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Female Heads on Greek, South Italian, and Sicilian Vases From the Sixth to the Third Century B.C. As Representations of Persephone/Kore

presented by

Pamela A. Lehnert

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Masters degree in Art History

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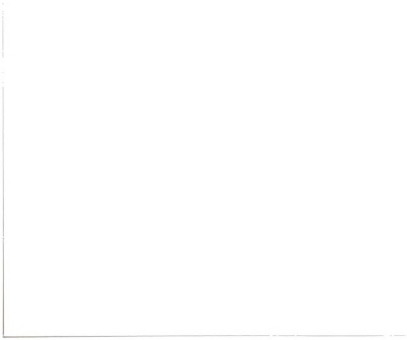
Date Feb. 10, 1978

O-7639



FEMALE HEADS ON GREEK, SOUTH ITALIAN, AND SICILIAN VASES FROM THE SIXTH TO THE THIRD CENTURY B.C. AS REPRESENTATIONS OF PERSEPHONE/KORE

By

Pamela A. Lehnert

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Art

1978

Frontispiece: Female head. Apulian red-figure skyphos.
370-350 B.C. Trieste Civico Museum, S. 493.

ABSTRACT

FEMALE HEADS ON GREEK, SOUTH ITALIAN, AND SICILIAN VASES
FROM THE SIXTH TO THE THIRD CENTURY B.C.
AS REPRESENTATIONS OF PERSEPHONE/KORE

By

Pamela A. Lehnert

This thesis is an attempt to show that large female heads painted on Greek, South Italian, and Sicilian vases from the sixth to the third century B.C. are representations of Persephone/Kore.

Section One is a Vase Catalogue containing examples from Greece, Sicily, and South Italy which display large female heads and the more popular vase-scenes. Vases with representations of Anodos scenes are also contained in this section. It is shown that representations of large female heads resemble the Anodos of Kore found on vases of the same period.

Section Two is an examination of relevant archaeological evidence such as sanctuaries, temples, terracottas, and vases. These indicate the popularity of Persephone/Kore's cult. Terracottas, ancient literature, and customs; in particular religious, bridal, funeral, and agricultural customs, are used in interpreting vase-scenes and denote a correlation with Persephone/Kore's cult.

To my parents,

for their optimism and faith.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to express her appreciation to Dr. Paul Deussen, Dr. Molly Teasdale Smith, and Dr. William Tyrrell for their guidance in the writing of this thesis.

I am grateful to Dr. Mikal E. Saltveit, Jr. for his advice and solace. I also wish to thank Mrs. Janice Simpson for her encouragement and guidance. Her friendship and understanding have provided support during my education and the development of this thesis.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

For a guide to the abbreviations used in this thesis consult American Journal of Archaeology, Volume 74 (1970). I add the following abbreviations.

ABFV	John Boardman, Athenian Black Figure Vases (London 1974).
ABL	E. Haspels, Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi (1936).
ABV	J. D. Beazley, Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters (Oxford 1956).
ARV^2	J. D. Beazley, Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1963).
ARVS	Gisela M. A. Richter, Attic Red-Figured Vases, A Survey (Yale University Press 1958).
B. M. Cat. Vases	British Museum Catalogue of Vases.
BVWH	A. D. Ure, "Boeotian Vases with Women's Heads", AJA 57 (1953) 245-49.
CA	G. Van Hoorn, Choes and Anthesteria (Leiden 1951).
EVP	J. D. Beazley, Etruscan Vase-Painting (Oxford 1947).
EVPC	Mario A. Del Chiaro, Etruscan Red-Figured Vase-Painting at Caere (University of California Press 1974).
GrP	Arthur Lane, Greek Pottery (London 1963).
GrPP	R. M. Cook, Greek Painted Pottery (London 1960).
GVU	Hellmut Sichtermann, Griechische Vasen in Unteritalien (Berlin 1966).
HVP	A. D. Trendall, "Head Vases in Padula", Apollo 2 (1962).

Para.	J. D. Beazley, Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters and to Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters (Oxford 1971).
PA	A. D. Trendall, "Paestan Addenda", Papers of the British School at Rome 27 (1959) 1-37.
PP	A. D. Trendall, "Paestan Pottery: A Revision and a Supplement", Papers of the British School at Rome 20 (1952) 1-53.
Prol.^{2}	J. E. Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion. 2nd ed. (Cambridge 1908).
RVLCS	A. D. Trendall, The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania, and Sicily (Oxford 1967).
Sitz. Ber. Akad. Munich.	Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Munich.
SIVP	A. D. Trendall, South Italian Vase Painting (British Museum 1966).

INTRODUCTION

The identity of the female head represented on vases from Greece, Sicily, and South Italy, produced from the sixth to the third century B.C., has not been extensively studied. This thesis will attempt to identify the female head as a representation of Persephone/Kore and determine its possible significance.

The three most common depictions of the female head on vases from Greece, Sicily, and South Italy are: 1) profile heads, sometimes wearing accessories such as a snood or earrings (Frontispiece); 2) full-faced heads emerging from flora or tendrils of vegetation (Figures 1-2); and 3) full-faced heads flanked by wings. This thesis will investigate the identity of the female heads as described in the first two categories; profile heads, and full-faced heads emerging from vegetation.

Although the identity of the female head has not been the subject of any major research, some authors have alluded to her possible identity. In scholarly literature, E. Jastrow investigated the identity of female heads shown emerging from tendrils on terracotta reliefs from Magna Graecia, Sicily, and Central Italy.[1] She connected these reliefs with the worship of chthonian cults and concluded that the female head represented was the same as on South Italian funeral vessels such as those found in the Jatta Collection in Ruvo. She also concluded that the identity of the female head on these reliefs and on the South Italian funeral vessels:

> . . . is the great goddess of nature, of life in general, who at the same time is the goddess of death, and who, as we know, in various places became identified with other great local divinities, with Demeter, with Persephone, Hera, Aphrodite.[2]

Although E. Jastrow established a connection between the female head and a goddess of nature, her study dealt exclusively with females heads surrounded by tendrils and flora on terracotta reliefs and vases. The more common representation of a female head in profile as depicted on vases was not studied.

A. Cambitoglou, in a study of red-figure vases depicting female heads, stated that it was highly improbable that the heads of women are representations of the Birth of Aphrodite.[3] He interpreted the female head between two wings:

> . . . as abbreviations of Nike, but the feminine features of these heads cannot be decisive in the matter, and the possibility that they may be abbreviated representations of Erotes of the Hermaphrodite type, so frequent in this period, cannot be excluded altogether.[4]

A. D. Trendall, in discussing the Persephone Krater by the Iliupersis Painter, suggested a different identity for the female head.[5] The neck of this vase is decorated with a female head in floral surroundings which bears the inscription "Aura". Trendall stated that this head might possibly give "a clue to the identification of the female heads which appear so frequently on smaller vases."[6] Little evidence supports Trendall's supposition that female heads are representations of Aura. Although Aura was associated with flowers and tendrils, which she is often shown carrying, her cult was not sufficiently popular to warrant the frequent depiction of her head on funeral vases.[7] Nor would the

purposeful disembodiment of her head be a characteristic with which she was associated.

The frequent occurrence of a female head on vases implies that the deity represented was very popular. Also, the funeral nature of the vases and the funeral scenes depicted on them requires a deity associated with death. Persephone/Kore fulfills all of these requirements.

In this thesis, archaeological and literary evidence will be presented to verify the identity of the female head as a representation of Persephone/Kore. Of course, local variations probably existed in the cult of Persephone/Kore, for which there is no evidence in art or archaeology. The cult of Demeter and Persephone/Kore which I will present is one which was practiced at Athens. The Lokrian religion is briefly discussed because it provides evidence that the Persephone/Kore cult was combined with the Aphrodite cult. Examining the integration of these two goddesses helps us to determine the meaning of some of the vase scenes which depict articles associated with the cult of Aphrodite as well as the cult of Persephone/Kore. Greek agricultural, bridal, religious, and funeral practices are examined to interpret the scenes found on vases with representations of female heads.

Heads depicted on vases and their development are described and discussed in the Vase Catalogue, which is presented at the beginning of this thesis. For purposes of clarity and so that the reader is made aware of the fact that other types of heads were depicted on ancient vases, I have included male heads as well as heads of satyrs, youths, old men, Athena, and others in the Vase Catalogue. It should be noted, however, that these are the exception rather than the rule and that the female head predominates in popularity. In examining this catalogue,

one will observe that vases depicting female heads are common in many fabrics, but only in South Italy do they become, as A. D. Ure describes, "an obsession".[8] It will be shown that this "obsession" was in keeping with the importance of Persephone/Kore's cult in South Italy and Sicily. Although many of the fabrics overlap in date, the Vase Catalogue is arranged in chronological fashion whenever possible. Each fabric is classified by vase-shape, painter, or school. All three of these are provided when known. Abbreviations used for referring to specific parts of the vases are: obverse (A); reverse (B); and interior (I).

Since the purpose of this thesis is to investigate the identity of the female head, the subject matter of the scenes, not the stylistic distinctions between various schools of painters, will be emphasized. For stylistic distinctions between painters and schools, A. D. Trendall provides a detailed catalogue in The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania, and Sicily.[9] Therefore, the selection of vases in the catalogue was not based on the importance of the artist but on the presence of a female head on the vase and the popularity of certain vase scenes.

The Vase Catalogue is followed by a presentation of the evidence which is discussed in detail in the rest of the thesis. The more commonly depicted scenes on vases with representations of the female head are interpreted. The cult of Persephone/Kore in Greece, Sicily, and South Italy is examined to determine its significance and to substantiate the likelihood of Persephone/Kore's image in the form of a female head appearing on vases from these regions. Terracottas from these same locations are examined and provide archaeological evidence of the popularity of the cult of Persephone/Kore. Agricultural festivals are then discussed and also indicate the importance of Persephone/Kore. The

Anodos, an agricultural festival celebrating the resurrection of Kore, is studied in particular, for it provides a link between the popular representations of the Anodos of Kore and the female head. Establishing a connection between Persephone/Kore and the female head on vases before the appearance of Anodos scenes is tenuous and therefore will not be attempted in this thesis.

The term "head vases" is used throughout this thesis to define vases on which female heads are depicted. This term was established by Trendall in The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania, and Sicily,[10] and should not be confused with moulded vases in the shape of heads as catalogued by J. D. Beazley under Head Vases in Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters.[11]

The term "corn" is used in accordance with the European sense of corn, meaning a cereal grain such as wheat, barley, or oats.

When referring specifically to the goddess of the underworld, the name Persephone is used. When discussing the specific agricultural attributes of this goddess, the name Kore is used. Both names, i.e. Persephone/Kore are stated when applicable.

NOTES - INTRODUCTION

[1]Elisabeth Jastrow, "Two Terracotta Reliefs in American Museums", AJA 50 (1946) 67-80.

[2]Jastrow (supra n. 1) 74.

[3]A. Cambitoglou, "Groups of Apulian Red-Figured Vases Decorated with Heads of Women or of Nike", JHS 74 (1954) 121.

[4]Cambitoglou (supra n. 3).

[5]A. D. Trendall, SIVP (British Museum 1966) 20-21.

[6]Trendall (supra n. 5), see also, Konrad Schauenburg, "Zur Symbolik Unteritalischer Rankenmotive", RömMitt 64 (1957) 212.

[7]T. B. L. Webster believes that the winged female-figure found in marriage scenes on loutrophoroi and nuptial scenes and is often identified as Nike, is Aura. AJA 69 (1965) 64.

[8]A. D. Ure, "Boeotian Vases with Women's Heads", AJA 57 (1953) 249.

[9]A. D. Trendall, RVLCS (Oxford 1967).

[10]Trendall (supra n. 9).

[11]J. D. Beazley, ARV^2 (Oxford 1963) 1529-1552.

SECTION ONE

VASE CATALOGUE

PART I

CORINTHIAN HEAD VASES[1]

Round Aryballoi

1. Payne 483. Berlin 1061.
2. Payne 803. Pl. 31, 5-6. British Museum 65.7.20.19. From Corinth.
3. Payne 804. From Argos.
4. Payne 805. Pl. 31, 7-8. British Museum A 1042.
5. Payne 812. Delos.
6. Payne 844. Athens, Musée National, Inv. 969. From Tanagra.

Vase no. 483 is contained within a well-defined group which have in common similar patterns such as cross-hatching and female heads drawn in outline on the back of the vase, and a star or a wheel-shaped ornament below this. Payne assigns nos. 483, 803-812, and 844 to the middle Corinthian period. Based on the style of the outlined heads, nos. 803-805 can be dated to the same period as the Gorgoneion cups, i.e. ca. 590-580 B.C.[2] An aryballos depicting two bearded male heads, no. 844, is the first vase I know of on which two heads face one another.

Stemmed Pyxides With Handles

1. Payne 907. Paris, Cab. Méd. CVA, pl. 10, 8-10.
2. Payne 908. Pl. 29, 6 and 8. New York 06.1021.14.
3. Payne 910. Palermo.

Nos. 907, 908 and 910 are attributed to the same painter and belong to the middle Corinthian period.[3] They are decorated with male heads which share the surface of the vase with the usual Corinthian motifs, panthers, goats, sirens, lions, and bulls.

Kotyle

1. Payne 941. Pl. 31, 9-10. Louvre L 173. From Corinth. Helmeted head on the bottom.

Cups With Offset Rims

1. Payne 994. Pl. 31, 11 and fig. 35C. Louvre C. A. 2511.
2. Payne 995. Athens 992. From Corinth.
3. Payne 995A. Figs. 16 and 35E. Athens 945.

Nos. 994-995A belong to the Gorgoneion group.[4] A female head is depicted on the interior of these cups.

Amphora

1. Payne 1154. Pl. 35, 3 and fig. 35D. Heidelberg. Head of a youth in shoulder panel. Early sixth century B.C.

Column-kraters

1. Payne 1165. Louvre. HP: Male heads.
2. Payne 1181A. Dresden 1604. From Nola. HP: Male heads.
3. Payne 1181B. Rome, Villa Giulia. HP: Male heads.[5]
4. Payne 1197. Orvieto, Faïna Coll. HP: Two female heads on each plate. Red slip.

5. Payne 1463. Louvre E 615. From Caere. HP: Female heads.
6. Payne 1465. Rome, Pallazzo dei Conservatori 152 (43). HP: Male heads (repainted).
7. Johnson, pl. XXXII, C. HP: A male and a female head.
8. Johnson, pl. XXXII, A. HP: Female head.

The most striking fact which emerges from this list of Corinthian head vases is that the earliest and the majority of the vases date from the middle Corinthian period, i.e. ca. 600-575 B.C. Only nos. 1463 and 1465 date from the late Corinthian period, i.e. ca. 575-550 B.C. These examples indicate that head vases made their first appearance in the early sixth century B.C. It is also worthy of note that male heads were just as popular as female heads on Corinthian vases. Moreover, Corinthian head vases were sufficiently popular for Attic vase-painters of this time to copy the idea. The correspondences between Corinthian head vases and Attic head vases are discussed in Part II.

NOTES - PART I

[1]Nos. 483-1465 were selected from Humfry Payne, Necrocorinthia: A Study of Corinthian Art in the Archaic Period (Oxford 1931). Column-kraters nos. 7 and 8 are taken from Franklin P. Johnson, "Eight Pieces of Pottery", AJA 53 (1949) 241-48.

[2]Payne (supra n. 1) 303.

[3]Payne (supra n. 1) 308.

[4]Payne (supra n. 1) 312.

[5]According to Mingazzini, there is a male head on one plate and a female head on the other. P. Mingazzini, Vasi della Collezione Castellani, 135, no. 362, pl. 30, as cited by Johnson (supra n. 1) 242, n. 6.

PART II

ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE HEAD VASES

Amphora

1. Denmark, Copenhagen, Musée National, Inv. 13769. CVA, fasc. 8, pl. 313. A: Two bearded male heads on body of vase.

Horse-head Amphorae[1]

2. Munich 1360, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst. GrP, pl. 32; GrPP, pl. 21A; CVA, pl. 1-2 and pl. 3, 1; ABV, 16. A: Female head. B: Horse head.
3. Louvre E 822. CVA, pl. 9, 9 and 12; ABV, 17. A: Male head. B: Horse head.

At the beginning of the sixth century, Attic amphorae were characterized by a rather high belly with rectangular panels reserved for decoration, while the rest of the vase was painted black.[2] Occasionally, the head of a man or a woman would be represented within these panels. More commonly, these panels depicted the head of a horse. The three amphorae listed above belong to the category of panel amphorae.

Beazley suggests that the horse-head amphora was created by the Gorgon Painter, since the horses resemble those on his Louvre dinos.[3] At any rate, several artists were involved in the production of over a hundred known horse-head amphorae. However, their popularity was short, and Beazley doubts "if any of the horse-heads are later than the middle

of the sixth century."[4]

Although the panel amphora was an Attic innovation, it is probable that the use of heads on vases was of Corinthian origin. Resolving the question of whether the Attic head vases or the Corinthian head vases came first is difficult, since the earliest Corinthian and Attic head vases were produced at about the same time and have much in common stylistically. Attic amphora no. 1 and Corinthian stemmed pyxis no. 908 are strikingly similar. Two bearded male heads face one another on both vases. The differences between the heads are extremely slight. The most noticeable distinction is the absence of white fillets on the Corinthian heads and the eyes do not contain an iris as on the Attic heads.

The differences in style which occur on the other parts of the vases are characteristic of the differences between Attic and Corinthian vases. The heads on the Attic vase are contained within a reserved panel, which was common on Attic amphorae of this time. Minimal decoration was characteristic of the simplified scheme used on Attic vases during this period. The only objects on one side of the Attic vase are the two heads and two small rosettes between them. The heads on the Corinthian vase are contained within a band-like frieze which encircles the vase in the typical Corinthian manner. The decorations are more ornate on the Corinthian vase than on the Attic. Indeed, the Corinthian vase becomes very involved with its sirens, goats, and panthers which share the zone with many rosettes interspersed as filler ornaments. Rays encircle the top of the vase and there is another slimmer band about the foot.

According to Payne, no. 908 belongs to the end of the middle Corinthian period. The Attic vase is by the Gorgon Painter, whose

mature works such as the Louvre dinos date ca. 590 B.C.[5] The Attic amphora is therefore the earlier of the two. However, it does not necessarily follow that the concept of heads on vases originated with Attic vases. Another Corinthian vase, an aryballos, no. 844 is not as advanced as no. 908 and probably predates it, and most likely is earlier than the Attic amphora as well. Still there is Attic horse-head amphora no. 1 to be considered in determining the origin of these head vases. Some authors date this vase at 600 B.C.[6] It is also interesting to note the resemblance between the head of a youth in a shoulder panel on Corinthian no. 1154 and the heads found on Attic horse-head amphorae. In this case, the Corinthian vase was undoubtedly influenced by the Attic innovation of a reserved shoulder panel.

It is obvious that determining a place of origin for these head vases on the basis of their age is a difficult task. The only certain statement which can be made is that their usage seems to have surfaced sometime between 600 and 590 B.C.

Other factors must be considered before a conclusion can be made about the origin of the head vase. At the time that head vases made their first appearance, Corinth had "for a generation or more been steadily influencing Attica, and the Gorgon Painter kept abreast of current Corinthian improvements."[7] Attica had for several years used Corinthian pottery as a source for decorative styles and vessel shapes. Corinth was well able to supply Attica with designs since Corinth was situated on the trade routes which radiated from the Isthmus. Certainly the idea of figures such as sirens, griffins, and as we have seen, heads facing one another was a long established Corinthian tradition. There was obviously a close connection between the Attic and Corinthian styles in

the first half of the sixth century B.C. but the fact that Attic vases began to be imported into Corinth early in the sixth century B.C. adds to the confusion.[9] Taking all matters into consideration it would seem that Corinth or Attica could have been responsible for the innovation of depicting heads on vases.

Siana Cups

The Civico Painter

1. Oxford 1942.2. ABV, 71. I: Head of youth.

The cup made its appearance in Attica in the 580's and readily became a popular shape. The shape and decoration are both Corinthian inventions.[10] The first of the Siana Cups is called the Komast Group, ca. 580-570 B.C. These depict padded dancers, which were a favorite subject on Corinthian vases from the latter part of the seventh century. Siana Cups, named after the cemetery in Rhodes where they were found, overlapped with and succeeded the Komast Group and date 575-550 B.C. The majority of the Siana Cups are by the C Painter and his followers. His choice of subject matter and his fond use of white and purple suggest that much of his style was influenced by Corinth.

Little Master Cups[11]

Eucheiros, son of Erogotimos, Potter

1. Berlin 1756. From Vulci. ABV, 162. A: Female head in outline.

Cups (lip-cups)

Lip-cups decorated with a female head in outline on each half of the exterior. Both A and B.

Hermogenes, Potter

1. Louvre F 87. From Vulci. CVA, pl. 85, 1-4; ABV, 164.
2. Munich 2163. (J. 30). From Vulci. ABV, 164.
3. Munich 2164. (J. 28). From Vulci. ABV, 164.
4. Castle Ashby, Northampton. JHS 52, p. 170, fig. 3; ABV, 164.
5. Basle Market (M.M.). Para., 68.

Phrynos, Potter

1. Boston 03.855. Frr. AJA (1905), 288-9; JHS 52, 171; ABV, 168.

Sakonides

1. Boston 66.816. Para., 71.
2. Athens. Fr. From Vari. Para., 71.
3. Naples, Astarita, 4. Fr. Para., 71.
4. Syracuse 7.355. Fr. From Megara Hyblaea. Para., 71.
5. Munich 2165. (J. 27). From Vulci. ABV, 171.
6. Berlin 1756. From Vulci. ABV, 171.
7. London B 401. From Vulci. CVA, pl. 14, 9; ABV, 171.
8. Bryn Mawr. Fr. From Cervetri. AJA (1916), 320; ABV, 171.
9. Sydney 39. JHS 59, 282; ABV, 171.
10. New York 51.125.10. Fr. ABV, 171.
11. Cab. Méd. Fr. From Italy. ABV, 171.

12. London B 402. From Vulci. CVA, pl. 12.10; ABV, 171.
13. Florence 71009. From Pescia Romana. ABV, 171.
14. Orvieto 291. From Orvieto. ABV, 171.
15. London B 402.1. Fr. From Salamis in Cyprus. JHS 49, pl. 16, 1; ABV, 171.
16. Berlin. Inv. 3152. From Vulci. ABV, 171.
17. Berlin 1757. Fr. ABV, 171.

Group of Louvre F 137

Cups (type A)

1. Louvre F 136. ABV, 203. Male and female heads on body of vase.
2. Leningrad. Fr. From Berezam. ABV, 203. Between eyes: Female head.

There are three chief varieties of the Little Master Cups: Lip Cup, Band Cup, and Droop Cup. The Lip Cups, which make use of the head as a decoration more than the others, began about 565 B.C. and were popular for about 30 years.

Column-kraters

1. Berlin. Inv. 5853. HP: Male head and female head.
2. Cambridge. CVA, fasc. 2, pl. 20, nos. 25, 26, 28.

The Painter of London B 76

1. Berlin. Inv. 3763. From Boeotia. ABV, 87. HP: Male heads on each.

Tyrrhenian Group

1. Athens, Acr., 696. Fr. From Athens. ABV, 104. HP: Male head.

Lydos

1. Leningrad. Frr. From Olbia. Para., 45. HP; Male head.
2. Athens, Acr., 697. Fr. From Athens. ABV, 108. Male head.
3. London 1948.10-15.1. ABV, 108. HP: Male head on each.

Related to Lydos

1. Athens, Agora P 198. Fr. From Athens. ABV, 119. HP: Heads of a youth and a woman.

The Painter of Vatican 309

1. Delos 593. From Delos. HP: Male head.
2. Athens, Agora P 13346. Fr. From Athens. ABV, 122. HP: Male head.

Near the Painter of Vatican 309

1. Boston F 351.4. Fr. From Naucratis. ABV, 122. HP: Male head.

The Painter of Louvre F 6

A list of column-kraters attributed to this artist can be found in Beazley, ABV, 124-125. Nos. 16, 21-27, and 30-31 contain handle plates with heads depicted on them.

In comparing Payne's catalogue of Corinthian column-kraters with heads depicted on the handle plates with the above list of Attic column-kraters, it is evident that handle-plates bearing representations of

heads were more common in Attica than in Corinth. A clue to the identity of these heads is given by Johnson in his analysis of Corinthian and Attic handle-plates. He states:

> Except for the Cambridge example, where the heads are turned to the right, all the plates with male and female heads have them in the same relative position, which occurs also in an Attic kylix and in a column-krater where the heads are not on a handle-plate, but on the body of the vase. It may be noted that the contrary arrangement is customary in the Corinthian plaques with Poseidon and Amphitrite, which might possibly have been regarded as the prototypes of the paired heads.[13]

Johnson's suggestion that these heads stemmed from images of Poseidon and Amphitrite bears some consideration. First of all, the cult of Poseidon was the most popular cult on the Isthmus and dated as far back as the eighth century B.C. In fact, the Isthmus belonged to Poseidon according to Corinthian legend.[14] Pausanias' writings attest to the significance of the cult of Poseidon in Corinth. He describes several sanctuaries in Corinth which were dedicated to Poseidon. One on the Isthmus contained statues of Poseidon and Amphitrite.[15] Another sanctuary at Lechaion contained a bronze statue of Poseidon.[16] Pausanias also mentions an altar and a sanctuary dedicated to Poseidon at Sicyon.[17] According to Pausanias there was a cult of Poseidon Pater at Eleusis, where the god shared a temple with Hecate at the entrance to the sanctuary of Eleusis.[18] Poseidon was associated with the Eleusinian deities because he possessed chthonic attributes and was regarded as a god of vegetation.[19] His chthonic nature may have evolved from his role as a "god of fertilizing streams."[20]

In evaluating the possible identities of these early heads on column-kraters it must be concluded that the cult of Poseidon was

popular enough to warrant the depiction of Poseidon and Amphitrite on Corinthian vases. But if the identity of these heads rests on criteria derived from the popularity of a given cult then these heads could just as easily represent Dionysus with an accompanying female (e.g. Demeter, Ariadne, or Semele). Later Attic vases which depict a large head of Dionysus and a large head of one of these goddesses both in profile supports this possibility.

The head of Dionysus faces that of Semele on an eye cup, (no. 1 in the Anodos list), with their names inscribed above the figures. A column-krater shows the heads of Dionysus and probably Ariadne overlapping one another as on the Corinthian handle plates, (no. 2 in the Anodos list). Nos. 3 and 4 in the Anodos list also depict the head of Dionysus with a female head.

According to P. Licinius, several divinities shared a sacred cult on the Isthmus with Poseidon: Palemon, Helios, Demeter and Kore, Dionysus and Artemis. He also mentions a temple of Dionysus on the Isthmus.[21] Pausanias records a temple of Dionysus at Sicyon and a sanctuary at Phlius.[22]

The abundant evidence for a powerful worship of Demeter and Persephone in Corinth should also be considered here. Once again, it is Pausanias who provides this information. He notes the Temple of Demeter and Persephone located on Acrocorinth.[23] He describes a temple in Sicyon,[24] and one at Phlius.[25] Excavations on Acrocorinth have revealed the Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone on the north slope as described by Pausanias.[26] Through an examination of the pottery and other objects, it has been determined that the sanctuary was active from the eight century until 146 B.C. Evidence for the popularity of this sanctuary

can be found in the large quantities of votive offerings such as "pottery, terracotta figurines, miniature cakes and fruit, toys, large-scale terracotta sculpture, and assorted metal objects."[27] Items such as a fragment of a marble statue holding stalks of wheat and a poppy seed-pod, standing female figurines holding either a torch and/or a pig, and a sacrificial pit which contained ashes and charred pig bones, support the fact that an active worship of Demeter and Persephone took place at this sanctuary.

"Three fragmentary Corinthian plates of the fifth century B.C. which exhibit scenes probably associated with Demeter and Persephone" were also found on the Acrocorinth.[28] The third of these is of special interest, for on it is depicted a female head including her shoulders.[29] Although this figure is more elaborately dressed than those found on other head vases, Stroud believes it represents Demeter. He reasons that the goddess on this plate resembles the goddess on a Corinthian plate "now in the National Museum at Athens, which shows Demeter seated on an elaborately decorated throne holding a torch, stalks of grain, and poppy seed-pods, and facing a rock altar which has a fig on it."[30]

Archaeological and literary evidence discussed above indicates that heads depicted on early Corinthian vases could be Poseidon and Amphitrite, or Dionysus with Ariadne, Semele, Demeter, or Persephone. Yet the vases themselves tell us very little about the identity of these heads. First of all, it would seem that heads of men and heads of youths were just as popular at the beginning as the heads of women. Based on this information, perhaps the heads were intended as representations of mortals. However, the large size of the heads in comparison with the smaller objects on the rest of the vase, suggests that the heads are

representations of deities. Unfortunately, unlike the middle of the sixth century B.C. Attic vases, the early sixth century B.C. Corinthian vases bear no inscriptions to help determine the identities of the heads. Moreover, the subject matter of Corinthian vases is of no help whatsoever in solving the problem. The Corinthian vase painters were preoccupied with animal motifs and rosettes and very few actual scenes are depicted on the earlier vases. The scenes which are used are scenes of everyday life, episodes of war, departure of the warrior, banqueting scenes and padded dancers. Still, even at this early stage, the predominance of the female element is evidenced elsewhere in the many clay female heads which form the handles of Corinthian pyxides and by the hundreds of Corinthian terracotta figurines representing a female deity.[31]

I cannot explain the two confronting male heads on Corinthian vases nos. 844 and 908 and Attic no. 1. It is likely, as will be shown in Chapters I and IV, that when two confronting female heads occur they are representations of Demeter and Persephone.

Neck-Amphorae (ovoid)

The Painter of Acropolis 606

1. Geneva MF 153. ABV, 81. On each side of neck: Male head.

Near The Painter of Acropolis 606

1. Munich 1447. ABV, 81. On each side of neck: Male head.

The Painter of London B 76

1. San Simeon, Hearst. AJA (1945) 468, fig. 3; ABV, 87. On each side of neck: Male head.

2. Munich 1448. (J. 917). ABV, 88. On each side of neck: Male head.

The Painter of Vatican 309

For vases by this painter see Beazley, ABV, 121, nos. 8-20.

Near The Painter of Vatican 309

1. Florence 3770. On the neck: A: Floral. B: Male head.
2. Athens, Acr., 799. Fr. From Athens. ABV, 122. On each side of neck: Male head.

Black-Figure Lekythoi

The Gela Painter[32]

1. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 84. ABL, 212, 158, pl. 26.1; ABFV, fig. 236. Head of Athena crowned by Nike.
2. London, British Museum 1926.4-17.1. ABV, 471; ABFV, fig. 238. Head of Medea.

The Athena Painter VI

1. Berlin 4003. From Attica. ABV, 532. Head of Hermes. White ground.
2. Berlin 1933. From Apulia. ABV, 532. Head of an old man.
3. Copenhagen, Inv. 6445. From Rhodes. CVA, pl. 122, 6; ABV, 532. Head of Athena.

NOTES - PART II

[1]For the purposes of this thesis I have selected those horse-head amphorae which contain a human head in a reserved panel on one side of the vase. For other horse-head amphorae see Beazley, ABV, 15-17.

[2]R. M. Cook, GrPP (London 1960) 78.

[3]J. D. Beazley, ABV (Oxford 1956) 16.

[4]Beazley (supra n. 3) 16.

[5]Compare with CVA, Louvre 11, III He, pl. 120, 1-3; ABV, 714, Addenda II, ad. pp. 8-10.

[6]Arthur Lane, GrP (London 1963) fig. 32 dates this vase 625-600 B.C. Cook (supra n. 2) pl. 21, fig. A dates it 600 B.C.

[7]Cook (supra n. 2) 72.

[8]Corinth had its greatest influence on Attica in its middle period, i.e. 600-575 B.C.

[9]This includes the kotyle and the horse-head amphora as the earliest. Eventually Attic vases became so popular that from ca. 550 B.C. onwards they displaced Corinthian vases.

[10]The Attic cup evolved from the plain version of the Corinthian-izing Komast cup. John Boardman, ABFV (London 1974) 31.

[11]See also J. D. Beazley, "Little-Master Cups", JHS 52 (1932) 167-204. Beginning with the Little-Master Cups, the following Attic black-figure vases in my list are taken from Beazley (supra n. 3) and Beazley, Para. (Oxford 1971).

[12]Franklin P. Johnson, "Eight Pieces of Pottery", AJA 53 (1949) 242, mentions several more Attic column-kraters than those included in my list.

[13]Johnson (supra n. 12) 242.

[14]Pausanias, II. iv. 7. I use Sir James G. Frazer's translation of Pausanias' Description of Greece (London 1898) throughout this thesis.

[15]Pausanias, II. i. 7.

[16]Pausanias, II. ii. 3.

[17]Pausanias, II. ix. 6 and II. xii. 2.

[18]Pausanias, I. xxxviii. 6.

[19]Plutarch, II. 3. 269.

[20]Lewis Richard Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States, Vol. IV, (Oxford 1907) 6.

[21]Publius Licinius Priscus, IG, IV, 203, as cited by Georges Roux in Pausanias en Corinthie (Paris 1958) 94 and 110.

[22]Pausanias, II. vii. 5 and II. xiii. 7.

[23]Pausanias, II. iv. 7.

[24]Pausanias, II. xi. 2.

[25]Pausanias, II. xiii. 5.

[26]Ronald S. Stroud, "The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth, Preliminary Report II: 1964-1965", Hesperia 37, Number 3, 229-330.

[27]Stroud (supra n. 26) 300.

[28]Stroud (supra n. 26) 302.

[29]Stroud (supra n. 26) 302, c-64-225; pl. 87.d.

[30]Stroud (supra n. 26) 303.

[31]Humfry Payne, Necrocorinthia: A Study of Corinthian Art in the Archaic Period (Oxford 1931) nos. 880-94.

[32]Most of The Gela Painter's vases are from the fifth century. A very high proportion of his vases seem to have been sold in the Western Greek colonies.

PART III

ATTIC RED-FIGURE HEAD VASES[1]

Squat Lekythoi

Achilles Painter[2]

1. Sofia. From Apollonia. Para., 438. Head of Artemis.
2. Riehen, Hoek. Para., 438. Head of Amazon.
3. Athens, Rosdymou. From Draphi. Para., 438. Head of Hermes.
4. Philadelphia Market. Para., 439. Female head.

Manner of the Achilles Painter

1. Sofia. From Apollonia. Para., 439. Female head.

Early Classic Painters of Smaller Pots

Icarus Painter

Lekythoi

1. Agrigento. ARV^2, 698. Female head (in saccos, to right; in front, a column).
2. Berlin 2230. From Nola. ARV^2, 698. Female head.
3. Palermo. From Selinus. ARV^2, 698. Female head.

White Lekythoi

1. Athens 1879 (cc.1036). ARV^2, 699. Female head.
2. Dresden ZV 1824. ARV^2, 699. Female head.
3. Vienna 631. ARV^2, 699. Female head between columns.
4. London D 46. From Nola. ARV^2, 699. Female head between columns.

Squat Lekythoi

1. Cologne, Bodmer. ARV^2, 699. Female head between columns.

Early Classic Painters

The Painter of Agora P 7561

Squat Lekythoi (small)

1. Basle Market (M.M.). ARV^2, 742. Female head.
2. Athens, Agora, P 7561. Fr. From Athens. ARV^2, 742. Female head.
3. Paris Market (Feuardent). ARV^2, 742. Head of Maenad (in snood, to right; thyrsus).
4. Athens 1532 (cc.1520). ARV^2, 742. Female head.
5. Paris Market (Lembessis). ARV^2, 742. Female head (in saccos, to right; column).
6. Rhodes. From Ialysos. ARV^2, 742. Female head.
7. Vienna, Univ. 954. CVA, pl. 31, 13; ARV^2, 742. Female head.
8. Athens Market. ARV^2, 742. Head of Hermes (in winged pilos, to right; caduceus).

Early Classic Cup Painters

The Telephos Painter

Phiale

1. Berlin 2310. From Athens. CVA, pl. 135, 1-3; ARV^2, 819. On the navel: Female head.

The Angular Painter

Askos

1. London E 761. From Nola. ARV^2, 954. A: Female head. B: The like.

The Painter of London D 12

Askos

1. Sydney 48.260. JHS 71, 190, fig. 9; ARV^2, 963. A: Female head. B: The like.

Near the Painter of London D 12

Pyxis

1. Once Marseilles, Ravel. ARV^2, 964. On the lid: Female head.

Classic Painters of Smaller Pots[3]

The Long-Chin Group

Pyxides

1. Tübingen E 157. ARV^2, 1222. On the flat of the lid: Female head.
2. Athens 1289 (cc.1569). ARV^2, 1222. On the flat of the lid: Female head.

The Painter of Florence 4217

Pyxides

1. Bonn 769. From Greece. ARV^2, 1222. On the top: Female head.
2. Florence 4217. CVA, pl. 7a, 14 and pl. 72.5; ARV^2, 1222. On the top: Female head.
3. Once Engelfield. ARV^2, 1222. On the top: Female head.

Stemless Cup

1. Ferrara. From Spina. ARV^2, 1223. I: Female head.

Classic Painters of Stemmed Plates[4]

The Painter of Ferrara T. 101

1. Ferrara, T. 101. From Spina. ARV^2, 1306. Female head.

The Painter of Ferrara T. 143A

1. Ferrara, T. 1027. From Spina. ARV^2, 1307. Head of Dionysus.

The Painter of Ferrara T. 358B

1. Ferrara T. 358B VP. From Spina. ARV^2, 1308. Head of youth.

The Painter of Würzburg 870

1. Ferrara, T. 743. From Spina. ARV^2, 1308. Head of boy satyr.

Fourth Century Pot-Painters

The Group of London E 245

Hydria

1. London E 243. From Benghazi. CVA, pl. 99, 4; ARV^2, 1483. Head of Aphrodite, and woman.

The F. B. Group[5]

Oenochoai

1. Ferrara, T. 295 BVP. From Spina. ARV^2, 1490. Female head between youths.
2. Ferrara, T. 43 DVP. From Spina. ARV^2, 1490. Female head between women.

Small Lekythos

1. University of California. From Athens. CVA, pl. 51, 2. Two female heads in profile face a pedestal with censor. Kertch style.

Miscellaneous

Oenochoe

1. Civico Museo Archeologico. Milan. 271. CVA, pl. 12, fig. 1.
   A: Female head and draped youth.

NOTES - PART III

[1]The red-figure vases in this list are taken from Beazley, ARV^2 (Oxford 1963) and Beazley, Para. (Oxford 1971).

[2]For other squat lekythoi depicting heads assigned to the Achilles Painter see ARV^2, 994, nos. 106-114; 106-109 (Head of Artemis); 110 (Head of Selene); 111-114 (Head of Hermes).

[3]For head vases under the Group of the Athena-head pyxides see ARV^2, 1224. The Painter of Berlin 2624 is not included in my list, see ARV^2, 1225.

[4]For other Classic Painters of Stemmed Plates depicting female heads see ARV^2, 1306-1311. Stemmed plates, although still showing a preference for the female head, more commonly depict representations of other heads such as, Dionysus, satyrs, youths, men, et cetera, than do the other vase shapes.

[5]For other vases depicting female heads under the F. B. Group see ARV^2, 1489-1490, nos. 151-170. Vases in the shape of heads are listed in ARV^2, 1529-1552.

PART IV

ETRUSCAN RED-FIGURE VASES

Etruscan red-figure pottery with relief line was first produced in the middle of the fifth century B.C. and was chiefly derived from Attic prototypes.[1] Of course, Attic imports had long before this replaced Corinthian pottery in the Etruscan market, ca. 575 B.C., and had played a vital role in the development of the black-figure technique in Etruria. But it was not until 400 B.C. that the first red-figure workshop of any significance was established in Etruria. This workshop was located at Falerii Veteres, in southeast Etruria. By the mid-fourth century B.C. several red-figure workshops were set-up in various regions of Etruria, but Falerii Veteres remained an important red-figure center.

The pottery produced at Falerii Veteres bore a close stylistic connection with Attic red-figure, so much so that it is likely that Attic trained vase-painters were original contributors to the style. South Italian red-figure also had a strong influence on the style and subject matter of Faliscan pottery. Furthermore, it is probable that South Italian vase-painters, especially from Campania and Paestum, migrated to many Etruscan centers, Falerii Veteres, Volterra, Chiusi, Vulci, and Tarquinii, during the latter half of the fourth century B.C.[2]

Faliscan potters had a preference for shapes such as the cup,[3] the stamnos, and the oenochoe.

ETRUSCAN RED-FIGURE VASES[4]

Faliscan (with relief-lines)

The Nepi Group

Oenochoe (Shape III: Chous)

1. Berkeley 8.989. From Narce. EVP, 73, pl. 15, 1-5. Woman seated, Eros and woman. Eros brings the seated woman box and sash; the maid or companion turns to caress a water bird.

About 350 B.C. some of the Faliscan potters and painters moved to Caere where a red-figure workshop was established.[5] The most popular vase-shape in Caeretan red-figure is unquestionably the oenochoe (shape VII), followed by the stamnos with high foot or ring base. The "mug" (oenochoe shape VII B) and the epichysis are also found in the Caeretan red-figure collection. These last two shapes indicate an Apulian influence while the Caeretan fish plate was probably derived from Paestan and Campanian red-figure models.[6] Del Chiaro writes:

> In matters of decoration, however, the influences on Caeretan vase-painting may be traced in varying degrees to all known South Italian productions: Lucanian, Apulian, Campanian, Paestan, and Sicilian.[7]

The subject matter also bears a strong resemblance to that of South Italian red-figure. The Caeretan figures, like the South Italian figures, hold objects such as a fan, mirror, tambourine, situla, tray, wreath, cista, beads (jewelry), small vase, thyrsus, cushion and phiale. Caeretan pottery depicts themes which involve satyrs, maenads, women, erotes, lasas, or youths.

According to Del Chiaro:

> The presence of altars on a number of vases imparts a conspicuous religious aura to these products of Caeretan vase-painters. Likewise, the great frequency of Dionysiac themes, made evident through the appearance of satyrs and maenads, augment the religio-funerary context of the figured scenes and suggest some relationship between the Cult of Dionysos and the Dead in Etruria.[8]

The depiction of lasas, or winged females on Caeretan pottery also suggests their funerary character. Although lasas have duties much like Eros, such as bringing objects and gifts to other figures especially women, they are more closely associated with funeral practices. They are commonly depicted on sarcophagi, urns, and tomb-paintings.[9]

Caeretan

Dotted-hem Group

The Sambon Caeretan Painter

Stamnos

2. Rome, Villa Giulia. From Caere. EVPC, 28, pls. 26-27. A: Eros at left moves to the right with right arm upraised and left extended, and bears a long beaded necklace between his hands. From the right, a woman advances with situla in lowered right hand, tambourine (?) in upraised left. B: Lasa moving from right to left with long ribbon or sash in trailing left hand. Mesomphalic phiale in the field below her right elbow.

FEMALE HEADS

Etruscan red-figure fabrics demonstrate a preoccupation with the female head much like the South Italian and Sicilian red-figure fabrics. All of these heads, with the exception of four or five among hundreds are rendered in profile and face to the left. Female heads are depicted on several different vase-shapes in Etruria: epichyseis, oenochoai (shape VIII B), skyphoi, kylikes, hydriae, lekythoi, spouted lebetes, stamnoi, and trefoil oenochoai, all of which usually portray a single profile female head. The long handled-cup and oenochoai (shape VII) bear three female heads in profile.

Caeretan female head vases can be divided into two main groups: The Genucilia Group and the Torcop Group. Beazley lists several of the stemmed plates with female heads from the Genucilia Group in Etruscan Vase-Painting, pages 175-77. The Torcop Group is comprised of oenochoai of shape VII; with a single female head facing left on the neck of the vase and two confronting female heads decorating the body.[11] Some of these vases depict an altar between the two profile heads on the body of the vase.

Torcop Group

Oenochoe

3. Paris, Louvre K 471, formerly Campana Collection. Provenience, probably, Caere. EVPC, 70, no. 3, fig. 8. Neck: Female head in profile to the left with hair (including bun) completely contained by a hairnet embellished with beading. Body: Confronting profiles; at the left, a female with hairnet similar to that at the neck of the

vase; at the right, a bearded male wearing animal-skin (wolf-cap).

During the third quarter of the fourth century and the first quarter of the third, a red-figure workshop was active in Chiusi. Common themes were women at their toilets, or satyrs and maenads. The cup, head-kantharos, askos in the form of a duck, skyphos, and the oenochoe (shape VII) were popular vase shapes.

Clusium

Skyphos (glaux)

4. New York 07.286.33. EVP, 116, no. 1, pl. 28, 6-7. A: Head of maenad, amid floral. B: The like. On A: Full-face. On B: In profile.

Tondo Group

Oenochoe (Shape VII: Beaked jug)

5. Volteraa, from Volterra. EVP, 118, no. 1, pl. 28, 5-6. Heads of satyr and of maenad; floral; on the neck, female head. Like the New York Skyphos (glaux) above.

Duck-Askoi

6. Orvieto, from Orvieto (Settlecamini). EVP, 119, no. 11, A: Female head. B: The like. Restored. EVP, 119, nos. 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16 are the same.

The Volaterrae fabric stemmed from the Clusium and undoubtedly came about when some artists from Chiusi settled in Volterra in the

latter part of the fourth century B.C. The favorite shape is a version of the column-krater. According to Beazley:

> A favorite subject on the late Volterran kraters, which belong to the early part of the third century, is the human head: realistic portraits, or portrait-like heads, of very modern cut. Earnest matron; chubby maid; young man.[12]

Volaterrae

The Nun Painter

Column-kraters

7. Berlin Inv. 3996. From Monteriggioni. EVP, 128. A: Female head.

   B: Head of youth.

   Berlin Inv. 3988. From Monteriggioni. EVP, 128. A: Youth seated.

   B: Youth running. On the neck: A: Head of woman and of youth.

   B: Heads of women.

   Berlin Inv. 3989. From Monteriggioni. EVP, 128. A: Male head.

   B: Head of woman.

   Berlin Inv. 3997. From Monteriggioni. EVP, 128. A: Head of boy.

   B: Head of woman.

   Berlin Inv. 3995. From Monteriggioni. EVP, 128. A: Head of man.

   B: Female head.

   Berlin Inv. 4001. From Monteriggioni. EVP, 128. A: Head of man.

   B: Female head.

Later Etruscan Red-Figure

Two Vases From Settecamini

Neck-amphora

8. Florence 70529. From Orvieto (Settecamini). EVP, 163. Centauromachy. On the shoulder: A: Female head, frontal, among floral.

The Painter of Brussels R 273

Oenochoai (Shape VII: Beaked jugs)

9. Brussels R 273. CVA, IV Be pl. 1, 10; EVP, 167, no. 1. Youth, and woman with thyrsus, at altar. On the neck: Satyr.
10. Florence. From Populonia. EVP, 167, no. 3. Eros and two seated women. On the neck: Woman.

The Group of Ferrara T 785

Very Late Red-Figure

Bell-krater

11. Ferrara T 785. From Spina. EVP, 177, no. 1. A: Female head. B: The like.

NOTES - PART IV

[1]J. D. Beazley, EVP (Oxford 1947) 3, and Mario A. Del Chiaro, EVPC (University of California Press 1974) 106.

[2]Del Chiaro (supra n. 1) 126.

[3]Beazley (supra n. 1) 70, suggests that the early Faliscan cups were based on the Attic cups of the Jena Painter and his contemporaries.

[4]The Etruscan vases listed below are from Beazley (supra n. 1) and Del Chiaro (supra n. 1). I use their descriptions and distribution of vases into the proper groups.

[5]For Faliscan influence on Caeretan pottery, see Del Chiaro (supra n. 1) 109-112.

[6]Del Chiaro (supra n. 1) 114.

[7]Del Chiaro (supra n. 1) 114.

[8]Del Chiaro (supra n. 1) 3.

[9]Del Chiaro (supra n. 1) 5.

[10]Falerii Veteres also produced Genucilia Plates. Del Chiaro has numbered the Genucilia Plates to over 600 specimens.

[11]Del Chiaro (supra n. 1) pls. 68-72; also Beazley (supra n. 1) 169, 1-7.

[12]Beazley (supra n. 1) 10.

PART V

BOEOTIAN RED-FIGURE HEAD VASES

The Boeotian red-figure head vases listed below belong to a series of vases that extends over the last third of the fifth century B.C. and the first third of the fourth century B.C.[1] They display a large female head as the principal decoration. The majority of these vases are small bell-kraters with a large palmette on the reverse, and with a female head painted on the obverse and on the lid.

A. D. Ure suggests that the earliest vases of this series may have issued from the Branteghem workshop.[2] Using the distribution of these vases and their place of finding as criteria, it is likely that the Branteghem workshop was the place of manufacture and was located near Thebes.[3] This location was certainly favorable for such an enterprise since Thebes was accessible to Athenian trade and Attic influence. Of course, the black-figure and the red-figure technique, as well as the subject matter of Boeotian pottery, were of Attic origin. That Attic red-figure pottery was more common in Boeotia than Boeotian red-figure pottery indicates a continued Attic influence. It does not seem unlikely, therefore, that a Theban workshop would be influenced by imported Attic red-figure vases depicting female heads. If the series listed below is any indication, then the motif of a female head was just as popular in Boeotia as it was in Attica.

As in the other fabrics, heads of men rarely occur. I am aware

of only three in Boeotian red-figure, the head of Herakles on the calyx-krater from Wurzburg (no. 15 in the list below), a helmeted head of a youth on a handled dish in Athens (Inv. 1411), and the head of a youth on a bell-krater at Bowdoin College (no. 2 in the list below).

Again a correlation can be made between the popularity of the Boeotian vases depicting female heads and the popularity of the cult of Demeter and Persephone/Kore in Boeotia.[4] In Book IX, Pausanias describes Boeotian sites where the worship of these goddesses is evident. He mentions a sanctuary of Demeter, surnamed Eleusinian, at Plataea,[5] a temple of Demeter and Persephone at Anthedon,[6] and another sanctuary of Demeter at Copae.[7] In Thebes, Demeter and the Maid were religiously connected with the grove of Cabeirean.[8] Pausanias describes a ceremony at Potniae, which resembles the Attic skirophoria. In both celebrations, a suckling-pig is thrown into an underground megaron as an offering to Demeter and Kore. It would appear then, that these female heads could have had the same religious significance in Boeotia as they had in Attica.

BOEOTIAN RED-FIGURE HEAD VASES[9]

Bell-kraters

1. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1021.232. BVWH, pl. 66, 1-3. A: Woman at a laver. B: Hippocamp. Lid: Female head.
2. Bowdoin College 23.32. BVWH, pl. 68, 9-10; 71, 25. A: Head of youth (or possibly Amazon) and horse. Lid: Female head.
3. Munich, Museum antiker kleinkunst 3061. AthMitt 65 (1940) pl. 25. A: Female head. Lid: Female head.[10]
4. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art GR 1220. BVWH, pl. 70, 17; 71,

26, 29. A: Female head.

5. Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 612. BVWH, 71, 27; AA (1933) 39, 39. A: Female head.

The following have a female head on one side and a palmette on the other side. A stemless ivy leaf is depicted beneath the handles.

6. Athens 1332. BVWH, pl. 69, 13.
7. Reading University 53.8.4.
8. Reading University 35.iv.5. BVWH, pl. 70, 18; 71, 28.
9. Lund University 342. BVWH, pl. 70, 20.
10. Mainz University. BVWH, pl. 70, 19; 71, 30.
11. Washington, Corcoran Gallery of Ar, Wm. A. Clark Collection 26.690. BVWH, pl. 71, 21; 71, 31.
12. Thebes 71.
13. Thebes unnumbered. Handle lost.
14. Athens, in a private collection.

Calyx-kraters

15. Wurzburg 646. E. Langlotz, Griechische Vasen in Würzburg (Munich 1932) pl. 220. Between vertical bands of key pattern. A: Head of Herakles and club. B: Female head. In relief at the base of each handle a bearded head.
16. Oxford 1914.7. BVWH, pl. 70, 22; 71, 32. Between vertical bands of chain pattern. A: Female head.

Plates or Dishes

17. Athens, National Museum 1410. BVWH, pl. 69, 14. I: Female head.
18. Athens, National Museum 12609 Nicole 956. BVWH, pl. 69, 15.

I: Female head.

19. Paris, Louvre CA 580. BVWH, pl. 70, 23. I: Female head.

Kylix

20. Mannheim, Stadtische Museen, Sammlungen des Schlossmuseums. BVWH, pl. 68, 12; 72, 34. I: Female head.

Lebetes

21. Copenhagen, Mus. Nat. 4708. BVWH, pl. 68, 11; CVA, fasc. iv, pl. 175.5a, b. Lid: Female head.

22. Thebes. AJA 53 (1949) pl. 35 B.C. Lid: Female head.

Lekane

23. Bonn 1766. AA (1933) 37, figs. 37, 38. I: Female head.

NOTES - PART V

[1]Percy Neville Ure and Annie Dunman Ure, CVA, Great Britain, University of Reading, fasc. 1, (1954) 44.

[2]A. D. Ure, "Boeotian Vases with Women's Heads", AJA 57 (1953) 248-49.

[3]Nos. 3, 16, and 19 are assigned to Thebes and the Chicago lebes is believed to be from the Theban Kabeirion. See, A. D. Ure, "Some Provincial Black-Figure Workshops", BSA 41 (1940-45) 27.

[4]On the cult of Demeter and Persephone in Boeotia see, Lewis Richard Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States (Oxford 1907) Vol. III, Chapter 2, 50-68.

[5]Pausanias, IX. iv. 3.

[6]Pausanias, IX. xxii. 5.

[7]Pausanias, IX, xxiv. 1, 2.

[8]Pausanias, IX, xxv. 5.

[9]The following list of Boeotian red-figure head vases was taken from, A. D. Ure (supra n. 2) 245-49.

[10]Reinhard Lullies discusses this vase in "Zur Boiotisch Rot-figurigen Vasenmalerei", AthMitt 65 (1940) 21.

PART VI

SOUTH ITALIAN AND SICILIAN RED-FIGURE VASES, CA. 440-300 B.C.

Red-figure vases discussed in this section are divided into the following five principal fabrics: Sicilian, Campanian, Paestan, Lucanian, and Apulian. Alternatively, these vases can be divided into two main groups on the basis of their origin. The three fabrics of the West (i.e. Sicilian, Campanian, and Paestan), comprise one group, while the Lucanian and Apulian fabrics comprise the other.

Vases used as examples in this section have been dated as being produced between ca. 440-300 B.C. Native pottery was of course produced in Lucania and Apulia before 440 B.C. and Sicily produced vases in the style called Siculan II well into the fifth century B.C. However, the majority of better painted pottery in South Italy and Sicily had been imported during this period from Corinth and later from Athens.

The practice of depicting female heads on vases became popular when workshops in South Italy and Sicily began producing their own red-figure vases in the second half of the fifth century B. C. Trendall states that "The Greek colonists in South Italy began to supplement their imports of Attic red-figure vases with local products which were very closely modelled upon Attic prototypes in both shape and design."[1] The increase in native pot production has been connected with the founding of Thurii in 443 B.C. Although the exact location of the

first workshop in South Italy has not been determined, Furtwangler suggests that the founding of it might be associated with the founding of Thurii.[2] This undoubtedly was a major factor in the forming of the earliest South Italian workshop by 'The Pisticci Painter' and his two chief colleagues, 'The Cyclops Painter' and 'The Amykos Painter', in 440 B.C. Attic influence is clearly indicated in the earlier vases produced in this workshop. The many stylistic similarities between these vases and those of Attica suggest that 'The Pisticci Painter' and 'The Amykos Painter' were from Greece and were trained in Athens. This idea is supported by the striking parallels between vases of 'The Pisticci Painter' and an Attic painter called 'The Christie Painter'.[3] The vases of Lucania came out of this Pisticci-Amykos Group.

Despite the powerful influence which Attic vases had on early red-figure vases produced in South Italy and Sicily, once a workshop was established the artist gradually began producing vases which were stylistically independent from the Attic schools. With the defeat of Athens in the Peloponnesian War of 404 B.C., the fabrics of South Italy and Sicily became more and more characteristic of an individual region. Such autonomy was not entirely a matter of choice since the war naturally resulted in a decrease of Attic imports. Without Attic vases to serve as guides, the local vase painters were as Trendall puts it "free to continue indulging their personal mannerisms."[4] Thus, locally produced vases began to depict subjects which were of significance to the regional population. Scenes, which because of their frequency must have had a strong appeal and been significant indications of cherished beliefs, are those showing Dionysus with silens and maenads; funerary scenes with a woman and/or youth bringing gifts and offerings to a laver, tomb, stele,

altar, or monument; heroön scenes; rape and abduction (pursuit) scenes; and scenes of bridal preparation. Scenes from the daily life of women are also common. The predominance of the female element in these scenes is clearly evident, and is further indicated by the popularity of the female head on vases.[5]

Female heads were used "as the sole figure decoration on vases in all five generally accepted red-figure fabrics of South Italy" by the middle of the fourth century B.C.[6] The decided preference for the female head on vases suggests that it represented more to the vase painters and their patrons than just a casual motif.

NOTES - PART VI

[1]A. D. Trendall, SIVP (British Museum 1966) 7.

[2]Adolf Furtwangler, Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik (Leipzig-Berlin 1893) 149-52, as cited by Trendall (supra n. 1) 7-8.

[3]J. D. Beazley, ARV^2 (Oxford 1963) 1046-49.

[4]Trendall (supra n. 1) 8.

[5]See Chapter II in this thesis for a description of scenes depicted on South Italian and Sicilian vases and their meaning.

[6]A. D. Trendall, "Head Vases in Padula", Apollo (Musei Provinciali Del Salernitano) Salerno. 2, 1962, 28.

LUCANIAN RED-FIGURE VASES[1]

Lucanian vase painters show a predilection for scenes involving the daily life of women. These women are sometimes shown holding mirrors and are often in the company of youths or Eros. Scenes of pursuit are also a favorite subject as are scenes which depict Dionysiac followers such as maenads and silens. Not as popular, but common nevertheless, are representations of athletes either with their trainer, a woman, or Nike. The Pisticci-Amykos Group invariably shows one to three draped youths on the reverse side of the vases. The bell-krater is the most popular shape from the Pisticci-Amykos Group and from Lucanian schools in general, and accounts for about 60% of the extant vases. The hydria, calyx-krater, trefoil oenochoe, and the pelike are also common vase-shapes.

Early Lucanian

The Pisticci Painter

Bell-krater

1. Matera. From Pisticci. RVLCS, 14, no. 1, pl. 1, 1-2. A: Goddess rising from the ground, and silen with hammer beside a tree.

Calyx-krater

2. Lecce, Conte Romano 2. From Rugge. RVLCS, 17, no. 19, pl. 3, 5-6. A: Eros pursuing woman, between draped woman running off to left and bearded man with sceptre.

Intermediate Group[2]

Calyx-krater

3. Reggio Cal. 5014. From Locri, T 1119. RVLCS, 76, no. 386. A: Eros stepping up onto a pillar between woman with wreath and woman with alabastron, tree to left, Doric column to right. B: Athlete with pick, and palaestra-girl, between two pillars on which stand Panathenaic amphorae.

Creusa-Dolon Workshop[3]

The Creusa Painter

Skyphos

4. Taranto 22492 (old no. 14145). From Pulsano. RVLCS, 91, no. 462, pl. 43, 1-2. A: Warrior with Phrygian cap (Paris?) between two women. B: Standing woman with cista, seated woman with mirror, and Eros.

The Dolon Painter

Bell-krater

5. Bari 6267 (Polese 73). RVLCS, 101, no. 520, pls. 50, 4 and 51, 4. A: Dancing maenad, capering silen, and Dionysos with thyrsus.

Later Lucanian

In developed Lucanian, i.e. ca. 360-310 B.C., vessel shapes vary from the elaborately decorated volute-kraters derived from 'Ornate' Apulian models to the bell-krater. The calyx-krater declined in

popularity. The hydria, lebes gamikos, oenochoe, squat lekythos, and the skyphos became increasingly popular.

The subject matter remained basically the same. On the larger vases, mythological, Dionysiac, and funerary scenes were popular as well as scenes depicting the daily life of women. On the smaller vases, single figures of warriors, athletes, women, Eros, Nike, female heads, birds, and plant forms were favored.[4]

The influence of the Apulian style, which first made its appearance in the Creusa-Dolon workshop, became even stronger in its 'Ornate' stage in the second quarter of the fourth century B.C.

The Choephoroi Painter

Hydriai

6. Munich 3266. (J. 814). RVLCS, 120, no. 602. Shoulder: Woman and seated youth, Nike with fillet funning towards warrior with horse. Body: Orestes, Electra, and Hermes at the tomb.

The Choephoroi Painter derives his name from his penchant for depicting scenes of the Choephoroi by Aeschylus. A typical scene is the "veiled figure of Electra seated in an attitude of dejection upon the steps of Agamemnon's tomb, on which may be seen a number of vases and funerary offerings".[5] His depictions of tomb monuments vary and are found in the shape of Ionic columns (RVLCS, nos. 600-601), Doric columns (RVLCS, no. 602), and sometimes square plinths with funerary vases on them (RVLCS, no. 599).

7. Philadelphis MS 5689. RVLCS, 120, no. 606. Recomposed from fragments and much repainted. Body: Woman with alabastron and cista between nude youth with tendril and staff and youths with fillet.

Below handles: Female and male head.

The Roccanova Painter

Panathenaic Amphora

8. Budapest T 775. RVLCS, 140, no. 782, (B) pl. 66, 4. A: Woman with box, and youth at stele. B: Two draped youths, one with flower and the other with strigil, at a stele.

The Roccanova Painter shows a preference for scenes of youths and women who are often gathered around a laver or a kalathos. A few of his vases depict Dionysiac scenes. Heads of youths (RVLCS, nos. 706, 725, 759, and 762-3) and female heads (RVLCS, nos. 723-4, 759, and 762) decorate some of his small vases.

The Primato Painter

Panathenaic Amphora

9. Munich 3263. (J. 845). RVLCS, 168, no. 944, pl. 74, 1. A: Apotheosis of warrior - two youths and two women with offerings at a statue of a warrior. B: Two women and two youths at an Ionic column on stepped base.

Oenochoai

10. Naples 1913, Inv. 81704. RVLCS, 173, no. 1002, pl. 76, 8. A: Female bust, with mirror held up in right hand.
11. Naples 1966, Inv. 81689. RVLCS, 173, no. 1003. Female head, veiled; bunches of grapes top right and left.

Squat Lekythos

12. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum 132. RVLCS, 175, no. 1020, (B), pl. 76, 6. Head of woman, with bird perched on right hand.

Female heads are a common decoration on the vases of the Primato Painter, (RVLCS, nos. 997, 1002-1004, 1020, 1031-1032, 1036, 1039-1041, 1053, 1055, 1067, 1073, 1078, and 1081). He prefers Dionysiac and funerary scenes and genre subjects dealing with youths, women, and Erotes.

Padula[6]

The popularity of head vases in Lucania is substantiated by the discovery of numerous vases decorated with female heads in many Lucanian tombs of the later fourth and third centuries B.C. These tombs were excavated in the Valle del Tanagro, which lies between Padula and Sala Gonsilina.[7] From these vases, two painters with specific styles emerge, the Haken Painter and the Padula-Sterpone Painter.

The Haken Painter

Squat Lekythos

13. Contrada Sterpone, Tomb 3, no. 7. HVP, 11, no. 3, fig. 4. Female head.

The Padula-Sterpone Painter

Squat Lekythos

14. Contrada Sterpone, Tomb 25, no. 4. HVP, 23, no. 1, fig. 15 and fig. 6, 2. Female head.

Trendall associates the vases of these two artists with the Apulianizing phase of Campanian. He states:

> The Padula vases for the most part represent a later phase of the Apulianizing style . . . The Padula vases, therefore, are of considerable interest for the light they shed upon the later development of the Apulianizing style and the continuing contacts between Campanian and Apulian throughout the last third of the 4th century.[8]

These contacts were provided in part by the Valle del Tanagro, which was a very important central market for the internal trade of Magna Graecia. Both Apulian and Lucanian vases have been found at sites along its trade routes.[9]

NOTES - PART VI - LUCANIAN

[1]I am greatly indebted to A. D. Trendall for his detailed catalogue of vases in RVLCS (Oxford 1967). His descriptions and distribution of vases into their groups are adopted. Only a few of the countless vases depicting female heads from South Italy and Sicily are included in this thesis.

[2]The influence of the 'Plain style' Apulian of the end of the fifth century B.C. and the early decades of the fourth is present in this group.

[3]The Creusa and Dolon Painters received much of their style and the majority of their decorations from the Pisticci-Amykos workshop, and as such are regarded as their direct successors.

[4]Trendall (supra n. 1) 116.

[5]Trendall (supra n. 1) 118.

[6]A. D. Trendall, "Head Vases in Padula", Apollo (Musei Provinciali Del Salernitano) Salerno. 2, 1962, 11-34.

[7]These vases are displayed in the "Museo Archeologico della Lucania Occidentale" in the Certosa of Padula.

[8]Trendall (supra n. 6) 33-34.

[9]Trendall (supra n. 6) 33-34.

APULIAN RED-FIGURE VASES

Soon after the Lucanian workshop had been established, a second school of vase-painters was formed at Taranto (ca. 430-420 B.C.).[1] Trendall states that from the very beginning:

> . . . their vases tend to be more monumental in shape and more elaborately decorated and must be regarded as the forerunners of the developed Apulian style, both 'Plain' and 'Ornate', of the fourth century. Between c. 410 and 380 B.C. the two schools seem to have been in close contact and may indeed have worked together, since each had a considerable influence on the other. During this period the products of the first school are found at sites in Apulia, but after c. 375 they disappear almost completely from this area, which suggests that by then they were no longer being made in the vicinity and that their painters had already moved into the Lucanian hinterland.[2]

The chief artist of this Early Apulian style was the Sisyphus Painter, who was active in the late fifth century. From his workshop stem both the 'Plain' and the 'Ornate' styles. The former was employed primarily on the smaller vases which displayed scenes from daily life or the cult of Dionysus.[3] The 'Ornate' style was reserved primarily for the more monumental vases, such as volute-kraters, where the painter could use the style to its best advantage because of the larger surface area provided for elaboration.[4]

The Iliupersis Painter follows the Sisyphus Painter and continues the 'Ornate' style. He is best known for his heroön and stele scenes (F 283),[5] which soon became extremely popular subjects. The Persephone Krater (F 277), is one of his more famous vases. The neck of this krater

is decorated with a female head which is inscribed "Aura". She is surrounded by ornamental flora.

The Lycurgus Painter succeeds the Iliupersis Painter and, like his predecessor, favors the 'Ornate' style as well as heroön scenes (F 352). His work spans the middle of the fourth century.

APULIAN RED-FIGURE VASES[6]

Follower of Lycurgus Painter

Amphorae

1. Jatta No. 423. GVU K71, 114, 115.
   - A: Upper Zone: Woman seated in a small temple like structure, holding a jewelry box (?) and a mirror surrounded by figures bringing gifts and offerings.
     Central Zone: Winged female head and shoulders surrounded by flora.
   - B: Central Zone: Female head and shoulders emerging from flanking leaves and flora.
2. Jatta No. 425. GVU K70, 112.
   - A: Central Zone: Female head emerging from flanking leaves and flora.
   - B: Upper Zone: Woman with a mirror seated in a small temple like structure, with attending figures.
     Central Zone: Head has been replaced by a blossom.

Pelike

3. Jatta No. 1500. GVU K74, 128, 129.

A: Central Zone: Head emerging from flanking leaves and flora.

Upper Zone: Woman standing in small temple like structure.

Attending females bring gifts and offerings.

B: Central Zone: Female head surrounded by flora.

Related to Lycurgus Painter, Pre-Darian Group

Situla

4. Jatta No. 1372. GVU K75, 132.

A: Body: Winged youthful head with Phrygian cap emerging from flanking leaves, surrounded by flora. Sichtermann, GVU, p. 52, believes this to be Adonis, as does Konrad Schauenburg, "Zur Symbolik Unteritalischer Rankenmotive", RömMitt 64 (1957) 213.

Late Apulian

Volute-kraters

5. Jatta No. 1092. GVU K68, 108.

A: Body: Dionysus in his panther-driven chariot.

Neck: Female head flanked by two Erotes.

6. F 284. Late fourth century B.C. 'Ornate' Apulian.

A: Body: Offerings at a heroön.

Neck: Female head emerging from surrounding flora.

Situla

7. Jatta No. 1326. GVU K77, 135.

   A: Dionysus with satyr and maenad.

Bowl

8. Jatta No. 1613. GVU K79, 138.

   A: Woman carried by two flying Eros, one holding a torch, the other a situla.

Volute-krater

9. Carlsruhe 388. From Ruvo. CVA, Carlsruhe, pl. 62-64; EVP, 147, no. 6.

   A: Body: Scene of the underworld. In a building, Persephone sits on her throne holding a scepter. Hades with his scepter stands next to her. They are surrounded by several figures.

   B: Body: Bellerophon and Chimaera.

   Neck: Female head in profile emerging from leaves and surrounded by flora.

Askos

10. CVA, Mannheim, no. 230, pl. 45.

    B: Body: Large female head with pointed headdress emerging from leaves, surrounded by flora.

Column-krater

11. Civico Museo Archeologico. Milan. 225. CVA, pl. 6, fig. 1.

A: Body: Two women and youths bring gifts and offerings to a seated woman in a heroön.

Neck: Female head emerging from vegetation.

Apulian vases depicting female heads listed above have represented the female head as emerging from surrounding flora, whereby the head often occupies the space where one would expect to find the blossom. The Apulian fabric does contain vases which depict the female head in profile as in the other red-figure fabrics in South Italy and Sicily. Three examples of these are given below.

Skyphos

12. Trieste Civico Museum. S. 493. CVA, pl. 31, fig. 2. A: Female head.

Pelike

13. Carlsruhe. CVA B 75, pl. 61, fig. 1. A: and B: Female head.

14. Carlsruhe. CVA B 160, pl. 61, fig. 4. A: and B: Female head.

NOTES - PART VI - APULIAN

[1]This location is not definite but most scholars point to it as the probable origin for the Apulian fabric.

[2]A. D. Trendall, SIVP (British Museum 1966) 8.

[3]A. Cambitoglou and A. D. Trendall, "Apulian Red-Figured Vase-Painters of the Plain Style", Archaeological Institute of America (1961) 4.

[4]The larger vases usually depict female heads emerging from flora on the necks or a central zone of the vase. For more on heads emerging from flora on vases see, Konrad Schauenberg, "Zu Köpfen und Büsten auf Blüten", Jd I. 78 (1963) 310, as cited by Hellmut Sichtermann, GVU (Berlin 1966) 52.

[5]Inventory numbers beginning with F are used by Trendall (supra n. 2) and are taken from the Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum.

[6]Nos. 1-5 and 7-8 are from the Jatta Collection in Ruvo, and described by Hellmut Sichtermann (supra n. 4). I include both the Jatta Collection number and the Catalogue (K) number and plate number from Sichtermann.

GNATHIAN VASES

Gnathian vases are characterized by a decoration which is applied in color (red, white, yellow) to the black surface of the vase. Gnathian vases were at one time considered to be representative of the final-flowering of Apulian vase-painting, but scholars, upon comparing Gnathian vases with Apulian vases, have decided that they must have been in use by 350 B.C.[1] Gnathian vases usually depict single figure representations such as a female head, a mask, Eros, a woman, or an animal. These are surrounded by ivy, vine tendrils, or other ornamental patterns. Gnathian vases are found throughout South Italy and Sicily.

Kraters: 350-300 B.C.

1. F 547. SIVP, pl. 16d. Hare.
2. F 548. SIVP, pl. 16e. Mask.
3. F 549. SIVP, pl. 16f. Female head.

NOTES - PART VI - GNATHIAN

[1]A. D. Trendall, SIVP (British Museum 1966) 22.

SICILIAN RED-FIGURE VASES

The source for the three fabrics of the West (i.e. Sicilian, Campanian, and Paestan), seems to have been a small red-figure workshop established at Syracuse, near the close of the fifth century B.C. About thirty or forty years later (ca. 380-370 B.C.), some of the Syracusan artists established workshops in Campania and Paestum, while some stayed at the Syracusan workshop and continued the local fabric. However, the vast majority of Sicilian red-figure pottery dates from ca. 340-300 B.C. This upsurge in pot production was undoubtedly a result of Timoleon's campaigns and resettlements between 341 and 338 B.C.

Trendall divides Sicilian red-figure vases into three main groups, which correspond as well to their place of finding.

I. The Lentini-Manfria and Borelli Groups.

II. The Etna Group (Centuripe, Adrano, Paternò, et cetera).

III. The Lipari Group.

These groups are interrelated in style and choice of vase-shapes. The skyphoid pyxis is one of the most popular shapes. The lekanis, squat lekythos, bottle, lebes gamikos and olpe are also common. The calyx-krater is popular in Group I. Trendall states that:

> The repertory of subjects is less extensive than that of the mainland fabrics, and the predominance of the female element is remarkable. By far the greater number of the figured scenes deals with different aspects of women's life -- bridal preparation, toilet scenes, or simply seated or standing women holding mirrors, offerings, and the like. Sometimes they are seen in the company of Eros or Nike, sometimes the two last are represented alone. There is

also an unusually high proportion of vases decorated with female heads.[1]

Dramatic and Dionysiac scenes are next in popularity. But the funerary and parting scenes, which we have come to expect in Apulian, Campanian, and to some extent Lucanian, are not present in the selection of subjects for the Sicilian fabric. Mythological representations are very rare.[2]

SICILIAN RED-FIGURE VASES[3]

The Lentini-Manfria Group

The Hecate Painter

Lebes Gamikos

1. Syracuse 47099. From Lentini. RVLCS, 589, no. 27, pl. 228, 1-2. A: Seated woman (Persephone ?) with standing maid in aedicula; to right Hecate with torch. B: Seated woman and nude athlete with foot raised on block. Shoulder: A: Two small birds. Lid: 'Cushions' and laurel.

Close in Style to Rancate Group

Olpe

2. Palermo 1220. RVLCS, 592, no. 43, pl, 229, 7-8. Young satyr with foot raised on pillar offers dish of fruit to seated half-draped woman with tambourine. Bunch of grapes above.

The Adrano Group

Skyphoid Pyxis

3. Moscow 510. From Adrano. RVLCS, 604, no. 105, pl. 236, 5-6. A: Bridal preparations--seated veiled woman with Aphrodite holding open jewel box to right, Peitho to left, and small Eros above. B: Woman seated on rock-pile with cista and thyrsus.

Excavations at Lentini and Gela have unearthed many vases with female heads depicted on them as the principal decoration. Trendall feels that the Lentini vases in this case are derived from Apulian prototypes.[4] The Randazzo Group belongs to this classification.

The Randazzo Group

Lekanis

4. Palermo R 855. From Randazzo. RVLCS, 609, no. 163. A: and B: Female head.

The Borelli Group

The Lentini Hydriai Group

Oenochoe

5. Agrigento AG 3016. From Agrigento. RVLCS, 618, no. 219, pl. 241, 4. Two female heads confronting.

The Group of Syracuse 51288

Skyphoid Pyxis

6. Moscow 505. From Adrano. RVLCS, 619, no. 288, pl. 242, 3-4. A: Scene from mysteries (?) --seated youth, collecting water in phiale, between woman with wreath and woman with torch. B: Seated half-draped woman with tambourine.

Lekanis

7. Syracuse. From Montagna di Marzo, Tomb F. RVLCS, 619, no. 229, pl. 242, 5-6. A: Two women seated back to back. B: Kneeling Eros.

II. The Etna Group

The lekanis became especially popular in this group and often has a female head painted on the knob. The female head serves as the main decoration on a large percentage of these.

The Zurich Group

The themes on the vases of this group are confined almost exclusively to women, Nike, Eros, female heads, and sometimes satyrs.

The Painter of Catania 4305

Lekanis

8. Lentini 1408+1636. From Lentini. Frr. RVLCS, 630, no. 295. Seated woman in three-quarter face with tambourine, attendant with flute and torch, Eros, seated woman. Fragments of another Eros and seated woman.

FEMALE HEADS

Trendall acknowledges over a hundred vases with female heads as the principal decoration attributed to the Etna Group.

The Centuripe Group

The olpe is a favorite shape in this group. It often depicts two confronting heads, with a plant, floral, or a bunch of grapes between them.

Olpe

9. Catania 4280. RVLCS, 643, no. 381. Two female heads confronting, with flower between.

The White Stripe Group

Close in Style to the Portale Painter

Squat Lekythos

10. Morgantina 59.817. From Epitymbion VIII. RVLCS, 651, no. 443, pl. 252, 7; AJA 64 (1960) 129, pl. 22, 8. Female head.

III. The Lipari Group

The lekanis is the most frequent vase-shape in this group, followed by the skyphoid pyxis, and the bottle. The alabastron, lebes gamikos, and squat lekythos are less common.

The Lipari Painter

The Bridal Sub-Group

This group depicts scenes of bridal preparation, as the name implies.

Skyphoid pyxis

11. Cefalù 10. From Lipari. RVLCS, 655, no. 449, (b) pl. 254, 5. A: Toilet of the bride--seated woman on deep-red klismos, standing woman to left with alabastron, flying bird above; to right, standing woman with offerings. B: Woman seated to left with large cista, hanging tambourine to left. Lid: Two female heads confronting with white altar between; two large disks (tambourines?).

The Altar Sub-Group

Lekanis

12. Lipari, Inv. 745 D. From T. 309. RVLCS, 658, no. 474. Woman seated in front of altar, facing right and resting right arm on red-and-white pillar. She sits on a red-and-white box and holds a blue phiale with white and red fruit; facing her is a seated Nike, with a blue-green cloak over her legs, resting her left hand on a red-and-white box, and holding a cista in her right. White flowers in the field.

FEMALE HEADS

Several vases depicting female heads are also attributed to the Lipari Painter.

13. Cefalù 17. From Lipari. RVLCS, 660, no. 492. Two female heads confronting, with altar between.

NOTES - PART VI - SICILIAN

[1]A. D. Trendall, RVLCS (Oxford 1967) 580.

[2]Trendall (supra n. 1) 581.

[3]The Sicilian vases listed below are from Trendall (supra n. 1). I use his descriptions and distribution of vases into their proper groups.

[4]Trendall (supra n. 1) 609. Also see A. Cambitoglou, JHS 74 (1954) 111ff.

CAMPANIAN RED-FIGURE VASES

Red-figure came into use in Campania during the second quarter of the fourth century when some artists from a Sicilian workshop moved northwards into Campania. Trendall suggests that the Painter of Naples 2074 was one of these vase-painters from Sicily. The Campanian red-figure fabric came to an end ca. 300 B.C.

The bail-amphora and the neck-amphora are especially popular vase-shapes in the Campanian fabric. The hydria, lekanis, bottle and bell-krater are common. The types of scenes selected by Campanian vase painters indicate that they had a great interest in funerary scenes. Trendall writes:

> . . . it will be noted that in Campanian the offerings are more frequently brought to a stele or similar grave monument than to a heroön, as is common in Apulian . . . The frequency with which duel and combat scenes appear on Campanian, and the close parallels with Capuan and Paestan tomb-paintings, suggest that these representations are derived from the funerary games practised by the Samnites.[1]

Scenes of parting also reflect a strong preoccupation with the cult of the dead. Usually, a warrior and a woman (his wife or mother), are the two main figures in this picture. At this time, Campania was under the domination of the Oscans. This is indicated by the Oscan armor worn by the warrior who is shown leaving for a battle from which he might not return.[2]

As on the other red-figure fabrics, female heads are used extensively. On larger vases they serve as subsidiary decoration below

the handles or on the neck. On smaller vases they are often the principal decoration.

CAMPANIAN RED-FIGURE VASES[3]

Capua I

The Spotted Rock Group

Bell-krater

1. Naples 899. Inv. 82623. RVLCS, 236, no. 62, pl. 92, 6. A: Draped woman with situla and thyrsus. B: Female head to left.

The Parrish Painter and His Circle

The Painter of B. M. F 227

Hydria

2. Vatican, V 41. Inv. 17989. RVLCS, 255, no. 193, detail of head: Pl. 101, 5. Two youths between Ionic columns at a grave mound, on top of which is a hydria. Below handles: Female heads.

The Laghetto Painter

Lebes Gamikos

3. Paestum 5427. From Contrada Andriuolo, T. 7. RVLCS, 298, no. 510, pl. 119, 3-6. A: Woman and youth, Eros and seated woman, on spotted ground. B: Maenad with tambourine between a standing and a seated satyr. Shoulder: A: Two female heads, one in saccos, the other with bunch of hair at back. Bowl of Lid: A: Head of satyr. B: Female head.

Capua II

Workshop of the Capua Painter

Head Vases

Lekanis Lid

4. Warsaw 199219. RVLCS, 372, no. 87. A: and B: Female head.

The Libation Painter

Neck-Amphora

5. Sydney 51.17. RVLCS, 406, no. 305, pl. 160, 4-5. A: Iphigenia offers Pylades the letter beside an altar in front of the temple. B: Draped youth and woman with phiale.

Hydriai

6. Trieste 1814. RVLCS, 407, no. 313, pl. 161, 1. Youth and two women with offerings at an Ionic stele, on the base of which stand two amphorae.
7. Melbourne, National Gallery D119/1969. RVLCS, Suppl. I, 73, no. 314a, pl. 19, 2-3.[4] Three women and a youth around a statue of a woman on a large plinth with a floral surround.

The Libation Group

The Olcott Painter

Hydria

8. New York 06.1021.230. AJA 50 (1946) 77, fig. 11; RVLCS, 411, no. 342, pl. 165, 3. Youths and women with offerings at the statue of a woman in a floral surround.

Cumae 'A'

Workshop of the CA Painter

Hydriai (a) with Heroa

"All have as the central feature a heroön seen in perspective (a sign of Apulian influence), figures bearing offerings."[5]

9. Newark 50.330. RVLCS, 455, no. 19, pl. 176, 1. Woman and warrior beside heroön, in which is a standing draped woman.

Hydriai (b) with Women at a Stele.

These hydriai depict women carrying offerings such as wreaths, phialai, situlae, cistae, and fillets to a stele.

Hydriai (c) with Women and Warriors at a Stele

The hydriai in this section depict scenes similar in style to those in (b), but an Oscan warrior is depicted along with the other figures.

Neck-Amphorae (a) with Female Heads upon the Neck

The vases in this group depict female heads on the neck. The reverses of these vases are decorated with women only.

Cumae 'C'

The painters in this group favor "scenes connected with the daily life of women. The bottle becomes popular as a shape, and is frequently decorated with a female head."[6]

The FVB Group

Lekanis

10. Frankfurt X 14361. RVLCS, 553, no. 888, pl. 216, 1-2. A: Boy with situla and phiale, seated woman holding phiale over altar, beside which stand two women, one with wreath, the other with tambourine and situla. B: Woman with fan, scarf, and cista standing before seated woman with mirror.

An Unattributed Vase Associated with the Above Groups

Lekanis

11. Gottingen. J 51. From Cumae. RVLCS, 555, no. 897, pl. 217, 3-4. Woman with dish of offerings and oenochoe at Ionic altar, over which leans a small figure and beside which stands a woman; woman playing with infant Eros, white bird flying between; seated woman with mirror by altar, beside which stands a woman with an oenochoe; two seated women facing each other.

Approximately one hundred vases decorated with only female heads are assigned to Cumae 'C'. RVLCS, pp. 561-572.

NOTES - PART IV - CAMPANIAN

[1]A. D. Trendall, RVLCS (Oxford 1967) 192-93.

[2]J. D. Beazley, "Groups of Campanian Red-Figure", JHS 63 (1943) 69.

[3]The Campanian vases listed below are from Trendall (supra n. 1). I use his descriptions and distribution of vases into their proper groups.

[4]This vase is selected from A. D. Trendall, RVLCS; First Supplement (University of London) Institute of Classical Studies. Bulletin. Supplement 26, 1970.

[5]Trendall (supra n. 1) 454.

[6]Trendall (supra n. 1) 550.

PAESTAN RED-FIGURE VASES

Although Paestum was located in Lucania, the pottery which Paestum and Lucania produced should be regarded as two separate fabrics. Paestan pottery has very little in common with Lucanian, but has many Campanian characteristics because when the followers of the Chequer and Dirce Painters left Syracuse, they established workshops in Campania and Paestum.

As in the other red-figure fabrics of that time, the lebes gamikos, calyx-krater, skyphos, oenochoe, lekanis, neck-amphora, squat lekythos, hydria, and bell-krater were popular vase-shapes in the Paestan fabric. Likewise, many of the scenes are those favored by the other red-figure fabrics, especially Campanian. Dionysiac scenes are extremely common. Scenes dealing with women as the main figures, scenes at an altar, or stele, and female heads are used extensively. Phlyax plays are also a popular subject on Paestan vases.[1]

The Workshop of Asteas and Python

Asteas

Bell-krater

1. British Museum. F. 152. PP, 48 (40), p. 5. A: Dionysus and Eros.

The Asteas Group

The Altavilla Painter

Hydriai

2. Woburn Abbey, Duke of Bedford. PA, A16, p. 4, pl. 2, d.
   A: Silen brings offerings to seated Dionysus.
3. San Simeon, Hearst Estate 5434 (PC 7580). PA, A25, p. 4. Woman with mirror, Dionysus with thyrsus and egg, seated Eros with cista and wreath.

Python

Hydria

4. Buenos Aires, University, Museo Etno grafico 44. PA, A46 bis, p. 6. Youth with drapery over left arm, holding phiale and fillet in his right hand; altar to right.

Minor Vases from the Asteas-Python Workshop

Skyphos

5. Paestum. From Contrada Arcioni, T. 5. PA, A61, p. 7. A: Seated woman with mirror, phiale and spray. B: Female head in saccos.

Lebes Gamikos

6. Paestum. From Contrada Andriuolo, T. 2. PA, A67, p. 7. A: Eros and seated woman with dish and mirror. B: Draped woman with mirror and cista by laver. Lid: A: and B: Female head.

FEMALE HEADS

Asteas-Python Workshop

(a) Plain Style

Lebes Gamikos

7. Paestum. From Contrada Laghetto, T. 63. PA, A139, p. 10. A: and B: Female head.

Squat Lekythos

8. Paestum. From Tempa del Prete, T. 13. PA, A176, p. 12. Female head.

Hydria

9. Paestum. From Contrada Andriuolo, T. 45. PA, A184, p. 12. Female head with large white stephane.

The Floral Painter - Related in Style

Oenochoe (Shape III)

10. Paestum. From Spinazzo. PA, A294, p. 20, pl. 5, c-d. Dionysus with thyrsus seated on chair between a nude youth with offerings and a seated half-draped woman.

NOTES - PART VI - PAESTAN

[1]Phlyax plays are found in all five fabrics but are most common on Apulian and Paestan.

[2]The vases in this list, excluding the first one (B. M. F 152), are taken from A. D. Trendall, "Paestan Addenda", Papers of the British School at Rome, Vol. 27 (1959) 1-37. B. M. F 152 is taken from A. D. Trendall, "Paestan Pottery: A Revision and a Supplement", Papers of the British School at Rome, Vol. 20 (1952) 1-53.

PART VII

CHOES

For the purposes of this thesis, I have separated the following list of choes from the rest of the vases. The reader should note that the subject matter on both Attic choes and Italiote choes, is similar. Although the chous, which is a squat oenochoe with trefoil mouth, follows the same technical development as do black-figure to red-figure vases, the majority of them are done in the red-figure technique. They are common in Attica from ca. 550 B.C. Their purpose is discussed briefly in Chapter V, page 147.

1. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 3196. CA, 60, no. 9; ARV^2, 560. Sabouroff Painter. Ca. 460 B.C. Female head.
2. Athens, National Museum 1545. CC 1285. CA, 65, no. 43, Ca. 470-460 B.C. Demeter hands ears of corn to Triptolemos seated in winged car.
3. From Athens, the Stables. Fr. CA, 75, no. 126; ARV^2, 725. Eretria Painter. Wedding preparations; lebes gamikos with black figures upside down; wreath hanging.
4. Athens, Ceramicus Museum RF 1. From Pompeion, 1932. CA, 77, no. 146. Eretria Painter. Ca. 430 B.C. Boy (ivy-wreath, amulets, among them a crescent, lunula), raising a toy instrument.
5. Berlin, Antiquarium 3393. From Greece. CA, 160, no. 106. Ca. 430-425 B.C. Mourning woman seated on steps of young knight's tomb.

6. Bristol, Museum and Art Gallery H 3993. CA, 115, no. 393. Italiote, Apulian, A. P. style. Second half of the fourth century B.C. Woman seated holds mirror and wreath.

7. Carlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum W 268. CA, 120, no. 445. Fourth century B.C. Italiote. Head of youth between tendrils.

8. Paris, Louvre L 64. S1659. From Greece. CA, 169, no. 289. Late fifth century B.C. Youth with horse; woman pouring libation on altar; woman looking on; olive tree with votive tablets. Hero worshipped on the day of Chytoi.

NOTES - PART VII

[1]The following list of choes and the description of scenes depicted on them was selected from G. Van Hoorn, CA (Leiden 1951).

PART VIII

ANODOS SCENES[1]

1. Black-figure. Kylix. Ca. middle of the sixth century B.C. Museum at Naples. Prol.[2], 406, fig. 128; E. Buschor, "Feldmäuse", Sitz. Ber. Akad. (Munich 1937) fig. 1, pp. 4-5.[2] Buschor believes that this scene is showing Dionysus returning from the underworld with Semele, i.e. his Epiphany. There is no doubt that this is indeed the case. Two large busts, one labeled Dionysus, the other Semele, emerge out of the ground. Symbols of Dionysus are present, he holds a wine-cup (kantharos) and both heads are surrounded by a grape vine.
2. Black-figure. Column-krater. Louvre F 311. CVA, III He, pl. 5, no. 1. Buschor, fig. 2, p. 5. On body of vase: Head of Dionysus and head of woman (Ariadne?).
3. Black-figure. Cup (lip-cup). Related to Lydos. New York 25.78.4. From Vulci. ABV, 119; JHS 52, 179, fig. 12 and pl. 8; CVA, pl. 10 and pl. 37, 12. On the lip: A: Head of Dionysus. B: Head of woman (Ariadne?). Both heads in outline.
4. Black-figure. Attic Lekythos. Tübingen D 72. Buschor, p. 5. Heads of Dionysus and Athena.
5. Black-figure. Lekythos. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Cat. 298. Prol.[2],279, fig. 69; CVA, pl. 85, fig. 2-3; Buschor, fig. 5, p. 11. Large female head rising out of earth. Two bounding columns suggest that the scene takes place in a temple or sanctuary. Two men on

opposite sides of head strike the earth with hammers.

6. Red-figure. Chous. Eretria Painter. Ca. 430 B.C. Athens, Ceramicus Museum, RF 1. From Pompeion, 1932. CA, 77, no. 146. Boy (ivy-wreath, amulets, among them a crescent, lunula), raising a toy instrument. G. Van Hoorn discusses this scene:

> A child's paraphrase of a magic rite has been interpreted variously: (149-146) with a hammer, which is only schematically indicated, he may be rendering, in play, the Anodos of Kore, awaking the goddess, by beating the earth (97); if the instrument is meant for an axe, the theme may be the deliverance of Athena from the head of Zeus by Hephaistos, or the birth of Helen from the egg; but the Spring ceremony of the return of Kore or Dionysos is more appropriate to the Blossom-days.[3]

7. Krater. Hope Collection at Deep-Dene. E. M. W. Tillyard, The Hope Vases (Cambridge 1923) no. 163, pl. 26, pp. 97ff.; Prol.[2], 404, fig. 126. Martin P. Nilsson, "Die eleusinischen Gottheiten (Exkurs: Die Anodos der Pherephatta auf den Vasenbildern)", Opuscula Selecta, Vol. II (Lund 1952) 613, no. 3.[4] Youth (Dionysus) rising from earth-mound with scepter and diadem; surrounded by related attendants: a winged Nike greets him; a maenad with thyrsus and tray of offerings, a satyr with thyrsus, a seated youth with thyrsus and above him a female figure.

8. Red-figure. Krater. Early middle of fifth century B.C. Albertinum Museum at Dresden. Prol.[2], 277, fig. 67; Nilsson, 612, no. 1. Figure of Persephone (with identity verified by inscription of [Phe] rophatta written above her), rising from earth-mound. Hermes stands in front of it and receives the rising goddess, while goat-horned Panes dance about.[5]

9. Red-figure. Krater. Berlin Antiquarium, Berl. Cat. 2646. Prol.[2], 278, fig. 68; Nilsson, 612, no. 2. No inscribed name (could be

Semele). Goddess rises from an earth-mound which is covered with various types of foliage. Other figures present are Dionysus, seated with thyrsus, and his attendants, Pan, satyrs, and a winged Eros, playing a double-flute.

10. Red-figure. Bell-krater. Painter of Louvre G 508. Early fourth century B.C. Valletta. From Malta. ARV^2, 868-69; A. Cambitoglou, "Three Attic Vases in the Museum of Valletta", JHS 75 (1955) 7-8. A: Goddess rises from mound, received by Hermes and 3 satyrs.

11. Late red-figure. Hydria. Musée du Cinquantenaire at Brussels. Prol.^{2},639, fig. 173; CVA, Belgique-Brussels, fasc. 2, Inv. R 286. Nilsson, 615, no. 11; Frohner, Choix de vases grecs, pl. 6, p. 24. Buschor, fig. 12, p. 30. Rising of earth-goddess in the character of Aphrodite-Persephone-Ge. 2 satyrs with picks and 2 Erotes.

12. Red-figure. Bell-krater. Lucanian. Pisticci Painter. 440-370 B.C. Matera. RVLCS, pl. 1, fig. 1. Silene with a raised hammer beside a tree, and Persephone. Trendall states that:

> Buschor associates the scene with the Anodos of Kore, but Brommer (Satyrspiele^2,pp. 72-73) maintains its connexion with the satyr-play by Sophocles on Pandora. A good Attic parallel to our vase may be seen in the bell-krater Stockholm 6 from Magna Graecia (Die Antike 6, 1930, p. 7; Feldmäuse, p. 27, fig. 10) attributed by Beazley (ARV^2, p. 1053, no. 40) to the group of Polygnotos.[6]

13. Late red-figure. Skyphos. Raoul Rochette Collection. Nilsson, 615, no. 12. Large female head and satyr.

14. Red-figure. Krater. Kelch style. Middle of fifth century B.C. Berlin. Nilsson, 613, no. 5. Rising goddess in presence of Hermes and dancing satyrs.

15. Red-figure. Skyphos. Boston 01.8032. From Vico Equense in the

Bourgignon Collection. Nilsson, 613, no. 4; ARV^2, 888-89. Rising goddess in presence of two satyrs.

16. Red-figure. Krater. National Museum in Stockholm. Nilsson, 614, no. 7. Rising goddess with two satyrs with hammers before her. Behind her a dancing satyr.

17. Red-figure. Kylix. Fr. Jena. Nilsson, 614, no. 8; Buschor, fig. 11, p. 29. Rising goddess, satyr with hammer.

18. Oenochoe. Campanian. Naples. Nilsson, 615, no. 10. Female head.

19. Krater. Kelch style. Louvre G 481. Buschor, fig. 4, p. 11.

20. Red-figure. Volute-krater. Ferrara, T. 579. From Spina. ARV^2, 612. Buschor, fig. 7, p. 19; Hesperia 24, 311-12. On the neck: A: Herakles and Busiris. B: Rising of a goddess (Persephone?) with satyrs.[7]

21. Red-figure. Cup. Penthesilea Workshop. Athens, Vlasta. From Anavysos. Brommer, Satyroi, 65; ARV^2, 929. Aphrodite (rather than Persephone?) and Pan. A: Pan, Hermes, and goddess (Aphrodite?).

22. Red-figure. Calyx-krater. The Marlay Painter. Berlin, Inv. 3275. From Falerii. ARV^2, 1276. Above, rising of a goddess (Aphrodite?), with Pans and Hermes.

23. Red-figure. Bell-krater. The Persephone Painter. New York 28.57.23. ARVS, fig. 92; ARV^2, 1012. A: Return of Persephone. B: Men and women.

24. Red-figure. Kalathoid vase. Fr. Polygnotos and his Group. Boston 10.189. ARV^2, 1034. Birth of Aphrodite, or return of Persephone.

25. Red-figure. Calyx-krater. The Group of Polygnotos. Dresden 350. ARV^2, 1056. A: Rising of Persephone. B: Three youths.

26. Red-figure. Calyx-krater, or Bell-krater. Fr. The Danae Painter.

Syracuse. From Camarina PM 99. A: Uncertain subject (Hermes and another: perhaps the rising of Persephone)?

27. Red-figure. Plaque. Frr. Athens, Acr. 1051. From Athens. ARV^2, 1341. Uncertain subject: Langlotz suggested the return of Persephone.

28. Red-figure. Calyx-krater. The Painter of Rodin 1060. Athens, private. ARV^2, 1444. A: Eros and the head of a goddess (Aphrodite?).

29. Red-figure. Bell-krater. Fourth century pot painters, the Painter of Rodin 966. Naples 2169. From S. Agata de' Goti. ARV^2, 1449. A; Women dancing at a head of Aphrodite.

31. Red-figure. Bell-krater. Nostell Priory, St. Oswald, 4. The York Reverse - Group. ARV^2, 1450. A: Rising of Aphrodite, with four satyrs who carry clodding-hammers.

32. Red-figure. Hydria. Group G. Louvre N 2884. ARV^2, 1470. Head of Aphrodite with two women.

33. Red-figure. Hydria. Herakles Painter. Brussels R 286. From Capua. ARV^2, 1473. Buschor, p. 30. Rising of Aphrodite (head of Aphrodite with Erotes and satyrs.

34. Red-figure. Hydria. Middle of the fifth century B.C. Municipio at Genoa 1155. Prol.^{2}, 310, fig. 86; ARV^2, 917. Birth of Aphrodite.

PANDORA[8]

35. Red-figure. Amphora. Campanian. Vivenzio Collection in British Museum. Prol.^{2}, 280, fig. 70; Nilsson, 618, no. 13. A: Rising goddess watched by youth, with hammer or pick. B: Deformed man (Hephaistos?) looks at a vase with a woman's head on top of it. (Pandora issuing from Pithos?).[9]

36. Red-figure. Krater (Amphora). Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. Prol.[2], 281, fig. 71; Buschor, fig. 9, p. 24; Nilsson, 618, no. 15. Rising Pandora, with diadem, Epimetheus with hammer, next Hermes, and then Zeus. Above Pandora, Eros with fillet. Names of figures are inscribed above each.

NOTES - PART VIII

[1]The *Anodos* scene (rising goddess motif), its origin in Greek agricultural festivals and its significance to the development of the female head on vases, is discussed in Chapters I and V. For a list of *Anodos* scenes see, Martin P. Nilsson, "Die eleusinischen Gottheiten (Exkurs: Die Anodos der Pherephatta auf den Vasenbildern)", *Opuscula Selecta*, Vol. II (Lund 1952) 612-23. For a discussion of the *Anodos* scene (rising goddess motif) see, J. E. Harrison, *Prol.*[2] (Cambridge 1908) 276-83, and E. Buschor, Feldmäuse", *Sitz. Ber. Akad.* (Munich 1937) 1-34.

[2]Henceforth referred to as Buschor.

[3]G. Van Hoorn, *CA* (Leiden 1951) 37.

[4]Henceforth referred to as Nilsson.

[5]Harrison (supra n. 1) 277.

[6]A. D. Trendall, *RVLCS* (Oxford 1967) 15.

[7]Nos. 20-34 in this list were selected from J. D. Beazley, *ARV*[2] (Oxford 1963). I use his descriptions of the vase-scenes.

[8]Nos. 35-36 are separated from the other vases in this list because they depict scenes which are specifically related to the rising of Pandora.

[9]Harrison (supra n. 1) 280.

SECTION TWO

TEXT

CHAPTER I

PRESENTATION OF EVIDENCE

This introductory chapter presents the thesis that the female head depicted on vases from Greece, Sicily, and South Italy produced from the sixth to the third century B.C. represents Persephone/Kore and is related to the Anodos of Kore as depicted on vases from this same period.

The black-figure lekythos (Part VIII, p. 86, no. 5, Figure 3), depicts a mimetic ritual of the Anodos of Kore as described in Chapter V. Two men are breaking-up the soil to assist Kore in her emergence from the ground. The participation of two men rather than satyrs in this ceremony, and the two columns framing the scene which suggest a temple or sanctuary, indicate the earthly nature of this ritual and that it was indeed a ceremonial practice associated with agriculture.[1]

The female head between two columns is depicted on other Attic vases, as on the lekythoi of the Icarus Painter, and may also be related to the Anodos of Kore. A statement made by Clement of Alexandria supports the idea that the myth of Persephone/Kore was enacted through mimetic rituals: "This piece of mythology the women in their festivals celebrate in diverse fashion in the Thesmophoria, the Skirophoria, the Arretophoria."[2]

By comparing the female head on a Campanian red-figure bell-krater (Part VI, p. 73, no. 1, Figure 4), with the black-figure lekythos

mentioned above, a definite similarity emerges. Both vases depict large female heads in profile cut off near the shoulders by a line of decoration, so that both heads appear to be emerging from the ground. The female head depicted on the red-figure bell-krater is similar to other red-figure female heads depicted on head vases and provides a link between vases depicting the Anodos and head vases depicting the female head.

Another vase which suggests that the female head is connected with the Anodos of Kore is an Attic red-figure oenochoe (Part III, p. 30, misc., no. 1, Figure 5), This vase shows a large female head which appears to be emerging from the ground while a draped youth looks on.

Still another type of scene which indicates a mimetic ritual or the enactment of an earthly celebration is one which depicts an altar between two female heads. An Attic red-figure lekythos (Part III, p. 30, no. 1, Figure 6), depicts the heads of two women in profile, adorned with coif, earrings, necklace, and mantle. A pedestal with censor is between the two female heads. Evidence in the form of a terracotta plaque from Terravecchia di Grammichele (Figure 7), and a double-bust from Agrigento in Syracuse (Figure 8), indicate that when two female heads are located next to one another or are confronting one another, it is probable that they are representations of Demeter and Persephone/Kore. H. R. W. Smith remarks that there is a decidely "chthonian stamp" about the two heads on the red-figure lekythos mentioned above.[3] Considering this, it is likely that the two heads on this vase are representations of Demeter and Persephone/Kore.

An altar between two confronting heads is also present on the oenochoai (Shape VII) of the Torcop Group. Confronting female heads

are present in the Campanian fabric, related to the Capua Painter and the CA Painter; and the Sicilian fabric, the Laghetto Painter, the ZA Painter, the Etna Group, the Borelli Group, and the Centuripe Group; and also the Etruscan fabric, the Group of Ferrara T 785. An Etruscan oenochoe from the Torcop Group (Part IV, p. 30, no. 3, Figure 9), also depicts two confronting heads, a male and a female head.[4] The male head with animal-skin cap could mistakenly be identified as Herakles, who was a popular figure on red-figure vases. However, closer examination reveals that he wears a wolf-skin cap, an attribute of Hades, and not a lion-skin cap. Furthermore, the head bears a striking resemblance to other representations of Hades. Three Etruscan monuments offer parallels to this figure:

I. Tomba Golini I, Orvieto. (G. Giglioli, L'Arte Etrusca, Milano S. A. Fratelli Treves Editori, 1935, pl. CCXLV, 45).

II. Tomba dell'Orco, Tarquinia. (Giglioli, pl. XXXLVIII, 3).

III. Torre San Severo Sarcophagus, Orvieto. (F. De Ruyt, Charon, Etrusque de la Mort, Brussels, 1934, no. 103, fig. 41).

These examples date from the late fourth to the early decades of the third century B.C. and are contemporary with the Torcop oenochoe. The first two are tomb paintings showing scenes of the underworld. Eita (Hades), wearing wolf-skin cap, and Phersipnai (Persephone), are present together in both tomb paintings. In the Tomba dell'Orco, Hades name is painted beside him as 'Aita'. On the Torre San Severo Sarcophagus at Orvieto, Eita again appears with Phersipnai in a scene representing the Sacrifice of the Trojan Prisoners. The presence of Persephone with

Hades, in his wolf-skin cap, in these scenes, suggests that the female head shown confronting him on the Torcop oenochoe is also Persephone. A Double-bust of Persephone and Hades found in a Lokrian grave is further evidence of this connection.

Possible representations of the heads of Demeter and Persephone/Kore are not only found on vases, but also on the Protomes ('Maschere') and the 'Grandi Busti'. The concept of using the disembodied head of Persephone/Kore to represent her resurrection (Anodos), is evidenced on a Greek ceiling in a tomb in Southern Russia from about the end of the fourth century B.C.[5] A bust of Persephone/Kore (or Demeter?) is painted on the ceiling in a coffer against a blue painted sky as if she were indeed resurrecting.

As for the female heads emerging from flanking leaves, calyx, and flora which are so common on Apulian vases, there is no doubt that a resurrecting deity is intended here (Part VI, p. 60, no. 11, Figures 1-2), since we find heads such as Adonis', a resurrecting deity, emerging from flanking leaves and surrounded by flora (Part VI, p. 58, no. 4). The female heads which Beazley calls "Maenads" (Part IV, p. 36, nos. 4-5). also probably represent a female resurrecting deity, as they are shown surrounded by vegetation and flora as on the Apulian vases. A fragment of a terracotta statuette representing a youthful woman holding a spherical object (pomegranate?), emerging from a large flower calyx supports the possibility that the female deity which emerges from a calyx on vases is Persephone/Kore.[7]

It will be shown that a connection exists between scenes of the Anodos of Kore and the female head depicted on vases. The frequent occurrence of two confronting female heads on vases is associated

with the confronting heads of Persephone/Kore and Demeter as found on a terracotta plaque and a double-bust of the two deities. The Etruscan oenochoe provides evidence for the depiction of the head of Persephone/Kore on vases. The concept of using the disembodied head of Persephone/Kore is indicated in other art forms. And the female head emerging from flanking leaves is shown to represent a female resurrecting nature deity. These factors indicate that it might be Persephone/Kore who is represented in the form of a female head on vases.

NOTES - CHAPTER I

[1]J. E. Harrison, Prol.[2] (Cambridge 1908) 282.

[2]Clement of Alexandria, Protrepticus, II. 17, p. 14, as cited by, Harrison (supra n. 1) 131, n. 1.

[3]H. R. W. Smith, CVA, University of California, Fasc. 1, p. 50.

[4]Mario A. Del Chiaro, EVPC (University of California Press 1974) 70, no. 3, fig. 8, and Mario A. Del Chiaro, "Two Unusual Vases of the Etruscan Torcop Group: One with Head of Eita (Hades)", AJA 74 (1970) 292-94, pl. 73.

[5]Karl Lehmann, "The Dome of Heaven", The Art Bulletin 27 (March 1945) 4, fig. 6.

[6]See, Konrad Schauenburg, "Zur Symbolik Unteritalischer Rankenmotive", RömMitt 64 (1957) 198.

[7]Syracuse, National Museum. Inv. 11515. Elizabeth Jastrow, "Two Terracotta Reliefs in American Museums", AJA 50 (1946) 79, fig. 13.

CHAPTER II

SOUTH ITALIAN AND SICILIAN VASE SCENES, CA. 440-300 B.C.

South Italian and Sicilian vases produced between 440 and 300 B.C. often depict the following scenes: Dionysiac; women and youths bearing offerings to a tomb, stele, or altar; heroön; rape and abduction (pursuit); and bridal preparation. Evidence will be presented that these scenes were related to funeral practices and reflect the Greek preoccupation with the afterlife. Furthermore, it will be shown that certain vase-shapes were preferred because of their function as funeral vases. The frequent occurrence of a female head on these vases implies a possible connection between this image and the subject matter protrayed in other scenes on these vases. The image (head) of Persephone/Kore, as goddess of the underworld, on vases of a funerary nature is in keeping with their theme and purpose. Connections between the more popular vase scenes and the cult of Persephone/Kore will be established in this chapter and will suggest that the female head depicted on these same vases is a representation of Persephone/Kore.

The popularity of Dionysiac scenes and the connections between the cult of Dionysus and the cult of Persephone/Kore denotes that the head of Persephone/Kore would be in accord with a Dionysiac scene depicted on the same vase. The interrelationships between the cults of Dionysus and Persephone/Kore will be discussed in Chapter V.[1] Only a brief summary will be presented here. Both deities were chthonic, that

is, associated with vegetative properties, and both were regarded as symbols of death and rebirth. Connections with Persephone/Kore also contributed to the identification of Dionysus with Hades/Pluton. Dionysus' associations with the dead and Hades/Pluton are in agreement with his appearance in scenes on vessels of a funerary nature. Typical Dionysiac scenes contain a seated Dionysus holding a thyrsus, with dancing maenads, silenes, and satyrs surrounding him.[2] Occasionally Dionysus is shown in his panther driven chariot.[3]

The types of offerings and gifts brought by women and youths to a grave, altar, or stele on vases also suggest a connection with Persephone/Kore. Objects such as bowls (phialai),[4] baskets (kalathoi),[5] boxes or chests (kistai), and torches are often carried by figures in these scenes. These objects were also implements in the worship of Persephone/Kore.[6] Their ritualistic significance in her cult is evidenced by a single tablet and numerous statuettes which show Persephone/Kore holding these objects.[7] Musical instruments, such as the flute and tambourine, which were used in religious celebrations are also shown being carried by the attendants to graves. Many Campanian hydriai show women carrying offerings such as wreaths, phialai, situlae, cistae, and fillets to a stele.

Other vases show what is perhaps a scene from the Mysteries. A Campanian lekanis shows a "boy with situla and phiale, seated woman holding phiale over altar, beside which stand two women, one with wreath, the other with tambourine and situla."[8] The reverse of this vase shows a "woman with fan, scarf, and cista standing before seated woman with mirror."[9] A Sicilian skyphoid pyxis shows a similar scene: A "seated youth, collecting water in phiale, between woman with wreath and woman

with torch."[10] A "seated half-draped woman with tambourine", is on the reverse.[11]

A variety of tomb monuments, such as ionic columns, doric columns, square plinths, and grave stelae, appear in these scenes, and it is very common to see a wreath or a ribbon tied about them.[12] Vases were often used as offerings to the dead and are commonly found in burial deposits. As offerings to the dead we find them depicted in countless grave scenes on vases (Figure 10).[13]

The popularity of heroön scenes resulted from an alteration in the Greek concept of the afterlife. In Homeric thought, the soul was regarded as a powerless, shadowy thing. In the Eleventh Book of the Odyssey (492-495), Odysseus visits a dark and gloomy underworld. With the advent of Orphism and the Mystery religions, hope in an afterlife became accepted. Aristophanes, in the Frogs (316), describes the afterlife or underworld as a place where those who had been initiated into the Mysteries dance in the Elysian Fields. Pindar relates the Greek concept of Metempsychosis, which is a purification of the soul resulting from its migration through various bodies of men and animals.[14] In his Second Olympian Ode, Pindar, writing for Theron of Akragas, describes an afterlife where great men, or heroes, who have achieved perfection and fulfillment in this life, find their rewards. Through hero cults and heroön representations, people hoped to achieve the immortality of the hero by implication. Thus hero cults (especially Herakles) and heroön scenes are popular on funeral vases.[15]

An altar or heroön was usually placed near or on a hero's grave. A heroön was a small building or shrine enclosing a marble or stucco-covered limestone figure of the deceased.[16] A Lucanian Panathenaic

amphora shows the apotheosis of a warrior in which two youths and two women bring offerings to a statue of a warrior.[17] Heroön scenes are common on Apulian and Campanian hydriai and sometimes a seated woman is shown inside the heroön.[18] Scenes of parting, usually of a warrior and his wife, are also common on Campanian vases, especially the Libation Group.[19] Duel and combat scenes indicate an interest in hero cults. These scenes are also found in Capuan and Paestan tomb-paintings, and were probably derived from Samnitic funerary games.[20]

The popularity of abduction and rape scenes and scenes of bridal preparation were manifestations of the Greek attitude towards marriage and death. Their association with Persephone/Kore requires a thorough analysis. According to ancient literature, customs, and vase-paintings, similar rites were involved in marriage and death ceremonies, and the same sources indicate that the one signified the other.

Through death, a person achieved a unification and communion with his gods, much like a bride and her husband. The desire for immortality through union with the gods is demonstrated by the numerous episodes of a deity coupling with a mortal in Greek mythology. An example of this is Adonis, who achieved immortality through his death and subsequent marriage to Persephone for half the year and to Aphrodite the other half.[21] The myth of Persephone reflects this idea as well. Although as daughter of Zeus and Demeter, she is already divine and doesn't truly die, nevertheless she is forced to enter the underworld to unite with Hades and become Queen of the Dead. Lenormant explains this further:

> Thus a girl carried off (by death) from her parents was simply a bride betrothed to the infernal god, and was identified with Demeter's maiden daughter, the victim of the passion and violence of Hades; a young man

> cut off by an early fate figured as the beautiful Adonis, snatched away by Persephone from the love of Aphrodite, and brought in spite of himself, to the bed of the queen of the lower world.[22]

There are many references to the similarity between marriage and death in ancient literature. A connection between them is alluded to in Sophocles' Antigone, where the message has additional significance because of Antigone's prospective marriage to Haemon.[23] Throughout the play, we are reminded of the bridal nature of death. In response to the chorus, Antigone says:

> Hades, who gives sleep to all is leading me living to Acheron's shore. I have had no portion in the chant that brings the bride, nor has any song been mine for the crowning of bridals. Me the lord of the Dark Lake shall wed. (810-816).

And when Creon orders that Antigone be imprisoned in a rocky vault, Antigone responds:

> Tomb, bridal-chamber, eternal prison in the cavverned rock whither I go to find my own, those many who have perished and whom Persephone has received among the dead. (891-892).

Artemidorus, a geographer and traveler ca. 100 B.C., in his handbook to the interpretation of dreams, asserts that dreaming of either marriage or death portends the other. He states:

> If an unmarried man dream of death, it foretells his marriage; for both alike, marriage and death, have universally been held by mankind to be 'fulfillments'; and they are constantly indicated by one another; for the which reason also if sick men dream of marriage, it is a foreboding of death.[24]

In another passage he states:

> . . . if a sick person dream of sexual intercourse with a god or goddess . . . it is a sign of death; for it is then, when the soul is near leaving the body which it inhabits, that it foresees, union and intercourse with the gods.[25]

These examples are evidence of the belief that coupling with a deity could result in immortality, providing a substantial reason for the increase of rape and abduction scenes as a motif on funerary vases.[26]

Weddings and funerals were associated in another respect. Some of the same customs were practiced at both ceremonies. Lawson states:

> We are bound to suppose either that marriage-ceremonies, were deliberately transferred to the funeral-rite, or that funeral-ceremonies were deliberately transferred to the marriage-rite.[27]

Both marriage and death required a solemn ablution, which was followed by scenting the air surrounding the married couple or the corpse. A strong preference was shown for white attire in both ceremonies. Furthermore, when betrothed girls or young wives died, they were often buried in their wedding dress.[28]

The pomegranate, which the Greeks regarded as the fruit of the underworld, was present at both weddings and funerals. Ovid relates that the tree grew in the garden of the king of the underworld.[29] It is this fruit which Hades gave to Persephone to eat and which insured her yearly death and marriage to Hades. Thus, in mortal weddings, the pomegranate was given to the bride and/or bridegroom. The pomegranate was also associated with death. It was one of the fruits commonly placed on the funeral bier.

Certain vase-shapes suggest a connection between marriage and

death. Lebetes gamikoi, on which scenes of wedding preparation are the favorite subject, are often found in graves and offering places. Lekythoi served as wedding gifts as well as funerary gifts. And the loutrophoros, which was a nuptial vessel, was often used to mark the graves of those who died unmarried as a funeral offering.[30] Certain vase-shapes were preferred because of their function as funeral vases. The most common types were the lekanis, the skyphoid pyxis and then the bottle. These shapes were particularly appropriate as votive offerings for the dead, and, as observed by Trendall, "the bottle, lebes gamikos, squat lekythos, and lekanis are regularly found in the tombs of women in the necropolis at Paestum."[31]

Thus far, through ancient literature and customs, it has been established that marriage and death involved similar rites and that the two were interconnected in their implications. Likewise, the popularity of bridal scenes on funeral vases indicates a connection between marriage and death. Many South Italian and Sicilian vases, especially the red-figure vases of the Lipari Group (The Bridal Sub-Group), show scenes of bridal preparation and gift-giving to the bride.[32] The typical scene involves a seated bride with a maidservant who fans her or hands her a toilet article, while a retinue of female visitors brings gifts and offerings.[33] A more specific example of this is a Sicilian skyphoid pyxis which depicts the toilet of the bride where a woman brings gifts, another woman is shown with an alabastron while another woman is seated on a red klismos.[34] Another Sicilian skyphoid pyxis depicts on the obverse a scene of bridal preparation in which Aphrodite and a seated veiled woman hold a jewel box open, with a small Eros present.[35]

The similarity of bridal scenes on funeral vases to a tomb-painting at Cumae is astounding, and supports the connection between

scenes of bridal preparation and death. The tomb-painting depicts a seated woman holding a mirror and attended by her maid (Figure 11).[36] Three pomegranates frame the mistress. The association of pomegranates with the underworld, their ritual function in both weddings and deaths, and their implementation in the simultaneous marriage and death of Persephone/Kore suggests that this scene denotes the marriage of the deceased to the god of the underworld.

A remarkably similar scene to the tomb-painting at Cumae is found on a Campanian lebes gamikos (Figure 12), where a woman with a mirror stands before a seated woman with a phiale.[37] It is also interesting to note the closeness between the dates of these two scenes. The tomb-painting is from the second half of the fourth century B.C., while the Campanian vase dates from 330-310 B.C.

Persephone/Kore's image, in the form of a female head, on funeral vases and her associations with both marriage and death implies that a mortal bride identified with Persephone/Kore in both marriage and death. Furthermore, her image on these vases can be regarded as an expression of the wish for immortality by the owner. Certainly the continual representation of bridal scenes on funeral vases stresses the correlation between marriage and death. Who better to serve as a representative of marriage and death than Persephone/Kore, who died in her marriage to Hades?

Persephone/Kore's simultaneous marriage and death may explain why, in Lawson's words, "an ordinary wedding was treated as something akin to initiation into the mysteries."[38] A woman's first marriage was, in fact, called her 'initiation' by religious documents.[39] Furthermore, Lawson also states that: "Plutarch speaks of services rendered by the

priestess of Demeter in the solemnization of matrimony as part of 'an ancestral rite'."[40] A tablet shows Persephone/Kore adorning herself for her own wedding. Beside her is a chest which contains the marital garment.[41] A wall-painting from a tomb at Nola shows Persephone/Kore seated on a throne holding a pomegranate and myrtle.[42] According to Kerenyi, myrtle played a part in the abduction of Persephone/Kore and has been a symbol of marriage ever since.[43]

In general, scenes involving women predominate on South Italian and Sicilian vases. There is also an unusually high incidence of vases decorated with female heads. The popularity of these scenes and female heads correlates with the increased popularity of chthonic religions in which the feminine principle is stressed and in which women consequently play the more important role. The predominance of Sicilian vase scenes portraying women would be expected in a land where Persephone/Kore's cult took precedence over all others. The occurrence of hydriai, alabastra, squat lekythoi, and pyxides, which were customarily used by women, also increased. Trendall writes that:

> By far the greater number of figured scenes deals with different aspects of women's life--bridal preparations, toilet scenes, or simply seated or standing women holding mirrors, offerings, and the like.[44]

These women are often in the company of Eros. The presence of Eros also indicates a correlation with Persephone/Kore as well as with marriage. It will be shown in Chapter III that Eros played an important part in the Persephone/Kore/Aphrodite cult of the Lokrians which soon spread throughout South Italy and Sicily.[45] The presence of Eros, especially in bridal scenes, may also signify the divine nature of the wedding.

Webster suggests that the new interest in women began in Athens

and spread from there.[46] Attic vases depict scenes of women which resemble those on South Italian and Sicilian vases of the same period. These scenes show women seated, spinning or working wool, carrying mirrors, playing musical instruments (especially lyres), running, dancing, bathing, dressing, carrying alabastron, visiting a tomb, or with Eros.[47] Webster suspects that many of the scenes are involved with religious preparations or offerings to tombs or shrines. Certainly those scenes where women are carrying a phiale or basket filled with offerings suggest a religious or funeral character. Similarly, their funerary nature is indicated by the depiction of mistress and maid scenes on these vases as well as on funerary lekythoi.

The steady appearance of women on funerary vases indicates that women played a significant role in the religious practices associated with funeral rites. A tomb-painting at Ruvo illustrates this connection. Stenico writes that this scene:

> shows a number of women dancing: they form a long, tight chain and they are swathed in heavy draperies that leave only their arms and faces visible . . . There is no doubt that it represents a funeral rite--a kind of mourning chant.[48]

Many of the celebrations associated with religious practices belonged exclusively to women.[49] One was the Haloa, the merry women's mysteries, which was held in Posideon. Another was the Thesmophoria, a three-day agricultural festival, in which only women were allowed to take part. Men were not only excluded from the ceremony, but also from the gathering place of the women, the Thesmophoreion.

The majority of the participants in the Dionysiac cult were women. Again we are reminded of the desire on the part of the

participant for immortality through marriage with a deity. The marriage to Dionysus was enacted by a ritual the night before the Choes, when a mysterious marriage took place between Dionysus and the selected queen of the city.[50] According to Rostovtzeff, "the initiation of the soul into the mysteries is often compared with a wedding, the initiation being thought of as a sacred wedding, (hieros gamos) to the soul of her divine bridegroom, Dionysus himself."[51]

Scenes common on South Italian and Sicilian vases are associated with funeral practices and indicate the Greek preoccupation with the afterlife. These scenes include Dionysiac scenes; scenes of women and youths bearing offerings to a tomb, stele, or altar; heroön scenes; rape or abduction (pursuit) scenes; and scenes of bridal preparation. Many of these scenes are directly related to the cult of Persephone/Kore. As goddess of the underworld, the depiction of her head on these vases is clearly in keeping with their theme and purpose.

Ancient literature, customs, and vase-paintings provide evidence of the similarities between rites of marriage and rites of death. These sources also suggest a connection between these rites and the cult of Persephone/Kore. Her abduction and simultaneous death and marriage to Hades, god of the underworld, made her a perfect example to those who viewed death as being taken from the earthly existence and married in death to the Lord of the Underworld.

The frequent appearance of women on vases from South Italy and Sicily correlates with the increased popularity of the chthonic cults, especially the cults of Persephone/Kore and Dionysus, in which the major participants were women. Vases which depict large female heads, scenes of bridal preparation in which Eros is often present, and scenes which

involve the activities of women, are often discovered in the graves of women. It is possible, considering the desire for immortality through marriage with the gods, that a divine marriage between the deceased and the god of the underworld, with Persephone/Kore serving as a model of this, was the intended meaning of the bridal scenes on these vases. The female head as a representation of Persephone/Kore therefore would serve as a reminder of the bridal nature of death.

The possibility that the female head was intended as a representation of the deceased female should also be considered. It is likely that women wished to identify with the fate of Persephone/Kore in her simultaneous death and marriage to the god of the underworld. Perhaps the disembodied female head symbolized the hoped-for resurrection of the deceased female, as exemplified by the Anodos of Kore. However, there is very little evidence to support this idea, and it is a matter for further investigation.

NOTES - CHAPTER II

[1]Chapter V, pp.

[2]A. D. Trendall, RVLCS (Oxford 1967) pl. 50, fig. 4. Lucanian bell-krater.

[3]Hellmut Sichtermann, GVU (Berlin 1966) K 68.

[4]Günther Zuntz, Persephone: Three Essays on Religion and Thought in Magna Graecia (Oxford 1971) 162.

[5]Sterling Dow and Robert F. Healey, A Sacred Calendar of Eleusis, Harvard Theological Studies XXI (Cambridge 1965) 37.

[6]C. Kerényi, Eleusis: Archetypal Image of Mother and Daughter (New York 1967) 66. Kerényi states that: "The kalathos may have belonged to the Kore: for the flowers she was picking when ravished or for the wool on which she was working when seduced by her father, the subterranean Zeus." The kista was a round closed basket which contained the implements (Hiera) of the secred rites of the Eleusinian Mysteries. Both the kalathos and the kista were implements in the practice of the Eleusinian Mysteries.

[7]P. Orsi, "Locri Epizefiri, Resoconto sulla terza campagna di scavi locresi", BdA, iii (1909) 413, fig. 5, as cited by, Zuntz (supra n. 4) 168, n. 1.

[8]Trendall (supra n. 2) 553. Pl. 216, fig. 1.

[9]Trendall (supra n. 2) 553. Pl. 216, fig. 2.

[10]Trendall (supra n. 2) 619. Pl. 242, fig. 3.

[11]Trendall (supra n. 2) 619. Pl. 242, fig. 4.

[12]Trendall (supra n. 2) pl. 161, fig. 4.

[13]Trendall (supra n. 2) pl. 161, fig. 1.

[14]Martin P. Nilsson, The Immortality of the Soul in Greek Religion (Gotoburgi 1941) 9.

[15]Lewis Richard Farnell, Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality (Oxford 1921).

[16]E. Guhl and W. Koner, The Life of the Greeks and Romans (New York 1876) 96, and Joseph Coleman Carter, The Sculpture of Taras, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 65 (1975) Pt. 7, p. 19. Parallels to South Italian and Sicilian heroön scenes can be found in the marble funerary monuments of the fourth century B.C. in Athens. See, A. D. Trendall, SIVP (British Museum 1966) 12.

[17]Trendall (supra n. 2) pl. 74, fig. 1.

[18]Trendall (supra n. 2) pl. 176, fig. 1.

[19]Trendall (supra n. 2) 398.

[20]Trendall (supra n. 2) 398.

[21]Orphic Hymn LVI.

[22]Lenormant, Monographie de la voie sacrée éleusinienne, 54, as cited by, John Cuthbert Lawson, Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion (Cambridge 1910) 601, n. 2.

[23]The reader should keep in mind that the correlations which Sophocles draws between marriage and death may only be an ironic reference to Antigone's marriage to Haemon.

[24]Artemidorus, Oneirocritica II. 49, as cited by Lawson (supra n. 22) 553, n. 1.

[25]Artemicorus, Oneirocritica I. 80, as cited by Lawson (supra n. 22) 553, n. 2.

[26]For abduction scenes on Tarentine Naisdoi see, Carter (supra n. 16) 18.

[27]Lawson (supra n. 22) 559-60.

[28]Chariton, Chaereas and Callirhoe I. 6, as cited by, Lawson (supra n. 22) 557, n. 5.

[29]Ovid, Metamorphoses V. 534-38.

[30]One black-figure loutrophoros in particular appears to have been connected with the worship of Demeter: ABV, 309, also ARV^2 650, and ARV^2 25.

[31]Trendall (supra n. 2) 653.

[32]For a discussion of bridal scenes on Centuripe Vases see, P. Deussen, "The Nuptial Theme of Centuripe Vases", Opuscula Romana, Vol. IX:14 (Stockholm 1973) 125-33.

[33]The bringing of gifts on the day after the wedding is described by Eustathius, Commentaria ad Iliadem et Odysseam 29, as cited by, Deussen (supra n. 32) 132.

[34]Trendall (supra n. 2) pl. 236, figs. 5-6.

[35]Trendall (supra n. 2) pl. 254, fig. 5.

[36]Leonard Von Matt and Umberto Zanotti-Bianco, La Magna Grecia (Genoa 1961) pl. 19.

[37]Trendall (supra n. 2) pl. 236, fig. 3.

[38]Lawson (supra n. 22) 590.

[39]Lawson (supra n. 22) 590.

[40]Plutarch, Coniugalia praecepta, as cited by, Lawson (supra n. 22) 590.

[41]Zuntz (supra n. 4) 168.

[42]Lewis Richard Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States (Oxford 1907) Vol. III, pl. XI.

[43]Kerényi (supra n. 6) 64.

[44]Trendall (supra n. 2) 580.

[45]Chapter II, pp.

[46]T. B. L. Webster, Potter and Patron in Classical Athens (London 1972) 228.

[47]Webster (supra n. 46) Chapter 17, "Women".

[48]Arturo Stenico, Roman and Etruscan Painting (New York 1963) 28. Fig. 62.

[49]Farnell, (supra n. 42) 106, discusses why men were excluded from these celebrations.

[50]For sacred marriages see, Jane Ellen Harrison, Prol.[2] (Cambridge 1908) 534-537 and 548-551.

[51]Michael I. Rostovtzeff, Mystic Italy (New York 1927) 46.

CHAPTER III

PERSEPHONE/KORE IN GREECE, SICILY, AND SOUTH ITALY

Since this thesis proposes that the female head depicted on vases from Greece, Sicily, and South Italy produced from the sixth to the third century B.C. is a representation of Persephone/Kore, it is necessary to establish how the cult of Persephone/Kore functioned in these areas and to determine if her cult was sufficiently popular to account for her frequent depiction in the form of a female head on the numerous head vases produced in Greece, Sicily, and South Italy. The myth of Persephone/Kore in Greece, its possible origin and significance, will be examined first, since it was only later established in Sicily and South Italy by Greek colonists. This will be followed by an examination of the archaeological evidence in Sicily and South Italy for the popularity of the cult of Persephone/Kore.

PERSEPHONE/KORE IN GREECE

In Greece, Demeter and Persephone formed a Mother-Daughter pair and were worshipped together as well as individually. The Daughter was regarded as a goddess with two distinct and opposing qualities. As Persephone, she was the wife of Hades and Queen of the Dead, while as the 'Maiden' or Kore she and Demeter were the givers of grain and life.

Thus, in the Mother-Daughter pair, there in fact existed the triad of Persephone, Kore, and Demeter.

An examination of the myth of Persephone leads to an understanding of how the characters of Persephone, Kore, and Demeter were resolved in Greek religion. The myth is first mentioned by Hesiod in the Theogeny (911-914).[1] The most complete version is related in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, which was introduced into Attica no earlier than the second quarter of the seventh century B.C.[2] The role of Persephone as a goddess of vegetation is clearly indicated in this account of her abduction.

The poem states that one day Persephone was gathering flowers in a meadow on the Nysian Plain with the daughters of Oceanus.[3] When she reached out to pick a singularly beautiful flower with a hundred blooms, a chasm suddenly opened in the earth through which Hades emerged with his immortal horses and golden chariot. He carried her away to the underworld (Figure 13). Hecate heard Persephone cry out for help, Helius saw as well as heard her cries, Demeter only heard her Daughter's last cries for help, but by then she could do nothing.

Demeter searched for her daughter for nine days. Finally, on the tenth day, she confronted Helius and he told her where Persephone was. Demeter, angered with Zeus who had given Hades his consent to the abduction by his indifference, avoided Olympus and spent many days wandering in despair. Thus she came to Eleusis and while seated by a well was invited to the home of Keleos, the ruler of Eleusis, to be nurse to his only son, Demophon.

It was Demeter's wish to give the child immortality, and to accomplish this feat she would hold him in a fire at night. But one

evening Metaneira, Demophon's mother, saw this and feared for her child's life. Demeter, angered by this interruption, thereafter denied the child immortality and demanded that:

> . . . all the people build me a great temple and an altar below it beneath the citadel and its sheer wall upon a rising hillock above the Kallichoron. And I myself will teach my rites, that thereafter you may reverently perform them and so win the favor of my heart.[4] (270-274).

Demeter continued to long for her daughter, and remained apart from the other gods.

> And she caused men a most terrible and devastating year on the fruitful land. The earth would not send up a single sprout, for Demeter of the lovely crown kept the seed covered. In vain the oxen dragged the many covered ploughs through the fields and much white barley was sown in the earth to no avail. Now she would have destroyed the entire human race by cruel famine and deprived those who have their homes in Olympus of their glorious prestige from their gifts and sacrifices, if Zeus had not noticed and taken thought in his heart. (305-314).

For Demeter "vowed that she would never set foot on fragrant Olympus nor let fruit spring out of the ground, until she beheld with her eyes her own sweet-faced daughter." (331-333). Zeus finally made an agreement with Demeter. She would have her daughter back if Persephone had abstained from food during her stay in the underworld.

However, Hades had taken the precaution of giving Persephone some pomegranate seeds to eat. From that time on Persephone would spend a third of each year beneath the depths of the earth, and the other two-thirds with her mother. Persephone was told: "When the spring blooms with all sorts of sweet-smelling flowers, then again you will rise from the gloomy region below, a great wonder for gods and mortal men." (401-403). With this compromise, Demeter's anger was soothed and "quickly

she caused fruit to spring up from the fertile plains, and the whole wide land was laden with leaves and flowers." (471-472).

After Demeter had seen her daughter, she showed the Kings of Eleusis "the conduct of her rites and taught them all her mysteries . . . awful mysteries which no one may in any way transgress or pry into or utter, for deep awe of the Gods checks the voice." (473-479). It was thus Demeter who, according to the Hymn, was responsible for the introduction of the Eleusinian Mysteries to mankind.

Although the myth states that the Mysteries were first practiced at Eleusis, archaeological evidence does not support this idea.[5] For the practice of the Mysteries, Mylonas favors a Northern origin: "There are stronger traditional implications pointing to the north, to Thessaly and to Thrace, as to the place of origin of the cult."[6] As Mylonas points out, the rituals involved at Eleusis stemmed from some primitive agricultural practices, and the fertile plains of Thrace and Thessaly would be a logical site for their origin.

Wherever the Mysteries originated, once they were assimilated into Greek religious practices they had a significant effect on the Greek attitude towards an afterlife. To understand this effect, the original problem of Persephone/Kore's dual identity must be examined. What events brought about the union of two seemingly contradictory natures in the figure of the Daughter? How did a goddess of death become merged with a goddess of vegetation and life?

Although the various forms of the name Persephone: Pherephatta, Periphona, Persephoneia, are non-Greek, the name Demeter is Greek in origin.[7] Therefore, the non-Greek Persephone had to exist independently before she became the daughter of the Greek Demeter. Where did Persephone

come from and how did she become the daughter of Demeter? According to Zuntz, the Northern immigrants brought the concept of a divine Mother-Daughter pair with them into Greece. In the northern religion the Daughter, disappeared and reappeared in keeping with the cycle of the crops, while the Mother remained constant, waiting for her Daughter's return. Zuntz explains further:

> The immigrants entered Greece gradually, in several waves, in the course of many centuries, but the cult of the two goddesses appears to have been common to all of them, even though those who came first conceived of them somewhat differently from their successors--hence the peculiarities of some ancient Demeter cults, especially in Arkadia, as reported by Pausanias.
>
> In Greece, the immigrants found a goddess Persephone-Persephatta worshipped by the native population which they gradually subjected, and with which they mingled; to become, through this fusion, in the end one people of many tribes: the Greeks. And this new Greek people came to worship the pre-Greek Persephone as one with the 'Maiden' and therewith Persephone became the daughter of Demeter.[8]

Thus Persephone was unified with the corn-maiden. Combining a goddess of death, with a goddess of life suggests a tie between destructive and generative forces. This connection may have resulted from a dependence upon the earth as a life-giving source of food and shelter, while recognizing that this natural provider could also bring natural disasters such as famines. Early man viewed the earth as woman, into both of which he planted his seed, and life was viewed as an eternal cycle, where life and death succeeded one another. For as the earth opened herself to receive the seed, so, too, she opened herself once again to receive man in his death. Zuntz explains this mystery:

> For she is the Mother Earth; all life returns to her, to be received in her womb to grow again and to live there. All begetting is begetting on her, helping the dead committed to her to grow into life, as the seed grows out of her furrows and as the child grows in the mother's womb and into the light.[9]

Thus man found immortality through his offspring, just as the earth produced fruit through a seed and from this fruit new seed would be gathered to produce more fruit. The continuing cycle of the crops and the continuance of human life were inseparable.[10] The sacrifice of the maiden who was responsible for the continuation of the crops supported this connection.[11]

In the Demeter and Persephone myth, Persephone represents the maiden aspects of the Mother Goddess. She is taken into the earth to become the wife of Hades. This marriage means death, but when she returns she is reunited with Demeter. In this myth, destruction acts hand in hand with creation. The resultant flowering of the seed of death as Persephone dies only to reunite with the grain of Demeter is explicit in this myth.

When the barren season arrived each year and the earth ceased in her production of vegetation, man explained this natural occurrence with a myth. The barren season was a result of the 'Maiden's' periodic absence, for Persephone more specifically, her stay in the underworld.[12] Consequently, "The 'Nordic' goddess and the Mediterranean one were united through the myth of Kore's abduction by Hades."[13]

So the student is left with two alternatives as to the possible origin of Persephone/Kore. Either the pre-Greek Persephone, Queen of the underworld, had some characteristics in common with the Nordic 'Maiden', enough that is, so that the two were combined, or

"alternatively, could the pre-Greek Pherephassa, beyond her rule over the dead, have been worshipped also as a bringer of fruitfulness?"[14]

Earlier in this chapter, it was mentioned that the name Demeter was Greek in its origin. The last two syllables of her name 'meter' mean 'mother'. The first syllable is believed to be a "by-form of the word for spelt, that inferior grain which was the earlier form of wheat. She is therefore the Spelt-mother or Corn-mother."[15] She was indeed regarded as such for she was the older of the pair. In fact, she was actually a mature version of the 'Maiden', Kore, and both were responsible for the propagation of the crops. Their distinction from one another lies in the fact that Demeter represented constancy; she was the mother who nourished. Persephone/Kore on the other hand, was the virgin, the young grain which came and went with the seasons. Demeter was the fruit, the harvest, while Persephone/Kore was the bud, the seed. The meaning of the Mysteries is that the two became united and together they were "a symbol and surety of the eternity of life."[16]

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[1]The story is also related in Euripides' Helena 1301-68; Kallimachos' Hymn to Demeter 6; Ovid's Fasti 4, 419-616, and Metamorphoses 5, 385-661.

[2]N. J. Richardson, The Homeric Hymn to Demeter (Oxford 1974) 5-11. The dating for this Hymn remains a matter of debate. Richardson assigns a terminus post quem of the second quarter of the seventh century B.C. and a terminus ante quem of the mid sixth century B.C.

[3]Perhaps the earliest representation of this scene is on a low cup from the beginning of the Middle Minoan Period from the first palace of Phaiston. Archaeological Museum of Heraklion, Crete. C. Kerényi, Eleusis: Archetypal Image of Mother and Daughter (New York 1967) Preface, xix.

[4]The translation for The Homeric Hymn to Demeter employed in this thesis is from George E. Mylonas, Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries (Princeton 1961) 4-6.

[5]Mylonas (supra n. 4) 32; Kerényi (supra n. 3) 20.

[6]Mylonas (supra n. 4) 19.

[7]Variations of Persephone's name are listed in Wilhelm Heinrich Roscher, Roscher Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie (Leipzig 1889-1937) 1286f.

[8]Günther Zuntz, Persephone: Three Essays on Religion and Thought in Magna Graecia (Oxford 1971) 76.

[9]Zuntz (supra n. 8) 23.

[10]Richardson (supra n. 2) 15.

[11]The abduction of Persephone and the slaying of Hainuwele are both examples of this kind of myth. Upon reaching the state of maidenhood, Hainuwele was sacrificed by her body being chopped into pieces and then planted in the earth. Kerényi (supra n. 3) 136, suggests an interesting association between the Persephone myth and the Hainuwele myth: "In a very old stratum of Greek mythology, which is accessible to us only in scattered

fragments . . . there was a myth of the pomegranate tree which was not very much different from that of Hainuwele or from that of Persephone." Myths of regeneration are common in Greek religion. One of the versions of the Dionysiac myth relates that upon Dionysus' birth, Hera ordered the Titans to tear him into pieces, whereupon a pomegranate tree sprouted from the soil where his blood had fallen. In the death of Adonis, some of Adonis' blood falls on the ground and produces a flower. The rending of Dionysus is shown on a fourth century B.C. Attic red-figured vase, B. M. Cat. Vases, 3. 188, no. E 246.

[12]The climatic conditions of Greece are such that the planting season for corn begins in October and the plants grow through the winter with the exception of a couple of very cold weeks in January. In May, the crops ripen and in June, they are threshed and harvested. So it is in the months of July-October that they experience the barren season.

[13]Zuntz (supra n. 9) 77.

[14]Zuntz (supra n. 9) 77.

[15]Oxford Classical Dictionary. 2nd ed. (Oxford 1970) 324. There is a discrepancy of opinion on the meaning of the first part of Demeter's name. For possible meanings see, Lewis Richard Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States (Oxford 1907) Vol. III, Chapter II, pp. 29-30.

[16]Zuntz (supra n. 9) 76.

PERSEPHONE/KORE IN SICILY AND SOUTH ITALY

Greek settlers had little difficulty establishing a cult of Persephone/Kore in Sicily and South Italy. The presence of a Mother Goddess in the Sikeliote religion, who possessed characteristics similar to those of Demeter and Persephone/Kore, facilitated Persephone/Kore's ready acceptance into their religion.[1] Her popularity in Sicily can be attributed to the agricultural foundation of Sicilian culture.

There are no temples in Sicily to indicate the worship of the earlier native goddess. It is likely that the Sikeliotes sailed across to the isole sacre (Malta) to practice their worship.[2] The Maltese viewed their Mother Goddess much as cultures in Asia Minor and the Near East did, that is, a symbol of Life and Death.[3] In this respect, Persephone/Kore, the 'Mistress of Life and Death', bore a remarkable resemblance to the Maltese goddess.

Fortunately, other archaeological evidence exists that confirms the popularity of the Maltese goddess. These include the thousands of rock-graves, the decorated tomb-doors from Castelluccio, and the 'bossed bone plaques' from Castelluccio.[4]

With the Greek colonization of Sicily and South Italy, this conceptualized image of a Mother Goddess, who had been associated with the powers of the earth and fecundity, began to take on individual form.[5] In the past her identity had been suggested through symbols like the spiral as represented on the tomb-doors at Castelluccio.[6] But for the

anthropocentric Greeks she soon acquired a human shape. It was in the nature of the Greeks to represent their gods and goddesses in human form rather than through symbols suggestive of male and female components. Indeed, the Greek colonists brought with them statues of their deities as well as Greek artists who would continue this tradition in the colonies. Eventually, as Zuntz writes: "the natives learned to see and understand their own deities largely in Greek forms, as nymphs, 'mothers', and--perhaps--even Demeter."[7] And, because Persephone/Kore as a chthonic deity possessed the fundamental characteristics of the native Mother Goddess, and because Sicily especially had been and would remain for many years an agricultural region, she was readily accepted. Consequently, the ancient literary and archaeological evidence of the Demeter and Persephone/Kore cult in Sicily and South Italy after Greek colonization is so extensive that only a small percentage of it can be dealt with here.

According to Pindar, Zeus gave Sicily to Persephone, his daughter, as a wedding gift when she married the Lord of the underworld.[8] Agathokles also referred to Demeter and Persephone as 'the goddesses who own Sicily'.[9] Cicero regarded Sicily as the island sacred to Persephone and Demeter.[10] More specifically, Pindar called Akragas the 'seat of Persephone'.[11] Plutarch wrote that the historian Timaios described Kore as the special protectress of Syracuse.[12] The city of Enna was also regarded as the seat of the cult of Persephone and Demeter. The oldest coins of Enna (ca. 450 B.C.), depict Demeter in her chariot, looking for her daughter.[13]

The archaeological evidence for the popularity of Demeter and Persephone/Kore in Sicily has been dated as early as a century before

the age of Pindar, i.e. ca. 576 B.C. The Laganello head dates from this time.[14] P. Orsi has shown that this late-dedalic head,[15]

> . . . a local work, belonged to the cult statue of Kore from her sanctuary (which has not so far been exactly located) at the spring Kyane. This was, according to Sicilian tradition, the spot where the earth split open to receive the chariot of the Lord of the Netherworld with his prey, the 'Maiden'; the place, according to Diodorus[16] (that is, Timaios) of annual celebrations by the people and state of Syracuse. The recovered cult-statue is proof of the very early origin of these celebrations, which were said to have been instituted, long before the founding of the city, by Herakles.[17]

Certainly, the many sanctuaries dedicated to Demeter and Persephone/Kore testify to a profound devotion. In Agrigento, a sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone is located just inside the walls on the south and has been dated to the first years of the colony.[18] It contains shrines and altars which were devoted to the worship of these two goddesses. Another sanctuary is located below the east end of Rupe Atenea. It was made up of two caves containing sixth and fifth century B.C. terracotta ex-voto offerings to Demeter and Persephone. An important sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone was found in Morgantina (Serra Orlando) and dates to the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. Here a fourth century B.C. Kore (Persephone) head,[19] was found along with a South Italian kotyle decorated with a seated winged genius on one side and a female head in left profile on the other.[20] Such a find as this kotyle at Morgantina need not support the theory that this type of vase with a female head depicted on it was necessarily used in the ceremonies connected with the worship of Demeter and Persephone/Kore, although it is undoubtedly tempting to do so. As shown by the vase catalogue in this thesis, vases depicting female heads were extremely common in Sicily

and South Italy at this time. Still, the popularity of these head vases, the scenes depicted on them, and the popularity of the cult of Persephone/Kore and Demeter suggests a connection between these two goddesses and the female head shown on the vases.

Of the many temples of Demeter and Persephone/Kore, only four of these will be discussed here. The Temple of Demeter (now called the Church of San Biagio), in Akragas dates ca. 480 B.C. It originally stood in a sacred temenos, which included two circular altars on the northern side. One of these circular altars contained a bothros full of offerings to the chthonic deities and several terracotta vases called kernoi which were a favored vessel in the worship of Demeter.[21] Many fragmentary busts of Demeter and Persephone were discovered in two caverns near the site.[22]

There once stood a Temple of Demeter on the Rocca di Cerere. According to Diodorus, two of the most renowned temples of Syracuse were those dedicated by Gelon to the two goddesses upon his victory over the Carthaginians in 480 B.C.[23]

The ancient literary and archaeological evidence discussed above indicates that, as Zuntz states, "Sicily, was in the fifth and fourth centuries predominantly the patrimony of Persephone."[24]

Despite her popularity in Sicily, the Sicilian Greeks had difficulty reconciling the two contradictory natures of Persephone/Kore. Was she the Giver of Life or the Queen of Death? It is to the Lokrians in South Italy that we must turn for a resolution to this enigma. The Lokrians succeeded where others had failed to unify these two contradictory elements. They introduced a third, Aphrodite.

Lokri was colonized by the Greeks in 673 B.C. and it was soon

after this that the Sanctuary of Persephone was built at Mannella. Persephone was their tutelary goddess, and her cult was so significant to the Lokrians that, according to Randall-MacIver:

> . . . when first threatened by the Crotoniates the people of Lokri determined to bring within their walls the treasures in the Temple of Persephone, guardian of their city, which stood outside the fortified defences.[25]

At the Sanctuary at Mannella, several small votive plaques (pinakes) depicting scenes from the life of Persephone were found along with hundreds of votive terracottas of Persephone.[26]

Statuettes of Persephone, which exhibit characteristics of both Persephone and Aphrodite, are commonly found in Lokrian graves and sanctuaries. These figurines are shown in seated as well as standing poses; some hold a cock, Persephone's bird;[27] others have a dove, Aphrodite's bird, perched on their hands or seated in their laps.[28] Often they carry a bowl (phiale);[29] a basket (kalathos); a small box or chest (kista).[30] All of these objects were standard implements in Persephone's Lokrian cult. Most interesting are those figurines which display a figure of winged Eros between their breasts.[30]

In the Lokrian religion, Persephone became a gentler, more loving goddess, through the assimilation of Persephone with Aphrodite and Eros. The display of Eros between the goddess's breasts represents here as does the figure of Eros on the head vases, "The Triumph of Life over Death."[32]

Establishing a connection between Lokri and Sicily proves to be an easy task. First of all Lokri was associated with Syracuse as an ally since Hieron I. Secondly, Orsi found in his excavations that the Sanctuary at Mannella was built of Syracusan sandstone.[33] An exchange of ideas between Lokri and Sicily and an acceptance in Sicily of the Lokrian

imagery of Persephone, is substantiated by the many Sicilian graves which contained a Lokrian representation of the goddess. Excavations at Selinus provided many examples of the Lokrian rendition of Persephone. Hundreds of Lokrian terracottas were unearthed at the Gaggera at Selinus.[34] Some Lokrian pinakes fragments showing the abduction of Kore were also found at Selinus.[35] Here too, Persephone is shown, as Zuntz writes, "standing or seated, holding phiale, cista, dove, apple, pomegranate, lotus; often with Eros on her hand or upon her garment."[36]

From the ruins of Kamarina, more precisely the graves in the necropolis Passo Marinaro, is a seated figure demonstrating the customary features of the Lokrian Persephone. On the body of the goddess is displayed a winged Eros holding a chaplet and a dove. But the goddess wears a serious expression on her face, and in her lap she holds a phiale, while with her left hand she holds a sacred cista (Figure 14).[37]

These various examples should leave little doubt that the cult of Aphrodite, through the Lokrians, was merged with the cult of Persephone. By these means the Sicilian Greeks were able to legitimize Persephone's role as both the Giver of Life and the Queen of Death. Such a connection established between Aphrodite and Persephone certainly would help to explain many of the scenes with Eros on the head vases.[38]

The myth of Persephone provided an explanation for the cycle of life and death by uniting the goddess of the underworld, Persephone, with the 'Corn Maiden', Kore. The enigma which resulted from combining a goddess of death with a goddess of life was resolved in the Lokrian religion by the introduction of Aphrodite, a goddess of love. Because Persephone/Kore was responsible for the continuing cycle of life and death, her cult was of great significance. Ancient sources indicate

that Persephone/Kore was so important in Sicily and South Italy that many cities and localities claimed her as their patron and protectress. Archaeological evidence in the form of sanctuaries, temples, and terra-cottas which are connected with the cult of Persephone/Kore attest to the profound worship devoted to this goddess. The great popularity of Persephone/Kore's cult in Sicily and South Italy and the predominance of the female head as a subject on vases from Sicily and South Italy suggests a correlation. Since the female head was most popular in Sicily and South Italy, where the cult of Persephone/Kore was strongest, it is likely that the female head depicted on vases from these regions was intended as a representation of Persephone/Kore.

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[1]At the time that Greek colonization began in Sicily, it was ethnically divided into two areas. Eastern Sicily was inhabited by the Sikels, and Western Sicily by the Sikans. For the origins of these two cultures see, L. Bernabò Brea, Sicily Before the Greeks (New York 1957) 174-77.

[2]Günther Zuntz, Persephone: Three Essays on Religion and Thought in Magna Graecia (Oxford 1971) 60.

[3]Zuntz (supra n. 2) 51.

[4]Zuntz (supra n. 2) 60.

[5]For discussions on Greek colonization see, Aubrey Gwynn, "The Character of Greek Colonization", JHS 37 (1918) 88-123; David Randall-MacIver, Greek Cities in Italy and Sicily (Amsterdam 1968) 2; Joseph Coleman Carter, "The Sculpture of Taras", Transactions of the American Philosophical Society (1975) Vol. 65, Pt. 7, p. 18.

[6]Zuntz (supra n. 2) 28 and 66.

[7]Zuntz (supra n. 2) 72-73.

[8]Pindar, Nemean Odes, i. 13, also, Diodorus 11. 11 and Plutarch Timoleon, 8, as cited by Zuntz (supra n. 2) 70.

[9]Diodorus, xx. 7.

[10]Cicero, 1. 26.

[11]Pindar, Pythian Odes, xii. 2.

[12]Plutarch, Nicias I. 2; 56, as cited by Zuntz (supra n. 2) 71.

[13]British Museum Catalogue of Coins, Sicily, 58.

[14]E. Langlotz and M. Hirmer, Die Kunst der Westgriechen (1963) pl. 3, as cited by Zuntz (supra n. 2) 71.

[15]P. Orsi, "Daedalica Siciliae", Monuments Piot, xxii (1916) 131ff., as cited by Zuntz (supra n. 2) 72.

[16]Diodorus, iv. 23. 4 and v. 4. 2.

[17]Zuntz (supra n. 2) 72.

[18]Margaret Guido, Sicily: An Archaeological Guide (London 1967) 108.

[19]Erik Sjöqvist, "Excavations at Morgantina (Serra Orlando) Preliminary Report IV", AJA 64 (1959) 133, pl. 28, fig. 30.

[20]Sjöqvist (supra n. 19) 133, pl. 28, fig. 31, a-b.

[21]Guido (supra n. 18) 115; Randall-MacIver (supra n. 5) 193.

[22]Randall-MacIver (supra n. 5) 193.

[23]Diodorus, xi. 26. 7.

[24]Zuntz (supra n. 2) 177.

[25]Randall-MacIver (supra n. 5) 41.

[26]For a description of the scenes on these plaques see, Guido (supra n. 18) 182.

[27]P. Orsi, "Locri Epizephyrii", Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità (1913) 92, fig. 104, as cited by, Zuntz (supra n. 2) 163, n. 2.

[28]Orsi (supra n. 28) 95, fig. 95, as cited by, Zuntz (supra n. 2) 163, n. 9.

[29]Orsi (supra n. 28) 93, fig. 104, as cited by, Zuntz (supra n. 2) 163, n. 6.

[30]Orsi (supra n. 28) 91, fig. 103, as cited by, Zuntz (supra n. 2) 164, n. 3.

[31]Orsi (supra n. 28) 96, fig. 108, as cited by, Zuntz (supra n. 2) 164, n. 7.

[32]Zuntz (supra n. 2) 170.

[33]Zuntz (supra n. 2) 162.

[34]Zuntz (supra n. 2) 176.

[35]E. Gàbrici, "Il Santuario della Malophoros a Selinunte", Mon. Ant. xxxii (1927) pl. LXXVII. 5.

[36]Zuntz (supra n. 2) 176.

[37]Zuntz (supra n. 2) pl. 24b.

[38]For the fusion of the Aphrodite cult with the cult of the Eleusinian Persephone see, E. Gerhard, Gesammelte academische Abhandlungen II 133; Andreas Rumpf, "Anadyomene", Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut Jahrbuch (1950-51) 168-174. For a discussion of the Eros cult see, G. Schneider-Herrmann, "Spuren Eines Eroskultes in der Italischen Vasenmalerei", Vereeniging Tot Bevordering Der Kennis Van De Antike Beschaving, The Hague, Bulletin xlv (1970) 86-117.

CHAPTER IV

TERRACOTTAS

Numerous female terracotta figurines have been discovered in graves and chthonic sanctuaries, and provide evidence that Persephone/Kore occupied a prominent position in the religion of the Western Greeks.[1] The physical appearance of these terracottas indicates that many of them represent Persephone/Kore while the others are almost exclusively related to her cult.[2] The majority of those female terracotta figurines which do not represent Persephone/Kore are representations of standing female devotees dedicating themselves to the goddess and communicating a perpetual attendance.[3]

Since head vases and female terracotta figurines are found in graves and sanctuaries, and since both items have characteristics which connect them with Persephone/Kore, the terracottas provide further proof for the identity of the female head as Persephone/Kore. Orsi and Zuntz have shown that these vases and terracottas served as votive offerings, dedicated to a specific deity, usually Persephone/Kore or Demeter, and also intended for the deceased.[4]

The vast number of female terracotta figurines found in chthonic sanctuaries suggests a steadfast devotion to Demeter and Persephone/Kore. Orsi found them 'by the hundred' in the sanctuary at Bitalemi,[5] as did Marconi in the 'Sanctuario Ctonico' at Akragas.[6] At the 'Sanctuario Rupestre', at San Biagio, they numbered in the thousands. Gàbrici

estimated that there was at least 12,000 terracotta figurines discovered in the Malophoros precinct, at the Gaggera outside Selinus.[7]

The discovery of female terracotta figurines in graves also suggests a connection with Persephone as Queen of the Dead. Almost every grave at Camirus, Rhodes, contained one or more figurines. Many female terracottas were found in the cemetery del Fusco at Syracuse, as well as in the graves at Kamarina.[8]

Not only does the location of these female figurines in chthonic sanctuaries and graves suggest an association with Persephone/Kore, but the physical appearance of these terracottas also denotes their connections with the cult of Persephone/Kore. These female terracotta figurines hold various objects associated with the cult of Persephone/Kore, such as a piglet and/or a torch, and/or a pomegranate, while many wear the polos. The piglet was a favorite offering to Demeter and Persephone/Kore and was, according to Farnell, "the victim specially consecrated to the powers of the underworld".[9] In fact, an initiate into the Eleusinian Mysteries was obliged to sacrifice a piglet. Statuettes of pigs were often used as votive offerings in a sanctuary.[10] In the Sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros near Selinus, post-fifth century B.C. figurines were discovered which represent Persephone/Kore holding a torch and/or a piglet and wearing a polos.[11] Several of the female terracotta figurines discovered throughout Greece, Sicily, and South Italy hold pomegranates or apples in their hands. A late-archaic terracotta from Grammichele, depicts a seated goddess holding a pomegranate, or an apple, in her right hand.[12]

Dorothy Burr Thompson's report on the excavations from the north slope of the Areopagus provides further evidence for the association between female terracotta figurines and the cult of Persephone/Kore.[13]

In her report, she discusses how a change in meaning takes place in the Kore figure during the fourth century B.C.

> Still hieratic at the beginning of the century, the terracotta type follows that of the goddess or of the priestess or votary, performing a ritual, bringing a gift, or playing music for the procession. But by the middle of the century the emphasis is beginning to shift, so that the female figures appear less in the role of dedicant than of a simple human being as she is in daily life. These ladies no longer carry offerings or perform rituals; they stand empty handed or they carry the frivolous fan or mirror. In our deposit both the earlier and the later types of female figures are found.[14]

The actions of these female figurines parallel those of the female figures on vases from Sicily, and South Italy produced during this same period of time.[15] In both cases, the female figures are shown performing rituals, bringing gifts, or holding a fan or a mirror. Similarities between these forms are to be expected since both the vases and the figurines served as votive offerings.

Other than terracotta figurines, the sanctuary at Areopagus contained masks, figures of animals, and miniature pottery, all of which were votive in character and can be associated to the cult of Persephone/Kore. Thompson discusses these articles:

> Miniature pottery was often associated with figurines among the dedicatory deposits of sanctuaries, especially those belonging to the Eleusinian and other deities relating to fertility cults . . . The ritual types, the masks, the busts, the footstools, the actors, the prophylactic figures, the plaques that may represent a goddess (No. 74), and the figures of women and girls are all suitable for the Eleusinian goddesses . . . The great mass of the votives, then is to be associated with the Eleusinian cult.[16]

Two other forms of terracotta portray Demeter and Persephone/Kore: The Protomes ('Maschere'), and the 'Grandi Busti'. The Protomes are

plaques, usually concave, with parallel sides and a rounded upper edge, to which a terracotta female head was applied. Protomes were extremely popular in Sicily. P. Orlandini has stated that "generally they represent one of the chtonic deities, Demeter or Kore Persephone".[17] It is likely that Protomes originated in Rhodes during the last quarter of the sixth century and were produced as late as the time of Alexander the Great.

The 'Grandi Busti', found in Sicily and Lokri, were produced from the first half of the fifth century to the third century B.C. Many of these are near to life-size female heads with only the shoulders and upper arms included. Often the figure wears a high polos which Zuntz describes as a "modius, and hence a symbol of rich harvests".[18] Some of the 'Grandi Busti' were found by Orsi at Grammichele.[19] Zuntz writes:

> . . . others come from Agrigento, Gela, Akrai, and Syracuse, and the oldest among these are only slightly, if at all, more recent. They were found in the two 'chthonic' sanctuaries of the city of Persephone, and the favissa at Grammichele proved, by its general contents, to belong to the same category. This is already a powerful hint as to the identity of the goddess represented.[20]

Orsi,[21] and others,[22] believe that these female busts represent Demeter and Persephone/Kore. However, Zuntz suggests that they represent Persephone/Kore alone because they all have maidenly faces.[23]

A fragment of a fifth century terracotta plaque was discovered by Orsi, at Terravecchia di Grammichele, Sicily, a location where many objects related to a chthonic cult have been discovered. Two frontal female heads, one old, the other young, each wearing a polos, are projected side by side on this plaque (Figure 7). Vases from Sicily and South Italy which depict two female heads comprise a noticeable portion of the total number of known head vases. The likelihood that the two female heads on the

Terravecchia di Grammichele plaque and the two female heads depicted on vases are Persephone/Kore and Demeter is substantiated by convincing evidence. For example, the same format of Mother and Daughter portrayed together, is shown in the double-bust from Agrigento in Syracuse (Figure 8). Zuntz describes this bust:

> Its two heads were cased in the same mould, but one of them was subsequently, and rather crudely, worked over by hands so as to make it appear older; with bent nose and wrinkled neck but no hint of geniality.[25]

This is convincing evidence that the artist intended these heads to represent Demeter and Persephone/Kore. However, the severe expression on the older head is usually associated with Persephone more than with Demeter. For this reason, G. E. Rizzo maintained that the two aspects of Persephone were indicated rather than the two goddesses, Demeter and Persephone. He dates the heads from early in the fifth century B.C.,[26] while Zuntz assigns them to the latter half of the fourth century B.C. Zuntz maintains that the illusionistic treatment of the hair recalls the Scopaic manner.[27] If the double-bust comes from the fourth century B.C., it may have some connection with a series of Syracusan silver coins bearing the 'Janiform' female double-head, from the rule of Timoleon.[28] Again, the two heads are differentiated slightly, so that the one appears more youthful than the other. Persephone and Hades are represented on a double-bust found in a Lokrian grave, and indicates that Persephone is probably the female head represented on other double busts.[29]

Because the terracotta figurines found in chthonic graves are almost exclusively representations of females, it is likely that the deity for which they were intended was also female. The articles which they carry or hold, such as torches, piglets, and pomegranates are all

objects employed in the worship of Persephone/Kore. Examples of female figures performing rituals, bringing gifts, and holding a fan or a mirror can be found in vase-paintings as well in the form of terracotta figurines. Since it has been established that these female terracotta figurines represent Persephone/Kore or Demeter, or devotees associated with their cult, then the female figures depicted on vases might be connected with the cult of Persephone/Kore and Demeter. This correlation substantiates the possibility that the female head represented on vases from Greece, Sicily, and South Italy is a representation of Persephone/Kore. This is verified by the connection between the frequent occurrence of two confronting female heads on vases with the two female heads shown on the Terravecchia di Grammichele plaque and the double-bust from Agrigento, which Zuntz has identified as a representation of Demeter and Persephone/Kore.

NOTES - CHAPTER IV

[1]See, R. A. Higgins, Catalogue of the Terracottas in the British Museum (1954); Greek Terracottas (1967), also, L. Quarles Van Ufford, Les Terres-cuites siciliennes (1949).

[2]Günther Zuntz, Persephone: Three Essays on Religion and Thought in Magna Graecia (Oxford 1971) 89ff.

[3]Zuntz's criteria for determining the identity of female terracotta figurines is: Standing women unless possessing a specific attribute usually represent a human woman. Seated figures, because they are in a more hieratic position, are thought to represent a priestess or a goddess.

[4]Zuntz (supra n. 2) 91 and 106.

[5]P. Orsi, "Gela", Mon. Ant., xvii (1906) 683ff., as cited by, Zuntz (supra n. 2) 94.

[6]P. Marconi, Agrigento arcaica (1933) 47, as cited by, Zuntz (supra n. 2) 94.

[7]E. Gàbrici, "Il Santuario della Malophoros a Selinunte", Mon. Ant., xxxii (1927) 32, as cited by, Zuntz (supra n. 2) 94.

[8]Zuntz (supra n. 2) 93, n. 1.

[9]Lewis Richard Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States, Vol. III (Oxford 1907) 32.

[10]A statuette of a pig is at the Museum of Eleusis. George E. Mylonas, Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries (Princeton 1961) 201, fig. 66.

[11]Gàbrici (supra n. 7) 295ff., pl. LXXVII, as cited by, Zuntz (supra n. 2) 105.

[12]P. Orsi, Mon. Ant. xviii (1908) 24ff., as cited by, Zuntz (supra n. 2) 150.

[13]Dorothy Burr Thompson, "Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas", Hesperia, Vol. XXI (1952) 116-64.

[14]Thompson (supra n. 13) 128, nos. 15-23 in her list of terracottas.

[15]See Chapter II in this thesis.

[16]Thompson (supra n. 13) 153, nos. 84-87.

[17]P. Orlandini, "Gela: la stipe votiva arcaica del predio Sola", Mon. Ant., xlvi (1963) 30f., as cited by, Zuntz (supra n. 2) 143.

[18]Zuntz (supra n. 2) 152.

[19]P. Orsi, Mon. Ant., vii (1897) 11ff., pls. V and XVIII, as cited by, Zuntz (supra n. 2) 152.

[20]Zuntz (supra n. 2) 152.

[21]Orsi (supra n. 12) II, as cited by, Zuntz (supra n. 2) 152, n. n. 2.

[22]Orlandini (supra n. 17) II, as cited by, Zuntz (supra n. 2) 152, n. 3.

[23]Zuntz (supra n. 2) 152.

[24]Syracuse, National Museum. Inv. 18942. Zuntz (supra n. 2) 109, pl. 14a.

[25]Zuntz (supra n. 2) 154, pl. 22a.

[26]G. E. Rizzo, JOAI, xiii (1910) 72f., as cited by, Zuntz (supra n. 2) 154, n. 5.

[27]Zuntz (supra n. 2) 154.

[28]British Museum Catalogue of Coins, Sicily, p. 186, nos. 283-86.

[29]Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità (1911) Suppl., p. 70, fig. 51, as cited by, Zuntz (supra n. 2) 170.

CHAPTER V

AGRICULTURAL FESTIVALS AND CHTHONIC DEITIES

Agricultural festivals and chthonic cults were widespread in Greece, Sicily, and South Italy. An examination of Greek agricultural festivals indicates that Persephone/Kore as the 'Corn-Maiden' was responsible for the continuation of the crops and therefore agricultural ceremonies would often be based upon the worship of Persephone/Kore. More specifically, these festivals involved mimetic rituals and symbolic resurrections of chthonic deities, especially Persephone/Kore and Dionysus. The prominent position which Persephone/Kore and Dionysus held in agricultural festivals and the frequent depiction of their rites of worship and symbolic resurrections on funeral vases suggests that the female head depicted on other funeral vases could be the head of Persephone/Kore. Furthermore, the Anodos, an agricultural festival celebrating the resurrection of Kore, which is depicted on many vases from Greece, Sicily, and South Italy as indicated by the Anodos list in this thesis,[1] provides another connection between agricultural festivals and the female head. The similarity of the Anodos scene which depicts a large female head emerging from the ground, to the female head on vases from Greece, Sicily, and South Italy suggests that the female head might be a representation of Persephone/Kore.

Ancient literature, customs, and vase-paintings provide evidence for the connection between Persephone/Kore and agriculture, and also

indicate that the cycles of planting and harvesting were viewed as symbolic of life and death, both promising a subsequent renewal of life. According to Plutarch, the Athenians referred to the dead as '<u>demetreioi</u>' i.e. Demeter's people.[2] According to Athenian law, the sowing of burial sites with grain signified purification and the return of the dead to the living.[3] The sowing of flower seeds was associated with the rebirth of Adonis. Votive gifts of imitation fruits, flowers, and seeds are found in chthonian districts and in tombs.[4] These factors indicate a correlation between the returning life of the crops and the renewal of human life.

This concept is manifested in vase-paintings. An Apulian vase shows an aedicula with ears of grain displayed on a tomb.[5] A Campanian hydria shows a woman and youths bringing offerings to a statue of a female surrounded by flowers and vegetation (Figure 15).[6] The poppy, sacred to Demeter, was a popular motif and indicates a connection with the Mysteries.[7] An Apulian vase displays an aedicula with a poppy growing out of a tomb and a man and woman bringing gifts.[8] A similar scene is found on a Lucanian vase, in which a draped youth is bringing what looks like a poppy to a stele, while another youth, on the opposite side of the stele, is bringing a strigil.[9] On a Lucanian lebes gamikos, a woman carries the same type of flower to a stele.[10] The prevalence of agricultural scenes involving Triptolemos, especially on vases from the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., further reflects the significance of agriculture.[11]

Agricultural rites and ceremonies were correlated in time and practice with the important seasonal aspects of tillage: sowing, reaping, threshing and harvesting of the staple grain crop. A brief examination of the Greek year will reveal that many of the important

festivals were linked with crop production.[12]

Agricultural festivals occurred in almost all of the Greek months (Figure 16).[13] The Greek year began in the midsummer with the month Hekatombaion. A harvest festival, the Kronia, was celebrated on the twelfth day of this month. In the following month, Metageitnion, a biennial feast called the Eleusinia was celebrated in honor of Demeter and Kore. Barley from the Rarian Plain was awarded as the prize in athletic competitions.[14] The Eleusinian Mysteries took place from the fifteenth to the twenty-second of the third month, Boedromion.[15] On the fifth day of the fourth month, Pyanepsion, the Proerosia, one of the three holy ploughings, was celebrated.[16] At this time of year the fields were prepared for autumn sowing.

The agricultural festival of Demeter Thesmophoros (bringer of precious things), was also celebrated in Pyanepsion from the eleventh through the thirteenth day.[17] The Thesmophoria lasted for three days. On the first day of the festival, Anodos, women would go into underground openings known as megara, where they would make noises to frighten snakes away from cakes and the remains of suckling pigs placed there five months earlier in the twelfth month of the Athenian year, Skirophorion.[18] These offerings, called skira, had been shaped to resemble serpents and the male organ of generation and were believed to have absorbed the fertility of the earth from their long contact with the underworld. The women brought up what was left, and laid them on altars.

The symbolical ascent of Kore, the Anodos, was also celebrated on the first day of the Thesmophoria. The seed corn from the crops which had been threshed in June (Skirophorion), were stored in large subterranean jars. Similarly, the 'Corn Maiden', personifying the seed corn,

descended into the earth.[19] In Sicily, the Descent of Kore was celebrated as the Katagoge Kores at the time of threshing.[20] After the crops were harvested, the fields laid fallow during the succeeding four dry months of summer. When the autumn rains began and it was time for plowing and sowing, the subterranean storage jars were opened and the seed corn removed for planting. Because Kore was the grain, she too symbolically ascended. This was the Anodos of the 'Corn Maiden'. At this time, Mother (Demeter), and Daughter (Kore), reunited and the Eleusinian Mysteries were celebrated.[21] Nilsson writes that:

> The seed corn, the corn of the old crop which will soom sprout and produce the new crops, is laid down in the fields. The Corn Maiden is reunited with the Corn Mother, for at this time the old crop and the new meet with each other. The sprouting of the new crop is a symbol of the eternity of life.[22]

Nilsson describes another ascent of the 'Corn Maiden', which took place soon after the grain had been brought up from the storage jars. This ascent is depicted on many vases, a list of which is included in this thesis.[23] A typical scene shows a large female head emerging from the ground while satyrs or men strike the earth with large hammers. That the Anodos of Kore was celebrated in the form of a mimetic ritual is verified by the black-figure lekythos in the list of Anodos scenes (Part VIII, p. 86, no. 5, Figure 3). The presence of two men rather than satyrs, and the two columns framing the scene, which suggest a temple or sanctuary,[24] indicate the earthly nature of this ritual. Nilsson agrees with this interpretation:

> The explanation is not doubtful. A large wooden hammer was a common rustic implement; it was used for smashing the clods and smoothing the surface of

> the fields, which was very rough after the seed corn was plowed under. This process, which corresponds to the rolling of the present day, was carried out just when the corn had begun to sprout and when it was still possible to walk on the fields without doing harm to the crops. It concurred with the second ascent of the Corn Maiden in the autumn sowing.

The similarity of the Anodos scene which depicts a large head of Kore emerging from the ground, with the help of satyrs or men breaking-up the soil, to the large female heads depicted on vases from Greece, Sicily, and South Italy, suggests that the identity of the female head could be Persephone/Kore. This connection is substantiated by the similarities between the female head on a Campanian red-figure bell-krater (Figure 4)[26], and the black-figure lekythos mentioned above.

In both examples, it appears as though the goddess is emerging from the foot of the vase and that the line of decoration which cuts her off at the shoulders represents the surface of the ground. The female head depicted on the red-figure bell-krater in turn, is similar to red-figure female heads in general and provides a link between vases depicting the Anodos of Kore and other vases depicting the female head.

After the Anodos was celebrated, as described above, the women fasted. This fasting took place on the second day of the Thesmophoria, Nesteia. On the third day of the festival, Kalligeneia, the remains of the offerings, previously taken up from the megara, were mixed with seed corn and spread on the fields. This ritual was believed to replenish the earth.

Another festival of Demeter, the Haloa, occurred on the twenty-sixth of the winter month, Poseideon. Nilsson explains that:

> The name Haloa is derived from Halos, which means both threshing floor and garden. It is said to have comprised Mysteries of Demeter, Kore, and Dionysus and to have been celebrated by the women on the occasion of the pruning of the vines and the tasting of the wine.[27]

The seventh month, Gamelion, provided the feast called Lenaia. The term Lenia refers to the female devotees of Dionysus. This feast was in honor of Dionysus. Offerings were also made to Demeter, Kore, and Hades/Pluton.

The eighth month, Anthesterion, occurred in the latter part of February and the beginning of March. The name is derived from the Greek word for flowers. The Anthesteria, "Feast of Flowers", was a spring festival celebrating, not only the budding of new vegetation, but the return of the dead to the living. It was believed that at this time of year the dead visited the living.[28]

Dionysus was the favored deity at the Anthesteria, although Demeter and Kore were honored as well. Italiote choes (see Part VII), which were made for the Anthesteria celebration point to the great involvement in the worship of Dionysus, Demeter, and Kore. The scenes depicted on Italiote choes resemble, in their subject matter, the scenes which were so popular on other vases from Sicily and South Italy, many of which depict the female head.[29]

For the celebrant at the Anthesteria, the return of the dead and the sprouting of vegetation coincided with the resurrection of Dionysus. Dionysus arose with the spring and, along with the other chthonic deities, was the source of new life. The chthonic deities made their appearances with the changing of the seasons, and Dionysus, like Demeter, Persephone and Adonis, had his Epiphanies and his Recessions.[30] A krater from the

Hope Collection, no. 7 in the list of Anodos scenes, shows Dionysus emerging from the ground like the 'Corn Maiden'. His resurrection is also shown on nos. 1-4 in the same list. Dionysus is sometimes present in scenes depicting the resurrection of Kore (could be Semele), as in no. 9 in the list of Anodos scenes.

Dionysus was regarded as a symbol of rebirth because he was thrice-born, once from Semele, once from the thigh of Zeus,[31] and once from Persephone.[32] Dionysus was also recognized as a god of the dead. His importance at the Anthesteria, a festival of the dead; his associations with Persephone, goddess of the underworld; and his connections with Hades/Pluton attest to his underworld nature.

Ancient literature indicates the relationship between Dionysus and Persephone. According to Orphic Hymn 46, Dionysus grew up in the house of Persephone, and Hymn 53 states that he slept in her house during the intervals between his Epiphanies.[33]

Dionysus shares with Hades those characteristics associated with the Lord of the underworld in his role as Pluton, god of wealth.[34] Heraclitus states: "Hades and Dionysus, for whom they go mad and rage, are one and the same."[35] Pluton, as a fertility god was also a god of agricultural wealth, and in this respect possesses characteristics similar to those of the Chthonic Dionysus.[36] Thus Dionysus was assimilated with Hades/Pluton. His associations with the underworld deities is shown by references to Dionysus as "the nocturnal one",[37] his "night festivals",[38] and that he leads his nocturnal dances by torchlight.[39]

Ancient literature also refers to Dionysus as a vegetation deity, and the god of wine. Plutarch, in a fragment from Pindar, states: "May Dionysus rich in joys make the trees to prosper with the holy splendor of

ripe fruit."[40] Reference to his role as the god of wine is found in the Homeric Hymn where he is called "the ivy-crowned".[41] That Dionysus should be regarded as both the god of wine and a god associated with death indicates a desire, as with Persephone/Kore, to resolve the gap between life and death by combining the two elements in one deity.

The Greeks associated the chthonic deities with one another as demonstrated by the intermingling of the Eleusinian Mysteries and the Anthesteria. Several factors contributed to the connection between these two celebrations. Eleusis, the city for which the Mysteries were named, was located not far from Athens. People who participated in the Anthenian Anthesteria could easily have participated in the Mysteries. The two ceremonies were related in symbolic content, both emphasized the promise of rebirth, and life after death. M. Morford makes this point clear: "Any spiritual message in the cult of Eleusis must have in common with Dionysiac belief the immortality of the soul and redemption."[42]

During the late fifth and early fourth centuries B.C. there was an intermixing of the Eleusinian Mysteries and the cult of Dionysus. And Dionysus is present with the Eleusinian deities on several vase-paintings of this period.[43] Dionysus actually plays an important part in the Mysteries, for the sixth day of the festival was named Iacchos, a name with which Dionysus was later connected. On this day Dionysus accompanied Demeter in her search for Persephone. Another similarity between the two ceremonies was the initiation of a supplicant into the first degree of the lesser Mysteries at Agrai, which took place in the month of Anthesterion. Evidence for this is an artifact found in the bed of the river Ilissos. It shows Herakles and Hermes carrying pitchers that were a part

of the ceremony, coming to be initiated.[44]

Other evidence also points to a connection between the Anthesteria and the Mysteries. For example, the omphalos-cake, so-named for the knob at its center, was served during the Anthesteria. These cakes, a part of the ritual offerings to the dead, were similar to the mystic cista at Eleusis.

J. E. Harrison states that the Omphalos was the very seat and symbol of the Earth Mother,[45] and that in ancient times the Omphalos became associated with the tomb of Dionysus.[46] A fourth century B.C. Polychrome vase depicts Persephone/Kore to the right of a seated Demeter, holding torches to light their way through the underworld. Persephone/Kore is turned towards Dionysus, who is seated on the Omphalos.[47]

The activities in the month following Anthesterion further attest to the popularity of Dionysus. Elaphebolion was a month known for its great feasts in honor of Dionysus. It was in this month that plays were frequently staged, and Dionysus, as the patron deity of plays, was greatly favored.

In the eleventh month, Thargelion, Apollo was favored by an agricultural ritual. H. J. Rose describes this:

> Grain from the ripening crops was cooked in pots and formally presented to Apollo. These first-fruits were called Thargelia, and no doubt the point of the offering was to secure, by bringing the god into contact with the cereals, his good influence for the coming harvest.[48]

The Greek year ends with the month Skirophorion. As discussed earlier in this chapter, it was in the month Skirophorion that women placed offerings, skira, into underground openings, called megara. Also in this month, the cereal crops (wheat and barley) were reaped and threshed.

This analysis of the Greek year has shown that agricultural activities were a predominant factor in Greek life. Because of their association with agriculture, the chthonic deities, Persephone/Kore and Dionysus, became increasingly popular and important in Greek religious practices.

The worship of Persephone/Kore, as the 'Corn-Maiden', usually occupied a central position in ceremonies during the agricultural festivals. She represented the continuity of life; both the life of the crops as celebrated in the agricultural festivals, and human life as celebrated in the Eleusinian Mysteries. Therefore, the associations between agriculture and burial sites, as indicated in ancient literature, and vase-paintings, suggests a connection between the worship of Persephone/Kore and the scenes depicted on vases.

As a chthonic deity, Dionysus shared several characteristics with Persephone/Kore. Like Persephone/Kore, he was regarded as a vegetation deity and a deity of the dead. The similarities between the Anthesteria, where Dionysus was the favored deity, and the Eleusinian Mysteries, where Persephone/Kore was the favored deity, verifies the relationship between these deities. The resurrection of Dionysus is depicted on vases in a similar manner to the Anodos of Kore. A connection is suggested between Persephone/Kore and the female head because the cults of Dionysus and Persephone/Kore were interrelated and because Dionysiac scenes are especially popular on South Italian and Sicilian vases.

The Anodos of Kore was actually practiced in the form of a mimetic ritual as is evidenced by the many vases which depict this scene. The similarity between the head of Kore as depicted in the Anodos and the

female head depicted on vases from Greece, Sicily, and South Italy suggest that the female head is Persephone/Kore.

NOTES - CHAPTER V

[1]See, Anodos Scenes, Part VIII in this thesis.

[2]Plutarch, De facie in orbe lunae XXVIII, as cited by, J. E. Harrison, Prol.[2],(Cambridge 1908) 86.

[3]Cicero, De legibus II xxv, 63, as cited by, Harrison (supra n. n. 2).

[4]E. Jastrow, "Two Terracotta Reliefs in American Museums", AJA 50 (1946) 78.

[5]This vase is in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. C. Kerényi, Eleusis: Archetypal Image of Mother and Daughter (New York 1967) fig. 39.

[6]A. D. Trendall, RVLCS (Oxford 1967) pl. 165, fig. 3.

[7]Kerényi (supra n. 5) 132.

[8]Kerényi (supra n. 5) fig. 40.

[9]Trendall (supra n. 6) pl. 66, fig. 4.

[10]Trendall (supra n. 6) pl. 66, fig. 5.

[11]For examples of Triptolemos on vase paintings see, M. P. Nilsson, Greek Folk Religion (New York 1961) 56.

[12]For a complete analysis of Greek festivals see, Ludwig Deubner, Attische Feste (Darmstadt 1966) and H. J. Rose, Ancient Greek Religion, Chapter IV (London 1946).

[13]See, Chapter III, p. 123, n. 12 in this thesis, for an explanation of the climatic conditions in Greece.

[14]The Rarian Plain has a special significance in the Demeter cult as it was here that corn was sown for the first time.

[15]The origin and significance of the Eleusinian Mysteries is discussed in Chapter III, p. 118 in this thesis.

[16]Plutarch, On Isis and Osiris 69.

[17]Herodotus, II. 171 relates the origins of this practice.

[18]Harrison (supra n. 2) 122, refers to these megara as chasms of Demeter and Kore. The myth behind this ritual is, when Persephone was carried down by Hades, the earth also swallowed some swine which belonged to the swineherder, Eubouleus. On a lekythos in the National Museum at Athens, a woman is shown sacrificing a pig. Harrison (supra n. 2) fig. 10.

[19]Nilsson (supra n. 11) 52.

[20]Nilsson (supra n. 11) 52.

[21]According to Plutarch, Frag. 23, the Eleusinian Mysteries were celebrated at the autumn sowing.

[22]Nilsson (supra n. 11) 52.

[23]See, Anodos Scenes, Part VIII in this thesis.

[24]Harrison (supra n. 2) 282.

[25]Nilsson (supra n. 11) 53-54.

[26]Naples 899, inv. 82623. RVLCS, p. 236, no. 62, pl. 92, fig. 6.

[27]Nilsson (supra n. 11) 32.

[28]G. Van Hoorn, CA (Leiden 1951) 19. Euripides, Dind. Frag. 103, states that Dionysus was responsible for the return of the dead.

[29]Compare scenes on choes, Part VII, with scenes on South Italian and Sicilian vases, Part VI.

[30]The resurrection of Adonis is depicted on an Apulian amphora where the head of Adonis rises from a flower. Helmut Sichtermann GVU (Berlin 1966) K 76. Orphic Hymn 56 records the myth of Adonis, Persephone, and Aphrodite. See also, John Cuthbert Lawson, Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion (Cambridge 1910) 582.

[31]Dionysus is called 'twice-born' or 'the child of the double door' in Apollodorus, iii. 4. 3.

[32]Callimachus, Frag. 171, as cited by, Walter F. Otto, Dionysus: Myth and Cult (London 1965) 191, n. 15.

[33]Otto (supra n. 32) 115.

[34]Otto (supra n. 32) 116-18, and M. P. Nilsson, Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age (Lund 1957) 118.

[35]Heraclitus, Frag. 15, as cited by, Otto (supra n. 32) 116, n. 88.

[36]See, H. Metzger, "Dionysos chthonien d'après les monuments figurés de la période classique", BCH lxviii-lxix, (1944-45) 296ff, and K. Schauenburg, "Pluton und Dionysos", JdI, lxviii, (1953) 38ff.

[37]Pausanias, I. 40. 6; Ovid, Metamorphoses 4. 15.

[38]Plutarch, Moralia Quaestiones Romanae 112, as cited by, Otto (supra n. 32) 115, n. 85.

[39]Otto (supra n. 32) 115.

[40]Pindar, Frag. 153, as cited by, Otto (supra n. 32) 157, n. 23; Plutarch, Moralia de Iside et Osiride, as cited by, Otto (supra n. 32) 157, n. 21.

[41]Homeric Hymn 26. 1.

[42]Mark Morford and Robert J. Lenardon, Classical Mythology (New York 1971) 216.

[43](1) Hydria. Leningrad, Hermitage Museum. From Cumae. Kerényi (supra n. 5) figs. 52-53; (2) Attic Hydria. Athens, National Museum. From Crete. Kerényi (supra n. 5) fig. 48; (3) Xenocles cup. London, British Museum. Kerényi (supra n. 5) fig. 5.

[44]Athens, National Museum. Kerényi (supra n. 5) 51-52, fig. 10. M. P. Nilsson (supra n. 11) 33-34, describes this ceremony: "At Athens the wine was brought to the sanctuary of Dionysus in the marshes, mixed by the priestesses, and blessed before the god. Everyone took his portion in a small jug, and hence this day is called "The Festival of the Jugs".

[45]Harrison (supra n. 2) 320.

[46]Harrison (supra n. 2) 557.

[47]Harrison (supra n. 2) fig. 157, Museum at Lyons.

[48]Rose (supra n. 12) 87.

CONCLUSIONS

As the goddess of the underworld and the corn-maiden, Persephone/Kore was recognized by the Greeks as both a giver of death and a source of life. As such, she was relevant to both man's spiritual and physical needs and was an important deity in Greek religious thought and practice. The many sanctuaries, temples, altars, terracottas, and vases related to the cult of Persephone/Kore indicate the popularity of this goddess. The numerous references to Persephone/Kore in ancient Greek literature substantiates this conclusion.

The association of Persephone/Kore with Greek agricultural festivals, such as the Anodos, is depicted on ancient vases. The Anodos list contains vases which depict mimetic rituals and the symbolic resurrections of Persephone/Kore and Dionysus which were celebrated at these agricultural festivals. The similarity between the head of Persephone/Kore representing her Anodos, and the female head depicted on other vases from this same period denotes that the female head was intended as a representation of Persephone/Kore.

The ancient vase painter's predilection for scenes of a funeral nature reflects a profound interest in an afterlife. A preference for certain vase-shapes because of their funerary function also suggests an intense interest in an afterlife. The funerary nature of these vases and the scenes depicted on them indicates a connection with Persephone/Kore as goddess of the underworld. Furthermore, the types of scenes depicted on these vases are correlated with the worship of Persephone/Kore.

The frequency with which scenes of bridal preparation appear on funeral vases is a manifestation of the Greek attitude towards marriage and death. According to ancient literature, customs, and vase-paintings, similar rites were involved in marriage and death ceremonies, and the same sources indicate that the one signified the other. Persephone/Kore, in her simultaneous death and marriage to Hades, served as a paradigm of this phenomenon to those who viewed death as a marriage to the Lord of the Underworld. As a result, Persephone/Kore became a patron deity in both marriage and death. Persephone/Kore's image in the form of a female head on funeral vases from the sixth to the third century B.C. is therefore in keeping with the theme and purpose of these vases.

Examples of Corinthian and Attic head vases listed in the Vase Catalogue indicate that head vases made their first appearance in the early sixth century B.C. The idea of painting heads on vases spread from Attica to Etruria, Boeotia, Sicily, and South Italy. Initially male and female heads were equally popular. However, the occurrences of male heads decreased as the popularity of the chthonic deities, Demeter and Persephone/Kore, increased until eventually the male head occurred only rarely on red-figure vases. The female head on vases became predominant in Sicily and South Italy where the cult of Demeter and Persephone/Kore was most prevalent.

Past research in determining the identity of the female head on vases has been sparse. This study provides a basis for additional research. The identity of male and female heads before the appearance of <u>Anodos</u> scenes on vases has yet to be determined. The possibility that the female head was intended as a representation of the deceased female also requires some consideration. Further investigation is

needed in correlating terracotta figurines, reliefs, and plaques which depict Persephone/Kore, with scenes on vases, to determine if the vase-scenes are more specifically related to the cult of Persephone/Kore.

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FIGURES

Figure 1. Two women bring gifts and offerings to a seated woman in a heroön. Apulian red-figure column-krater. Civico Museo Archeologico, Milan, 225.

Figure 2. Detail of Figure 1. Female head emerging from vegetation.

Figure 3. The Anodos of Kore. Attic black-figure lekythos. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Figure 4. Female head. Campanian red-figure bell-krater. Naples, 899, inv. 82623.

Figure 5. Female head and draped youth. Attic red-figure oenochoe. Civico Museo Archeologico, Milan, 271.

Figure 6. Two female heads in profile face a pedestal with censor. Attic red-figure lekythos. From Athens. University of California.

Figure 7. Two female heads on plaque from Terravecchia di Grammichele, Sicily.

Figure 8. Double bust from Agrigento.

Figure 9. Profile female head facing profile bearded male head wearing animal-skin cap. Red-figure oenochoe. From Caere. Louvre, Paris, inv. K 471.

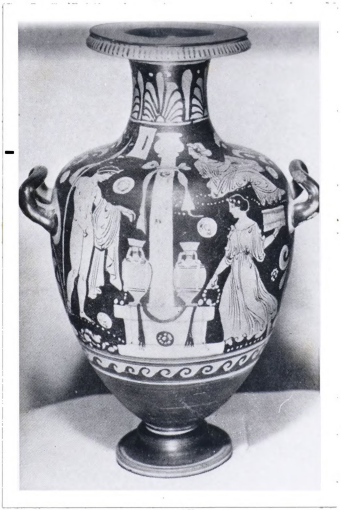

Figure 10. Two women and a youth with offerings at an Ionic stele with two amphorae on the base. Campanian red-figure hydria. Trieste, 1814.

Figure 11. Tomb-painting of a seated woman holding a mirror attended by a maidservant. From Cumae. Second half of the fourth century B.C.

Figure 12. Seated female figure holding a mirror with two attending figures. Campanian red-figure bell-krater. 330-310 B.C. Rio de Janeiro, 719.

Figure 13. Hades with golden chariot and winged horses abducting Persephone. Terracotta plaque.

Figure 14. Persephone from Kamarina. Terracotta figure. Syracuse.

Figure 15. Youths and women bring offerings to a statue of a woman in a floral surround. Campanian red-figure hydria. New York, 06.1021.230.

GREEK MONTH	CURRENT CALENDAR	FESTIVALS (DATES)	AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES
Hekatombaion	July-August	Kronia (12)	
Metageitnion	Aug. - September	Eleusinia	
Boedromion	Sept. - October	Eleusinian (15-22) Mysteries	
Pyanepsion	Oct. - November	Proerosia (5) Thesmophoria (11-13) Anodos, Nesteia, Kalligeneia	Plowing, fields prepared for autumn sowing. Sowing.
Maimakterion	Nov. - December		
Poseideon	Dec. - January	Haloa (26)	Pruning of the vines.
Gamelion	Jan. - February	Lenaia (11-13)	
Anthesterion	Feb. - March	Anthesteria (11-13) Pithoigia, Choes, Chytoi	Crops flowering.
Elaphebolion	March - April	Plays and feasts in honor of Dionysus	
Munychion	April - May		
Thargelion	May - June	Thargelia (5-6)	Crops ripening.
Skirophorion	June - July	Skira (12)	Harvesting and threshing of cereal crops.

Figure 16. Festival calendar of the Greek year.