourou-Alewrass]; *LIMC* 5, s.v. Hermes, fig. 702 [Siebert]; Simon (1953), cat., no. 63 (boy as Ganymede); *LIMC* Supplementum, s.v. Ion, add. 3[Shapiro]; Patton (2009), cat., no. 193; *LIMC* 4, s.v. Ganymedes, fig. 67 [Sichtermann]; Shapiro (2009), 269.
- D9. Ferrara Museo Nazionale di Spina T27 CVP (20298) (fig. 51)  
 RF *pyxis* from Spina, the Marlay Painter, c.420 BC (Simon; c.440-430 BC: Kahil, Bruneau, Gallet De Santerre, Smith; 430 BC: Kokkourou-Alewrass, Siebert; 425-400 BC: Patton)  
 Apollo wreathed with laurel (kithara, *phiale*) and Artemis (quiver, diadem, torch, *oinochoe*) at *omphalos* flanked by a palm-tree and an olive or laurel tree, Leto (*phiale*, veil, diadem), Delos seated on *omphalos* with *phiale* (*ΔΗΛΟΣ*), Hermes, deer, tripod.  
*ARV<sup>2</sup>* 1277, 22; *Add<sup>2</sup>* 357; *BAPD* 216209; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 746 [Kokkourou-Alewrass]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1015 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 5, s.v. Hermes, fig. 703 [Siebert]; Patton (2009), cat., no. 206; Roberts (1978), 116-117, pl. 73; *LIMC* 3, s.v. Delos I, fig. 1 [Bruneau]; Bruneau (1985), 551-556; Gallet De Santerre (1976), 291-298; Simon (2004), fig. 30; Smith (2011), 35.
- D10. Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale 2187 (fig. 46)  
 RF *kalyx-krater*, from Agrigento, manner of the Meidias Painter, 420/410 BC (Berger-Doer)  
 A: Phaon (*ΦΑΩΝ ΚΑΛΙΟΣ*) seated among women (*ΧΡΥΣΗ*, *ΦΙΛΟΜΗΛΗ*), Eros (*ΕΡΟΣ ΚΑΛΙΟΣ*) tying his sandal, Eros riding two fawns, Pan.  
 B: Apollo wreathed with laurel (seated, laurel staff), Leto? (scepter, diadem, laurel branch), Artemis (*phiale*, *oinochoe*, diadem, quiver), Delos? (diadem, branch), palm tree.  
*ARV<sup>2</sup>* 1321, 9; *Para* 478; *Add<sup>2</sup>* 363; *BAPD* 220558; Simon (1953), cat., no. 65 (double Leto); Metzger (1987), 115; Shapiro (1988), 207; *LIMC* 7, s.v. Phaon, fig. 3 [Berger-Doer].
- D11. London, British Museum E502 (fig. 47)  
 RF *bell-krater* from Nola, manner of the Dinos Painter, 420-400 BC (Kokkourou-Alewrass)  
 A: Apollo wreathed with laurel (kithara, *phiale*) and Artemis (bow, quiver, *oinochoe*) at *omphalos*, flanked by Leto (veil, diadem, *phiale*) and Hermes.  
 B: Draped youths, one with staff.  
*ARV<sup>2</sup>* 1156, 10; *Add<sup>2</sup>* 337; *BAPD* 215310; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 745 [Kokkourou-Alewrass]; Simon (1953), cat., no. 62; Patton (2009), cat., no. 204; *LIMC* 5, s.v. Hermes, fig. 813 [Siebert].

## II. Possible representations.

D12. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 28.7 (fig. 27)

RF *hydria* from Nola, the Altamura Painter, c.460 BC (Siebert; 470-460 BC: Kahil)  
Apollo wreathed with laurel (kithara) between Leto (?) and Artemis (?) at altar (flames), one goddess with *phiale*, laurel branch, diadem, the other with *oinochoe* and *phiale*, Hermes.

*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 594, 59; *Add*<sup>2</sup> 265; *BAPD* 206883; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1011 [Kahil]; Simon (1953), cat., no. 15; *LIMC* 5, s.v. Hermes, fig. 811 [Siebert]; Prange (1989), cat., no. A73.

D13. Rome, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano 17851 (fig. 54)

RF *pelike*, from near Norcia, the Oinante Painter (the Earlier Mannerists), c.460 BC (Shapiro, 2009; 460-450 BC: Kossatz-Deissmann)

A: Apollo wreathed with laurel (kithara), Leto (?) Artemis (?), one goddess with *phiale* and *oinochoe*, Hermes, boy, deer.

B: Zeus (scepter) and Hera (polos, scepter) at altar, winged figure (Nike) with lyre and *oinochoe*.

-Under each handle a winged figure (Nike).

*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 580 (Apollo with two goddesses, a boy and Hermes); *Para* 392, 1ter; *BAPD* 206697; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 747a [Kokkourou-Alewrás]; Simon (1953), cat., no. 20; *LIMC* Supplementum, s.v. Ion, add.1 [Shapiro]; Shapiro (2009), 265; *LIMC* 4, s.v. Hera, fig. 232 [Kossatz-Deissmann]; *LIMC* 5, s.v. Iris I, fig. 57 [Kossatz-Deissmann]; Arafat (1990), 4. 21.

D14. Bologna, Museo Civico Pell. 292

RF *kalyx-krater* from Bologna, the Hephaistos Painter (the Later Mannerists), c.440 BC (Kahil)

A: Apollo wreathed with laurel (laurel staff), Leto (?) Artemis (?), one goddess seated with scepter, the other with *phiale* and scepter, Mousaios or Orpheus wreathed with laurel (lyre).

B: Tree youths (two with sticks).

*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1116, 35 (Apollo, two goddesses, youth – perhaps Mousaios); *Add*<sup>2</sup> 331; *BAPD* 214761; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1013 [Kahil]; *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 979 [Palagia].

D15. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum 711 (St.1685)

RF neck-amphora, the Later Mannerists (undetermined), c.430 BC (Nercessian)

A: Apollo wreathed with laurel (kithara) between Artemis (?) and Leto (?), one goddess with *phiale* and *oinochoe*, Hermes, deer.

B: Thamyris plays the kithara between two Muses.

*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1123, 6 (Apollo, Hermes and two goddesses); *BAPD* 214848; *LIMC* 7, s.v. Thamyras, fig. 4 [Nercessian].

## Appendix II. Tables

Apollonian triad	Confirmed representations based on (I):		Possible representations based on (II):
Group	All names inscribed on vases	Attributes	The same or similar composition as the one we see on the confirmed vases
A ( 81 vases)	3	8	70
B (38 vases)	1	6	31
Total number of vases (119)	4	14	101

Table 1a. The Apollonian triad alone (A) or accompanied by others (B)

Apollonian triad (libation scene)	Confirmed representations based on (I):		Possible representations based on (II):
Group	Names inscribed on vases	Attributes	The same or similar composition as the one we see on the confirmed vases
C ( 35 vases)	2	20	13
D (15 vases)	1	10	4
Total number of vases (50)	3	30	17

Table 1b. The Apollonian triad alone (C) or accompanied by others (D)

## Group A and B (119 vases)

## Group C and D (50 vases)

Provenance	No.	Provenance	No.	Provenance	No.	Provenance	No.
Unknown	62	Nola	1	Unknown	19	Nola	4
Vulci	27	Sicily	1	Camiros	1	Taranto	1
Agrigento	2	Apulia	1	Athens	4	Vulci	5
Tarquini	2	Tanagra	1	Bologna	3	Capua	2
Etruria*	6	Athens	6	Ialysos	1	Cerveteri	1
Syracuse	1	Greece*	2	Orvieto	1	Portitxol	1
Vei	2	Pharsala	1	Near Licata	1	Naukratis	1
Orvieto	1	Camiros	1	Stryme	1	Camarina	1
Bologna	2			Spina	1	Agrigento	1
				Near Norcia	1		

Table 2. Distribution of vases (169 vases)

\* A specific location is not known

Deities/figures	Group B (38 vases)	Group D (15 vases)
Hermes	32/38	13/15
Poseidon	14/38	
Dionysos	13/38	1/15
Ares	1/38	
Goddess (unidentified)	1/38	
Satyr	1/38	
Athena		1/15
Nike or Iris		1/15
Delos		2/15
Mousaios/Orpheus		1/15
Boy		4/15

Table 3. Accompanying figures (Group B and D)

a. Group A and B (119 vases)

Vase-shapes	Number of vases	Vase-shapes	Number of vases
<i>Lekythos</i>	17	Amphora	83
<i>Hydria</i>	10	Cylindrical support (stand)	1
<i>Krater</i>	2		
Cup	2	<i>Oinochoe</i>	4

b. Group C and D (50 vases)

Vase-shapes	Number of vases	Vase-shapes	Number of vases
<i>Lekythos</i>	2	Amphora	3
<i>Hydria</i>	15	<i>Oinochoe</i>	6
<i>Krater</i>	11	<i>Pelike</i>	9
<i>Stamnos</i>	1	<i>Pyxis</i>	1
Nuptial <i>lebes</i> (stand)	1	Cylindrical Support	1

Table 4. Vase-shapes

## Bibliography

- Abel, E. (1891), *Scholia recentia in Pindari epinicia*, vol.1, Berlin.
- Adams, L. (1978), *Orientalizing Sculpture in Soft Limestone from Crete and Mainland Greece*, Oxford.
- Adkins, A. W. H. (1972), *Moral Values and Political Behaviour in Ancient Greece*, London.
- Ajootian, A. (2006), “Male kourotrophoi” in C. C. Mattusch, A. A. Donohue, and A. Brauer (eds), *Common Ground: Archaeology, Art, Science and Humanities*. The Proceedings of the 16<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Boston, August 23-26, 2003, Oxford, 617-620.
- Aktseli, D. (1996), *Altäre in der archaischen und klassischen Kunst, Untersuchungen zu Typologie und Ikonographie*, Espelkamp.
- Allen, T. W., W. R. Halliday, and E. E. Sikes (1936), *The Homeric Hymns*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Oxford.
- Amandry, P. (1939), “Rapport préliminaire sur les statues chryseléphantines de Delphes”, *BCH* 63, 86-119.
- Amandry, P. (1950), *La Mantique Apollinienne à Delphes: Essai sur le fonctionnement de l' Oracle*, Paris.
- Amandry, P. (1953), *Fouilles de Delphes. La colonne des Naxiens et le Portique des Athéniens*, Paris, 37-121.
- Amandry, P. (1977), “Trépieds d' Athènes: II. Thargélie”, *BCH* 101, 165-202.
- Amandry, P. (1992), “Où était l'omphalos?” in Bommelaer, J. F. (ed.), *Delphes. Centenaire de la “Grande Fouille” réalisée par l'école Française d' Athènes (1892-1903). Actes du Colloque Paul Perdrizet, Strasbourg, 6-9 Novembre 1991*, Leiden, New York, København, Köln, 177-205.
- Ambühl, A. (2000), *DNP* 9, s.v. Ortygia, Stuttgart, Weimar, 71-80.
- Anderson, J. K. (1961), *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, Berkeley.
- Andrewes, A. (1982), “The Tyranny of Pisistratus” in J. Boardman, and N. G. L. Hammond (eds), *Cambridge Ancient History, The Expansion of the Greek World, Eighth to Sixth Centuries B.C.*, Vol. 3, part 3, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Cambridge, London, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, Sydney, 392-416.
- Arafat, K. W. (1986), “Iris or Nike? A divine libation scene on a missing lekythos”, *BICS* 33, 127-133.
- Arafat, K. W. (1990), *Classical Zeus: A Study in Art and Literature*, Oxford.
- Arnheim, M. T. W. (1977), *Aristocracy in Greek Society*, London.
- Arnush, M. F. (1955), “The Career of Peisistratos son of Hippias”, *Hesperia* 64, 135-162.
- Auffarth, C. (2000), *DNP* 8, s.v. Omphalos, Stuttgart, Weimar, 1201-1202.
- Bakalakis, G. (1967), *Ανασκαφή Στρύμης*, Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής, ΑΠΘ, Παράρτημα 13, Thessaloniki.
- Barnett, R. D. (1960), *Assyrian Palace Reliefs and their influence on the sculptures of Babylonia and Persia*, London.
- Barringer, J. M. (1995), *Divine Escorts: Nereids in Archaic and Classical Greek Art*, Ann Arbor.
- Barringer, J. M. (2001), *The Hunt in Ancient Greece*, Baltimore, London.
- Barringer, J. M. (2008), *Art, Myth, and Ritual in Classical Greece*, Cambridge.
- Barron, J. P. (1964), “Religious Propaganda of the Delian League”, *JHS* 84, 35-48.

- Barron, J. P., and P. E. Easterling (1985), "Hesiod" in P. E. Easterling and B. M. W. Knox (eds), *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature, I, Greek Literature*, Cambridge, 92-105.
- Baudy, D. (1997), *DNP* 3, s.v. Eiresione, Stuttgart, Weimar, 922-923.
- Baudy, E. (1998), *DNP* 5, s.v. Hermes, Stuttgart, Weimar, 428-429.
- Bazant, J. (1981), "The Case of Symbolism in Classical Greek Art", *Eirene* 18, 21-33.
- Beaumont, L. A. (1994), "Constructing a Methodology for the Interpretation of Childhood Age in Classical Athenian Iconography", *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 13, 81-96.
- Beaumont, L. A. (1995), "Mythological childhood: a male preserve? An interpretation of classical Athenian iconography in its socio-historical context", *BSA* 90, 339-361.
- Beaumont, L. A. (2003a), "The changing face of Childhood" in J. Neils and J. H. Oakley (eds), *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece, Images of Childhood from the Classical Past*, Hannover, 59-83
- Beaumont, L. A. (2003b), "Changing Childhoods? The representation of children in Attic Figured Vase Painting" in B. Schmalz and M. Söldner (eds), *Griechische Keramik im kulturellen Kontext*, Münster, 108-110.
- Beaumont, L. A. (2012), *Childhood in Ancient Athens. Iconography and Social History*, New York.
- Beazley, J. D. (1922), "Citharoedus", *JHS* 42, 70-98.
- Beazley, J. D. (1964), *The Berlin Painter*, London and New York.
- Beazley, J. D. (1974), *The Pan Painter*, Mainz.
- Beazley, J. D. (1986), *The Development of Attic Black-figure, revised edition*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London.
- Beazley, J. D. (1989), *Greek Vases, Lectures by J.D. Beazley*, edited by D. C. Kurtz, Oxford.
- Bérard, C. et al. (1989), *A City of Images. Iconography and Society in Ancient Greece*, translated by Deborah Lyons, Princeton.
- Berger-Doer, G. (1981), *LIMC* 2, s.v. Argeia, Zurich and Munich, 587-590.
- Berger-Doer, G. (1994), *LIMC* 7, s.v. Phaon, Zurich and Munich, 364-367.
- Bernhard, M. L., and W. A. Daszewski (1986), *LIMC* 3, Addenda, s.v. Ariadne, Zurich and Munich, 1050-1070.
- Bernabé, A. (1987), *Poetarum Epicorum Graecorum testimonia et fragmenta*, Leipzig.
- Bendlin, A. (2001), *DNP* 11, s.v. Septerion, Stuttgart, Weimar, 428-429.
- Beschi, L. (1988), *LIMC* 4, s.v. Demeter, Zurich and Munich, 844-892.
- Bevan, E. (1986), *Representations of animals in Sanctuaries of Artemis and other Olympian Deities*, Oxford.
- Biers, W. R., and T. D. Boyd (1982), "Ikarion in Attica", *Hesperia* 51, 1-18.
- Bielefeld, E. (1959), *CVA: Germany 17, Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau 1*, Berlin.
- Binder, J. (1998), "The Early History of the Demeter and Kore Sanctuary at Eleusis" in R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Archaeological Evidence, Proceedings of the Fourth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, organized by the Swedish Institute at Athens, 22-24 October 1993*, 131-139.
- Blech, M. (1982), *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen*, Berlin, New York.
- Blundell, S. (1995), *Women in Ancient Greece*, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

- Blundell, S. (2002), "Clutching at clothes" in L. Llewellyn Jones (ed.), *Women's dress in the ancient Greek world*, London, Duckworth, Swansea, 143-169.
- Boardman, J. (1955), "Reviewed work: 'Opfernde Götter' by Erica Simon", *JHS* 75, 182-183.
- Boardman, J. (1961), *The Cretan Collection in Oxford. The Dictaeon Cave and Iron Age Crete*, London.
- Boardman, J. (1963), "Artemis Orthia and Chronology", *BSA* 58, 1-7.
- Boardman, J. (1967), "The Khaniale Tekke Tombs II", *BSA* 62, 57-75.
- Boardman, J. (1972), "Herakles, Peisistratos and Sons", *RA* 1, 57-72.
- Boardman, J. (1975a), "Herakles, Peisistratos and Eleusis", *JHS* 95, 1-12.
- Boardman, J. (1975b), *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period*, London
- Boardman, J. (1978), *Greek Sculpture: the archaic period: a handbook*, London.
- Boardman, J. (1985), "Image and Politics in sixth century Athens" in H. A. G. Brijder (ed.), *Ancient Greek and related pottery: proceedings of the International Vase Symposium in Amsterdam, 12-15 April 1984*, Amsterdam, 239-247.
- Boardman, J. (1989), "Herakles, Peisistratos and the Unconvinced", *JHS* 109, 158-159.
- Boardman, J. et al. (1988), *LIMC* 4, s.v. Herakles, Zurich and Munich 728-838.
- Boardman, J. et al. (1990), *LIMC* 5, s.v. Herakles, Zurich and Munich 1-192.
- Boardman, J. (2001), *The History of Greek Vases*, London.
- Böhr, E. (1984), *CVA: Germany* 52, Tübingen, Antikensammlung des Archäologischen Instituts Der Universität, Munich.
- Bommelaer, J. F. (1991), *Guide de Delphes: le site*, Paris.
- Bookidis, N., and R. S. Stroud (1987), *Demeter and Persephone in ancient Corinth*, Princeton.
- Borgers, O. E., and H. A. G. Brijder (2007), *CVA: Netherlands* 11, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum University of Amsterdam 5, Amsterdam.
- Boulter, C. (1953), "Pottery of the Mid-Fifth Century from a Well in the Athenian Agora", *Hesperia* 22, 59-115.
- Boulter, C., and K. T. Luckner (1976), *CVA USA* 17, The Toledo Museum of Art 1, Toledo (Ohio).
- Bousquet, J. (1951), "Observations sur l' "omphalos archaïque" de Delphes", *BCH* 75, 210-223.
- Bowie, A. M. (1997), "Thinking with Drinking: Wine and the Symposium in Aristophanes", *JHS* 117, 1-21.
- Bowie, E. (2002), *DNP* 12/1, s.v. Theognis, Stuttgart, Weimar, 351.
- Bowra, C. M. (1961), *Greek Lyric Poetry. From Alcman to Simonides*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Oxford.
- Braswell, B. K. (1988), *A commentary on the fourth Pythian Ode of Pindar*, Berlin.
- Bremmer, J. (1994), "Adolescents, Symposion and Pederasty" in O. Murray (ed.), *Symptica a Symposium on the Symposion*, Oxford, 135-148.
- Bremmer, J. N. (1997), "Myth as Propaganda: Athens and Sparta", *ZPE* 117, 9-117.
- Bremmer, J. N. (1999), "Transvestite Dionysos" in M. W. Padilla (ed.), *Rites of Passage in Ancient Greece: Literature, Religion, Society*, Lewisburg, London, 183-200.
- Bremmer, J. N. (2001), *DNP* 10, s.v. Poseidon, Stuttgart/Weimar 201-206.
- Bremmer, J. N. (2002a), *DNP* 12.1, s.v. Thargelia, Stuttgart, 243.
- Bremmer, J. N. (2002b), *DNP* 12.1, s.v. Triptolemus, Stuttgart, Weimar, 828-829.



- Brock, J. K. (1957), *Fortetsa, early Greek tombs near Knossos*, London, New York.
- Brommer, F. (1963), *Die Skulpturen der Parthenongiebel, Katalog und Untersuchung*, Mainz.
- Broneer, O. (1960), "Notes on three Athenian cult places", *ArchEph*, 54-67.
- Bruneau, Ph. (1970), *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l' époque Hellénistique et à l' époque Impériale*, Paris.
- Bruneau, Ph. (1985), "Deliaca", *BCH* 109, 545-567.
- Bruneau, Ph. (1986), *LIMC* 3, s.v. Delos I, Zurich and Munich, 368-369.
- Bruneau, Ph., and J. Ducat (2005), *Guide de Délos*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn., Paris.
- Bryce, T. R. (1983), "The Arrival of the Goddess Leto in Lycia", *Historia* 32, 1-13.
- Buck, C. D. (1889a), "Discoveries in the Attic Deme of Ikaria, 1888. IV. Chronological Report of Excavations. V. Topography of the Ikarian District. VI. Architectural Remains", *AJA* 5, no.2, 154-181.
- Buck, C. D. (1889b), "Discoveries in the Attic Deme of Ikaria, 1888. VIII. Sculptures", *AJA* 5, no.4, 461-477.
- Budelmann, F. (2009), "Anacreon and the Anacreontea" in Budelmann F. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Lyric*, New York, 227-239.
- Bugh, G. R. (1988), *The Horsemen of Athens*, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Bulas, K. (1931), *CVA: Pologne 1, Goluchow, Musée Czartoryski, Varsovie, Cracovie*, Paris.
- Bundrick, S. D. (2005), *Music and Image in Classical Athens*, Cambridge.
- Burkert, W. (1979), "Kynaithos, Polykrates and the Homeric Hymn to Apollo" in G. W. Bowersock (ed.), *Arktouros: Hellenic Studies presented to Bernard M. W. Knox on the occasion of his 65<sup>th</sup> birthday*, Berlin, New York, 53-62.
- Burkert, W. (1983), *Homo Necans. The Anthropology of Ancient Greek. Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, translated by Peter Bing, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London.
- Burkert, W. (1987), *Greek Religion*, translated by John Raffan Oxford.
- Burow, J. (1989), *Der Antimenes Maler*, Mainz.
- Cabrera, P. (2004), "Bilingual Amphora" in P. G. Warden (ed.), *Greek Vase Painting, Form, Figure, and Narrative, Treasures of the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid*, Madrid, 107-109.
- Cadaux, T. J. (1948), "The Athenian Archons from Kreon to Hypsichides", *JHS* 68, 70-123.
- Cahn, H. A. (1981), *LIMC* 1, s.v. Aithra I, Zurich and Munich, 420-431.
- Cairns, D. L. (1996a), "Off with her ΑΙΔΩΣ: Herodotus 1.8.3-4", *CQ* 46 (1), 78-83.
- Cairns, D. L. (1996b), "Veiling, αἰδώς and a red-figure amphora by Phintias", *JHS* 116, 152-158.
- Cairns, D. L. (2002), "The meaning of the veil in ancient Greek culture" in L. Llewellyn-Jones (ed.), *Women's dress in the ancient Greek world*, London, Duckworth, Swansea, 73-93.
- Calame, C. (1999), *The Poetics of Eros in Ancient Greece*, translated by J. Lloyd, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Calame, C. (2001), *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece. Their Morphology, Religious Role, and Social Function*, translated by Derek Collins and Janice Orion, Lanham.
- Calderone, A. (1985), *CVA: Italia 61, Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1, Rome*.
- Camp, J. M. (2001), *The Archaeology of Athens*, London.

- Canciani, F. (1981), *LIMC* 1, s.v. Aineias, Zurich and Munich, 381-396.
- Carpenter, T. H. (1984), "The Tyrrhenian Group: Problems of Provenance", *OJA* 3 (1), 45-56.
- Carpenter, T. H. (1986), *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art*, Oxford.
- Carpenter, T. H. (1991), *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece: a handbook*, London.
- Carpenter, T. H. (1994), "The terrible twins in sixth-century Attic Art" in Solomon J. (ed.), *Apollo Origins and Influences*, Tucson, 61-79.
- Carpenter, T. H. (1997), *Dionysian Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens*, Oxford.
- Carter, J. B. (1985), *Greek Ivory-Carving in the Orientalizing and Archaic Periods*, New York and London.
- Carey, C. (2009), "Genre, occasion and performance" in F. Budelmann (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Lyric*, New York, 21-38.
- Cassimatis, H. (1984), *LIMC* 2, s.v. Athena, Zurich and Munich, 985-990.
- Chankowski, V. (2008), *Athènes et Délos à l'Époque Classique. Recherches sur l'administration du sanctuaire d'Apollon délien*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 331, Athens.
- Chappell, M. (2006), "Delphi and the Homeric Hymn to Apollo", *CQ* 56, 331-348.
- Chappell, M. (2011), "The Homeric Hymn to Apollo: the question of Unity" in A. Faulkner (ed.), *Homeric hymns: Interpretative Essays*, Oxford, 59-81.
- Charbonneaux, J. (1962), *Greek bronzes*, translated by Katherine Watson, London.
- Childs, W. A. P. (1993), "Herodotos, archaic chronology, and the temple of Apollo at Delphi", *JdI* 108, 399-441.
- Childs, W. A. P. (1994), "The date of the old Temple of Athena on the Athenian Acropolis" in W. D. G. Coulson, O. Palagia, T. L. Shear, H. A. Shapiro and F. J. Frost (eds), *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy, proceedings of an international conference celebrating 2500 years since the birth of democracy in Greece, held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, December 4-6, 1992*, Oxford, 1-6.
- Clark, A. J. (1988), *CVA: USA 23*, Malibu 1, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu.
- Cleland, L. (2005), *The Brauron clothing catalogues: text, analysis, glossary and translation*, Oxford.
- Clinton, K. (1988), "Sacrifice at the Eleusinian Mysteries" in R. Hägg, N. Marinatos and G. C. Nordquist (eds), *Early Greek Cult Practice, Proceedings of the fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26-29 June, 1986*, Stockholm, 69-80.
- Clinton, K. (1992), *Myth and Cult. The Iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries. The Martin P. Nilsson Lectures on Greek Religion, delivered 19-21 November 1990 at the Swedish Institute at Athens*, Stockholm.
- Clinton, K. (1993), "The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis" in N. Marinatos and R. Hägg (eds), *Greek Sanctuaries, New approaches*, London, New York, 110-124.
- Clinton, K. (1994), "The Eleusinian Mysteries and Panhellenism in Democratic Athens", in W. D. G. Coulson, O. Palagia, T. L. Shear, H. A. Shapiro and F. J. Frost (eds), *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy, proceedings of an international conference celebrating 2500 years since the birth of democracy in Greece, held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, December 4-6, 1992*, Oxford, 161-172.

- Clinton, K. (2005), *Eleusis: the inscriptions on stone. Documents of the sanctuary of the two goddesses and public documents of the Deme, vol.IA, Text*, Athens.
- Clinton, K. (2008), *Eleusis: the inscriptions on stone. Documents of the sanctuary of the two goddesses and public documents of the Deme, vol.II, Commentary*, Athens.
- Cohen, B. (2006), *The colors of Clay, Special Techniques in Athenian Vases*, Los Angeles.
- Coldstream, J. M. (2003), *Geometric Greece 900-700 BC*, New York.
- Cole, S. G. (1984), "The social function of rituals of maturation: the Koureion and the Arkteia", *ZPE* 55, 233-244.
- Cole, S. G. (1998), "Domesticating Artemis" in S. Blundell and M. Williamson (eds), *The Sacred and the feminine in ancient Greece*, London, New York.
- Connelly, J. B. (2007), *Portrait of a Priestess, Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece*, Princeton.
- Cromey, R. D. (2006), "Apollo Patroos and the Phratries", *L' Antiquité Classique* 75, 41-69.
- Courby, F. (1921), "Notes topographiques et Chronologiques sur le sanctuaire d' Apollon Délien", *BCH* 45, 174-241.
- Courby, M. F. (1927), *Fouilles de Delphes II, Topographie et Architecture. La Terrasse du Temple*, Paris.
- Courby, F. (1931), *Les Temples d' Apollon*, Exploration Archéologique de Délos 12, Paris.
- Cook, A. B. (1925), *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*, Vol.2, Cambridge.
- Cook, A. B. (1940), *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*, Vol.3, Cambridge.
- Cook, R. M. (1997), *Greek Painted Vases*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn, London.
- Corner, S. (2010), "Transcendent Drinking: the Symposium at Sea Reconsidered", *CQ* 60, 352-380.
- Cox, C. A. (1998), *Household Interests: property, marriage strategies, and family dynamics in ancient Athens*, Princeton.
- Crielaard, J. P. (1995), "Homer, History and Archaeology. Some remarks on the date of the Homeric world" in J. P. Crielaard (ed.), *Homeric questions. Essays in Philology, Ancient History and Archaeology, including the Papers of a Conference organized by the Netherlands Institute at Athens (15 May 1993)*, Amsterdam, 201-288.
- Croissant, F. (2003), *Fouilles de Delphes IV: Monuments figurés Sculpture VII: Les Frontons du temple du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Athens.
- Cromey, R. D. (2006), "Apollo Patroos and the Phratries", *AC* 75, 41-69.
- Cropp, M. D. (2000), *Euripides, Iphigenia in Tauris, with introduction, translation and commentary*, Warminster.
- Csapo, E., and W. L. Slater (1994), *The context of Ancient Drama*, Ann Arbor.
- Csapo, E. (1997), "Riding the Phallus of Dionysus: Iconology, Ritual, and Gender-Role De/Construction", *Phoenix* 51, 253-295.
- Curry, M. (2000), "The Export of Attic Black-Figure Pottery in the Early Sixth Century BC" in G. R. Thetskhladze, A. J. N. N. Prag, and A. M. Snodgrass (eds), *Periplous. Papers on Classical Art and Archaeology presented to Sir John Boardman*, London, 80-88.
- D' Acunto, M. (2002), "Il Tempio di Apollo a Dreros: il culto et la "cucina del sacrificio", *Annali di archeologia e storia antica*, no.9-10, 2002-2003, 9-62.

- Dasen, V. (2005), *Jumeaux, Jumelles dans l' antiquité Grecque et Romaine*, Kilchberg.
- Darcque, P. (1981), "Les vestiges mycéniens découverts sous le Telestérion d' Eleusis", *BCH* 105, 593-605.
- Davies, J. (1971), *Athenian Propertied Families 600-300 BC*, London.
- Davies, J. (2007a), 'Pythios and *Pythion*: The Spread of a Cult Title', *MHR* 22, 57-69.
- Davies, J. (2007b), "The Origins of the Festivals, especially Delphi and the Pythia" in S. Hornblower and C. Morgan (eds), *Pindar's Poetry: Patron and Festivals from Archaic Greece to the Roman Empire*, Oxford, 47-70.
- Dawkins, R. M. (1929), "Ivory and Bone" in R. M. Dawkins (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta*, London, 203-248.
- Day, J. W. (1989), "Rituals in stone: Early Greek Grave Epigrams and Monuments", *JHS* 109, 16-28.
- Deacy, S. (2008), *Athena*, Oxford, New York.
- De Cesare, M. (1991), *CVA: Italy 67*, Vibo Valentia, Museo Statale, Vito Capialdi, Rome.
- De la Coste-Messelière, P. (1946), "Les Alcméonides à Delphes", *BCH* 70, 271-287.
- De la Genière, J. (1971), *CVA: Italy 50*, Palermo, Collezione Mormino, Banco di Sicilia 1, Rome.
- De Schutter, X. (1987), "Le culte d' Apollon Patroos", *AC* 56, 103-129.
- Delivorias, A., B. Berger-Doer, and A. Kossatz-Deissmann (1984), *LIMC* 2, s.v. Aphrodite, Zurich and Munich, 2-151.
- Demand, N. (1994), *Birth, Death, and Motherhood in Classical Greece*, Baltimore and London.
- Deppert, K. (1964), *CVA: Germany 25*, Frankfurt, Am Main 1, Munich.
- Derderian, K. (2001), *Leaving words to remember: Greek mourning and the advent of literacy*, Leiden.
- Despinis, G. (2007), "Neues zu der Spätarchaischen statue des Dionysos aus Ikaria", *AM* 122, 103-137.
- Despinis, G. (2010), *Άρτεμις Βραυρωνία. Λατρευτικά αγάλματα και αναθήματα της θεάς στη Βραυρώνια και την Ακρόπολη της Αθήνας*, Athens.
- Detienne, M. (2001), "Forgetting Delphi between Apollo and Dionysus", *Classical Philology* 96, 147-158.
- Deubner, L. (1956), *Attische Feste*, Berlin.
- Dietrich, B. C. (1965), *Death, Fate and the Gods*, London.
- Dillon, M. (2002), *Girls and Women in Athenian Religion*, London.
- Dillon, M. P. J. (2006), "Was Kleisthenes or Pleisthenes Archon at Athens in 525 BC?", *ZPE* 155, 91-107.
- Donlan, W. (1973), "The Origins of kalos kagathos", *AJPh* 92, 365-374.
- Donlan, W. (1999), *The Aristocratic Ideal and Selected Papers*, Wauconda.
- Donohue, A. A. (1988), *Xoana and the origins of Greek sculpture*, Atlanta.
- Dontas, G. (1986), "Ο Χάλκινος Απόλλων του Πειραιά" in Helmut Kyrieleis (ed.), *Archaische und Klassische Griechische Plastik, Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums vom 22.-25. April 1985 in Athen*, Mainz, Rhein, 181-192.
- Dougherty, C. (1996), "Democratic Contradictions and the Synoptic Illusion of Euripides' *Ion*," in J. Ober and C. W. Hedrick (eds), *Demokratia: A Conversation on Democracies, Ancient and Modern*, Princeton, 249-270.

- Dover, K. J. (1989), *Greek Homosexuality, Updated and with a new Postscript*, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Dow, S. (1965), "The Greater Demarkhia of Erkhia", *BCH* 89, 180-213.
- Dowden, K. (1989), *Death and the Maiden. Girls' initiation rites in Greek mythology*, London.
- Dräger, P. (2002), *DNP* 12.1, s.v. Tityos, Stuttgart, Weimar, 634-635.
- Dragoumis, S. N. (1911), "Αρχαιολογικά Φροντίσματα", *ArchEph*, 214-222.
- Ducat, J. (1971), *Les Kouroi du Ptoion. Le Sanctuaire d' Apollon Ptoieus a l' époque Archaique*, Paris.
- Ducat, J. (1973), "La confédération béotienne et l' expansion thébaine à l' époque archaïque", *BCH* 97, 59-73.
- Dunant, Ch., and L. Kahil (1980), *CVA: Switzerland 3*, Geneva, Musée d' art et d' histoire 2, Berne.
- Dugas, Ch. (1950), "La Mission de Triptolème d' après l' imagerie Athénienne", *MEFRA* 62, 7-31.
- Dupont-Sommer, M. A. (1974), "La stèle trilingue récemment découverte au Létoon de Xanthos: le texte Araméen", *Comptes Rendus De l' Académie des Inscriptions*, 132-149.
- Eichler, F. (1951), *CVA: Vienna 1*, Kunsthistorisches Museum 1, Wien.
- Eckstein-Wolf, B. (1952), "Zur Darstellung spendender Götter." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 67, 39-75.
- Ekroth, G. (2001), "Altars on Attic vases: the identification of bomos and eschara" in Scheffer, Ch. (ed.), *Ceramics in Context, Proceedings of the Internordic Colloquium on Ancient Pottery held at Stockholm, 13-15 June 1997*, Stockholm, 115-126.
- Ekroth, G. (2003), "Inventing Iphigeneia? On Euripides and the cultic construction of Brauron", *Kernos* 16, 59-118.
- Ekroth, G. (2005), "Blood on altars? On the treatment of blood at Greek sacrifices and the iconographical evidence", *AntK* 48, 9-28.
- Ekroth, G. (2006), "Iconographic Evidence for the Treatment of Animal Blood at Greek Sacrifices" in C. C. Mattusch, A. A. Donohue, and A. Brauer (eds), *Common Ground: Archaeology, Art, Science, and Humanities*, Oxford, 40-43.
- Ekroth, G. (2009), "Why (not) Paint an Altar? A Study of Where, When and Why Altars Appear on Attic red-figure vases" in V. Nørskov, L. Hannestad, C. Isler-Kerényi and S. Lewis (eds), *The world of Greek Vases*, Rome, 89-114.
- Elliot, C. W. J., and M. F. McGregor (1960), "Kleisthenes: Eponymous Archon 525/4 BC", *Phoenix* 14, 27-35.
- Enekel, K. A. E., and I. L. Pfeijffer (2005), eds, *The Manipulative Mode, Political Propaganda in Antiquity, A Collection of Case Studies*, Leiden, Boston.
- Eschbach, N. (2007), "Panathenaic prize amphorae from the Kerameikos: some new aspects and results" in O. Palagia and A. Choremi-Spetsieri (eds), *The Panathenaic Games, Proceedings of an international conference held at the University of Athens, May 11-12, 2004*, Exeter 91-100.
- Evans, N. A. (2002), "Sanctuaries, Sacrifices, and the Eleusinian Mysteries", *Numen* 49, 227-254.
- Farnell, L. R. (1896), *The Cults of the Greek States*, Vol. II, Oxford.
- Farnell, L. R. (1907), *The Cults of the Greek States*, Vol. IV, Oxford.
- Felten, W. (2009), *LIMC Supplement*, s.v. Zeus, Düsseldorf, 495-535.
- Ferrari, G. (1994), "Herakles, Peisistratus and the Panathenaia", *Metis* 9-10, 219-226.

- Ferguson, W. S. (1938), “The Salaminioi of Heptaphylai and Sounion”, *Hesperia* 7, 1-74.
- Finster-Hotz, U. (1986), *LIMC* 3, s.v. Chariklo I, Zurich and Munich, 189-191.
- Flot, M. (1924), *CVA: France* 3, Compiègne, Musée de Compiègne 1, Paris.
- Foley, H. P. (1994), *The Homeric hymn to Demeter: translation, commentary and interpretive essays*, Princeton.
- Foley, H. P. (2003), “Mothers and Daughters” in J. Neils (ed.), *Coming of Age in ancient Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past*, New Haven, 113-137.
- Follmann, A. B. (1971), *CVA: Germany* 34, Hannover, Kestner Museum 1, Munich.
- Fontenrose, J. (1959), *Python. A study of Delphic Myth and its Origins*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London.
- Fontenrose, J. (1988), “The cult of Apollo and the Games at Delphi” in W. J. Raschke (ed.), *The Archaeology of the Olympics. The Olympics and other Festivals in Antiquity*, Madison, 121-140.
- Forrest, W. G. (1966), *The Emergence of Greek Democracy, the character of Greek politics, 800-400 BC*, London.
- Forsdyke, S. (2005), *Exile, Ostracism, and Democracy. The Politics of Expulsion in Ancient Greece*, Princeton, Oxford.
- Frost, F. J. (1984), “The Athenian military before Cleisthenes”, *Historia* 33, 283-294.
- Furley, W. D., and J. M. Bremer (2001a), *Greek Hymns. Selected Cult Songs from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period, Vol. I, The texts in Translation*, Tübingen.
- Furley, W. D., and J. M. Bremer (2001b), *Greek Hymns, Selected Cult Songs from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period, Vol. II, Greek Texts and Commentary*, Tübingen.
- Furtwängler, A. (1881), “Zwei Thongefässe aus Athen”, *AM* 6, 106-118.
- Gaebel, R. E. (2002), *Cavalry Operations in the Ancient Greek World*, Norman.
- Gallet de Santerre, H. (1958), *Délos Primitive et Archaique*, Paris.
- Gallet de Santerre, H. (1976), “Athènes, Délos et Delphes d’ après une peinture de vase à figures rouges du V<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C.”, *BCH* 100, 291-298.
- Gantz, T. (1993), *Early Greek Myth. A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources*, Baltimore, London.
- Garezou, M. X. (1994), *LIMC* 7, s.v. Orpheus, Zurich and Munich, 81-105.
- Garland, R. (1990), *The Greek Way of Life*, London.
- Gasparri, C. (1986), *LIMC* 3, s.v. Dionysos, Zurich and Munich, 420-514.
- Geisau, H. (1963), *RE* 24, s.v. Python, Stuttgart, 609-610.
- Gerber, D. E. (1997), “Elegy” in D. E. Gerber (ed.), *A Companion to the Greek Lyric Poets*, Leiden, New York, Köln, 91-132.
- Gerhard, E. (1840), *Auserlesene griechische Vasenbilder, hauptsächlich etruskischen Fundorts*, vol.1, Berlin.
- Gericke, H. (1970), *Gefässdarstellungen auf Griechischen Vasen*, Berlin.
- Gisler-Huwiler, M. (1986), *LIMC* 3, s.v. Cheiron, Zurich and Munich, 237-248.
- Giudice, F., and I. Giudice (2009), “Seeing the Image: Constructing a Data-Base of the Imagery on Attic Pottery from 635 to 300 BC” in J. H. Oakley and O. Palagia (eds), *Athenian Potters and Painters II*, Oxford, 48-62.
- Goette, H. R. (2000), *Ὁ ἀξιόλογος δῆμος Σούνιον. Landeskundliche Studien in Südost-Attika*, Radhen.
- Goette, H. R. (2001), *Athens, Attica and the Megarid. An archaeological Guide*, London and New York.

- Golden, M. (1990), *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens*, Baltimore, London.
- Gondicas, D. (1986), *LIMC* 3, s.v. Eleusis, Zurich and Munich, 720.
- Gottschalk, H. (1999), *DNP* 6, s.v. Klearchos, Stuttgart, Weimar, 502.
- Graef, B., and E. Langlotz (1925), *Die Antiken Vase von der Akropolis zu Athen*, Berlin.
- Graf, F. (1997), *DNP* 2, s.v. Artemis, Stuttgart, Weimar, 53-58.
- Graf, F. (1998), *DNP* 5, s.v. Hestia, Stuttgart, Weimar, 512-514.
- Graf, F. (2009), *Apollo*, London.
- Graf, G. (1979), "Apollon Delphinios", *MusHelv* 26, 2-22.
- Green, J. R. (1972), "Oinochoe", *BICS* 19, 1-16.
- Greenhalgh P. A. C. (2011), *Early Greek Warfare: Horsemen and Chariots in the Homeric and Archaic Ages*, New York.
- Grose, S. W. (1926), *Fitzwilliam Museum, Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins, Vol. II, the Greek Mainland, the Aegean Islands, Crete*, Cambridge.
- Grose, S. W. (1929), *Fitzwilliam Museum, Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins, Vol. III, Asia Minor, Farther Asia, Egypt, Africa*, Cambridge.
- Gruben, G. (1997), "Naxos und Delos", *JdI* 112, 241-416.
- Güntner, G. (1997), *LIMC* 8, s.v. Persephone, Zurich and Dusseldorf, 956-978.
- Haase, M. (2002), *DNP* 12/1, s.v. Trankopfer, Stuttgart, Weimar, 752.
- Hadzistelou-Price, Th. (1978), *Kourotrophos, Cults and Representations of the Greek Nursing Deities*, Leiden.
- Hadzistelou-Price, Th. (1971), "Double and Multiple Representations in Greek Art and Religious Thought", *JHS* 91, 48-69.
- Hafner, G. (1951), *CVA: Germany 7*, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 1, Munich.
- Hansen, P. A. (1983), *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca, Saeculorum, VIII-V a. Chr. n.*, Berlin.
- Hansen, O. (1989), "Epigraphica bellica on the dedication of the Athenian portico at Delphi", *C&M* 40, 133-4.
- Hatzivassiliou, E. (2010), *Athenian Black Figure Iconography between 510 and 475 BC*, Rahden.
- Ham, G. L. (1999), "The Choes and Anthesteria Reconsidered: Male Maturation Rites and the Peloponnesian Wars" in M. W. Padilla (ed.), *Rites of Passage in Ancient Greece: Literature, Religion, Society*, Lewisburg, London, 201-218.
- Hamilton, R. (1992), *Choes and Anthesteria: Athenian Iconography and Ritual*, Ann Arbor.
- Hamilton, R. (2000), *Treasure Map. A Guide to the Delian Inventories*, Ann Arbor.
- Hannestad, L. (1999), "The reception of Attic pottery by the indigenous peoples of Italy: the evidence from funerary contexts" in J. P. Crielaard, V. Stissi, and G. J. Van Wijngaarden (eds), *The Complex Past of Pottery: production, circulation and consumption of Mycenaean and Greek pottery (16th to early 5th centuries BC): proceedings of the ARCHON International Conference held in Amsterdam, 8-9 November 1996*, Amsterdam, 303-318.
- Hansen, O. (1989), "Epigraphica Bellica on the dedication of the Athenian Portico at Delphi", *CI Med* 40, 133-134.
- Hart, M. L. (2002), "Glossary of Attic Potters and Vase Painters" in A. J. Clark, M. Elston, and M. L. Hart (eds), *Understanding Greek Vases. A guide to terms, styles and technique*.

- Harrison, A. R. W. (1968), *The Law of Athens*, vol.1, Oxford.
- Hayashi, T. (1992), *Bedeutung und Wandel des Tritopolemosbildes vom 6.-4. Jh.v. Chr. Religionshistorische und typologische Untersuchungen*, Würzburg.
- Hedreen, G. M. (1992), *Silens in Attic black-figure Vase paintings. Myth and Performance*, Ann Arbor.
- Hedrick, C. W. (1983), "Old and New on the Attic Phratry of the Therrikleidai", *Hesperia* 52, 299-302.
- Hedrick, C. W. (1988), "The Temple and Cult of Apollo Patroos in Athens", *AJA* 92, 185-210.
- Hedrick, C. W. (1991), "Phratry Shrines of Attica and Athens", *Hesperia* 60, 241-268.
- Henderson, W. J. (2000), "Aspects of the Ancient Greek Symposion", *Akroterion* 45, 6-25.
- Henrichs, A. (1978), "Greek Maenadism from Olympias to Messalina", *HSCP* 82, 121-160.
- Hermay, A. (1988), *LIMC* 4, s.v. Hephaistos, Zurich and Munich, 627-654.
- Henrichs, A. (2000), *DNP* 8, s.v. Moira, Stuttgart, Weimar 340-343.
- Himmelman, N. (1998), *Reading Greek Art*, Essays by Nikolaus Himmelmann, selected by Hugo Meyer, edited by William Childs, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Hoffmann, H. (1972), *Early Cretan Armorers*, Mainz.
- Hoffmann, H. (1973), *CVA: USA 14*, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1, Boston, Mass.
- Hoffmann, H. (1994), "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori: the imagery of heroic immortality on Athenian painted vases" in Goldhill S., and R. Osborne (eds), *Art and text in ancient Greek culture*, Cambridge, 28-51.
- Hoffman, R. J. (1989), "Ritual license and the cult of Dionysos", *Athenaeum* 67, 91-115.
- Hofstetter, E. (1997), *LIMC* 8, s.v. Seirenes, Zurich and Düsseldorf, 1093-1104.
- Hornblower, S. (1991), *Commentary on Thucydides I, books I-III*, New York.
- Hornblower, S. (1996), *OCD*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Propaganda, Oxford, 1257-1258.
- Hornblower, S. (2011), *The Greek World 479-323 BC*, 4th edn., London, New York.
- Hollinshead, M. B. (1979), *Legend, Cult, Architecture at three sanctuaries of Artemis*, Ph.D. Bryn Mawr College.
- Hooker, G. T. W. (1960), "Topography of the Frogs", *JHS* 80, 112-117
- Humphreys, S. C. (2004), *The Strangeness of Gods. Historical perspectives on the interpretation of Athenian religion*, Oxford.
- Hunter, R. L. (1996), *Theocritus and the archaeology of Greek poetry*, Cambridge.
- Hurschmann, R. (2001), *DNP* 10, s.v. Polos, Stuttgart, Weimar, 39.
- Hurwit, J. M. (1999), *The Athenian Acropolis: history, mythology and archaeology from the Neolithic era to the present*, Cambridge.
- Huys, M. (1995), *The tale of the hero who was exposed at birth in Euripidean tragedy: a study of motifs*, Leuven.
- I Gimpera, P. B., and S. J. C. I Ràfols de (1951-1957), *CVA: Spain 3*, Barcelona, Musée Archéologique 1, Barcelona.
- Immerwahr, H. R. (1972), "Stesagoras II", *TAPA* 103, 181-186.
- Immerwahr, H. R. (1974), "Stesagoras II: Addendum", *TAPA* 104, 167-168.
- Isler-Kerenyi, C. (2007), *Dionysos in Archaic Greece. Un understanding through images*, translated by Wilfred G.E. Watson, Leiden, Boston.



- Ivanchik A. I. (2005), "Who were the 'Scythian' Archers on Archaic Attic Vases?" in D. Braund (ed.), *Scythians and Greeks, Cultural Interactions in Scythia, Athens, and the Early Roman Empire*, Exeter, 100-113.
- Jacquemin, A. (1999), *Offrandes Monumentales à Delphes*, Athens.
- Jameson, M. (1980), "Apollo Lykeios in Athens", *Archaïognosia* 1, 213-235.
- Jameson, M. (1993), "Sacrifice before battle" in V. D. Hanson (ed.), *Hoplites, the Classical Greek Battle Experience*, New York.
- Janko, R. (1982), *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns, Diachronic development in epic diction*, Cambridge, New York, Melbourne.
- Janko, R. (1992), *The Iliad: A commentary, Volume IV: books 13-16*, Cambridge.
- Jeanmaire, H. (1951), *Dionysos. Histoire du culte de Bacchus*, Paris.
- Jeffery, L. H. (1990), *The local scripts of archaic Greece: a study of the origin of the Greek alphabet and its development of the eighth to the fifth centuries BC*, revised edition with a supplement by A. W. Johnston, Oxford.
- Jentoft-Nilsen, M. R., and A. D. Trendall (1991), *CVA, USA 27*, J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu IV, Malibu, California.
- Jensen, C. (1917), *Hyperidis orationes sex*, Leipzig.
- Jeppesen, K. (1963), "Bild und Mythos an dem Parthenon", *ActaArch* 34, 1-96.
- Johnston, S. I. (1998), *DPN* 4, s.v. Erinys, Stuttgart, Weimar, 71-72.
- Johnston, A., and Ch. Souyouzoglou-Haywood (2000), *CVA: Ireland 1*, University College Dublin, University College Cork, Dublin.
- Johnston, S. I. (2003), "'Initiation' in myth, 'Initiation in practice'". The Homeric Hymn to Hermes and its performative context" in D. B. Dodd and Chr. A. Faraone (eds), *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives: new critical perspectives*, London, New York, 155-180.
- Jones J. E. et al. (1962), "The Dema House in Attica", *BSA* 57, 75-114.
- Jongkees-Vos, M. F. (1972), *CVA: Netherlands 3*, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden I, Leiden.
- Junk, T. (2001), *DNP* 10, s.v. Python, Stuttgart, Weimar, 670-671.
- Jurriaans-Helle, G. (1986), "Apollo and the deer on Attic black-figure vases" in H. A. G. Brijder, A. A. Drukker, and C. W. Neef (eds), *Enthousiasmos: Essays on Greek and related pottery presented to J.M. Hemelrijk*, Amsterdam, 111-120.
- Kadletz, E. (1980), "The Race and Procession of Athenian Oschophoroi", *GRBS* 21:4, 363-371.
- Kaempf-Dimitriadou, S. (1981), *LIMC* 1, s.v. Amphitrite, Zurich and Munich, 724-735
- Kahil, L. (1965), "Autour de l' Artémis attique", *AntK* 8, 20-33.
- Kahil, L. (1966), "Apollon et Python" in M. L. Bernhard (ed.), *Mélanges offerts à Kazimierz Michalowski*, Warszawa, 481-490.
- Kahil, L. (1977), "L' Artémis de Brauron: Rites et Mystère", *AntK* 20, 86-98.
- Kahil, L. (1981), "Le cratérique d' Artémis et le Brauronion de l' Acropole", *Hesperia* 50, 252-63.
- Kahil, L. (1983), "Mythological Repertoire of Brauron" in W. E. Moon (ed.), *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*, Madison.
- Kahil, L. (1984), *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, Zurich and Munich, 618-753.
- Kahil, L. (1988), "Le sanctuaire de Brauron et la religion Grecque", *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 799-813.

- Kahil, L. (1990), "Le Relief des Deux du Sanctuaire d' Artémis à Brauron: Essai d' Interprétation" in J. P. Descoedres (ed.), *Eumousia, Ceramic and Iconographic Studies in honour of Alexander Cambitoglou*, Sydney, 113-117.
- Kahil, L. (1994), *LIMC* 7, s.v. Python, Zurich and Munich, 609-610.
- Kahil, L., and N. Icard-Gianolio (1992), *LIMC* 6, s.v. Leto, Zurich and Munich, 256-264.
- Kaltsas, N. (2002), *Sculptures in the National Museum of Athens*, Los Angeles.
- Kaltsas, N. (2006), ed., *Athena-Sparta*, New York, Athens.
- Kauffmann-Samaras, A. (1992), *LIMC* 6, s.v. Mousaios, Zurich and Munich, 685-687.
- Kearns, E. (1989), *The Heroes of Attica*, London.
- Kearns, E. (2010), *Ancient Greek Religion: a sourcebook*, Chichester.
- Kelly, A. (2009), *Sophocles: Oedipus at Colonus*, London.
- Kenner, H. (1942), *CVA: Germany* 5, Wien 1, Universität und Professor Franz v. Matsch, Munich.
- Keramopoulos, A. D. (1932), "Υπό τα προπύλαια της Ακρόπολης", *ArchDelt* 12, 73-101.
- Kilmer, M. F., and R. Develin (2001), "Sophilos Vase Inscriptions and Cultural Literacy in Archaic Athens", *Phoenix* 55, no.1/2, 9-43.
- Kinns, P. (1983), "The Amphictionic Coinage reconsidered", *NC*, Vol. 143, 1-22.
- Kirk, G. S. (1985a), *The Iliad: a commentary*. Vol.1, Books 1-4, Cambridge.
- Kirk, G. S. (1985b), "The Homeric Hymns" in P. E. Easterling and B. M. W. Knox (eds), *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature I, Greek Literature*, Cambridge, New York, Port Chester, Melbourne, Sydney, 110-116.
- Kivilo, M. (2010), *Early Greek Poets' Lives, The Shaping of the Tradition*, Leiden, Boston.
- Kondis, I. D. (1967), "Artemis Brauronia", *ArchDelt* 22, 156-206.
- Konstantinou, I. (1970), "Λευκή Δελφική κύλιξ", *ArchEph*, 27-46.
- Kossatz-Deissmann, A. (1988), *LIMC* 4, s.v. Hera, Zurich and Munich, 659-719.
- Kossatz-Deissmann, A. (1990), *LIMC* 5, s.v. Iris I, Zurich and Munich, 741-760.
- Kossatz-Deissmann, A. (1994), *LIMC* 7, s.v. Paridis Iudicium, Zurich and Munich, 176-188.
- Kostoglou-Despini, A. (1976), "Η ερμηνεία των αναγλύφων της Διόδου των Θεωρών της Θάσου", *ArchDelt* 31, 166-177.
- Kourouniotis, K. (1900), "Εκ του ιερού της Αμαρυσίας Αρτέμιδος", *ArchEph*, 6-26.
- Kourouniotis, K. (1927), "Το ιερον του Απόλλωνος Ζωστήρος", *ArchDelt* 11, 9-53.
- Krauskopf, I. (2005), "Lebes Gamikos", *ThesCRA* 5, Los Angeles, 173-176.
- Kroll, J. H. (1982), "The Ancient Image of Athena Polias" in *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture, and Topography presented to Homer H. Thompson, Hesperia* Suppl. 20, Princeton, 65-76.
- Kron, U. (1988), *LIMC* 4, s.v. Erysichthon II, s.v. Erechtheus, Zurich and Munich, 18-21, 923-951.
- Kron, U. (1990), *LIMC* 5, s.v. Hippothoon, Zurich and Munich, 468-475.
- Kruse, Gr., J. Keil, and J. Schmidt (1943), *RE* 18.2, s.v. Ortygia, Stuttgart, Munich 1519-1526.
- Kunze-Götte, E. (1970), *CVA: Germany* 32, Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 7, Munich.
- Kunze-Götte, E. (1973), *CVA: Germany* 37, Munich, Antikensammlungen 8, Munich.

- Kunze-Götte, E. (1982), *CVA: Germany 48*, Munich, Antikensammlungen 9, Munich.
- Kunze-Götte, E. (1992), *Der Kleophrades-Maler unter Malern schwarzfiguriger Amphoren: eine Werkstattstudie*, Mainz am Rhein.
- Kunze-Götte, E. (2005), *CVA: Germany 78*, Munich, Antikensammlungen 14, Munich.
- Kurtz, D. C., and J. Boardman (1971), *Greek Burial Customs*, London.
- Kyle, G. D. (1987), *Athletics in Ancient Athens*, Leiden.
- Kyle, D. G. (2007), *Sport and spectacle in the ancient world*, Malden, Mass.
- Lacey, W. K. (1968), *The family in classical Greece*, London.
- Lalonde G. V. (1991), *Inscriptions, Horoi, Poletai Records, Leases of Public Lands. Agora*, vol. 19, Princeton, 5-51.
- Lamb, W. (1930), *CVA: Great Britain 6*, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 1, Oxford.
- Lambert, S. D. (1993), *The Phratries of Attica*, Ann Arbor.
- Lambert, S. D. (1997), "The Attic Genos Salaminioi and the Island of Salamis", *ZPE* 119, 85-106.
- Lambert, S. D. (2002), "The Sacrificial Calendar of Athens", *BSA* 97, 353-399.
- Lambrino S. (1931), *CVA: France 10*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles 2, Paris.
- Lambrinudakis, W. et al. (1984), *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollo, Zurich and Munich, 183-327.
- Landels, J. G. (1999), *Music in Ancient Greece and Rome*, London and New York.
- Lane Fox, R. (2000), "Theognis: An Alternative to Democracy" in Brock R. and S. Hodkinson (eds), *Alternatives to Athens, Varieties of Political Organization and Community in Ancient Greece*, Oxford, 35-51.
- Lang, M. L. (1990), *Ostraka. Agora, Vol.25*, Princeton.
- Lapatin, K. D. S. (2001), *Chryselephantine Statuary in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, Oxford.
- Lape, S. (2010), *Race and citizen identity in the Classical Athenian Democracy*, Cambridge.
- Laroche, M. E. (1974), "La stèle trilingue récemment découverte au Létoon de Xanthos: le texte Lycien", *Comptes Rendus De l' Académie des Inscriptions*, 115-125.
- Larson, J. (2001), *Greek Nymphs: Myth, Cult, Lore*, Oxford.
- Larson, J. (2007), *Ancient Greek cults: a guide*, New York.
- Laufer, E. (1990), *LIMC* 5, s.v. Kaineus, Zurich and Munich, 884-981.
- Laurens, A. F. (1985), "Intégration des dieux dans le rituel humain? L' exemple de la libation en Grèce Ancienne" in F. Lissarrague et al. (eds), *Images et rituel en Grèce ancienne*, Recherches et Documents du Centre Thomas More, no. 48, l' Arbresle, 37-59.
- Laurinsich, L. (1932), *CVA: Italy 7*, Bologna, Museo Civico 2, Milano.
- Lavelle, B. M. (2005), *Fame, Money, and Power. The Rise of Peisistratos and "Democratic" Tyranny at Athens*, Ann Arbor.
- Lawall, M. L. (2009), "The temple of Apollo Patroos dated by an amphora stamp", *Hesperia* 78, 387-403.
- Lawton, C. C. (2007), "Children in Classical Attic Votive Reliefs" in A. Cohen and J. B. Rutter (eds), *Construction of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 41, Princeton, 41-60.
- Lear, A., and E. Cantarella (2008), *Images of Ancient Greek Pederasty. Boys were their Gods*, London and New York.

- Lee, K. H. (1997), *Euripides, Ion, with introduction, translation and comments*, Warminster.
- Leitao, D. D. (1995), "The Perils of Leukippos: Initiatory Transvestism and Male Gender Ideology in the Ekdusia at Phaistos", *ClAnt* 14, 130-163.
- Leitao, D. D. (2003), "Adolescent hair-growing and cutting rituals in Ancient Greece: a sociological approach" in D. B. Dodd and Chr. A. Faraone (eds), *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives: new critical perspectives*, London and New York, 109-129.
- Lebessi, A. (1970), Αφρατί, *ArchDelt* 25, B<sup>2</sup>, 455-461.
- Lebessi, A. (1987), "Τελετουργία και μύθος στις κρητικές παραστάσεις του 7<sup>ου</sup> αι", *Ειλαπίνη, Τόμος τιμητικός για τον καθηγητή Νικόλαο Πλάτωνα*, 1-2, Heraklion, 125-138.
- Levine, D. B. (1985), "Symposium and the Polis" in Th. J. Figueira and G. Nagy (eds), *Theognis of Megara: poetry and the polis*, Baltimore, London, 176-196.
- Lewis, D. M. (1988), "The Tyranny of the Pisistratidae" in J. Boardman, N. G. L. Hammond, D. M. Lewis, and M. Ostwald (eds), *Cambridge Ancient History, Persia, Greece, and the Western Mediterranean c.525 to 479 B.C.*, Vol.4, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Cambridge, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, Sydney, 287-302.
- Lewis, D. M. (2004), "Cleisthenes and Attica" in P. J. Rhodes (ed.), *Athenian Democracy*, Edinburgh, 287-309.
- Lewis, S. (2002), *The Athenian Woman, an iconographic handbook*, London and New York.
- Lewis, S. (2003), "Representations and Reception. Athenian pottery in its Italian context" in Wilkins J. B. and E. Herring (eds), *Inhabiting Symbols. Symbols and image in the ancient Mediterranean*, London, 175-192.
- Lewis, S. (2009), "Athletics on Attic Pottery: Export and Imagery" in V. Nørskov, L. Hannestad, C. Isler-Kerényi, and S. Lewis (eds), *The World of Greek Vases*, 133-148.
- Lezzi-Hafter, A. (1976), *Der Schuwalow-Maler*, Mainz.
- Lezzi-Hafter, A. (1998), *DNP* 4, s.v. Eretria-Maler, Stuttgart, Weimar, 60-61.
- Liddel, P. (2007), *Civic Obligation and Individual Liberty in Ancient Athens*, Oxford.
- Linders, T. (1972), *Studies in the treasure records of Artemis Brauronia found in Athens*, Stockholm.
- Linfert, A. (1967), "Die Detung Des Xenokrateia reliefs", *AM* 82, 149-157.
- Lissarrague, F. (1985), "La Libation: essai de mise au point" in F. Lissarrague et al. (eds), *Images et rituel en Grèce ancienne*, Recherches et Documents du Centre Thomas More, no. 48, 3-16.
- Lissarrague, F. (1989), "The World of the Warrior" in Bérard, C. et al. (eds), *A City of Images. Iconography and Society in Ancient Greece*, Princeton, 39-51.
- Lissarrague, F. (1990), *The aesthetics of the Greek Banquet: Images of Wine and Ritual*, translated by Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, Princeton.
- Lissarrague, F. (1993), On the Wildness of Satyrs in T. H. Carpenter and C. A. Faraone (eds), *The Mask of Dionysus*, Ithaca, London, 207-220.
- Lissarrague, F. (1994), "Around the krater: An Aspect of Banquet Imagery" in O. Murray (ed.), *Symptica: a Symposium on the Symposion*, Oxford, 196-209.
- Lissarrague, F. (1995), "Un Rituel du Vin: la Libation" in O. Murray and M. Tecuşan (eds), *In Vino Veritas*, Oxford, 126-144.

- Lissarrague, F. (1999), "Publicity and Performance: Kalos inscriptions in Attic vase painting" in S. Goldhill and R. Osborne (eds), *Performance, culture and Athenian Democracy*, Cambridge, 359-373.
- Lissarrague, F. (2000), "Delphes et la Céramique" in A. Jacquemin (ed.), *Delphes. Cent Ans Après la Grande Fouille. Essai de bilan. Actes du Colloque International, Organisé par l'École Française D' Athens, Athènes-Delphes 17-20 Septembre 1992*, Athens, 53-67.
- Lissarrague, F. (2001), *Greek Vases: the Athenians and their images*, New York.
- Lissarrague, F. (2002), "The Athenian image of the Foreigner" in Th. Harrison (ed.), *Greeks and Barbarians*, Edinburgh, 101-124.
- Lissarrague, F. (2009), "Reading Images, Looking at Pictures, and after" in S. Schmidt, and J. H. Oakley (eds), *Hermeneutik der Bilder. Beiträge zur Ikonographie und Interpretation Griechischer Vasenmalerei*, Munich, 15-22.
- Lissarrague, F. (2012), "Figuring Religious Ritual" in T. J. Smith and D. Plantzos (eds), *A companion to Greek Art*, Vol. II, Oxford.
- Lissarrague, F. (2013), *La cite des satyres, Une anthropologie ludique (Athènes, VI<sup>e</sup> – V<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J. –C.)*, Paris.
- Llewellyn-Jones, L. (2003), *Aphrodite's tortoise: the veiled woman of ancient Greece*, Swansea.
- Lonsdale, S. H. (1993), *Dance and Ritual Play in Greek Religion*, London.
- Lo Porto, F. G. (1969), *CVA: Italy 40*, Torino, Museo d' Antichità 2, Rome.
- Loroux, N. (1993), *The children of Athena: Athenian ideas about citizenship and the division between the sexes*, translated by Caroline Levine, Princeton.
- Lullies, R. (1940), "Zur Boiotisch Rotfigurige Vasenmalerei", *AM* 65, 1-27.
- Lullies, R. (1956), *CVA: Deutschland 12*, Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 4, Munich.
- Lullies, R. (1971), "Der Dinos Des Berliner Malers", *AntK* 14, 44-55.
- Lullies, R. (1972), *CVA: Deutschland 35*, Kassel Antikenabteilung der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen 1, Munich.
- Lundgreen, B. (2009), "Boys at Brauron. The significance of a votive offering" in T. Fischer-Hansen and B. Poulsen (eds), *From Artemis to Diana. The Goddess of Man and Beast*, Danish Studies in Classical Archaeology, Acta Hyperborea 12, Copenhagen, 117-126.
- Luschey, H. (1950), *RE Suppl.7*, Phiale, Stuttgart, 1026-1030.
- Lynch, K. M. (2001), "Pelikai in Use Deposits" in M. K. Lawall, J. K. Papadopoulos, K. M. Lynch, B. Tsakirgis, S. I. Rotroff and C. MacKay, "Notes from the Tins: Research in the Stoa of Attalos", Summer 1999, *Hesperia* 70, 171-173.
- Lynch, K. M. (2006), "When Is a Column Not a Column? Columns in Attic Vase-Painting" in C. C. Mattusch, A. A. Donohue, A. Brauer (eds.), *Common Ground: Archaeology, Art, Science, and Humanities, Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, Boston, Augusts 23-26, 2003, Oxford, 372-376.
- Lynch, K. M. (2009), "Erotic Images on Attic Vases: Markets and Meanings" in J. H. Oakley and O. Palagia (eds), *Athenian Potters and Painters II*, Oxford, 159-165.
- Lynch, K. M. (2011), *The Symposium in Context: Pottery from a Late Archaic House Near the Athenian Agora*, *Hesperia Suppl.* 46, Princeton.
- Maehler, H. (1964), *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis*, pt. 2 (post Snell B.), 4<sup>th</sup> edn., Leipzig.
- Maass, M. (1997), *Das Antike Delphi. Orakel, Schätze und Monumente*, Stuttgart.

- Maas, M., and J. McIntosh Snyder (1989), *Stringed Instruments in Ancient Greece*, London.
- Magi, A. (1959), CVA: Italy 30, Florence 3, Florence.
- MacDowell, D. M. (1978), *The Law in Classical Athens*, London.
- Mackay, E. A. (2010), *Tradition and Originality: a study of Exekias*, Oxford.
- Manakidou, E. R. (1994), *Παραστάσεις με άρματα (8<sup>ος</sup> – 5<sup>ος</sup> αι.π.Χ.), Παρατηρήσεις στην εικονογραφία τους*, Thessaloniki.
- Marangou, E. L. I. (1969), *Lakonische Elfenbein- und Beinschnitzereien*, Tübingen.
- Marconi, C. (2004), “Images for a Warrior: on a Group of Athenian Vases and their Public” in C. Marconi, (ed.), *Greek Vases: Images, Contexts and Controversies*, Leiden, 27-40.
- Marinatos, N. (2000), *The goddess and the warrior. The naked goddess and Mistress of Animals in early Greek religion*, London and New York.
- Marinatos, N. (2003), “Striding across boundaries. Hermes and Aphrodite as gods of initiation” in D. B. Dodd, and Chr. A. Faraone (eds), *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives: new critical perspectives*, London and New York, 130-151.
- Mark, I. S. (1993), *The Temple of Athena Nike in Athens: Architectural Stages and Chronology*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 26, Princeton.
- Marinatos, S. (1935), “Ανασκαφαί εν Κρήτη”, *ΠΑΕ*, 196-220.
- Marinatos, S. (1936), “Le temple géométrique de Dréros”, *BCH* 60, 214-285.
- Markoe, G. (1985), *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London.
- Martin, R. (1965), *Manuel d'architecture Grecque, I, Matériaux et techniques*, Paris.
- Martinez, J. L. (1997), “La colonne des danseuses de Delphes”, *CRAI* 141, 35-46.
- Matheson, S. B. (1994), “The Mission of Triptolemus and the Politics of Athens”, *GRBS* 35, 345-372.
- Matheson, S. B. (1995), *Polygnotos and Vase Painting in Classical Athens*, Madison, London.
- Matheson, S. B. (2005), “A Farewell with Arms. Departing Warriors on Athenian Vases” in J. M. Barringer and J. M. Hurwit (eds), *Periklean Athens and its legacy. Problems and Perspectives*, Austin, 23-34.
- Matheson, S. B. (2009a), “Beardless, Armed, and Barefoot: Ephebes, Warriors, and Ritual on Athenian Vases” in D. Yatromanolakis (ed.), *An Archaeology of Representations, Ancient Greek Vase-Painting and Contemporary Methodologies*, Athens, 373-413.
- Matheson, S. B. (2009b), “Old age in Athenian Vase-Painting” in H. J. Oakley and O. Palagia (eds), *Athenian Potters and Painters*, Vol. II, 192-200.
- Mathiesen, Th. J. (1999), *Apollo's Lyre. Greek Music and Music theory in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Lincoln and London.
- Mayence, F., and V. Verhoogen (1937a), CVA: Belgium 2, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'art et d'histoire 2, Brussels.
- Mayence, F., and V. Verhoogen (1937b), CVA: Germany 24, Gotha, Schlossmuseum1, Berlin.
- Mazarakis-Ainian, A. J. (1997), *From rulers' dwellings to temples: architecture, religion and society in early Iron Age Greece (1100-700 BC)*, *SIMA* 121, Jonsered.
- McInerney, J. (1997), “Parnassus, Delphi and the Thyiades”, *GRBS* 38:3, 263-283.
- McNiven, T. J. (1982), *Gestures in Attic Vase Painting: Use and Meaning, 550-450 BC*, Ph.D. diss. (University of Michigan), Ann Arbor.

- Meiggs, R. (1972), *The Athenian Empire*, Oxford.
- Meritt, B. D. (1939), "Greek Inscriptions", *Hesperia* 8, 48-82.
- Meritt, B. D. (1957), "Greek Inscriptions", *Hesperia* 26, 24-97.
- Metzger, M. H. (1974), "La stèle trilingue récemment découverte au Létoon de Xanthos: le texte Grec", *Comptes Rendus De l' Académie des Inscriptions*, 82-53.
- Metzger, H. (1977), "ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΣΠΙΝΔΩΝ, A propos d' une coupe Attique à fond blanc trouvée à Delphes", *BCH Suppl. IV*, 421-428.
- Metzger, H. (1987), "Beazley et l' image", *AntK* 30, 109-118.
- Mikalson, J. D. (1975), *The sacred and civil calendar of the Athenian year*, Princeton and London.
- Miles, M. M. (1980), "The date of the temple of the Ilissos River", *Hesperia* 49, 309-325.
- Miles, M. M. (1998), *The City Eleusinion. Agora*, vol. 31, Princeton.
- Miller, A. M. (1986), *From Delos to Delphi. A Literary Study of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, Leiden.
- Miller, H. F. (1983), *The Iconography of the Palm in Greek Art: Significance and Symbolism*, Ann Arbor.
- Miller, M. C. (1999), "Reexamining transvestism in Archaic and Classical Athens", *AJA* 103, 223-253.
- Milne, M. A. (1955), "A Review of *Opfernde Götter* by E. Simon", *AJA* 59, 249-251.
- Mitropoulou, E. (1975), *Libation scene with oinochoe in votive reliefs*, Athens.
- Mitsopoulos-Leon V. (2009), *BPAYPΩN. Die tonstatuetten aus dem heiligtum der Artemis Brauronia, Die frühen Statuetten 7.bis 5. Jh. V. Chr.*, Athens.
- Mizuta, A. (1991), *CVA: Japan 2, Schwarz-und Rotfigurige Vasen in Japanischen Sammlungen 2*, Tokyo.
- Möbius, H. (1956), "A Review of *Opfernde Götter* by E. Simon", *Gnomon* 28, 61-63.
- Moignard, E. (2006), *CVA: Great Britain 22*, Aberdeen University, Oxford.
- Mommsen, H. (1996), *DNP* 1, s.v. Antimenes-Maler, Stuttgart, Weimar, 760-761.
- Mommsen, H. (1980), *CVA: Germany 45*, Berlin, Antikenmuseum 5, Munich.
- Montanari, G. B. (1957), *CVA: Italy 27*, Bologna, Museo Civico 4, Milano.
- Montanari, G. B. (1958), *CVA: Italy 33*, Bologna, Museo Civico 5, Milano.
- Moon, W. G. (1983), "The Priam Painter: Some Iconographic and Stylistic Considerations" in W. G. Moon (ed.), *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*, London, 97-118.
- Moore, M. B. (1988), *LIMC* 4, s.v. Ge, Zurich and Munich, 171-177.
- Moore, M. B. (1997), *Attic Red-Figured and White-Ground Pottery*, *Agora*, vol. 30, Princeton.
- Moore, M. B., and D. Bothmer (1976), *CVA: USA 16*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 4, New York.
- Moore, M. B., and M. Z. P. Philippides (1986), *Attic Black-figured Pottery*, *Agora*, vol. 23, Princeton.
- Morris, I. (2000), *Archaeology as Cultural History, Words and Things in Iron Age Greece*,
- Mostratos, G. (2004), "A reconstruction of the Parthenon's East Pediment" in M. B. Cosmopoulos (ed.), *The Parthenon and its Sculptures*, Cambridge, 114-149.
- Müller, K. (1841-1870), *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, Paris.
- Murray, O. (1983), "The Greek Symposium in History" in E. Gabba (ed.), *Tria Corda, Scritti in onore di Arnaldo Momigliano*, Como, 257-272.

- Murray, O. (1993), *Early Greece*, London.
- Murray, O. (1994), "Symptotic History" in O. Murray (ed.), *Symptotica: a Symposium on the Symposium*, Oxford, 3-13.
- Murray, O. (1996), *OCD*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Symposium, Oxford, New York, 1461.
- Murray, O. (2009), "The culture of the Symposium" in K. A. Raaflaub and H. Van Wees (eds), *A Companion to Archaic Greece*, Chichester, 508-523.
- Mylonas, G. E. (1961), *Eleusis and Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Nagy, G. (1996), *Homeric Questions*, Austin.
- Nagy, H. (1998), "Divinity, Exaltation and Heroization: Thoughts on the Seated posture in Early Archaic Greek Sculpture" in K. J. Hartswick and M. C. Sturgeon (eds), *Stephanos. Studies in Honor of Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway*, Philadelphia, 181-191.
- Nauck, A. (1964), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta. Supplementum continens nova fragmenta Euripidea et adespota apud scriptores veteres reperta*, Hildesheim.
- Neer, R. T. (2002), *Style and Politics in Athenian Vase Painting: the craft of Democracy, ca.530-460 BC*, Cambridge.
- Neils, J. (2001), "Athena, Alter Ego of Zeus" in S. Deacy and A. Villing (eds), *Athena in the Classical World*, Leiden, Boston, Köln, 219-232.
- Neils, J. (2003), "Children and Greek Religion" in J. Neils (ed.), *Coming of Age in ancient Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past*, New Haven, 139-161.
- Nercessian, A. (1994), *LIMC* 7, s.v. Thamyras, Zurich and Munich, 902-904.
- Nielsen, I. (2009), "The sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia. Can architecture and iconographic help to locate the settings of the rituals?" in T. Fischer-Hansen and B. Poulsen (eds), *From Artemis to Diana. The Goddess of Man and Beast*, Danish Studies in Classical Archaeology, Acta Hyperborea 12, Copenhagen, 83-116.
- Nilsson, M. P. (1951), *Cults, Myths, Oracles and Politics in Ancient Greece*, Lund.
- Nünlist, R., and B. Bäbler (2001), *DNP* 11, s.v. Sirenen, Stuttgart, Weimar, 593-594.
- Oakley, J. H., and R. H. Sinos (1993), *The Wedding in Ancient Athens*, Madison.
- Oakley, J. H. (1995), "Nuptial nuances: wedding images in non wedding scenes of myth" in E. D. Reeder (ed.), *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece*, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Oakley, J. H. (2000), *DNP* 8, s.v. Niobiden-Maler, Stuttgart, Weimar, 957-958.
- Oakley, J. H. (2003), "Death and the Child" in J. Neils and J. H. Oakley (eds), *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece, Images of Childhood from the Classical Past*, Hannover, 163-194.
- Oakley, J. H. (2004), *Picturing Death in Classical Athens: the Evidence of the White Lekythoi*, Cambridge.
- Oakley, J. H. (2009), "State of discipline, Greek vase painting", *AJA* 113, 599-627.
- Ober, J. (1989), *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens. Rhetoric, Ideology and the Power of the People*, Princeton.
- Oldfather, W. A. (1916), *RE* 9, s.v. Ion, Stuttgart, 1856-1869.
- Olmos, R. (1986), *LIMC* 3, s.v. Eileithyia, Zurich and Munich, 685-699.
- Olmos, R., and L. J. Balmaseda (1981), *LIMC* 1, s.v. Antaios I, Zurich and Munich, 800-811.
- Orlandos, A. K. (1966), *Matériaux de construction et la technique architecturale des anciens Grecs*, Paris.
- Osborne, R. (1985), *Demos: the Discovery of Classical Attika*, Cambridge.



- Osborne, R. (1996), "Pots, trade and the archaic Greek economy", *Antiquity* 70, 31-44.
- Osborne, R. (2001), "Why did Athenians pots appeal to the Etruscans?" *WorldArch* 33, 277-295.
- Osborne, R. (2004), "Images of a Warrior: on a Group of Athenian Vases and their Public", in C. Marconi (ed.), *Greek Vases: Images, Contexts and Controversies*, Leiden, 41-54.
- Ostwald, M. (1988), "The Reform of the Athenian State by Kleisthenes" in J. Boardman, N. G. L. Hammond, D. M. Lewis, and M. Ostwald (eds), *Cambridge Ancient History, Persia, Greece, and the Western Mediterranean c.525 to 479 B.C.*, Vol.4, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Cambridge, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, Sydney, Cambridge History IV, 303-346.
- Owen, A. S. (1939), *Euripides, Ion*, Oxford.
- Packard, P., and P. A. Clement (1977), *CVA: USA 18*, Los Angeles, County Museum of Art 1, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London.
- Palagia, O. (1980), *Euphranor*, Leiden.
- Palagia, O. (1993), *The Pediments of the Parthenon*, Leiden.
- Palagia, O. (1995), "Akropolis Museum 581: A family at the Apaturia?" *JHS* 64, 493-501.
- Palagia, O. (1997), "Reflections on the Piraeus Bronzes" in O. Palagia (ed.), *Greek Offerings, Essays on Greek Art in Honor of J. Boardman*, Oxford, 177-195.
- Palaiokrassa, L. (1983), *To ιερό της Αρτέμιδος Μουνηχίας*, Thessaloniki.
- Paribeni, E. (1980), *CVA: Italy 57*, Fiesole, Collezione Constantini 1, Rome.
- Parke, H. N. (1939), *A History of Delphic Oracle*, Oxford.
- Parke, H. W. (1946), "Polykrates and Delos", *CQ* 40, 105-108.
- Parke, H. W. (1977), *Festivals of the Athenians*, London.
- Parker, R. (1983), *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*, Oxford.
- Parker, R. (1987), "Myth of Early Athens" in J. N. Bremmer (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology*, Kent, 187-214.
- Parker, R. (1991), "The 'Hymn to Demeter' and the 'Homeric Hymns'", *Greece and Rome* 38, 1-17.
- Parker, R. (1996), *Athenian Religion: A History*, Oxford.
- Parker, R. (2005), *Polytheism and Society at Athens*, Oxford.
- Parker, V. (2007), "Tyrants and Lawgiver" in H. A. Shapiro (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Archaic Greece*, 13-39.
- Parlama, L. (1994), *LIMC* 7, s.v. Staphylos, Zurich and Munich, 807-808.
- Patton, K. Ch. (2009), *Religion of the gods: ritual, paradox and reflexivity*, New York.
- Pedley, J. (2005), *Sanctuaries and the Sacred in the Ancient Greek World*, Cambridge.
- Peredoiskaya, A. A. (1967), *Краснофигурные Аттические Вазы в Эрмитаже*, Leningrad.
- Peschlow-Bindokat, A. (1972), "Demeter und Persephone in der attischen Kunst des 6. bis 4. Jahrhunderts", *JdI* 87, 60-157.
- Pfeiffer, R. (1952), "The Image of the Delian Apollo and Apolline Ethics", *JWarb* 15, 20-32.
- Philadelphus, Alex. (1927), "Le Sanctuaire d' Artémis Kallisté", *BCH* 51, 155-163.

- Picard, C. (1956), "Review of *Opfernde Götter* by E. Simon", *RA* 47, 115-118.
- Picard, O. (1991), *Guide de Delphes: le Musée*, Paris.
- Pickard-Cambridge, A. (1946), *The theatre of Dionysus in Athens*, Oxford.
- Pickard-Cambridge, A. (1968), *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., revised by Gould J. and D. Lewis, Oxford.
- Pilz, O. (2011), "The performative aspect of Greek ritual. The case of the Athenian Oschophoria" in M. Haysom and J. Wallensten (eds), *Current approaches to religion in ancient Greece. Papers presented at a symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 17-19 April 2008*, Stockholm, 151-167.
- Pirenne-Delforge, V. (2004), "Qui est la Kourotrophos athénienne?" in V. Dasen (ed.), *Naissance et petite enfance dans l' Antiquité. Actes du colloque de Fribourg 28 Nov.-1er Dec. 2001*, Fribourg.
- Pollard, J. (1977), *Birds in Greek life and myth*, London.
- Pollitt J. J. (2000), "Patriotism and the West Pediment of the Parthenon" in G. R. Thetskhladze, A. J. N. N. Prag, and A. M. Snodgrass (eds), *Periplous. Papers on Classical Art and Archaeology presented to Sir John Boardman*, London, 220-227.
- Pomeroy, S. B. (1997), *Families in Classical and Hellenistic Greece: representations and realities*, Oxford.
- Pottier, E. (1923), *CVA: France 2*, Musée du Louvre 2, Paris.
- Pottier, E. (1928a), *CVA: France 5*, Musée du Louvre 3, Paris.
- Pottier, E. (1928b), *CVA: France 8*, Musée du Louvre 5, Paris.
- Powell, B. B. (1991), *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet*, New York.
- Powell, B. B. (1997), "Homer and Writing" in I. Morris and B. Powell (eds), *A New Companion to Homer*, Leiden, New York, Köln, 3-32.
- Power, T. (2010), *The culture of kitharoidia*, Washington, D.C., Cambridge, Mass. London.
- Prange, M. (1989), *Der Niobidenmaler und seine Werkstatt. Untersuchungen zu einer Vasenwerkstatt frühklassischer Zeit*, Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York, Paris.
- Prent, M. (2005), *Cretan Sanctuaries and Cults. Continuity and Change from Late Minoan IIIc to the Archaic Period*, Leiden, Boston.
- Pritchard D. M. (2010), "The symbiosis between democracy and war: the case of ancient Athens" in D. M. Pritchard (ed.), *War, Democracy and Culture in Classical Athens*, New York, 1-62.
- Proskynitopoulou, R. (1990), *LIMC* 5, s.v. Keleos, Zurich and Munich, 981-983.
- Queyrel, A. (1992), *LIMC* 6, s.v. Mousa, Mousai, Zurich and Munich, 657-681.
- Purvis, A. (2003), *Singular Dedications. Founders and Innovators of Private Cults in Classical Greece*, New York, London.
- Rasmussen, T. (1985), "Etruscan shapes in Attic Pottery", *AntK* 28, 33-39.
- Raubitschek, A. E. (1949), *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis: a catalogue of the inscriptions of the sixth and fifth centuries BC*, Cambridge, Mass.
- Raubitschek, I. K., and A. E. Raubitschek (1982), "The Mission of Triptolemos" in *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture and Topography. Presented to Homer A. Thompson Studies, Hesperia* Suppl. 20, Princeton, 109-117.
- Reeder, E. D. (1995), "Erichthonios" in E. D. Reeder (ed.), *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece*, Princeton, New Jersey, 250-266.
- Reger, F. C. G. (2000), "Ephesus" in R. J. A. Talbert (ed.), *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, vol. 2, Oxford, 937-956.

- Reusser, Ch. (2002), *Vasen für Etrurien: Verbreitung und Funktionen attischer Keramik im Etrurien des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts vor Christus*, Zurich.
- Reusser, Ch. (2003a), “La céramique Attique dans les tombes Etrusques” in P. Rouillard and A. Verbanck-Piérard (eds), *Le vase Grec et ses destins*, Munich, 167-178.
- Reusser, Ch. (2003b), “La céramique Attique dans les habitats Etrusques” in P. Rouillard and A. Verbanck-Piérard (eds), *Le vase Grec et ses destins*, Munich, 157-160.
- Reusser, Ch. (2003c), “La céramique Attique dans les sanctuaires Etrusques” in P. Rouillard and A. Verbanck-Piérard (eds), *Le vase Grec et ses destins*, Munich, 161-165.
- Richardson, N. J. (1974), *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, London.
- Richardson, N. (2010), *Three Homeric Hymns. To Apollo, Hermes and Aphrodite*, Cambridge.
- Richter, G. M. A., and L. F. Hall (1936), *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New Haven.
- Richter, G. M. A., and M. J. Milne (1935), *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, New York.
- Richter, G. M. A. (1988a), *Korai, Archaic Greek Maidens. A study of the development of the Kore type in Greek Sculpture*, New York.
- Richter, G. M. A. (1988b), *Kouroi, Archaic Greek Youths. A study of the development of the Kouros type in Greek Sculpture*, New York.
- Richter, G. M. A. (1988c), *Archaic Gravestones of Attica*, Bristol.
- Ridgway, B. S. (1993<sup>2</sup>), *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*, Illinois.
- Ridley, R. T. (1979), “The hoplite as citizen: Athenian military institutions in their social context”, *AC* 48, 509-548.
- Rhodes, P. J. (1972), *The Athenian Boule*, Oxford.
- Rhodes, P. J. (1976) “Peisistratid Chronology Again”, *Phoenix* 30, 219-233.
- Rhodes, P. J. (1992), “The Delian League to 449 BC” in D. M. Lewis, J. K. Davies, and J. Boardman (eds), *Cambridge Ancient History, the fifth century BC*, Cambridge.
- Rhodes, P. J. (1993), *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*, Oxford.
- Rhodes, R. F., and J. J. Dobbins (1979), “The Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia on the Athenian Acropolis”, *Hesperia* 48, 325-341.
- Roberts, S. R. (1978), *The Attic Pyxis*, Chicago.
- Robertson, N. (1993), “Athens’ festival of the New Wine”, *HSPH* 95, 197-250.
- Robinson, D. M. (1948), “Three new inscriptions from the deme of Ikaria”, *Hesperia* 17 (2), 141-143.
- Rolley, C. (1986), *Greek Bronzes*, translated by Roger Howell, London.
- Romano, I. B. (1980), *Early Greek Cult Images*, PhD. University of Pennsylvania, Ann Arbor.
- Romano, I. B. (1982), “The Archaic Statue of Dionysos from Ikarion”, *Hesperia* 51, 398-409.
- Romano, I. B. (2000), “The Dreros sphyrelata: a re-examination of their date and function” in C. C. Mattusch, A. Brauer, and S. E. Knudsen (eds.), *From the Parts to the Whole: Acta of the 13th International Bronze Congress*, I, Portsmouth, 40-50.
- Rose, V. (1886), *Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum fragmenta*, Leipzig.
- Rose, H. J. (1929), “The Cult of Orthia” in R. M. Dawkins (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta*, London, 399-407.

- Rösler, W. (1995), "Wine and Truth in the Geek Symposium" in O. Murray and M. Tecusan (eds), *In Vino Veritas*, Oxford, 106-112.
- Rotroff, S. I., and J. H. Oakley (1992), *Debris from Athenian Dining Place in the Athenian Agora*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 25, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Roux, G. (1960), "Qu' est-ce qu'un κολοσσός?" *REA* 62, 5-40.
- Roux, G. (1979), "Le vrai temple d' Apollon à Délos", *BCH* 103, 109-135.
- Rupp, D. W. (1991), "Blazing altars: the depiction of altars in Attic vase painting" in R. Étienne, and M.Th. Le Dinahet (eds), *L'espace sacrificiel dans les civilisations Méditerranéennes de l' Antiquité, Actes du Colloque tenu à la Maison de l' Orient, Lyon, 4-7 Juin 1988*, Paris, 57-60.
- Rutherford, I. (1988), "Pindar on the Birth of Apollo", *CQ*, 65-75.
- Rutherford, I., and J. Irvine (1988), "The race in the Athenian Oschophoria and an Oschophoricon by Pindar", *ZPE* 72, 43-51
- Rutherford, I. (2001), *Pindar's paeans: a reading of the fragments with a survey of the genre*, Oxford.
- Rutherford, I. (2004), "χορός εἰς ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως (Xen, *Mem.* 3.3.12): Song-Dance and State-Pilgrimage at Athens" in P. Murray and P. Wilson (eds), *Music and the Muses: The culture of Mousike in the Classical Athenian City*, Oxford, 67-90.
- Sabetai, V. (2006), *CVA: Greece 9*, Athens, Benaki Museum1, Athens.
- Sabetai, V. (2008), "Women's Ritual Roles in the Cycle of Life" in N. Kaltsas and H. A. Shapiro (eds), *Worshipping women: ritual and reality in Classical Athens*, New York, 289-297.
- Sage, M. M. (1996), *Warfare in Ancient Greece: a sourcebook*, London.
- Samara-Kaufman, A. (2001), *Ελληνικές Αρχαιότητες στο Μουσείο του Λούβρου*, Athens.
- Sarian, H. (1986), *LIMC* 3, s.v. Erinys, Zurich and Munich, 825-843.
- Sarti, S., and L. Venuti (2009), *CVA: Italy 74*, Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 6, Rome.
- Scanlon, Th. F. (1990), "Race or Chase at the Arkteia of Attica", *Nikephoros* 3, 73-120.
- Schachter, A. (1994), "The Politics of Dedication: Two Athenian Dedications at the Sanctuary of Apollo Ptoieus in Boeotia" in R. Osborne and S. Hornblower (eds), *Ritual, Finance, Politics: Athenian Democratic Accounts presented to David Lewis*, Oxford, 291-306.
- Scheffer, C. (2001), "Gods on Athenian Vases: their function in the archaic and classical periods" in C. Scheffer (ed.), *Ceramics in Context: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Ancient Pottery, held at Stockholm 13-15 June 1997*, Stockholm, 127-137.
- Schefold, K. (1981), *Die Göttersage in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst*, Munich.
- Schefold, K. (1992), *Gods and Heroes in Late Archaic Greek Art*, Cambridge.
- Scheibler, I. (1987), "Bild und Gefass: Zur ikonographischen und funktionalen Bedeutung der attischen Bildfeldamphoren," *JdI* 102, 57-118.
- Scheibler, I. (2000), *DNP* 9, s.v. Phiale, Stuttgart, Weimar, 774.
- Scherf, J. (2001), *DNP* 10, s.v. Pyanopsia, Stuttgart, Weimar, 608-609.
- Schmitt-Pantel, P. (1994), "Sacrificial Meal and Symposium: Two Models of Civic Institutions in the Archaic City?" in O. Murray (ed.), *Symptica: a Symposium on the Symposium*, Oxford, 14-33.

- Schreiber, T. (1999), *Athenian Vase Construction. A Potter's Analysis*, Malibu.
- Schwarz, G. (1987), *Triptolemos, Iconographie Einer Agrar-und Mysteriengottheit*, Graz.
- Schwarz G. (1997), *LIMC* 8, s.v. Triptolemos, Zurich and Düsseldorf, 56-68.
- Scott, M. (2010), *Delphi and Olympia. The Spatial Politics of Panhellenism in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, Cambridge, New York.
- Seaford, R. (1994), *Reciprocity and Ritual. Homer and Tragedy in the Developing City-State*, New York.
- Seaford, R. (2006), *Dionysos*, London and New York.
- Segal, Ch. (1985), "Choral lyric in the fifth century" in P. E. Easterling and B. M. W. Knox (eds), *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature I, Greek Literature*, Cambridge, New York, Port Chester, Melbourne, Sydney, 222-244.
- Seifert, M. (2006), "Children without Childhood? Social status and Child Representation on Attic vases and Votive Reliefs 6<sup>th</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> BC" in C. C. Mattusch, A. A. Donohue, and A. Brauer (eds.), *Common Ground: Archaeology, Art, Science, and Humanities, Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, Boston, Augusts 23-26, 2003, Oxford, 470-472.
- Serbeti, E. (2007), "Η λήκυθος 1626 του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου" in E. Simantoni-Bournia et al. (eds), *Αμύμονα έργα, τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Βασίλη Κ. Λαμπρινουδάκη*, Athens, 237-46.
- Sgourou, M. (1997), "Λέβητες γαμικοί. Ο γάμος και η αττική κεραμεική παραγωγή των κλασικών χρόνων" in J. H. Oakley, W. D. E. Coulson, and O. Palagia (eds) *Athenian Potters and Painters. The Conference Proceedings*, Oxford, 71-83.
- Shapiro, H. A. (1980), "Hippokrates son of Anaxileos", *Hesperia* 49, 289-233.
- Shapiro, H. A. (1981), "Courtship Scenes in Attic Vase Painting", *AJA* 85, 133-143.
- Shapiro, H. A. (1982), "Kallias Kratiou Allopekethen", *Hesperia* 51, 69-73.
- Shapiro, H. A. (1983a), "Epilykos Kalos", *Hesperia* 52, 305-310.
- Shapiro, H. A. (1983b), "Painting, Politics and Genealogy: Peisistratos and the Neleids" in W. G. Moon (ed.), *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*, Madison, 87-96.
- Shapiro, H. A. (1987), "Kalos inscriptions with Patronymic", *ZPE* 68, 107-118.
- Shapiro, H. A. (1988), "Local personifications in Greek vase-painting", *Πρακτικά του XII Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Κλασικής Αρχαιολογίας Αθήνα 4-10 Σεπτεμβρίου*, Τόμος Β', Athens.
- Shapiro, H. A. (1989), *Art and cult under the tyrants in Athens*, Mainz am Rhein.
- Shapiro, H. A. (1992), "Mousikoi Agones: Music and Poetry at the Panathenaia" in J. Neils (ed.), *Goddess and the Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens*, Princeton, 53-75.
- Shapiro, H. A. (1996), "Athena, Apollo and the religious propaganda of the Athenian Empire" in P. Hellström and B. Alroth, (eds), *Religion and Power in the Ancient Greek World. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1993*, 101-113.
- Shapiro, H. A. (1997), "Correlating Shape and Subject: The Case of the Archaic Pelike" in J. H. Oakley W. D. E. Coulson, and O. Palagia (eds), *Athenian Potters and Painters: the Conference Proceedings vol.1*, Oxford, 63-70.
- Shapiro, H. A. (2000), "Modest Athletes and Liberated Women: Etruscans on Attic Black-figure Vases" in B. Cohen (ed.), *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*, Leiden, 315-337.

- Shapiro, H. A. (2003), "Fathers and Sons, Men and Boys" in J. Neils and J. H. Oakley (eds), *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece, Images of Childhood from the Classical Past*, Hannover, 86-111.
- Shapiro, H. A. (2004), "Leagros the satyr" in Cl. Marconi (ed.), *Greek vases: Images, Contexts and controversies Proceedings of the Conference sponsored by The Center for the Ancient Mediterranean at Columbia University, 23–24 March 2002*, Leiden, Boston, 1-11.
- Shapiro, H. A. (2009a), "Apollo and Ion on Classical Athenian Vases" in L. R. P. Athanassaki Martin and J. F. Miller (eds), *Apolline politics and poetics*, Athens, 265-277.
- Shapiro, H. A. (2009b), "A Non-Greek Rider on the Athenian Akropolis and Representations of Scythians in Attic vase-painting" in D. Yatromanolakis (ed.), *An Archaeology of Representations. Ancient Greek vase-painting and contemporary methodologies*, Athens, 325-340.
- Shapiro, H. A. (2009c), *LIMC* Supplement, s.v. Ion, Düsseldorf, 295-296.
- Shear, I. M. (1963), "Kallikrates", *Hesperia* 32, 375-424.
- Sichtermann, H. (1988), *LIMC* 4, s.v. Ganymedes, Zurich and Munich, 154-169.
- Sidorova, N. et al. (1985), *Античная расписная керамика из собрания Государственного музея изобразительных искусств им. А. С. Пушкина*, Moscow.
- Sidorova, N. (1996), *CVA: Russia 1*, Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts 1, Rome.
- Siebert, G. (1990), *LIMC* 5, s.v. Hermes, Zurich and Munich, 285-387.
- Siewert, P. (1979), "Poseidon Hippios am Kolonos und die attischen Hippeis" in G. W. Bowersock, W. Burkert, and M. C. J. Putnam (eds), *Arktouros: Hellenic Studies presented to Bernard M.W. Knox on the occasion of his 65<sup>th</sup> birthday*, Berlin, New York, 280-289.
- Simon, E. (1953), *Opfernde Götter*, Berlin.
- Simon, E. (1963), "Ein Anthesterien-Skyphos des Polygnotos", *AntK* 6, 6-22.
- Simon, E. (1982), *Festivals of Attica: An archaeological commentary*, Madison.
- Simon, E. (1990), *LIMC* 5, s.v. Ion, Zurich and Munich, 702-705.
- Simon, E. (1994), *LIMC* 7, s.v. Poseidon, Zurich and Munich, 446-479.
- Simon, E. (1996), "Review of Artful crafts: Ancient Greek silverware and pottery by M. Vickers and D. Gill", *JHS* 116, 230-231.
- Simon, E. (1997), *LIMC* 8, s.v. Silenoi, Zurich and Munich, 1108-1133.
- Simon, E. (1998), *Die Götter der Griechen*, Munich.
- Simon, E. (2004), "Libations", *ThesCRA* 1, Los Angeles, 237-253.
- Sinclair R. K. (1988), *Democracy and Participation in Athens*, Cambridge.
- Singor, H. W. (2000), "The military side of the Peisistratean Tyranny" in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (ed.), *Peisistratos and the tyranny: a reappraisal of the evidence*, Amsterdam, 107-129.
- Skaftø Jensen, M. (2009), "Artemis in Homer" in T. Fischer-Hansen and B. Poulsen (eds), *From Artemis to Diana. The Goddess of Man and Beast*, Danish Studies in Classical Archaeology, Acta Hyperborea 12, Copenhagen, 51-60.
- Skounaki, I. (2005), *Πρώιμες Λατρείες του Απόλλωνα. Η Απολλώνια Τριάδα*, Rethymno.
- Slater, N. W. (1986), "The Lenaeon Theatre", *ZPE* 66, 255-264.

- Slater, N. W. (1999), "The vases as ventriloquist: kalos-inscriptions and the culture of fame" in E. A. Mackay (ed.), *Sings of Orality. The oral tradition and its influence in the Greek and Roman world*, Leiden, 143-161.
- Slehoferova, V. (1984), *CVA: Switzerland 6*, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig Ludwig 2, Bern.
- Small, J. P. (1994), "Scholars, Etruscans, and Attic painted vases", *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 7, 34-58.
- Smith, A. C. (2011), *Polis and Personification in Classical Athenian Art*, Leiden, Boston.
- Smith, C. H. (1896), *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan vases in the British Museum*, London.
- Smith, H. R. W. (1936), *CVA: USA 5*, Berkeley, University of California 1, Cambridge, Mass.
- Smith, H. R. W. (1943), *CVA: USA 10*, San Francisco, M.H. de Young Memorial Museum and California Palace of the Legion of Honor, Cambridge, Mass.
- Smith, T. J. (2003), Black-figure vases in the Collection of the British School at Athens, *BSA* 98, 347-368.
- Snell, B. (1938), "Identifikationen von Pindarbruchstücken", *Hermes* 73, 424-439.
- Snodgrass, A. M. (1964), *Early Greek armor and weapons from the end of the Bronze Age to 600 BC*, Edinburgh.
- Snodgrass, A. M. (1967), *Arms and Armor of the Greeks*, London.
- Sommerstein, A. H. (2008), *Aeschylus Oresteia, Agamemnon, Libation-Bearers, Eumenides*, Cambridge (MA) and London.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, Ch. (1971), "Aristophanes, Lysistrata, 641-647", *CQ* 21, 339-342.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, Ch. (1979), "The Myth of the First Temples at Delphi", *CQ* 29, 231-251.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, Ch. (1985), "Altars with palm-trees, palm-trees and parthenoi", *BICS* 32, 125-146.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, Ch. (1986), "Crime and Punishment: Tityos, Tantalos and Sisyphos in *Odyssey* 11", *BICS* 33, 37-58.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, Ch. (1987), "A Series of Erotic Pursuits: Images and Meanings", *JHS* 107, 131-153.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, Ch. (1988), *Studies in Girls Transition: Aspects of the Arkteia and Age Representation in Attica*, Athens.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, Ch. (1991), *Reading Greek Culture. Texts and Images, Rituals and Myths*, Oxford.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, Ch. (1995), "Reading" *Greek death: to the end of the classical period*, Oxford.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, Ch. (2000), *DNP* 9, s.v. Persephone, Stuttgart, Weimar, 600-603.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, Ch. (2005), *Hylas, the Nymphs, Dionysos and Others. Myth, Ritual, Ethnicity*, Stockholm.
- Spivey, N. (1991), "Greek Vases in Etruria" in T. Rasmussen and N. Spivey (eds), *Looking at Greek Vases*, Cambridge, 131-150.
- Stafford, E. (2012), *Herakles*, Abingdon and New York.
- Stais, V. (1909), 'Αναθηματικόν Ανάγλυφον εκ Φαλήρου', *ArchEph*, 239-264.
- Stansbury- O'Donnell, M. D. (2011), *Looking at Greek Art*, Cambridge.

- Stein, J., and L. Urdang (1967), eds, *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language*, New York.
- Steiner, A. (1993), "The Meaning of Repetition. Visual Redundancy on Archaic Athenian Vases", *JdI* 108, 197-219.
- Steiner, A. (1997), "Illustrious Repetitions: Visual Redundancy in Exekias and his Followers" in J. H. Oakley, W. D. E. Coulson, and O. Palagia (eds), *Athenian Potters and Painters, The Conference Proceedings vol.1*, Oxford, 157-169.
- Steiner, A. (2002), "Private and Public: Links between Syssition and Symposion in fifth-century Athens", *CIAnt* 21, 347-390.
- Steiner, A. (2004a), "The Alkmene Hydrias and Vase Painting in Late-Sixth-Century Athens", *Hesperia* 73, 427-463.
- Steiner, A. (2004b), New Approaches to Greek Vases: Repetition, Aesthetics, and Meaning in P. G. Warden (ed.), *Greek Vase Painting, Form, Figure, and Narrative, Treasures of the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid*, Madrid, 35-45.
- Steiner, A. (2007), *Reading Greek Vases*, Cambridge, New York.
- Stewart, A. (1982), "Dionysos at Delphi: The Pediments of the Sixth Temple of Apollo and Religious Reform in the Age of Alexander" in B. Barr-Sharrar and E. N. Borza (eds), *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times, Studies in the History of Art, Vol.10*, Washington, 205-227.
- Stewart, A. (1990), *Greek Sculpture: an exploration*, New Haven.
- Stissi, V. (1999), "Production, circulation and consumption of Archaic Greek Pottery (sixth and early fifth centuries BC)" in J. P. Crieland, V. Stissi, and G. Van Wijngaarden (eds), *The Complex Past of Pottery*, Amsterdam, 83-102.
- Strauss-Clay, J. (1996), "Fusing the boundaries", *Metis* 11, 83-100.
- Svoronos, I. (1912), "Αιγίνης ανάγλυφον αναθηματικόν", *ArchEph*, 254-255.
- Sweet, W. E. (1987), *Sport and recreation in Ancient Greece. A sourcebook with Translations*, New York.
- Swift, L. (2008), *Euripides: Ion*, London.
- Taplin, O., and R. Wyles (2010), ed., *The Pronomos Vase and its Context*, Oxford.
- Tiverios, M. A. (1986), "Ερυθρόμορφη λήκυθος από την αρχαία Άργιλο", *Αρχαία Μακεδονία* IV, Thessaloniki, 595-605.
- Tiverios, M. A. (1987), "Ομφάλη ή Άρτεμη Παρατηρήσεις στην εικονογραφία της εποχής των Πεισιστρατιδών", *ΑΜΗΤΟΣ, Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Μ. Ανδρόνικο*, Β' μέρος, Thessaloniki, 873-880.
- Tiverios M. A. (1996), *Ελληνική Τέχνη, Αρχαία Αγγεία*, Athens.
- Themelis, P. G. (1992), "The cult scene of the polos of the Siphnian Karyatid at Delphi" in R. Hägg (ed.), *The Iconography of Greek cult in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, 49-72, Athens, Liege.
- Themelis, P. G. (2002), "Contribution to the topography of the sanctuary at Brauron" in B. Gentili and F. Perusino (eds.), *Le Orse di Brauron. Un rituale di iniziazione femminile nel santuario di Artemide*, Pisa, 103-116.
- Themelis, P. (2007), "Panathenaic prizes and dedications" in O. Palagia and A. Choremi-Spetsieri (eds), *The Panathenaic Games, Proceedings of an international conference held at the University of Athens, May 11-12, 2004*, Exeter, 21-32.
- Thompson, H. A. (1937), "Buildings on the West side of the Agora", *Hesperia* 6, 1-224.
- Thompson, W. E. (1960), "The Archonship of Cleisthenes", *CJ* 55, 217-220.



- Thompson, W. E. (1971), "The Neokoroi of Poseidon Hippios", *Hesperia* 40, 232-234.
- Thompson, H. A., and R. E. Wycherley (1972), *The Agora of Athens: the history, shape and uses of an ancient city center*, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Topper, K. (2009), "Primitive Life and the Construction of the Sympotic Past in Athenian Vase Painting", *AJA* 113.1, 3-26.
- Topper, K. (2012), *The Imagery of the Athenian Symposium*, New York.
- Touchefeu, O. (1988), *LIMC* 4, s.v. Hektor, Zurich and Munich, 482-498.
- Touchefeu-Meynier, O. (1981), *LIMC* 1, s.v. Andromache I, Zurich and Munich, 767-774.
- Touchefeu-Meynier, O. (1997), *LIMC* 8, s.v. Oinopion, Zurich and Düsseldorf, 253-295
- Travlos, J. (1971), *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, London.
- Trümpy C. (2010), "Observations on the dedicatory and sepulchral epigrams, and their early history" in M. Baumbach, A. Petrovic, and I. Petrovic (eds), *Archaic and Classical Greek Epigram*, New York, 167-179.
- Tsangari, D. (2011), *Myth and coinage: representations, symbolisms and interpretations from the Greek mythology*, Athens.
- Turner, J. A. (1983), *Hiereiai: acquisition of feminine priesthoods in ancient Greece*, Ph.D. University of California, Santa Barbara.
- Valavanis, P. (1996), "Drinking vessels in Greek antiquity" in P. Valavanis and D. Kourkoumelis, *Χαίρε και πει: drinking Vessels*, Athens, 11-39.
- Valavanis, P. (2004), *Games and sanctuaries in ancient Greece: Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia, Nemea*, Athens, Los Angeles.
- Vallois, R. (1944), *L'architecture Hellénique et Hellénistique à Délos. Jusqu'à l'éviction des Déliens (166 av. J.-C.)*. *Les Monuments*, Paris.
- Vallois, R. (1966), *L'architecture Hellénique et Hellénistique à Délos. Jusqu'à l'éviction des Déliens (166 av. J.-C.) II. Grammaire historique de l'architecture Délienne 1*, Paris.
- Vallois, R. (1978), *L'architecture Hellénique et Hellénistique à Délos. Jusqu'à l'éviction des Déliens (166 av. J.-C.)II. Grammaire historique de l'architecture Délienne 2*, Paris.
- Van Hoorn, G. (1951), *Choes and Anthesteria*, Leiden.
- Van Straten, F. T. (1995), *Hiera kala. Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece*, Leiden, New York.
- Van Wees, H. (2004), *Greek Warfare, Myths and Realities*, London.
- Vanderpool, E. (1942), "An Archaic Inscribed Stele from Marathon", *Hesperia* 11, 329-337.
- Venit, S. M. (2003), "A reconstruction of the 'Relief of the Gods' from Brauron", *AntK* 46, 44-54.
- Verbanck-Piérard, A. (1992), "Herakles at Feast in Attic Art: a Mythical or Cultic Iconography?" in R. Hägg (ed.), *The Iconography of Greek Cult in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, Athens and Liege, 85-106.
- Vergados, A. (2013), *The Homeric Hymn to Hermes: Introduction, Text and Commentary*, Berlin.
- Vermeule, E. (1965), "Fragments of a Symposion by Euphronios", *AntK* 8, 35-39.
- Vernant, J. P. (1991), *Mortals and Immortals, Collected essays*, Princeton.

- Versnel, H. S. (1990), *Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion, Vol.1, Ter Unus: Isis, Dionysos and Hermes: three studies in Henotheism*, Leiden.
- Vetta, M. (1999), "The culture of the Symposium" in Sonnenfeld A. (ed.), *Food: a culinary history from Antiquity to the Present, New York (English edition)*, New York, Chichester, 96-105.
- Veyne, P. (1990), "Images de divinités tenant une phiale ou patère. La libation comme 'rite de passage' et non pas offrande", *Metis* 5, 17-28.
- Vian, F., and M. B. Moore (1988), *LIMC* 4, s.v. Gigantes, Zurich and Munich, 191-270
- Vickers, M., and G. Gill (1994), *Artful crafts: Ancient Greek Silverware and Pottery*, Oxford.
- Vikela, E. (2008), "The Worship of Artemis in Attica: Cult, Places, Rites, Iconography" in N. Kaltsas and H. A. Shapiro (eds), *Worshipping women: ritual and reality in Classical Athens*, New York, 79-87.
- Vikić-Belančić, B., V. Damevski, and A. Kardianou-Michel (2008), *CVA: Croatie 1, Zagreb, Musée Archéologique, Vases Grecs et Italiotes*, Paris.
- Villanueva- Puig, M. (2009), *Ménades: Recherches sur la genèse iconographique du thiasse féminin de Dionysos: des origines à la fin de la période archaïque*, Paris.
- Visser, E. (1999), *DNP* 6, s.v. Kaineus, Stuttgart, Weimar, 137.
- Vollkommer, R. (1997), *LIMC* 8, s.v. Tityos, Zurich and Düsseldorf, 37-41.
- Vollkommer, R. (2000), "Mythological Children in Archaic Art. On the Problem of age differentiation for small children" in G. R. Thetskladze, A. J. N. N. Prag, and A. M. Snodgrass (eds), *Periplous. Papers on Classical Art and Archaeology presented to Sir John Boardman*, London, 371-382.
- Vollgraff, W. (1903), "Inscriptions d'Argos", *BCH* 27, 260-279.
- Von Bredow (1998), *DNP* 4, s.v. Getai, Stuttgart, Weimar, 1025-1027.
- Von Bothmer, D. (1963), *CVA: USA 12*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 3, New York.
- Von Bothmer, D. (1977), "The Struggle for the Tripod" in Höckmann U., and A. Krug (eds), *Festschrift für Frank Brommer*, Mainz, 51-63.
- Von Bothmer, D. (1985), *The Amasis Painter and his world, Vase-painting in sixth-century BC Athens*, New York and London.
- Voutiras, E. (1982), "A dedication of the Hebdomaistai to the Pythian Apollo", *AJA* 86, 229-233.
- Vos, M. F. (1963), *Scythian Archers in Archaic Attic Vase-Painting*, Groningen.
- Vos, M. F. (1978), *CVA: Netherlands 4*, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden 2, Leiden.
- Wace, A. J. B. (1929), "Lead Figurines" in R. M. Dawkins (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta*, London, 249-284.
- Wallace, R. W. (1985), *The Areopagos Council, to 307 BC*, Baltimore.
- Walsh, J. (1986), "The Date of the Athenian Stoa at Delphi", *AJA* 90, 319-336.
- Walsh, G. B. (1978), "The Rhetoric of Birthright and Race in Euripides' Ion", *Hermes* 106, 301-315.
- Walter, O. (1937), "Die Reliefs aus dem Heiligtum der Echeliden in Neu-Phaleron", *ArchEph*, 97-119.
- Walter-Karydi, E. (2000), "Egine et Delphes" in A. Jacquemin (ed.), *Delphes. Cent Ans Après la Grande Fouille. Essai de bilan*. Actes du Colloque International,

- Organisé par l'École Française D' Athens, Athènes-Delphes 17-20 Septembre 1992, Athens, 87-98.
- Walters H. B. (1927), *CVA: Great Britain 4*, London, British Museum 3, London.
- Walters H. B. (1929), *CVA: Great Britain 5*, London, British Museum 4, London.
- Weber, Gr. (2001), *DNP* 10, s.v. Propaganda, Stuttgart, Weimar, 411-414.
- Webster, T. B. L. (1935), *Der Niobidenmaler*, Leipzig.
- Webster, T. B. L. (1966), "Myth of Ariadne from Homer to Catullus", *G&R* 13, 22-31.
- Webster, T. B. L. (1972), *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens*, London.
- Weiss, C. (1990), *CVA: Germany 60*, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 3, Munich.
- Wehgartner, I. (2002), *DNP* 12/2, s.v. Villa Giulia-Maler, Stuttgart, Weimar, 121-122.
- Wehrli, F. (1931), *RE Suppl. 5*, s.v. Leto, Stuttgart 555-576.
- Wehrli, F. (1969), *Die Schule des Aristoteles: texte und kommentar, Klearchos*, vol. 3, Basel.
- West, M. L. (1966), *Hesiod, Theogony, edited with Prolegomena and Commentary*, London.
- West, M. L. (1972), *Iambi et Elegi Graeci*, Vol. 2, Oxford.
- West, M. L. (1975), "Cynaethus' Hymn to Apollo", *CQ* 25, 161-170.
- West, M. L. (1992), *Ancient Greek Music*, Oxford.
- West, M. L. (1995), "The Date of the Iliad", *MH* 52, 203-219.
- West, M. L. (2003), *Greek Epic Fragments, from the seventh to the fifth centuries BC*, Cambridge (Mass), London.
- Williams, D. (1983), "Sophilos in the British Museum", *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 1, 9-34.
- Wilson, P. (2000), *The Athenian Institution of the Khoregia, the Chorus, the City and the Stage*, Cambridge.
- Wilson, P. (2007), "Performance in the Pythion: The Athenian Thargelia" in P. Wilson (ed.), *The Greek Theatre and Festivals. Documentary studies*, Oxford, New York.
- Wilson, R. J. A. (2000), "Sicily" in R. J. A. Talbert (ed.), *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, vol.1, Oxford, 709-735.
- Winkler, J. J. (1990), "The Ephebes' song: Tragoedia and Polis" in J. J. Winkler and F. I. Zeitlin (eds), *Nothing to do with Dionysos? Athenian Drama in its social context*, Princeton, Chichester.
- Wimmer, F. (1964), *Theophrasti Eresii opera, quae supersunt, omnia*, Paris.
- Woodford, S., and M. Loudon (1980), "Two Trojan Themes: The iconography of Ajax carrying the body of Achilles and of Aeneas carrying Anchises in black-figure vase painting", *AJA* 84, 25-40.
- Woodward, A. M. (1929), "Inscriptions" in R. M. Dawkins (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta*, London, 285-377.
- Woodford, S. (1971), "Cults of Heracles in Attica" in D. G. Mitten, J. G. Pedley and J. A. Scott (eds), *Studies presented to George M. A. Hanfmann*, Mainz, 211-225.
- Woodward, A. M. (1963), Financial Documents from the Athenian Agora, *Hesperia* 32, 144-186.
- Wycherley, R. E. (1957), *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, Princeton.
- Wycherley, R. E. (1959), "Two Athenian Shrines", *AJA* 63, 67-72.

- Wycherley, R. E. (1963), "The Pythion at Athens. Thucydides 2.15.4: Philostratos, Lives of the Sophists 2.1.7", *AJA* 67, 75-79.
- Wycherley, R. E. (1978), *Stones of Athens*, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Zacharia, K. (2003), *Converging Truths: Euripides' Ion and the Athenian Quest for Self-Definition*, Leiden.
- Zaidman, B. L., and P. Schmitt Pantel (1992), *Religion in the ancient Greek city*, translated by Paul Cartledge Cambridge.
- Zanker, P. (1965), *Wandel der Hermesgestalt in der attischen Vasenmalerei*, Bonn.
- Zimmermann, B. (1998), *DNP* 4, s.v. Euripides, Stuttgart, Weimar, 280-288.

## Illustrations



Fig. 1 Attic black-figure *lebes* signed by Sophilos, c.580 BC; London, British Museum 1971.11-1.1. Source: Williams (1983), 24, fig. 27.

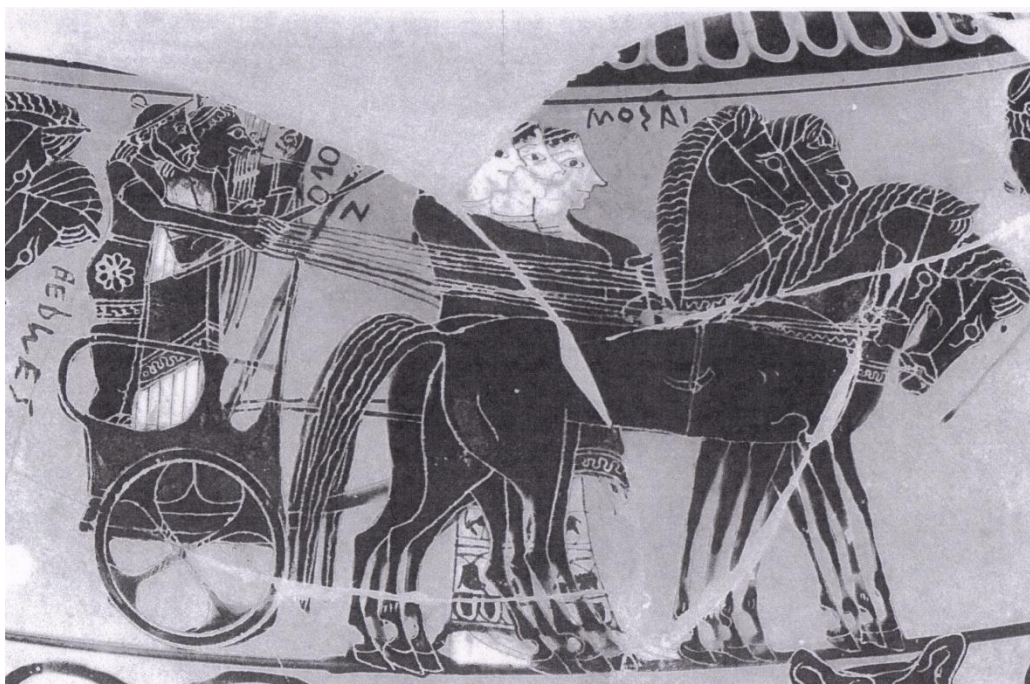


Fig. 2 Attic black-figure *lebes* signed by Sophilos, c.580 BC; London, British Museum 1971.11-1.1. Source: Williams (1983), 25, fig. 32.



Fig. 3 Attic black-figure lebes signed by Sophilos, c.580 BC; London, British Museum 1971.11-1-1.1  
Source: Williams (1983), 20, fig. 32.



Fig. 4 Hammered bronze statuettes from Dreros (*sphyrelata*), 750-625 BC; Crete, Heraklion Archaeological Museum 2445, 2446, 244. Source: Romano (2000), 41, fig. 1.

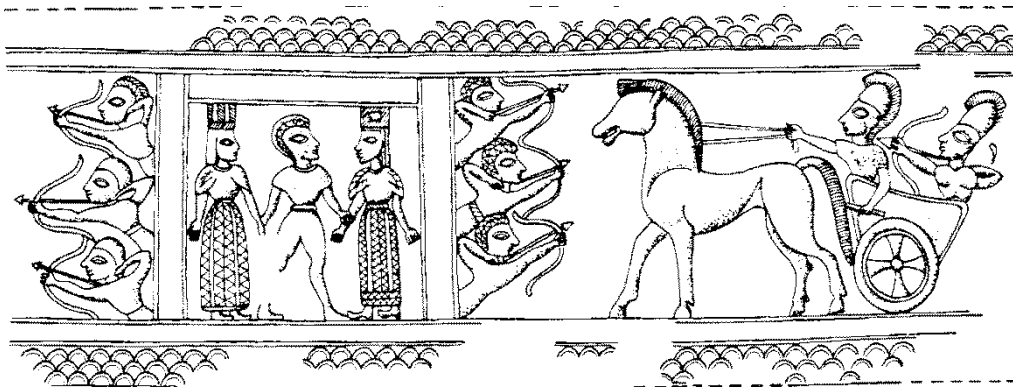


Fig. 5 Bronze belt from Fortetsa (tomb P), first half of 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC; Crete, Heraklion Archaeological Museum 1568 (drawing). Source: Marinatos (2000), 80, fig. 4.11b.



Fig. 6 Ivory relief from Orthia's sanctuary at Sparta, 650-620 BC; Athens, National Archaeological Museum 15515 (drawing). Source: Dawkins (1929), pl. 95.



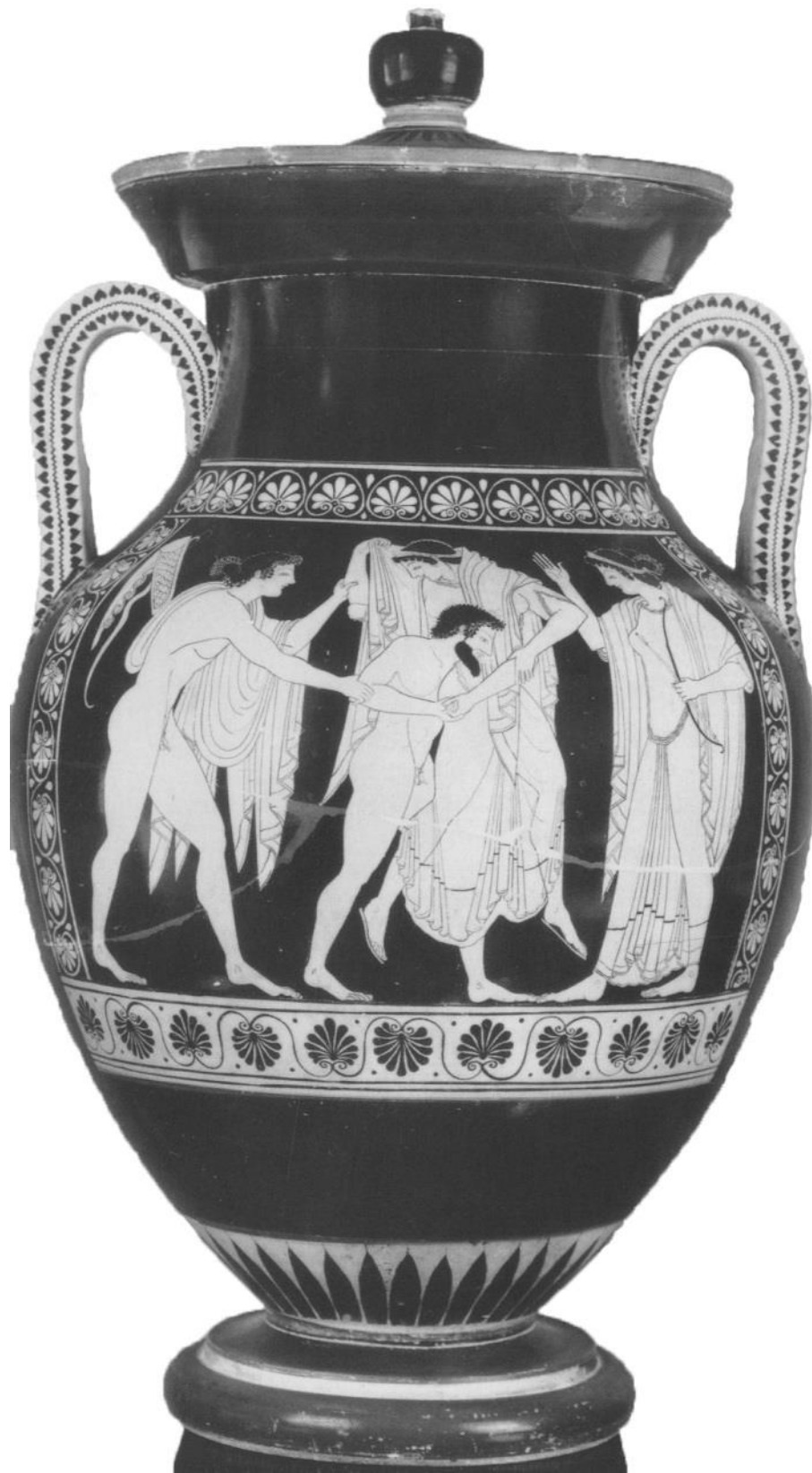


Fig. 7 Attic red-figure amphora from Vulci, attributed to Phintias, 510-500 BC; Paris, Musée du Louvre G42. Source: Foley (2003), 117, fig. 4.



Fig. 8 Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Penthesilea Painter, 460-450 BC; Munich, Antikensammlungen 2689. Source: Schefold (1981), 149, fig. 197.

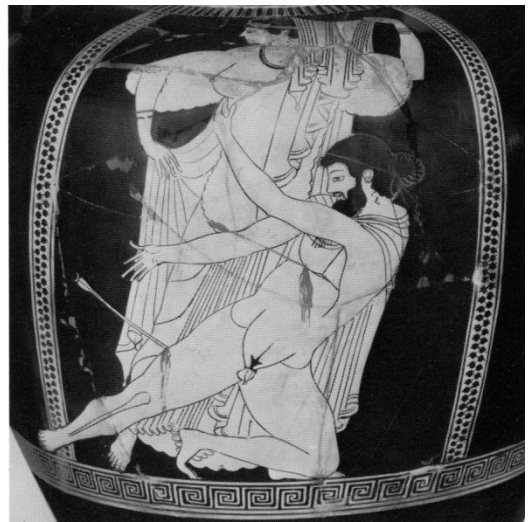


Fig. 9 Attic red-figure amphora attributed to the Eucharides painter, 480-460 BC; London, British Museum E278. Source: Schefold, (1981), 148, fig. 194-195.



Fig. 10 Attic black-figure neck-amphora attributed to the AD Painter, 510-500 BC; Munich, Antikensammlungen 1542. Source: Kunze-Götte, E. (1982), pl. 14.



Fig. 11 Attic black-figure fragment from the Athenian Akropolis, 560-550 BC; Athens, National Museum Akropolis 2406. Source: Graef and Langlotz (1925), 235, pl. 98.



Fig. 12 Attic black-figure *lekkythos*, near the Pholos Painter, c.470 BC; Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 306  
Source: Lambrino (1931), pl. 86.



Fig. 13 Attic black-figure *hydria* attributed near the Priam Painter, last quarter of sixth cent. BC; Paris, Musée du Louvre F297. Source: *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1233 [Kahil].



Fig. 14 Attic red-figure amphora from Vulci by Psiax, 520-510 BC, app.I, no. A7; Philadelphia, University Museum 5399. Source: *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1110 [Kahil].

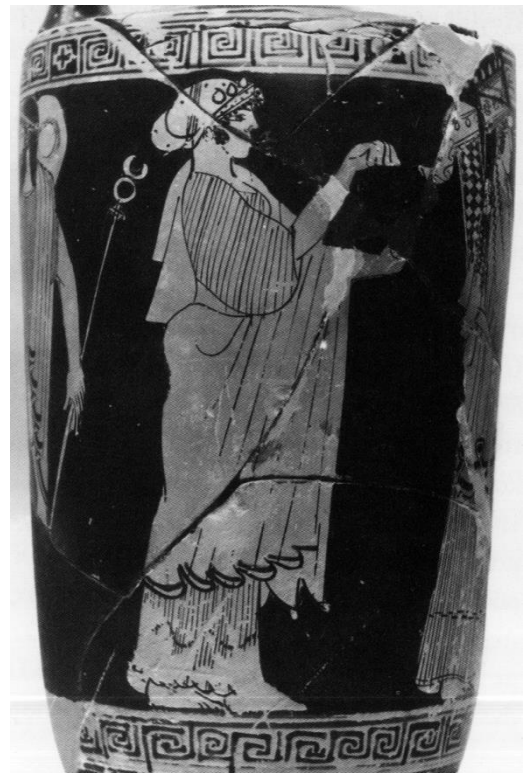
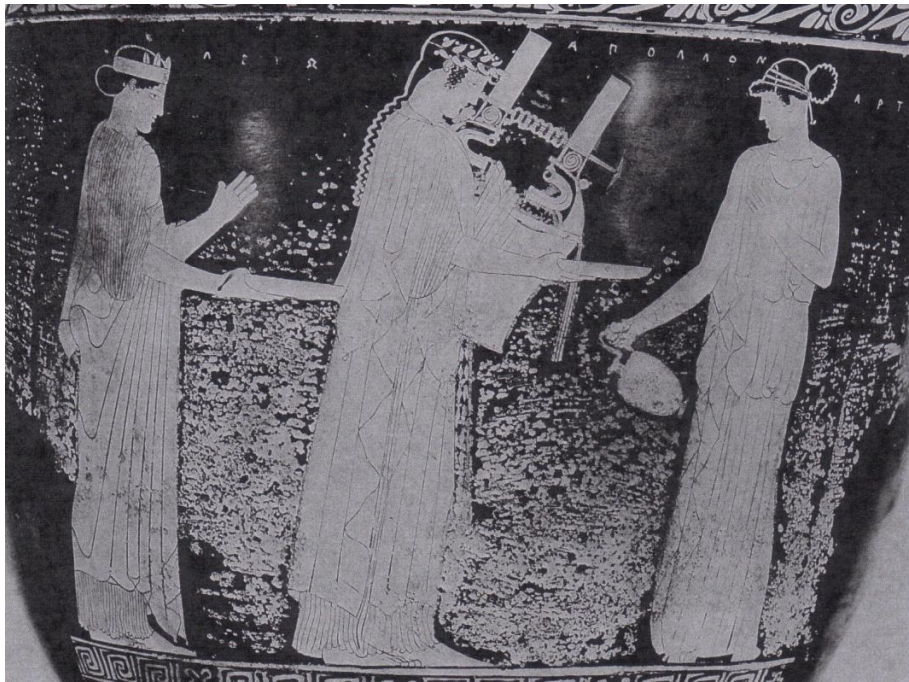


Fig. 15 Attic red-figure *lekythos* from Tanagra, signed by Mys, 470-460 BC, app.I, no. B6; Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1626. Source: Serbeti (2007), fig. 1, 2, 4, 5.



(a)



(b)

Fig. 16 (a-b) Attic red-figure *bell-krater* attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter, 460-450 BC, app.I, no. C8; New York, Metropolitan Museum 24.97.96. Source: Richter and Hall (1936), pl. 101.



Fig. 17 Attic red-figure *hydria* attributed to the Berlin Painter, c.485 BC, app.I, no. D1; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1978.45. Source: Patton (2009), 4, fig. 2.



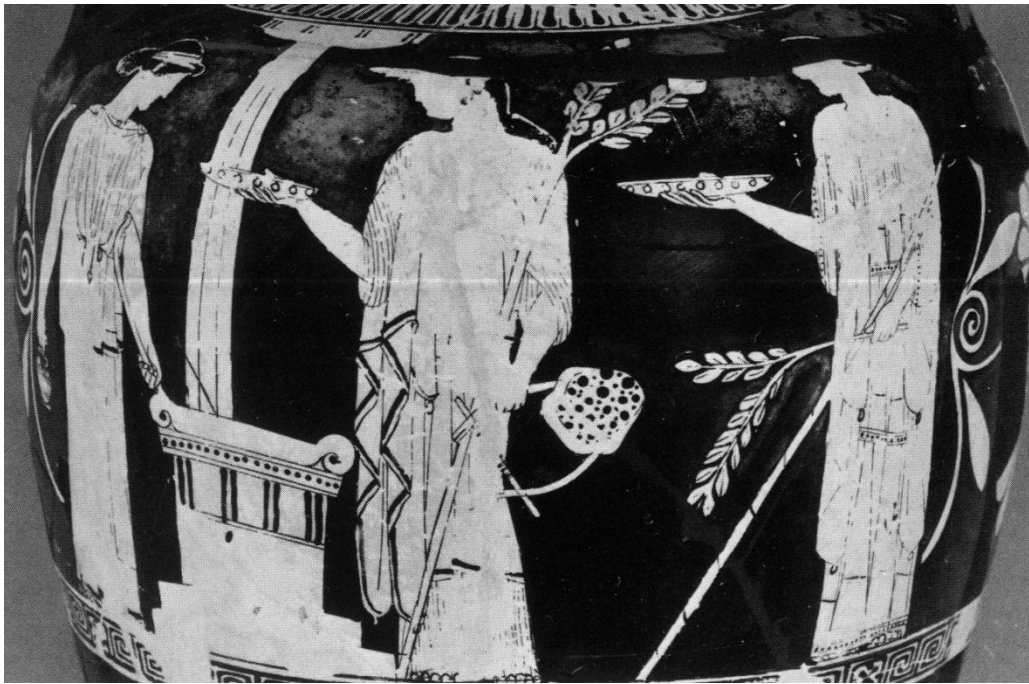


Fig. 18 Attic red-figure neck-amphora attributed to the Niobid Painter, c.450 BC, app.I, no. C15; Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum H 4533. Source: *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 653 [Daumas].



Fig. 19 Attic red-figure *hydria* attributed to the Niobid Painter, c.460 BC, Paris, app.I, no. D4; Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 443. Source: *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 745a [Kokkorou-Alewras].



(a)



(b)

Fig. 20 (a, b) Attic black-figure neck-amphora from Vulci, attributed to the Pasikles Painter, 520-510 BC, app.I, no. A4; Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum L220  
 Source: (a) *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig.1107 [Kahil]; (b) *BAPD* 301758:  
<http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/51D4A26D-5ED2-4BBB-B44C-4A9C97E22DCE>



(a)



(b)

Fig. 21 (a, b) Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Pasikles Painter, c.510 BC, app.1, no. A42; New York, Metropolitan Museum 67.44.1. Source: Moore and Bothmer (1976), pl. 34.



Fig. 22 Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Lysippides Painter, c.530 BC, app.I, no. B1; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 68.46. Source: Hoffmann (1973), pl. 13.



Fig. 23 Attic black-figure *hydria* from Vulci attributed to the Antimenes Painter, c.500 BC, app.I, no. B5; Altenburg Staatliches Lindenau-Museum 222. Source: Burow (1989), pl. 117, no. 119.



Fig. 24 Attic black-figure neck-amphora from Vulci, attributed to the Antimenes Painter, 520-510 BC, app.I, no. B16; Munich, Antikensammlungen 1578 (J159). Source: Kunze-Götte, (1973), pl. 385.



Fig. 25 Attic black-figure hydria attributed to the Antimenes Painter, 530-520 BC, app.I, no. B9; Toledo, Museum of Art 56.70. Source: Boulter and Luckner (1976), pl. 23.



Fig. 26 Attic red-figure *hydria* from Vulci attributed to the Altamura Painter, c.460 BC, app.I, no. C29; London, British Museum E177. Source: Prange (1989), pl. 40 (A70).



Fig. 27 Attic red-figure *hydria* from Nola, attributed to the Altamura Painter, 470-460 BC, app.I, no. D12; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 28.7. Source: Prange (1989), pl. 40 (A73).



(a)



(b)

Fig. 28 (a, b) Attic red-figure *pelike*, attributed to Polygnotos, 450/440 BC, app.I, no. C32; Paris, Musée du Louvre G375. Source: (a) *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 1073 [Palagia], (b) Matheson (1995), 10, fig. a.





Fig. 29 Attic red-figure amphora attributed to the Berlin Painter, c.490 BC; New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.171.38. Source: Bundrick (2005), fig. 3.

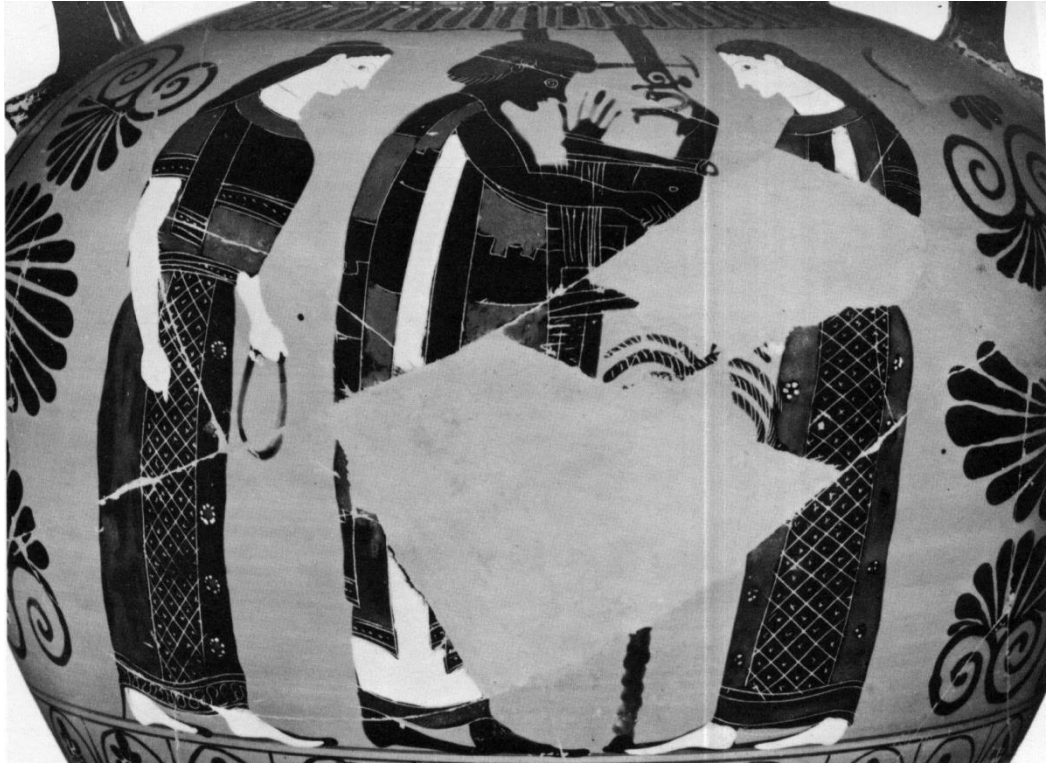


Fig. 30 Attic black-figure neck-amphora attributed to the Group of London B174, c.540 BC, app.I, no. A15; Munich, Antikensammlungen 1473. Source: Kunze-Götte, (1970) pl. 348.



Fig. 31 Attic red-figure neck-amphora from Vulci attributed near the Bowdoin-eye Painter, end of sixth cent. BC, app.I, no. A11; London, British Museum E256. Source: Carpenter (1991), fig. 46.



Fig. 32 Attic red-figure neck-amphora from Vulci attributed to Psiax, 530-510 BC, app.I, no. B2; Madrid, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 11008. Source: Cohen, (2006), 26.



Fig. 33 Attic black-figure amphora (fr.), attributed to Group E, c.550 BC, app.I, no. A1; Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AE.45. Source: Tiverios (1987), pl. 175.



Fig. 34 Attic black-figure fragment attributed to Lydos, 560 BC; Athens, Akropolis Museum 2133b. Source: Graef and Langlotz (1925), 214, pl. 93.



Fig. 35 Attic Black-figure *oinochoe* attributed to the Leagros Group, 510-500 BC, app.I, no. B27; Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau Museum 209. Source: Bielefeld (1959), pl. 31, 5.



Fig. 36 (a, b) Attic red-figure *kalyx-krater* from Cerveteri attributed to Euphronios, 510-500 BC; Paris, Musée du Louvre CP 748. Source: (a) Samara-Kaufman (2001), 264; (b) Tiverios M. (1996), 122.



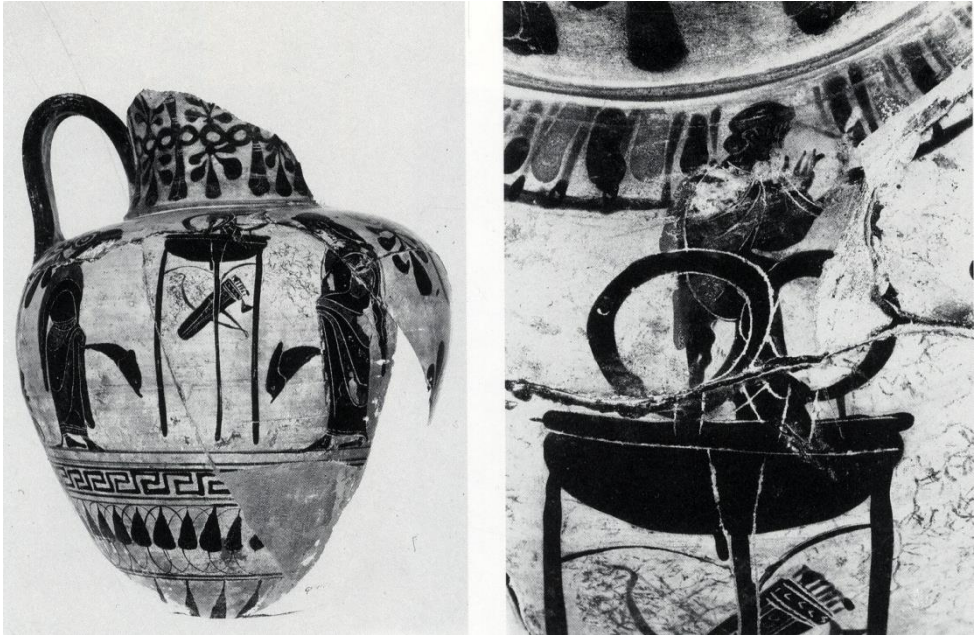


Fig. 37 Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Ready Painter, c.545-525 BC, app.I, no. A16; Paris, Musée du Louvre C10619. Source: Shapiro (1989), pl.29, a.



Fig. 38 Attic red-figure *hydria* from Vulci, attributed to the Berlin Painter, 480 BC; Rome, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano 16568. Source: Beazley (1989), pl. 43.1.



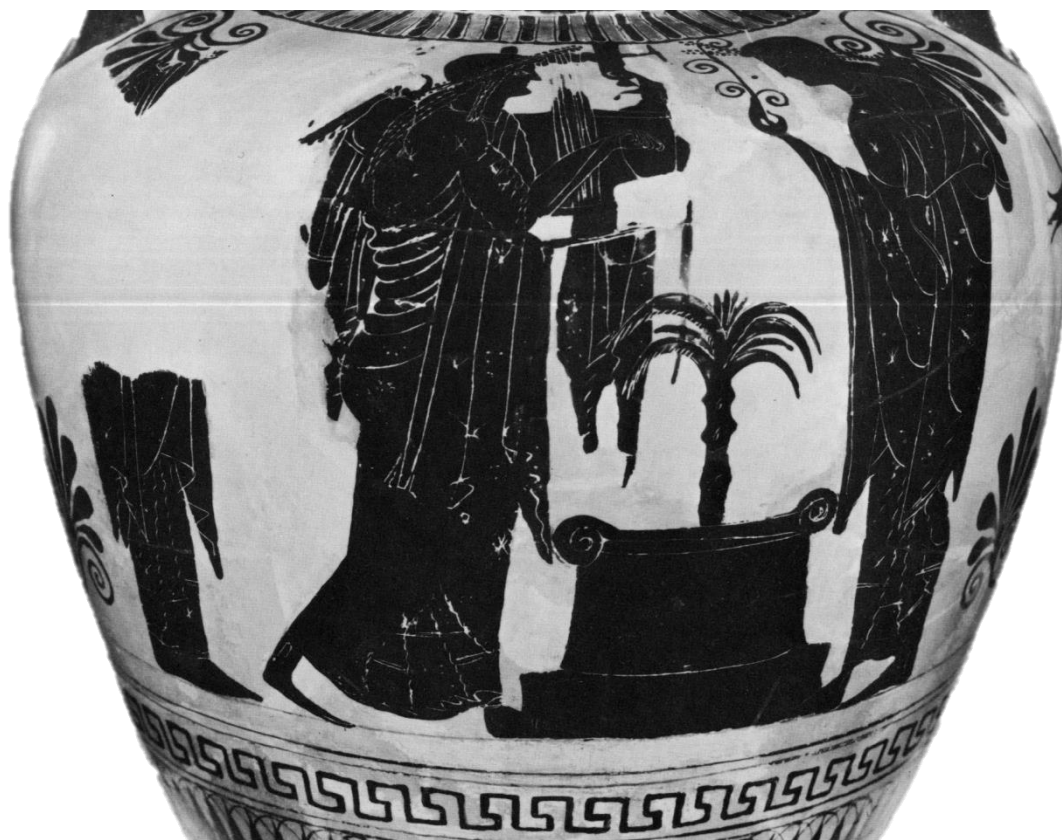


Fig. 39 Attic black-figure amphora from Tarquinia attributed to the Nikoxenos Painter, c.510 BC, app.I, no. A8; Hannover, Kestner Museum 753. Source: Follmann (1971), pl. 9.3.



Fig. 40 Attic black-figure *lekythos*, attributed to the Group of the Haimon Painter, c.475 BC, app.I, no. A75; Palermo, Mormino Collection 300. Source: De la Genière (1971), pl. 2, 5-6.



Fig. 41 Attic black-figure *hydria* (fr.), unattributed, 510-500 BC, app.I, no. A9; Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.120. Source: Clark (1988), pl. 56.2.



Fig. 42 Attic red-figure *hydria*, attributed near the Villa Giulia Painter, 460-450 BC, app.I, no. C9; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 295 (1879.170). Source: *LIMC* 2, s.v. Artemis, fig. 1006 [Kahil].



Fig. 43 Attic red-figure *oinochoe* from Vulci, attributed to the London Painter E543, end of the fifth cent. BC, app.I, no. C22; London, British Museum E543. Source: *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 364 [Lambrinudakis.]



Fig. 44 Attic red-figure *volute-krater* attributed to the School of the Niobid Painter, c.450 BC, app.I, no. C16; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00347. Source: Prange (1989), pl. 16, GN 87.



Fig. 45 Attic red-figure *hydria* attributed to the Circle of the Villa Giulia Painter, 460-450 BC, app.I, no. C10; Athens, Benaki Museum 35415. Source: author



Fig. 46 Attic red-figure *kalyx-krater*, attributed in the Manner of the Meidias Painter, last quarter of fifth cent. BC, app.1, no. D10; Palermo, Museo Archaeologico Regionale 2187. Source: Metzger (1987), 113, fig. 2.

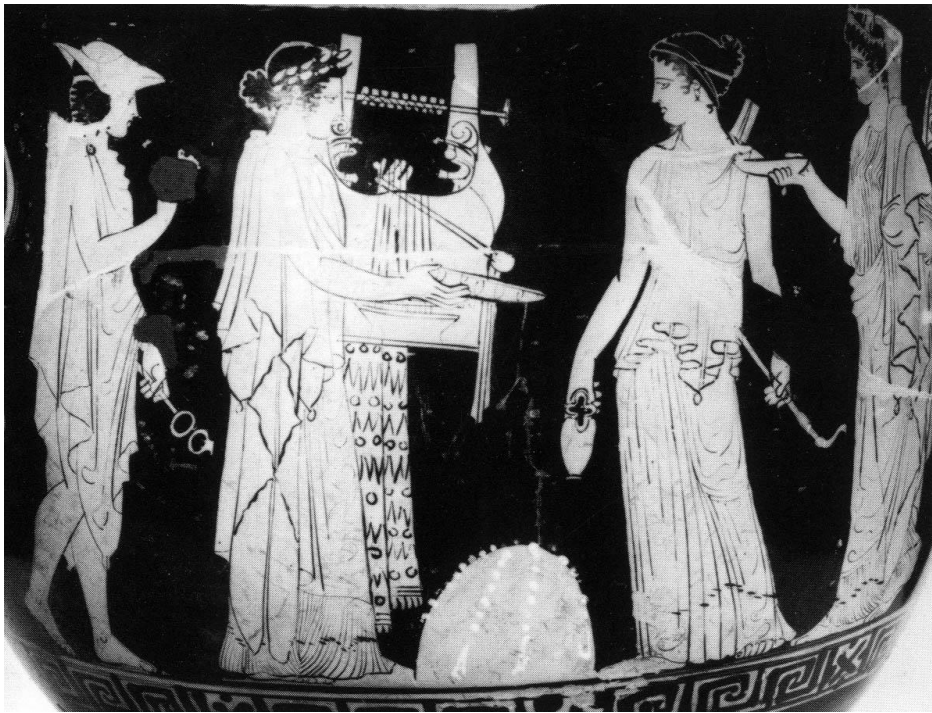


Fig. 47 Attic red-figure *bell-krater* from Nola, attributed to the Manner of the Dinos Painter, 420-400 BC, app.I, no. D11; London, British Museum E502. Source: *LIMC* 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 745 [Kokkourou- Alewras].



Fig. 48 Attic red-figure *oinochoe* from Taranto attributed to the Washing Painter, c.430-420 BC, app.I, no. C21; Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 52225. Source: BAPD 214990: <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/XDB/ASP/recordDetails.asp?id=D69C7FC6-7CED-42CC-B688-D1769354A2E>.



Fig. 49 Delphic Amphictyony. Silver stater of 338/6-334/3 BC  
Source: Tsangari (2011), 69.



Fig. 50 Attic marble relief from the excavations of the American School at  
the deme of Ikaria, c.330-320 BC. Source: Voutiras (1982), pl. 31, 3.





Fig. 51 Attic red-figure *pyxis* from Spina attributed to the Marlay Painter, c.430 BC, app.I, no. D9; Ferrara, Museo Nazionale de Spina T27CVP (20298). Source: Metzger (1987), 112, fig. 1.



Fig. 52 Attic red-figure *hydria* attributed to the Manner of the Nikoxenos Painter, c.490 BC, app.I, no. C3; Canino Collection. Source: Gerhard (1840), pl. 28.



Fig. 53 Attic red-figure *bell-krater* from Camarina attributed to the Polygnotos Group, 450-425 BC, app.I, no. D8; Syracuse, Museum Nazionale 45911. Source: LIMC 2, s.v. Apollon, fig. 747 [Kokkourou- Alewras].



Fig. 54 Attic red-figure *pelike* attributed to the Oinante Painter, c.460 BC, app.I, no. D13; Rome, Museo Etrusco Gregoriano Vaticano II 63, I. Source: *LIMC* Suppl. Ion, add. 1 [Shapiro].



Fig. 55 Attic red-figure stand from Naukratis attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter, c.450 BC, app.I, no. D6; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR P13. Source: Lamb (1930), pl. 38, 1.

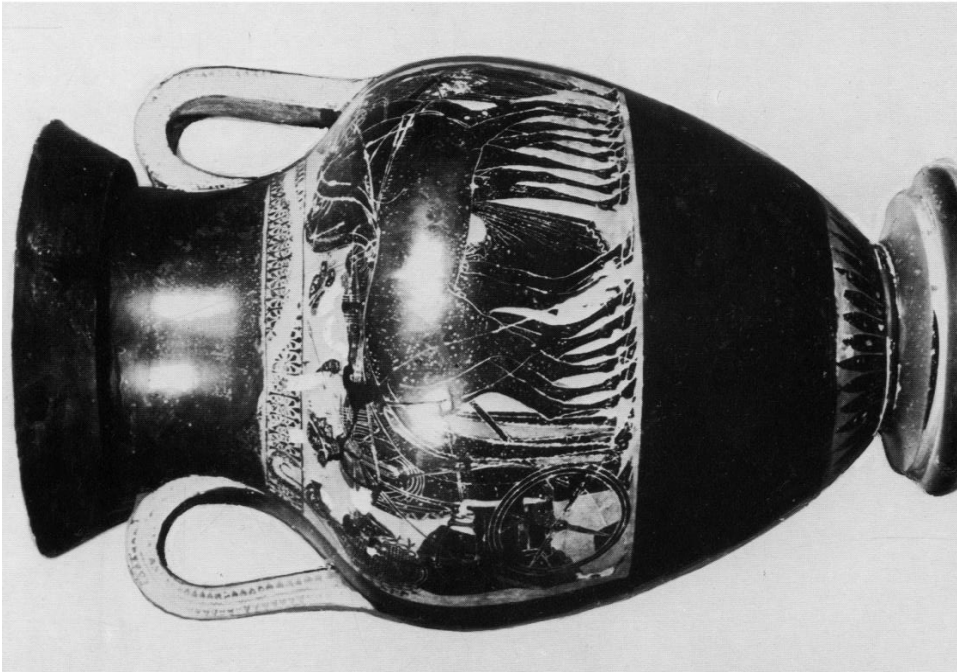


Fig. 56 Attic black-figure belly-ampphora from Agrigento, attributed to the Dikaios Painter, 520-500 BC, app.I, no. A6; Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Nazionale C1954; Source: Calderone (1985), pl. 14.

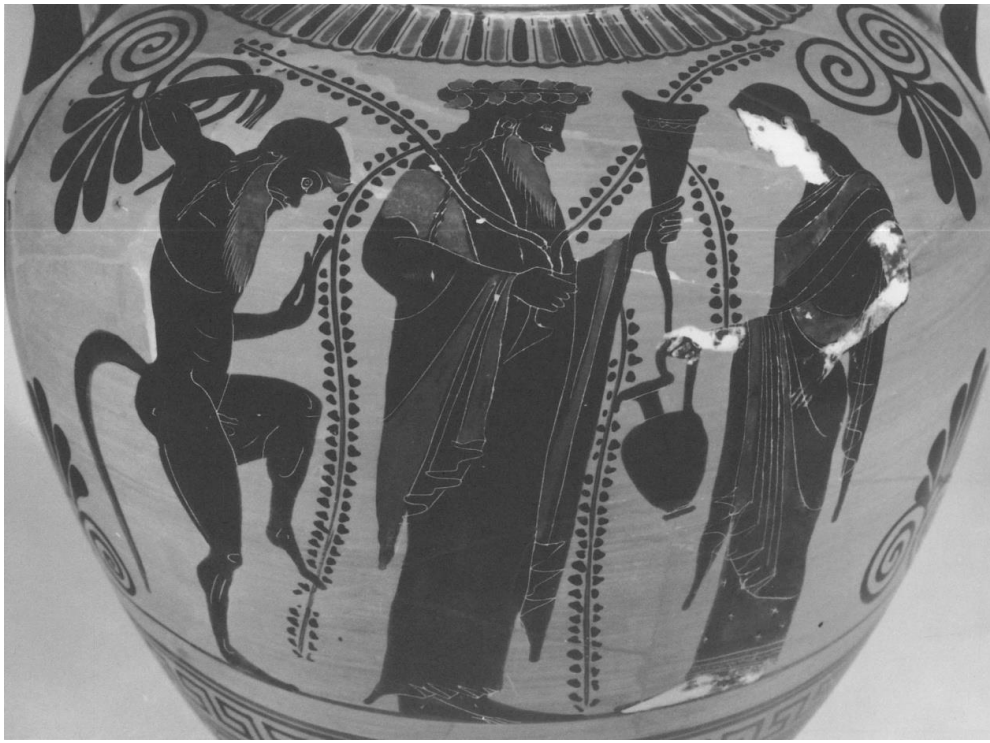


Fig. 57 Attic black-figure neck-amphora attributed to the Antimenes Painter, c.520 BC, app.I, no. A23; Basel, Market, Palladion. Source: Mizuta (1991), pl. 59, 1.



Fig. 58 Attic black-figure belly-amphora attributed to the Painter of Louvre of c.510 BC; app.I, no. B21; Paris, Musée du Louvre F215bis. Source: BAPD 301648, <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/XDB/ASP/recordDetails.asp?recordCount=1&start=0>



Fig. 59 Attic black-figure *hydria* attributed to the Antimenes Painter, 530-510 BC, app.I, no. B11; Basel, A, Wilhelm 340471. Source: Burow (1989), pl. 72, no. 72.

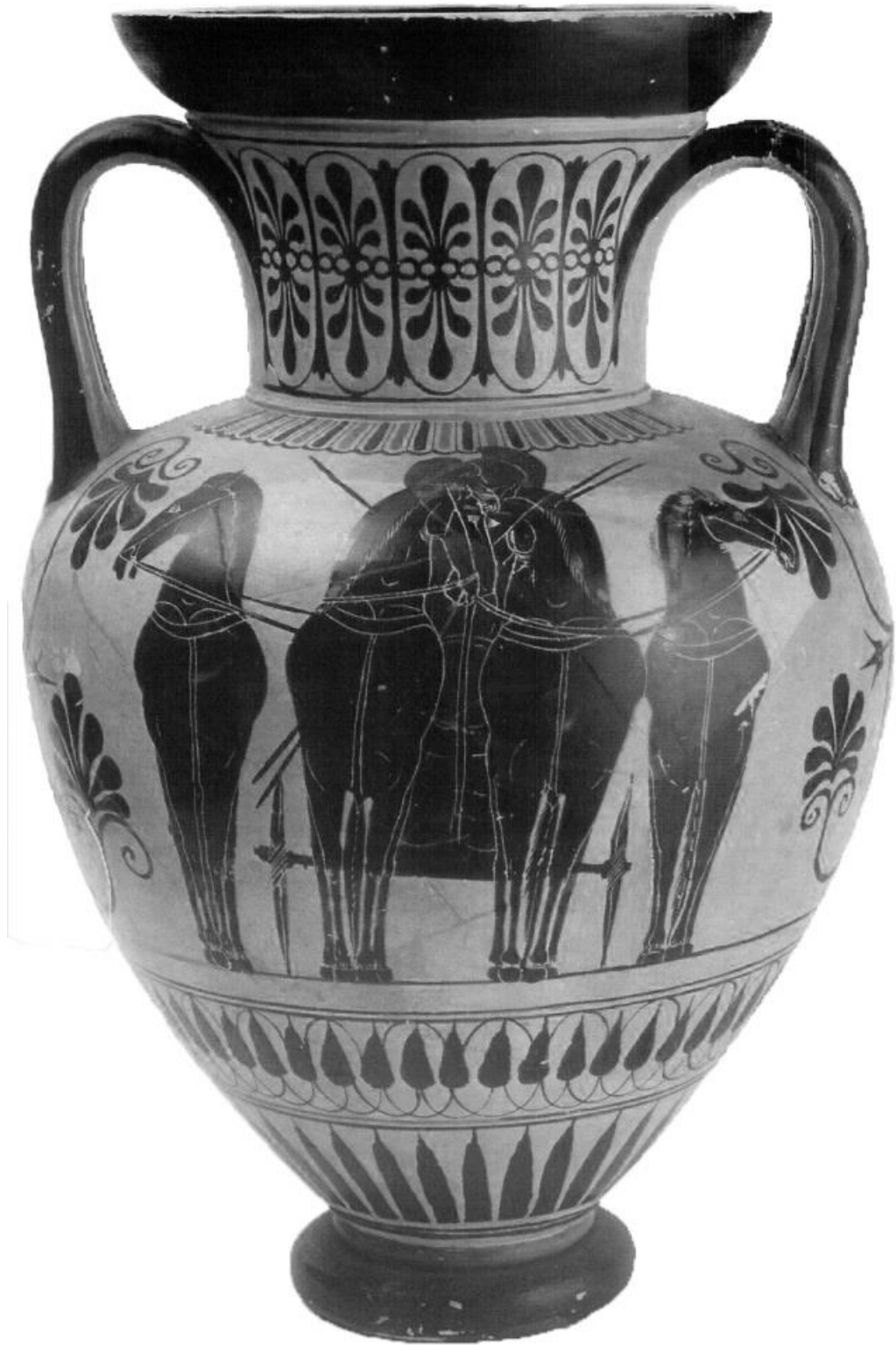


Fig. 60 Attic black-figure neck-amphora attributed to the Circle of the Antimenes Painter, c.520- 510 BC, app.I, no. A22; Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts II1B41. Source: Sidorova (1985), 22 (42).



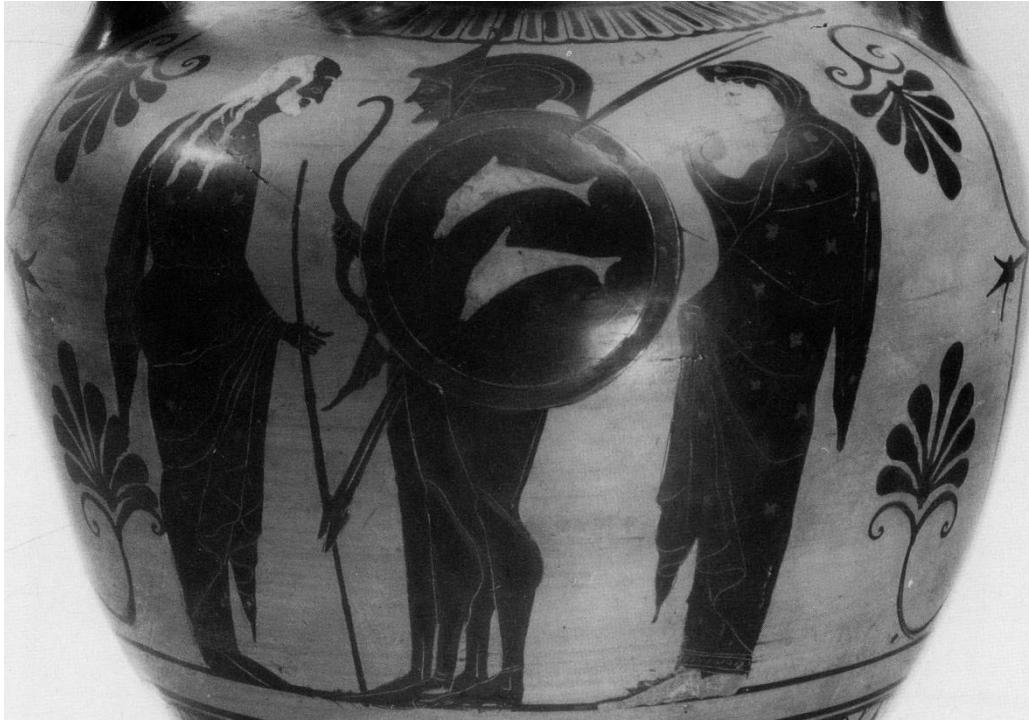


Fig. 61 Attic black-figure neck-amphora attributed to the Antimenes Painter, 530-510 BC, app.I, no. B13; Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum B256 (1496). Source: Kunze-Götte (1992), pl. 51.



Fig. 62 Attic black-figure neck-amphora from Vulci, attributed near the Group of Toronto 305, c.520 BC, app.I, no. A28; Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden PC40 Source: *LIMC* 5, s.v. Kaineus, fig. 23 [Laufer].



Fig. 63 Black-figure neck-amphora from Vulci attributed to the Leagros Group of 520-500 BC, app.I, no.A32; Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum 212. Source: BAPD 302145, <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/XDB/ASP/recordDetails.asp?recordCount=1&start=0>



Fig. 64 Attic black-figure belly-amphora, related to the Antimenes Painter, c.510 BC, app.I no. B3; New York, Metropolitan Museum 41.162.174; Source: Von Bothmer (1963), pl. 43, 3.



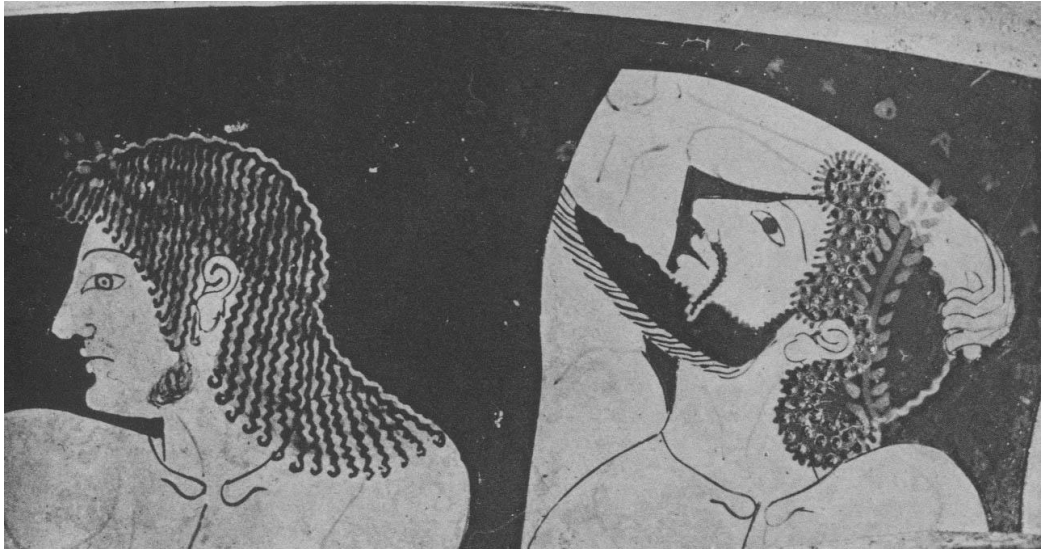
Fig. 65 Attic black-figure neck-amphora attributed to Group E, c.540 BC, app.I, no. A13; Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 1472; Source: Kunze-Götte (1970), pl. 350



Fig. 66 Attic black-figure neck-amphora from Vulci attributed to the Antimenes Painter, c.510 BC, app.I, no. B25; Munich, Antikensammlungen 1576 (J145). Source: Kunze-Götte (1973), pl. 390.



Fig. 67 (a, b) Attic red-figure *kalyx-krater* by Euphronios, late sixth cent. BC; Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlung und Glyptothek 8935. Source: Neer (2002), 112, fig. 53.

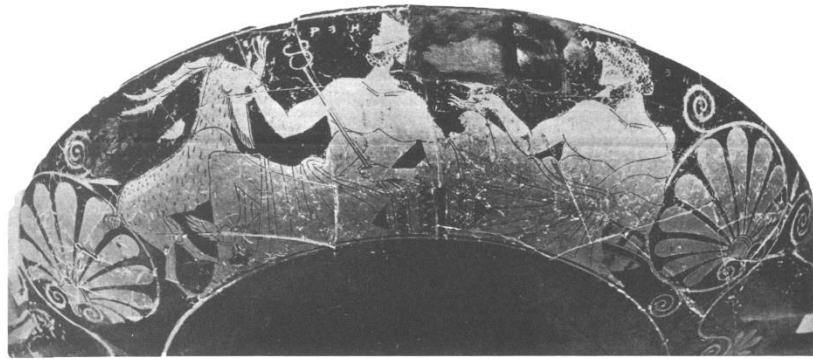


(b)

Fig. 67.b (detail)



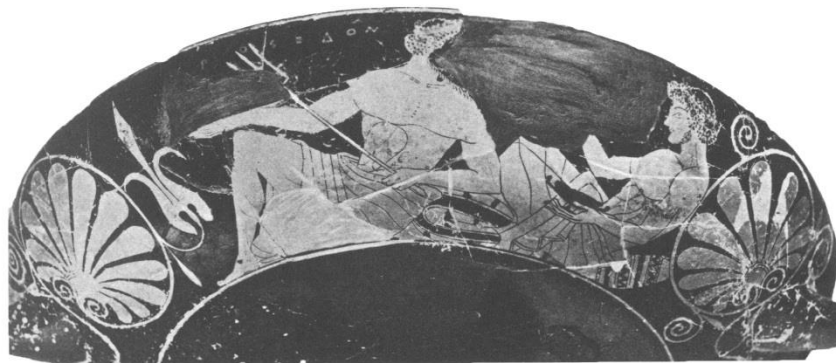
Fig. 68 Attic red-figure fragment (cup), attributed to the Brygos Painter of c.480 BC; Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 546. Source: Lissarrague (2001), 35, fig. 25.



(a)



(b)



(c)

Fig. 69 (a-c) Attic red-figure cup from Orvieto, attributed to the Ambrosios Painter, c.510 BC; Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 73127. Source: Magi (1959), pl. 75.



(a) *Krateriskos*



(b) Fragment of a *krateriskos*



(c) Fragment of a *krateriskos*



(d) Fragments of *krateriskoi*

Fig. 70 a-d. *Krateriskoi* (fragments) from the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, first half of fifth cent. BC; Brauron, Archaeological Museum. Source: author.



Fig. 71 Attic black-figure cup of the Siana type (fragment), attributed to the Heidelberg Painter, c.560 BC; Palermo, Museo Regionale 1856. Source: *LIMC* 3, s.v. Cheiron, fig. 45 [Gisler-Huwiler].



Fig. 72 Attic black-figure amphora, attributed to the Bot-Band Class, late sixth century BC; Munich, Antikensammlungen 1615a. Source: Kunze-Götte (1982), pl. 29.





Fig. 73 Attic black-figure neck-amphora attributed to the London B213 Painter, 540-530 BC; London, British Museum B213. Source: Dasen (2005), 215.

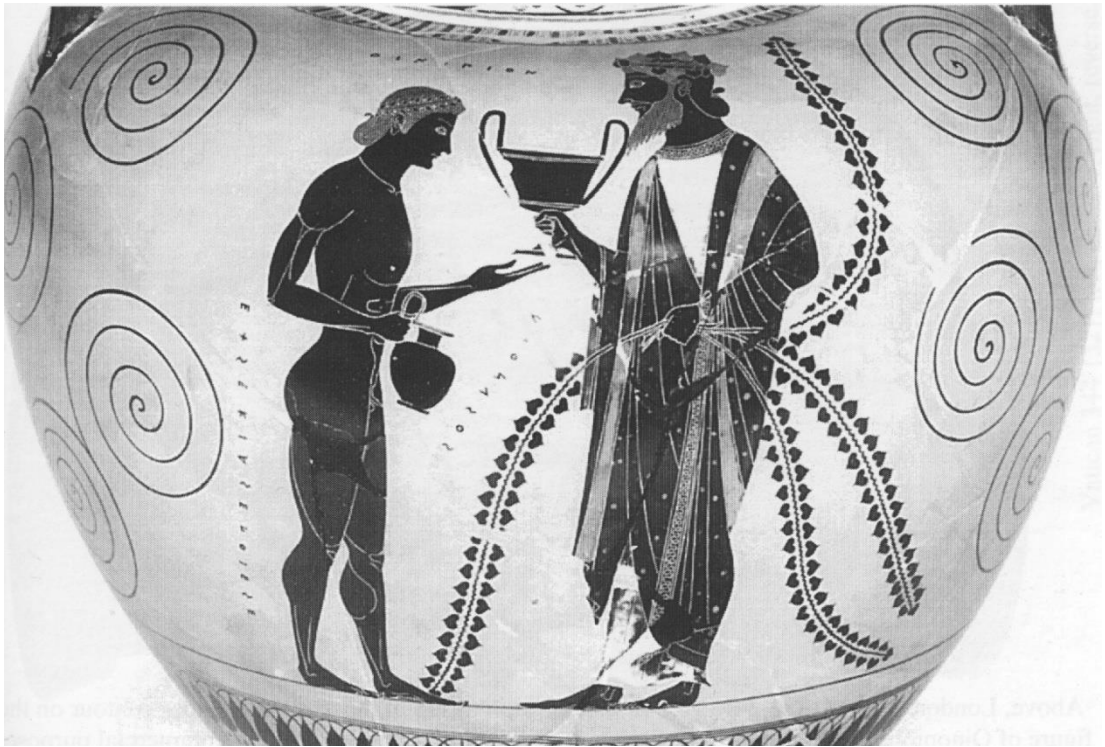


Fig. 74 Attic black-figure neck- amphora signed by Exekias, 530-525 BC; London, British Museum 1836.2. Source: Mackay (2010), pl. 75.



Fig. 75 Attic black-figure neck-amphora, attributed to the Amasis Painter, 550-540 BC; Munich, Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 1383. Source: Carpenter (1986), pl. 14a.



Fig. 76 Attic black-figure neck-amphora, the Amasis Painter, 550-540 BC; Munich, Antikensammlungen 8763. Source: Carpenter (1986), pl. 14b.

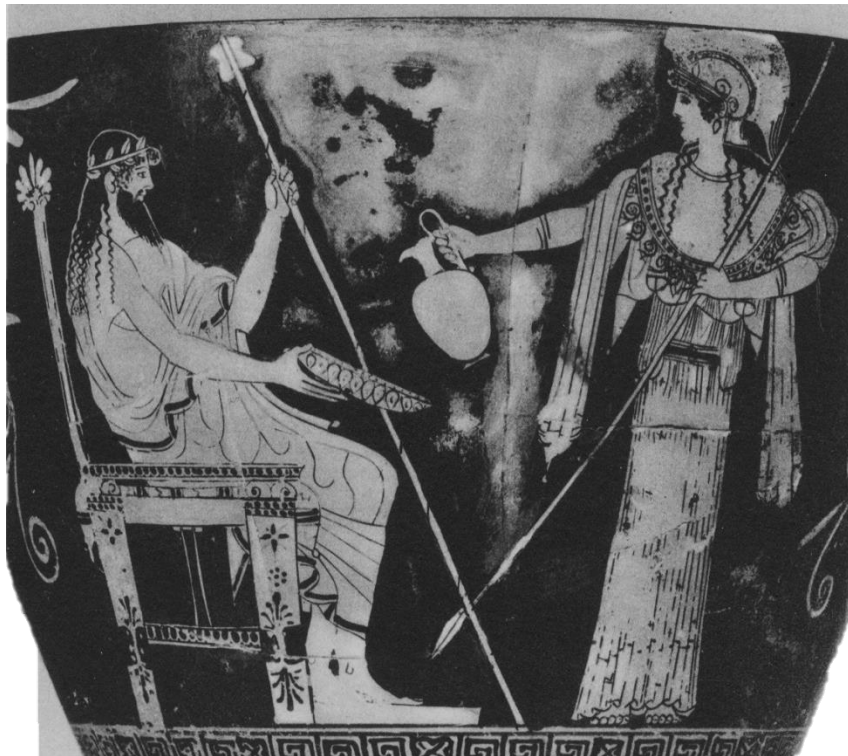


Fig. 77 Attic red-figure *skyphos* attributed to the Lewis Painter, 470-450 BC; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum IV3711. Source: Eichler (1951), pl. 33, 1.



Fig. 78 Attic red-figure *pelike* from Vulci attributed to the Painter of the Birth of Athena, 470-460 BC; London, British Museum E410. Source: Boardman (1975b), fig. 355.



Fig. 79, a-b Attic white-ground *lekythos* (unattributed), c.460-450 BC; Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1754. Source: Oakley (2004), figs. 59-60.





Fig. 80 Attic red-figure *hydria* attributed to the Niobid Painter, 460-450 BC; New York, Metropolitan Museum 41.162.98. Source: Bookidis and Stroud (1987), fig. 24.



Fig. 81 Attic red-figure *hydria* attributed to the Chicago Painter, 450-440 BC; Munich, Antikensammlungen 2432 (J340). Source: *LIMC* 4, s.v. Demeter, fig. 367 [Beschi].

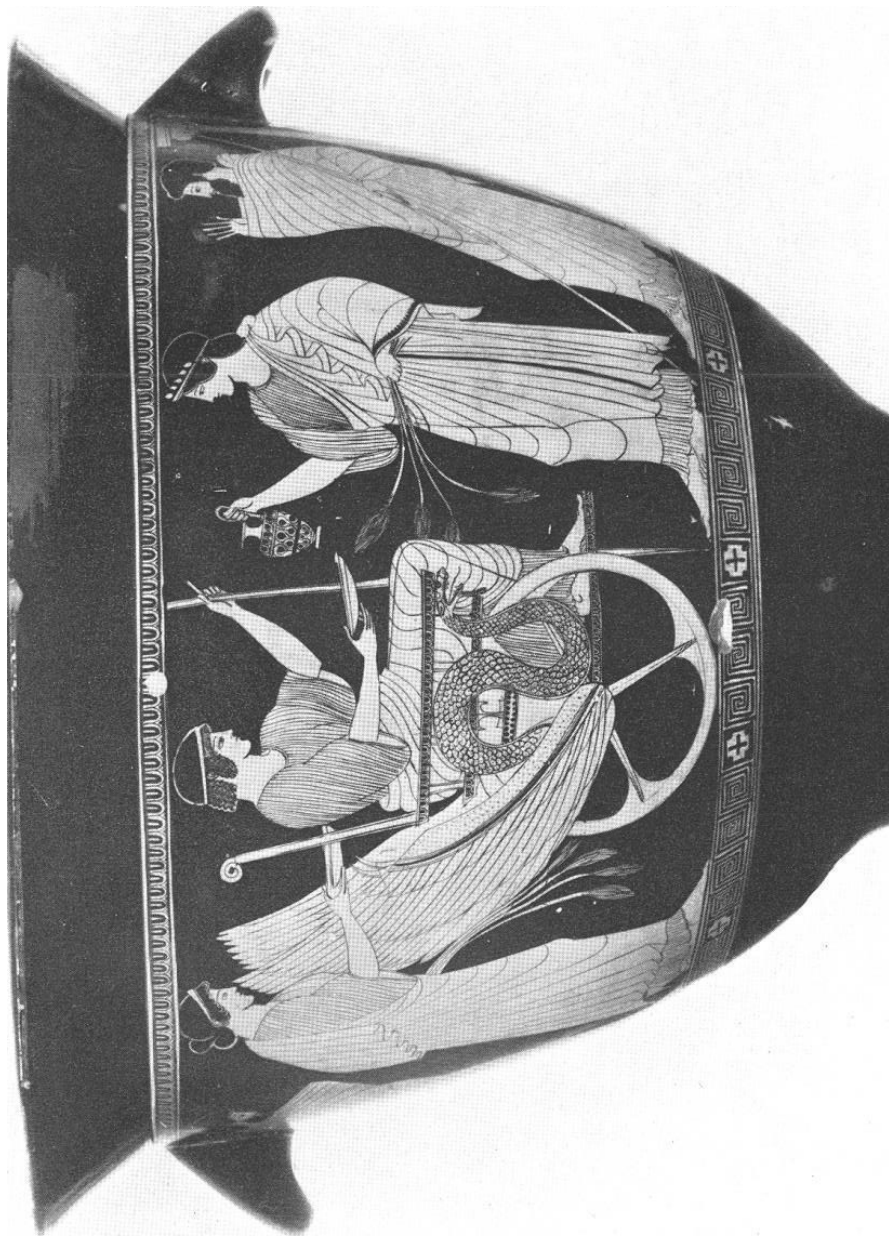


Fig. 82 Attic red-figure bell-krater attributed to the Oreithya Painter, 470-465 BC; Palermo, Museo Archeologico Nazionale V779. Source: Peschlow-Bindokat (1972), 84, fig. 17





Fig. 83 Attic red-figure *column-krater* attributed to the Harrow Painter, c.470 BC; Kassel Staatliche Museen T716. Source: Lullies (1972), pl. 33, 1.



Fig. 84 Attic red-figure nuptial *lebes* attributed to the Earliest Mannerists, c.470 BC, app.I, no. D2; Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1172. Source: Sabetai (2008), 297, fig. 8a.

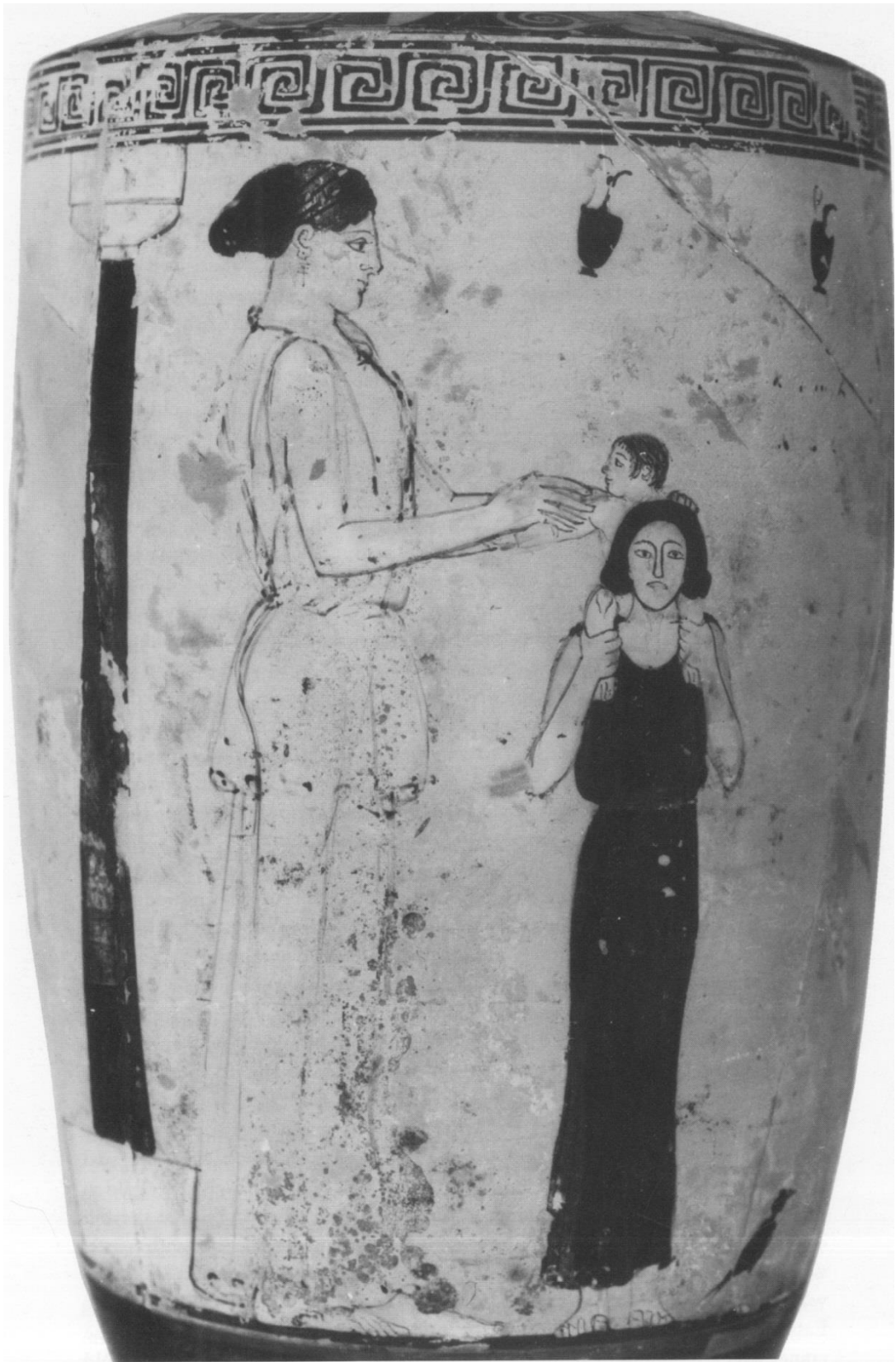


Fig. 85 Attic white-ground *lekythos* attributed to the Timokrates Painter, 460 BC; Athens, National Archaeological Museum 12771. Source: Oakley (2004), fig. 14.



Fig. 86 Attic red-figure cup (interior) attributed to the Briseis Painter, 470 BC; Basel Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS442. Source: Slehoferova (1984), pl. 13.

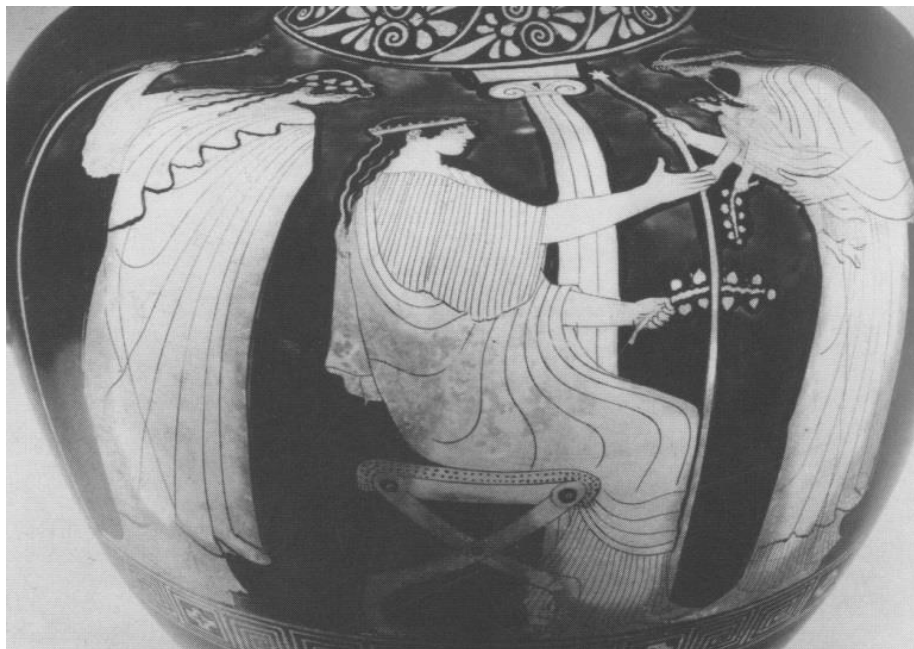


Fig. 87 Attic red-figure *hydria* from Agrigento attributed to the Syleus Painter, 490-470 BC; Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 440. Source: *LIMC* 3, s.v. Dionysos, fig. 701 [Gasparri].



Fig. 88 Attic red-figure *pelike* attributed to the Siren Painter, 480-470 BC; Paris, Musée du Louvre G229. Source: Shapiro (2003), 93, fig. 6.



Fig. 89 Attic red-figure *kalyx-krater* from Agrigento attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter, c.460-450 BC; Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 208. Source: Hafner (1951), pl. 19.



Fig. 90 Attic red-figure *stamnos* attributed to the Painter of Munich 2413, 460-450 BC; Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2413. Source: Reeder (1995), 256, fig. 68, side A.