

DOUBLE AND MULTIPLE REPRESENTATIONS IN GREEK ART AND RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

(PLATES I-X)

GREEK theology and its canonical iconography have not been studied nearly as much as the Byzantine, although the religious character of pagan art is no less pronounced.¹ When it is studied it is mostly in the representations on the vases.² Sculpture, however, in particular terra-cotta and ivory figurines and plaques, and votive offerings in sanctuaries, offers a wide scope for such a study. Greek piety created some standard forms of votive offerings such as the crouching child, the protome, male or female, the seated or standing woman, sometimes exactly identifiable from the attributes.

A standard type of votive offering, perhaps not as common as the single figure, is that of reliefs, statuettes and statues representing two, or sometimes more, female figures, identical or slightly differentiated, traditionally explained as Demeter and Kore or the Nymphs.

The topic has been treated variously since the early nineteenth century, in isolated examples, or regional and other groups. There is no treatment of it in its entirety in the Greek world, and not much progress has been made in the subject since the basic nineteenth-century treatises.³ Moreover, in the above publications, never cited in more recent works, one finds some very sound approaches and knowledge of the textual evidence. However, in these early publications the material is mostly Classical, or Hellenistic and Roman. In some of the cases of double figures discussed in them, the duplication, rather than 'doubleness', is more apparent than real because the attributes are repeated and are those of the unique war goddess Athena, or the equally unique Tyche or Fortuna.⁴ However, the case is not always so, especially in archaic or earlier times, and it gets even more complicated when the figures are not two but three and sometimes more, even up to nine. The repeating of figures, often under one mantle, as diad, triad, etc., could be explained as multiplication of a figure by the folk-mind (mythology), followed by the Greek artists, thus creating the Eileithyiai, Horai, Charites, Muses, etc. Modern scholars have insisted on trying to identify in all of them Demeter and Kore, the female diad *par excellence*. Guarducci,⁵ after examining many representations, mostly on vases, of two, three, or nine women under one mantle, concludes⁶ that they all represent Demeter and Kore, unless they are nine when they are the Muses. If there is a third figure, then this is the initiate or a secondary deity. This is convenient but not applicable everywhere, even in the case of two

The following abbreviations have been adopted:
Gerhard = E. Gerhard, *Antike Bildwerke* (Berlin 1828)

Guarducci = M. Guarducci, 'Due o più donne sotto un solo manto in una serie di vasi greci arcaici' in *AM* liii (1928) 52-65.

Korres = G. Korres, 'Double Goddesses in Crete and Mycenaean Greece (Double or Triple Goddesses in the service of the Divine Infant)' (in Greek) in *Proceedings of the Second Cretological Congress* ii 107-18.

Metzger = H. Metzger, *Recherches sur l'imagerie athénienne* (Paris 1965)

Mollard-Besques = S. Mollard-Besques, *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs* i (1954) and ii (1963)

Mylonas = K. D. Mylonas, 'Anathematikōn Anáglyphon ex Attikís' in *AE* 1890, 1 ff.

Ohnefalsch-Richter = M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, the Bible and Homer* (Berlin 1896).

Rizza and Scrinari = J. Rizza and V. Santa Maria Scrinari, *Il Santuario sull'Acropoli di Gortina* i (1968).

Schrader = H. Schrader, 'Die Ausgrabungen am Westabhange der Akropolis. III. Funde im Gebiete des Dionysion' in *AM* xxi (1896) 265-86.

Speier = H. Speier, *RM* xlvii (1932) 1-94.

¹ K. Schefold, *Griechische Kunst als religiöses Phänomen* (Hamburg 1959).

² Metzger, *passim*.

³ Gerhard; Mylonas, *AE* 1883, 252 f.; Mylonas, *1 ff.*; Schrader, 265-286.

⁴ Mylonas, figs. 1-3; Gerhard, pl. iv 2-4 and 6.

⁵ Guarducci, 52-65.

⁶ Guarducci, 58.

figures under a cloak on vases. For instance on a b.f. vase in the British Museum⁷ two women stand under one mantle, a bird in front of them, and Satyrs on either side—hardly the right company for the *Μεγάλαι Θεαί*; they are apparently two nymphs, if not maenads. However, were it not for the surrounding figures, one would consider them as counterparts of those on the pyxis in Athens⁸ which Guarducci surely identified with Demeter and Kore.

Unless definite attributes, inscriptions, or other complementary figures identifying them, are present, such representations on vases, or sculpture out of context, are of no help at all. One must instead study the types in their context and the environment of their cult, for only this, combined with the textual evidence, can give any sound clues. Before the types can be examined, the evidence from cult must be considered from texts, objects, sanctuaries and tombs.

THE CULT

The evidence from the Linear B Tablets has so far given no information for a cult of a double Goddess or two Nymphs or two Nymph-nurses of Zeus. The reading and interpretation of Tablets Fr from Pylos for two Queens (Wa-na-so-i), worshipped together with a King (Wa-na-ka), have been proved unsubstantiated.⁹ The alleged Mycenaean origin of the cult of Demeter and Kore cannot be proved at the moment.¹⁰ Representations of two identical women side by side appear in tombs already in Early Minoan times,¹¹ and are not rare in Mycenaean times.¹² These have been variously interpreted. "The opinion expressed by Mylonas that they were put with children's burials as "blessing goddesses" and "divine nurses" in order to protect the children and help them on their journey to the nether world seems to be nearer the truth than most, and is borne out by the evidence from Perati, where the few Ψ-figurines found undisturbed were given to children."¹³ The most celebrated Minoan Double Goddesses appear in the ivory found together with other objects in a deposit at Mycenae, 'forse provenienti dal tempio miceneo'.¹⁴ The group has been interpreted without much justification, as Dionysos and the Nymphs, Demeter, Kore and Iacchos, Divine Nurses, etc.¹⁵ On some LM gems two women appear side by side in the 'gesture of epiphany'; the iconographically well-known Goddess with the raised arms is here duplicated.¹⁶ There are representations of two or three women on Mycenaean gold rings,¹⁷ but one cannot be sure if they are divine or human. The painted plaster tablet from the

⁷ CVA British Museum 3(4) III He pl. 29(149)1d.

⁸ Guarducci, fig. 1, pl. xix 1, 2, 4.

⁹ Korres, 107-118, where further bibl. cf. Amendment by H. Mühlenstein on pp. 118-119. From the bibliography in the above study one should omit the second half of note 7, p. 114, and the second half of note 6, p. 117 as universally recognized forgeries; for the latter cf. G. Becatti, *Orificerie Antiche* (Rome 1955) pl. 37, no. 217.

¹⁰ cf. note 12, the ivory from Mycenae. The readings of names such as Demeter in the Linear B tablets (L. A. Stella, *La civiltà micenea nei documenti contemporanei* [1965] 288, 241) are not at all beyond doubt; moreover in some cases they could be names of mortals. For confusions arising from such dubious readings see Mühlenstein, *op. cit.* See further discussion on the two Mycenaean Goddesses (negative) in *Minos* x, 1 (1969) 78 ff. by S. Hillier, 'Wanasoi tonoketerijo', where Wanasoi can be explained either as 'to the Goddesses' or as a locality, 'in the Palace'. cf. M. Gérard-Rousseau, *Les mentions religieuses dans les tablettes mycéniennes* (*Incunabula Graeca* xxix, [Rome] 224 ff.

¹¹ Herakleion Museum, Room A, Case 8: Sp. Marinatos, *Crete and Mycenae* (1959) fig. 11.

¹² E. B. Wace-French, *Mycenaean Terracotta Figurines* (unpublished Dissertation, London 1961; copy in British School at Athens), 278 ff., 'Triple Groups', where further bibl.; Ch. Picard in *RA* 6th series xix-xx (1942-43) 85, fig. 2; G. E. Mylonas, in *Studies Goldman* (1956) 120, pl. xv 9; Sp. Marinatos, *AA* 1933, 303, fig. 15, with child. L. R. Palmer, *Mycenaean and Minoans* (London 1965) 135.

¹³ Sp. Iakovidis, 'A Mycenaean Mourning Custom' in *AJA* lxx (1966) 45 f. G. E. Mylonas, *Epistem. Epeteris Philos. Sch. Panepist. Athinon* (1954-55) 139-152.

¹⁴ *ASAA* n.s. i-ii (1939-40) 245, fig. 1; H. Wace, *Ivories from Mycenae*, no. 1: The Ivory Trio (Athens 1961).

¹⁵ Korres, 113 n 1.
¹⁶ St. Alexiou, 'The Goddess with the Raised Arms' (in Greek) in *Kretika Chronika* xii (1958) 179-299, cf. p. 219, pl. IA, figs. 3-4.

¹⁷ G. E. Mylonas, *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age* (Princeton 1966) Ring 2, fig. 123, three women, one raising her hand to her forehead; Ring 3, fig. 124, two women with one arm raised.

Tsountas House in the lower Citadel of Mycenae¹⁸ with two women with extended arms on either side of an idol(?) covered by a 'figure-of-eight shield' could also be interpreted in several ways: two priestesses with an idol, the epiphany of the young god as on a gold ring,¹⁹ two Goddesses with a God, or three Goddesses.

The existence of a religious meaning connected with a double or duplicated female figure goes back to the early Anatolian cultures of Catal Hüyük: 'An der Westwand des Kultraumes E VI 14 wurde ein Doppelbild unserer Göttin entdeckt: zwei Körper, zwei Köpfe, aber nur ein Paar Arme und Beine in der bekannten Geste und Gebärde: die Arme erhoben, die Beine waagrecht gespreizt. In der Wand hinter dem Relief, . . . fanden sich die Knochen eines ungeborenen oder neugeborenen Kindes beigesetzt.'²⁰ However, there is no case for diffusion from Anatolia due to the chronological gap; one can only use these early examples as evidence that duplication in early eastern cultures was meaningful and not simply decorative.

In Homeric times the Goddess Eileithyia was known both in the singular (*Od.* τ 188) and in the plural (*Il.* Α 270) as daughters of Hera. The recognition of a cult of *Γεραιστιάδες Νύμφαι*, nurses of Zeus, in the Mycenaean and Archaic periods, is based on the late evidence of the *Etymologicum Magnum*.²¹ In the same way one could use the earlier evidence of Diodorus about the Cretan Meteres²² which Ciaceri and recently Faure have interpreted as Nymph-nurses of Zeus.²³ However, to interpret eighth- and seventh-century monuments in the light of the *Etymologicum Magnum* is somewhat unrealistic. The etymologist is far removed from the early cults and religion, and what he knows from his own period may not apply to the earlier ones, or it may even itself be inaccurate, or an aetiological invention. *Γεραιστιάδες* according to him are called Nymphs in Gortyn because *ἐγέραιρον* nursing Zeus. Further, he derives *Γεραίστιον*, the name of a place, not from the Nymphs, but from *γέρας*, 'ὅτι τίμιόν ἐστι, διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖ τὸν Δία σπαργανωθῆναι'. What lies behind all these etymologies is just his knowledge of the strong cult of Zeus there, and maybe some late stories that he heard as an explanation which could have very little to do with the actual cults and their nature. Pausanias gives different names to the nurses of Zeus (viii 38.2): *Θεισόα*, *Νέδα*, *Ἀγνώ*. On the other hand a cult of *Νύμφαι Γεραισταί* connected with Kephissos, the Apollonian Triad, and some other deities, is attested by Classical monumental and epigraphic evidence in Athens, near Phaleron and probably on the Hill of the Nymphs.²⁴ The names and epithets attributed to Nymph-nurses, as well as the nurslings, are numerous. The Parthenoi Hyakinthides or Hyades of Athens (Protogeneia, Pandora, Chthonia) have been interpreted as the nurses of Dionysos.^{24a} The appellatives of Hera (Akraia, Euboia, Prosymna) were interpreted apparently in late times as three Nymph-nurses of Hera, according to the testimony of Pausanias (ii 17.2). Therefore different periods and districts require a different approach to the iconographic interpretation. In Homeric times there is less differentiation, more universal character in deities such as Leto, Artemis, Hera, Athena, Aphrodite. In Archaic times the different aspects and functions, now developed, apparently become stronger so that Hera Akraia—Hera Limenia—Hera Argia, or Artemis Paidotrophos—Artemis Eileithyia—Artemis Lochia later, are felt to be quite different personalities, in the same way that modern Greeks felt about Panagia Odegetria—Panagia Eleutherotria—

¹⁸ Mylonas, *loc. cit.* 156 f. fig. 131.

¹⁹ Mylonas, *loc. cit.*, Ring 15, fig. 123, with two Goddesses or worshippers(?).

²⁰ J. Thimme 'Die religiöse Bedeutung der Kykladenidole' in *AK* viii (1965) 72 ff., esp. p. 75.

²¹ Korres, 117 nn. 1–2.

²² Diodorus iv 79: *καὶ κατασκευάσαντες ἱερὸν τῶν Μητέρων ἐτίμων τὰς θεὰς ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖς κοσμοῦντες τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτῶν. ταύτας δὲ ἀφιδροθῆναι φασιν ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης, διὰ τὸ παρὰ τοῖς Κρησὶ τιμᾶσθαι τὰς θεὰς ταύτας διαφερόντως.* Also Plutarch *Marcellus*

20 3: *πόλις γὰρ ἐστὶ τῆς Σικελίας Ἐργυρίον οὐ μεγάλη, ἀρχαία δὲ πάνυ καὶ διὰ θεῶν ἐπιφάνειαν ἔνδοξος ἧς καλοῦσι Μαιτέρας. Ἱδρυμα λέγεται Κρητῶν γενέσθαι τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ λόγχαρ τινὰς ἐδέικνυσαν καὶ κρᾶνη χαλκᾶ, τὰ μὲν ἔχοντα Μηριόνου, τὰ δ' Ὀυλίξου, ἐπιγραφὰς ἀνατεθεικότων ταῖς θεαῖς.*

²³ E. Ciaceri, *Culti e Miti nella Storia di Antica Sicilia* (Cantania 1911); P. Faure, *Fonctions des Cavernes Crétoises* (1965) 110.

²⁴ *AE* 1909, 244 f., 250, pl. 8. Ervin in *Platon* xi (1959) 146–59. ^{24a} E. Maass, *Hermes* xxv (1890) 405 f. n. 2.

Panagia Chrysoseptiotissa (Virgin Mary the leader, the giver of Freedom or freeing in labour, equivalent of Eileithyia, and the one 'of the Golden Cave'). In Hellenistic and later times the differentiation and separatism grows. On the other hand it is not impossible that since Eileithyia appears in the Linear B Tablets, the plural may have also existed then, as it did in Homeric times. The Athenians venerated not one but three cult statues (xoana) of Eileithyia, according to the evidence of Pausanias (i 17.5), two of which were referred to as Cretan, dedications of Phaidra, and one, even more ancient, was supposedly brought by Erysichthon from Delos. Folk-memory here connects two statues at once with the Cretan dedication. Otherwise, the fact that three cult statues, two of which at least were identical, existed and were venerated side by side in the same sanctuary is important for the interpretation of votive offerings in sanctuaries.

The cult of Demeter and Kore can be attested from Homeric times at least. However, the dual τῶ θεῶ, θεομοφόρω or the plurals Δαμάτρες, Μεγάλοι Θεαί, διώνυμοι θεαί, do not appear until much later.²⁵

What other female Diads apart from Eileithyia and Demeter-Kore appear in Homeric times? Artemis and Leto were worshipped together with Apollo, under one and the same roof, in Crete at least, from the late eighth century B.C.²⁶ (PLATE III 5-6). In Sparta at the Sanctuary of Orthia a young male god appears in the votive ivories between two women;²⁷ in others two women alone appear seated or standing (PLATES IV 7; V 10, 12-13).²⁸ The explanation as Orthia and Eileithyia for the latter case²⁹ is less satisfactory as the nearby sanctuary of Eileithyia was separate, and in view of the male figure. Even in Magna Graecia the two Goddesses appear with Apollo in the archaic metope from Selinus.³⁰ From Miletus, centre of Apollonian worship, there is further evidence: a votive offering of two identical enthroned women side by side, wearing chiton and himation, carved in island marble around 530 B.C., was found to the south-east of the Theatre in secondary use as the inscription denotes (PLATE VI 14).³¹ This cannot represent two mortals, as a family offering, or an inscription would most probably indicate it; besides the figures would not be identical in that case. Also from about the same period comes a votive relief of two draped standing women in a niche, bringing one hand to the chest, holding up the short himation; the heads are covered by veils that fall on the shoulders (PLATE V 11).³² Somewhat similar to this is the relief on an arula from Locri, manufactured apparently in Medma, around 500 B.C. (PLATE VI 15).³³ On an Attic b.f. vase of the same period,³⁴ Leto standing and Artemis seated, but otherwise very similar, appear on either side of the Delian palm-tree. A classical votive marble relief from Miletus (PLATE IV 8) is most important as the Apollonian Triad, which is represented together with Kourotrophos, at the extreme left, can be identified with certainty by the inscribed names. Double Goddesses are not uncommon in later Artemisia. From the Artemision of Thasos comes a fragmentary Hellenistic figurine of a group of two women with himation raised in the background (unpublished; Thasos Museum). More obvious is the iconography on a Cypriot terra-cotta from Larnaca where the attributes of deer and palm indicate the deities (PLATE I 2).³⁵ With the abundant early evidence for representations of

²⁵ Ar., V. 378; Th. 82; *Sylloge*³ 1031; E. Ph. 683: διώνυμοι θεαί Περσέφασσα καὶ φίλα Δαμάτηρ θεὰ . . . ; cf. also Type II 3a. R. Stiglitz, *Die Grossen Göttinnen Arkadiens. Der Kultname Μεγάλοι Θεαί und seine Grundlagen* (Österr. Archäol. Inst. Wien, *Sonderschrift* xv [1967]).

²⁶ J. Boardman, 'The Khaniala Tekke Tombs II' in *BSA* lxii (1967) 61 where bibl.

²⁷ R. M. Dawkins, *Orthia*, pl. xcvi; cf. also the terra-cotta plaque from Sparta, *BSA* xiv (1907-8) 77, fig. 7c.

²⁸ Poulsen, *Orient und Frühgr. Kunst* (Berlin 1912) figs. 191-2; Dawkins, *Orthia*, 233, pls. xcvi, i; cxxiv; cxxv, 2; cl.

²⁹ *BSA* xv (1908-9) 21 f; *BSA* xxx (1929) 50-51.

³⁰ G. Richter, *Archaic Greek Art* (1949) fig. 201.

³¹ C. Blümel, *Die archaisch griechischen Skulpturen der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Berlin 1963) 54, pls. 145-47.

³² A. de Franciscis, 'Un frammento di Arula de Locri' in *Atti e Mem. Soc. M. Grecia* n.s.ii (1958) 37-49, pl. xi. This reference I owe to Prof. G. Becatti.

³³ Louis Séchan, *Les Grandes Divinités de la Grèce* (Paris 1966) pl. 15.

³⁵ Ohnefalsch-Richter, pl. 158. 4.

two female Goddesses, alone or with a God, in Artemisia and Apollo sanctuaries, and in view of the nature of the early cult of Leto³⁶ and the concrete evidence of the cult statues of Dreros, several of the Cretan works should be interpreted as the Apollonian Triad. The Gortyn stone reliefs (PLATE X 29), for instance, are comparable iconographically to the three figure ivories from Sparta, and the 'cult-statues in shrine' of the Fortetsa belt³⁷ have their chronological and iconographic equivalent in the Dreros sphyrelata (PLATE III 5-6). As the cult of the other mother-daughter couple was also popular from early times, representations of double female figures are often identified with them, as for instance the archaic and classical representations from Corinth of two Goddesses in a cart (PLATE VIII 20).³⁸ However, they could equally well be explained as Leto-Artemis, or even as a double Hera as her cult was celebrated there.³⁹ When one of the female figures is smaller, one usually assumes that they represent Demeter and Kore (PLATE II 3).⁴⁰ A feast of 'Thesmophories' is attested epigraphically at Thasos⁴¹ in the fourth century B.C., and Salviat connects it with the cult of the 'Two Goddesses', worshipped on Paros. There, according to Herodotus, sacred objects were kept in the Megaron of the 'Two Goddesses', inaccessible to men. Their temenos on Thasos has been identified with the temenos of Archonda, outside the ancient town.⁴² It has been suggested that a young male god was connected with them, whose head is probably represented on the Thasian coins of the fourth century.⁴³

Another use of such representations in archaic times is attested by the Boeotian (PLATES VI 16 and VII 18)⁴⁴ and Rhodian⁴⁵ (PLATE VII 17) examples which were found in graves. The function is votive, as in the sanctuaries. The character is most probably divine, prophylactic as in the Mycenaean and earlier examples. The Camiran and Tanagraean ones with two heads from one body are most interesting, showing the oneness of two Goddesses, or the double nature of one. The duplication or triplication of one Goddess in order to show her different aspects is attested by literary evidence not only for the Samian Hera but also for Aphrodite.⁴⁶ The dead in ancient Athens were called *Δημήτρηιοι*⁴⁷ and therefore an explanation for the figurines coming from graves as Demeter is most possible. Demeter and Kore viewed as a bifurcation of Ge⁴⁸ may account for the two-headed examples. Demeter was worshipped until late times in Rhodes, and later inscriptions mention Damateres.⁴⁹ Evidence for cult or worship derived from the iconography of the vases may occasionally blur the picture. So on a r.f. vase by the Sosias Painter two seated Goddesses holding a phiale, the one with a staff in her right hand, are inscribed: Aphrodite-Hestia.⁵⁰ Were it not for the inscription one would have taken them for Demeter and Kore. On an early b.f. olpe in Naples⁵¹ the Goddesses appear standing side by side holding stalks of corn, while a lion stands behind them.

The cult and iconography of Demeter-Kore is well attested in fifth-century Locri by the masses of votive plaques, where the two Goddesses are often represented almost identical, seated.⁵² In Italy and Sicily the cult of the Goddesses was especially popular as shown by

³⁶ Séchan, *op. cit.*, 91-97, esp. 94 below.

³⁷ Brock, *Fortetsa*, pls. 168-169; J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas* (1964) 91, fig. 19 b; Korres, 118. Dated by J. Boardman, *BSA* lxxii (1967) 59-60, in the first half of the eighth century on the contextual evidence (now lost) of a Geometric pithos in which it was found; it is possible however that the pithos was dated too early by the excavators, or used some time after its production.

³⁸ R. A. Higgins, *BMC Terracottas*, i pl. 130 no. 897; *Perachora* i 201, pl. 89.19-20.

³⁹ In Roman times there was a cult of Junones: W. Deonna, *Deux études de symbolisme religieux* (1955); I do not know if the Greek equivalent form *Ἥραι* existed; however Hera as Virgin and Teleia was worshipped in Samos and other sanctuaries.

⁴⁰ R. A. Higgins, *BMC Terracottas* i 165, pl. 79, no. 610.

⁴¹ F. Salviat, *BCH* lxxxii (1958) 248 f.

⁴² J. Pouilloux, *BCH* lxxv (1951) 90 f.

⁴³ Salviat, *loc. cit.*, 253 f.

⁴⁴ *cf.* Type II 2b.

⁴⁵ *cf.* Type II 2a.

⁴⁶ Paus. ix 16. 3: Ourania, Pandemos, Averter, and viii 32. 1.

⁴⁷ M. P. Nilsson, *Gesch. Gr. Rel.* ii 2, 676.

⁴⁸ A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i 396 f.

⁴⁹ M. P. Nilsson, *Archiv für Religionswiss.* xxxii (1935) 87, n.5; *Opuscula Selecta* ii 552 where further bibl.

⁵⁰ Higgins, *BMC Terracottas* i 87, under no. 231, below.

⁵¹ Metzger, 22 f., where also other representations more differentiated: Demeter-Kore standing.

⁵² *Boll. d'Arte* iii (1909) 21 f.

the many temples and the representations of two Goddesses seated side by side (PLATE VIII 22 and 24)⁵³ alone or with child. The Italic people worshipped the Cereres, probably a translation from the Greek Damateres,⁵⁴ and the Junones.⁵⁵

From early and later Hellenistic times there are inscriptions from Delos giving information about the expenses for offerings of animals during the festival of Eileithyiaia, such as pig, sheep, dog; also cheese, chick-peas, broad beans, sesame, honey, wreaths, bread, cabbage, walnuts, wine.⁵⁶ It is interesting that in the earliest inscriptions the Goddess appears in the plural: 'to the Eileithyiaia a pig (was offered) by Chares. . . .' In later inscriptions she is mentioned in the singular. There cannot have been much distinction between the one and the many. Perhaps connected with this Delian cult was the cult of the Eileithyiaia in Boeotia practised in most places there, according to the epigraphic and literary evidence. Here her assimilation with Artemis is especially common. The cult of Artemis-Eileithyia is traced in Thespieae, Anthedon, Chaerona, Orchomenos, Tanagra, Thisbe, Lebadeia.⁵⁷ Among the invocations a unique form *Ἀρτέμισιν Πράαις* appears in an inscription from Lebadeia. Here the plural, to the Artemides, recalls that of Eileithyiaia or perhaps Eumenides, considering the epithet Praais (for the cult of Eumenides *cf.* Type I 7). There is no evidence that there was any belief for the existence of two separate Artemides, nor are there any representations which could surely be identified as such.

Although the literary evidence does not support a cult of Cybelai or Athenai in the plural, there is evidence of a double cult of a deity in two different aspects, worshipped in two temples, the one next to the other, as Athena Polias and Athena Parthenos on the Acropolis of Athens, Athena Polias and Athena Sthenias in Troezen, and Athena Alea and Athena Ippia in Tegea; there were two temples of Athena in Thebes, two statues of her in Aegion.⁵⁸ Even the owl appears sometimes double or with two heads.⁵⁹ Two Horai and two Charites were depicted on the Amyklai Throne of Bathyklus; there were also two Nemeseis,⁶⁰ two Artemides in Mykalessos (Paus. ix 19.5), two Genetyllides in Athens and Gennaides in Phokis (Paus. i 1.5), and two Aphrodite statues in Athens near that of Ares (Paus. i 8.5). This approach is attested also for male deities such as Zeus, and Hermes, who appears double and triple;⁶¹ Pausanias mentions two identical statues of Hermes in Corinth, representing two different natures of him. Hekate is known as one deity, but is commonly represented as *τρίμορφος*.⁶² Apart from the Korybantēs and Dioskouroi, naturally conceived as two and represented so, in iconic or aniconic forms,⁶³ Herakles and Pan are invoked in the plural already in classical times: *Ar. Ec.* 1063 f.: *ὦ Ἡράκλεις, ὦ Πάνες, ὦ Κορύβαντες, ὦ Διοσκόρω*. This is not just a form of address, as representations of two identical Panes appear in one and the same votive relief.⁶⁴ A double Athena appears already in archaic vase painting, either in battle scenes, on either side of a giant, or on Olympus on either side of Herakles.⁶⁵ In sculpture too the double Athena appears in a votive relief of the first half of the fifth century (PLATE I 1),⁶⁶ and in other later representations.⁶⁷ The Great Mother is represented double with lions on Hittite seals.⁶⁸ Her connexion with the Greek Cybele is established, and therefore the fact that representations of

⁵³ W. Froehner, *Cat. du Musée de Marseilles* (1897) no. 1225 (inv. no. 2725) from Magna Graecia; Gerhard, pl. II 2 (E. Berlin Staatl. Mus.), from Praeneste.

⁵⁴ *cf.* n. 39.

⁵⁵ Deonna, *Deux études de symbolisme religieux* (1955)

⁵⁶ M. P. Nilsson, *Gesch. Gr. Rel.* i (1967) 423, where further bibl.

⁵⁷ Baur, *Eileithyia* (2nd ed. Chicago 1901) 14, 19 f.

⁵⁸ Mylonas, 6; *cf.* nn. 3 and 4.

⁵⁹ Mylonas, 6.

⁶⁰ For the above and extensive bibl., *cf.* Mylonas and Gerhard.

⁶¹ Mylonas, 3.

⁶² Schrader, 281 where figure.

⁶³ Nilsson, *Gesch. Gr. Rel.* i pl. 19.

⁶⁴ Schrader, 276, figure on p. 277; also J. Harrison, *Prolegomena to Greek Religion*³ fig. 73.

⁶⁵ Mylonas, figs. 3, 5.

⁶⁶ Mylonas, pl. 1; not as late as mid fifth, as far as one can judge from the drawing; notice the early zig-zag double folds; the dress is not the peplos but still the chiton with himation hanging from one shoulder.

⁶⁷ Mylonas, figs. 1-2.

⁶⁸ *AM* xliii (1918) 157, fig. 2, i.

double Cybele with or without the lions abound in the Greek world is not fortuitous.⁶⁹ There are also the Diads of two homonymous deities of different sex, Hekalos-Hekale, Hekatos-Hekate, that have been explained as one deity, sexually differentiated.⁷⁰ Judging from other religions, we must not consider the above as fortuitous. The functions of the numbers two and three have always played a role in the history of religion. The number two has been considered as more perfect than the number one. In China the number two and all even numbers are considered female as opposed to the single that are male. The number two corresponds also to the scheme question-answer, right-left (see in Plato the two Eroses, Eros-Anteros).⁷¹ The demons and genii are almost always two, unless they are three: Anakes, Dioskouroi,⁷² 'Amphipoloi', Korybantēs, Kabeiroi (two male: Axiokeros-Kadmilos, and two female: Axiokersos-Axiokersa). In Cyprus there are also double representations of Centaurs.⁷³

To sum up: The literary, iconographic, monumental and contextual evidence points to several different kinds of Double Deities:

A. Pairs of mother-daughter, like Leto-Artemis, Demeter-Kore, possibly stemming from one primeval Goddess. (The Eleusinian Goddesses' appellation *διώνυμοι θεαί* points to one deity with two names [aspects?].)

B. Deities appearing both in the singular and the plural, the duplication having some functional significance: Eileithyia-Eileithyiai, as appearing on either side of the labour bed; Hekate-triple Hekate, for the sides of a cross-roads; Artemides Praai for a similar protective function, or for strengthening the quality of the Goddess (*cf.* below, C).

C. Cases of mere duplication of a Goddess for strengthening the quality of the deity: Meteres, Damateres and Cereres, Junones, Nemeseis, double Cybele, Fortunae.⁷⁴

D. Deities or Heroes appearing only in the plural as two, three, or more: Horai, Charites, Korai, Muses, Nymphs, Dioskouroi, Korybantēs, Eumenides,⁷⁵ Damia and Auxesia,⁷⁶ Lysippe and Iphianassa.⁷⁷

E. Iconographic duplication corresponding to two or three different natures, or cults: Athena, Aphrodite, Herakles, Hermes.

F. Other cases of duplication:

Decorative: on plastic vases and pieces of furniture, divine or not.⁷⁸

Other: quite unique are the duplicated Classical terra-cotta crouching boys from Olynthos, whose significance in duplication is not determined.⁷⁹ The decorative and other cases in this sixth category are not of direct interest here.

TYPES

I. Well defined through attributes.

II. Most possibly interpreted through context, cult and deposits.

III. Standard iconographic types used for different deities or mortals.

⁶⁹ Mylonas, 1 f., fig. 6; Schrader, 280, where figure; Gerhard, pl. iii 2; also *AZ* xxxix (1881) 393: double Cybele from the Metroon (?) of Piraeus.

⁷⁰ Deubner, *Attische Feste* 217.

⁷¹ For their iconography on vases, *cf.* A. Greifenhagen, *Griechische Erosen* (1957).

⁷² F. Salviat, 'Religion populaire à timbres amorphiques' in *BCH* lxxxviii (1964) 492-5. R. E. Wycherley, *Athenian Agora* iii 65, 149, 150.

⁷³ *BCH* lxxxvii (1963) 371, fig. 68; Karageorgis, 'Relations of Cyprus and Crete during the eleventh century B.C.' (in Greek) in the *Proceedings of the 2nd Cretological Congress* ii 181, pl. *AA'*.

⁷⁴ Gerhard, pl. iv.

⁷⁵ Nilsson, *Gesch. Gr. Rel.* i 424 ff.

⁷⁶ J. Dörig, 'Lysippe und Iphianassa' in *AM* lxxvii (1962) 79, where bibl.

⁷⁷ Dörig, *loc. cit.*, 72-91.

⁷⁸ Poulsen, *Orient und frühgr. Kunst* 99, figs. 102, 103; Hogarth, *Exc. at Ephesos* (1908) pl. xxx 9.

⁷⁹ *Olynthus* xiv pl. 89 nos. 268-270; T. Hadzisteliou Price, 'The Crouching Children and the Temple Boys' in *BSA* lxiv (1969) Type II 1a iii; one example comes from a tomb.

TYPE I

1. ATHENA duplicated (PLATE I 1)

(a) *Standing*

LM III mould from Seteia: St. Alexiou, 'The Goddess with the raised arms' (in Greek) in *Kretika Chronika* xii (1958) 213; Zervos, *L'Art de la Crète néolithique et minoenne*, figs. 744-5, predecessor of Athena? Late Archaic votive relief: Mylonas, pl. I (PLATE I 1). Attic b.f. vases: *ibid.*, figs. 3, 5. Palladion: *ibid.*, fig. 2. K. Giannoulidou, 'Peri endechomenes chthonias Athinas epitymbiou mnemeiou' in *Platon* 1967, 228-232; she tries to prove it as a 'tomb-monument' on the basis of the chthonic elements of Athena, such as the snakes, which, however, are absent in this relief. cf. R. L. Scranton, 'Athena-Athens' in *The Emory University Quarterly* xvi (1960) 3 f.

(b) *Seated*

Etruscan mirror: Mylonas, fig. 1, antithetically seated, identical.

2. CYBELE (FIG. 1)

The type appears standing with lions in Hittite seals;⁶⁸ in the Greek world she appears normally seated, unless one considers the figures in the Orientalising perirrhanteria as representations of Cybele.



FIG. 1

Seated

Stone reliefs in naiskoi: Mylonas, fig. 6; Schrader, 280 where figure and further bibl. Most probably Cybele: Gerhard, pl. iii 4, marble lion heads and snake; left figure with

one breast bare, right fully clad (FIG. 1). O. Walter, *Beschr. d. Reliefs, Acrop. M.* (Athens 1921) 75 ff., nos. 127, 128, from houses of the W. slope of the Acropolis (?). Perhaps from the Metroon?

3. ARTEMIS duplicated, in two aspects

Cult-statues in her temple at Mykalessos, Paus. ix 19.6: τὸ μὲν δᾶδας φέρων, τὸ δὲ ἔοικε τοξευούσῃ.

4. ARTEMIS and LETO (PLATE I 2)

(a) *Standing*

Cult statues in Boeotia probably standing, Paus. ix 20.1: ἔστι δὲ τῆς Ταναγραίας ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ καλούμενον Δήλιον· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς ἔστιν ἀγάλματα. *cf.* also Type II 1a and PLATE IV 8.

(b) *Seated*

Classical terra-cotta groups from Larnaca: Ohnefalsch-Richter, pl. 38.14 and 134.7; Gerhard, pl. iii, 3 (there described as Demeter and Kore), seated with phiale and veil, identical. Attributes: palm tree, and deer; small male figure above left (PLATE I 2). M. A. del Chiaro, *Etruscan Art from W. Coast Collections* (1967) no. 34.

5. DEMETER and KORE (PLATE II 3)

(a) *Seated*

One figure smaller denoting the status of the daughter: Winter, *Typen* i pl. 55.2 and Higgins, *BMC Terracottas* i pl. 79 no. 610, mid fifth century (PLATE II 3). Winter, *Typen* i pl. 48.6, from tomb in Athens, late Archaic.

Also the celebrated group on the cistae from the E. Pediment of the Parthenon: F. Brommer, *Die Giebel des Parthenon* (1959) 14 f., pl. 27; N. Yalouris, *Classical Greece* (Acanthus 1960), pls. 3-5. F. Brommer, *Die Skulpturen der Parthenon-Giebel* (Mainz 1963) 10f., pls. 2, 20, 33-38.

(b) *Standing*

Almost identical, holding stalks of corn, lion by them, on Attic b.f. olpe: Metzger, pl. viii. Votive stone relief from Rhamnus, in Munich: Speier, 37, pl. 7.1, c. 420 B.C. Record relief at Eleusis: Speier, pl. 8 and 9.1, 420 B.C. Votive relief, Athens, Acropolis: Speier, pl. 11.1, c. 410 B.C., remains of inscription HP. Votive relief to Hades: Speier, pl. 29.2, fourth century B.C. Votive relief in Copenhagen: Speier, pl. 13.1, the figure on the right reminds one of Demeter Cherchel. Locri, terra-cotta reliefs: Guarducci, 60 where bibl.

6. The two virgin Goddesses: ARTEMIS + ATHENA

Standing

Relief in Tegea: Speier, pl. 31.2, fourth century B.C. (harbour Goddesses of Corinth, *cf.* Hadrianic coin of Corinth, Speier, 86 n. 2).

7. KORAI, NYMPHS, CHARITES, EUMENIDES (FIG. 2 and PLATE II 4a-b)

Archaic votive relief, three standing girls with fruit and flowers inscribed ΚΟΡΑΙ ΣΟΤΙΑΣ (Sotias dedicated to the Korai): J. E. Harrison, 'Delphika' in *JHS* xix (1899) 218, where discussion. The Greek Nymphs were often invoked as Kourai: M. L. West, 'The Dictaeon Hymn to the Kouros' in *JHS* lxxxv (1965) 155 note 19. Three figures present at the birth of Pandora on the relief of the base of the statue of Athena Parthenos must represent the Charites or Horai: C. Praschniker, 'Das Basis-relief des Parthenos' in *ÖJh* xxxix (1952) 7 ff., pl. 8, reconstruction. Thasos reliefs with Charites and

Nymphs, inscribed: *ibid.*, 217 f. Votive relief of Archandros: Speier, pl. 9.4, late fifth century B.C. Paus. ii 17.3-4 for representations of Charites and Horai in Argos. Relief from Vari, fourth century B.C.: Speier, pl. 22.3. Votive relief from Phaleron,



FIG. 2

two last figures: Speier, pl. 13.3. In similar posture appear two female figures on an aryballos by Meidias, Speier, pl. 14.1 which are inscribed Eunomia-Paideia. However, from the posture one cannot necessarily decide on the interpretation of the previous relief, as two similar figures on a hydria by Meidias are inscribed Chrysothemis-Asterope: Speier, pl. 11.4. This posture of a group of two women, the one leaning on the shoulder of the other, was apparently fashionable in the later fifth century and used for various groups (*cf.* discussion in Speier). South Italian Classical terra-cotta plaques: *Atti e Mem. Soc. M. Grecia* n.s. v (1961) pl. lii nos. 170-5, Nymphs or Charites, as Pan appears in smaller scale in front of them in some examples. Their Boeotian prototypes (?): Mollard-Besques, i pl. lxii, C34 and C35, 450-40 B.C. Three Nymphs of Nyssa with Hermes bringing child Dionysos, appear on a Boeotian r.f. kylix of the second half of the fifth century, by the Painter of the Athens Argos kylix: R. Lullies, *AM* lxxv (1940) 1-27, esp. 15, pl. 13.2. B.f. Chalcidian psykter: Guarducci, 57 no. 8, Nymphs or Charites with Hermes? François Vase, three Horai under a mantle: Guarducci, 57, no. 9. Three votive reliefs dedicated to the Eumenides, found outside Argos (FIG. 2), three standing maidens holding snake and flower or two snakes: *AM* iv (1879) 152 f. pls. ix and x. W. Vollgraff, 'Inscriptions d'Argos' in *BCH* lxxviii-lxxix (1944-5) 395, pl. xxxvi, stone stele, fourth century B.C. Left: three standing women, the first holding a poppy. Right: man with two women and a child, Ἀσκληπιάδας Εὐμενίσων. For the cult of Eumenides or Moirai in open air sanctuaries *cf.* Paus. ii 11.4 for the sanctuary at Sikyon:

κατὰ δὲ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἑορτὴν ἡμέρα μιᾷ σφίσιον ἄγουσι θύοντες πρόβατα ἐγκύμονα, μελικράτω

δὲ σπονδῆ καὶ ἄνθεσιν ἀντὶ στεφάνων χρῆσθαι νομίζουσιν· εὐκότα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶ βωμῶ τῶν Μοιρῶν δρῶσιν ὁ δὲ σφίσιν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τοῦ ἄλλους ἐστίν.

cf. also Papachristodoulou, *ADelt* xxiii (1968) Part I, 117–131.

The most famous creation of the triple Charites is the lost Classical prototype that was imitated through the ages, from Roman times to the late Renaissance in paintings, sculpture and reliefs. In Roman times they were depicted symbolically on the garment of the statue of Aphrodite of Aphrodisias of which numerous copies in smaller scale have survived (PLATE II 4a–b, unpublished; h.: 25.5 cm.). Detailed bibl. for the cult and iconography of Charites, Horai, Moirai in F. W. Hamdorf, *Griechische Kultpersonifikationen der Vor-Hellenistischen Zeit* (Mainz 1964) 45 f., 103, 131, 39 f., 100, 130; 33 f., 129 f. For the Roman and later Charites cf. G. Becatti, 'Le Tre Grazie' in *Boll. Communale* lxxv (1937) 41 ff. For the Nymphs in Hellenistic sculpture cf. C. Havelock, *AJA* lxxviii (1964) 43–58 *passim*, pls. 17–22. Also E. Schwarzenberg, *Die Grazien* (Bonn 1966).

8. Triple HEKATE

Standing

Schrader, n. 61. Th. Kraus, *Hekate: Studien zu Wesen und Bild der Göttin in Kleinasien und Griechenland* (Heidelberg 1960). F. Raingeard, *Hermes Psychagogue* (Paris 1935) 370, note 5, where bibliography. Discussion and bibl. with the numerous Attic examples in E. Harrison, *Athenian Agora* XI, 86 ff., pls. 32–9. *Ergon* 1963, 218, fig. 231, from Rhodes.

9. DIOSKOUROI

See nn. 63 and 72, for iconic and aniconic representations: riders, amphoras, snakes. Also Speier, 37; F. Chapouthier, *Les Dioskures* (1935). S. Eitrem, *Die Göttliche Zwillinge* (Christiania 1902). B. Hemberg, 'Αναξ, Ἀνασσα und Ἀνακες unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Attischen Kulte' (Uppsala-Wiesbaden 1955).

10. PANES

See p. 53 (ὄ Πάνες) and n. 64; stone votive relief and discussion.

11. Double, triple or multiple HERMES

See p. 53 and n. 61. Raingeard, *Hermes Psychagogue* 370–7. Also, Metzger, pl. xxxi 2, r.f. krater from Athens with two Herms on one base: one youthful with long hair, the other bearded; possibly Hermes Chthonios and Epichthonios rather than Aphrodite Xoanon and Hermes as usually interpreted. G. G. Argogozo, 'L'Hermes des Achéens' in *Rev. de l'Histoire des Religions* cxxxvi (1949) 146 and 164.

12. Double CENTAUR

cf. n. 73, Geometric from Cyprus.

TYPE II

1. ARTEMIS and LETO alone or with Apollo (PLATES III 5a–b, 6; IV 7–9; V 10–13; VI 14)

(a) *Standing with Apollo*

Sphyrelatos Triad from the Temple of Apollo, Dreros, late eighth–early seventh century B.C.: J. Boardman, *BSA* lxxii (1967) 61 (PLATE III 5a–b). Bronze belt from Fortetsa representing sanctuary with two female statues on either side of a male, c. 700 B.C.: J. Boardman, *The Greeks overseas* (1964) 91, fig. 19b; G. Korres, 118 (PLATE III 6). Sparta ivories from the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia: Dawkins,

Artemis Orthia pl. xcvi (PLATE IV 7). From Menelaion, Sparta, terra-cotta plaque, Daedalic: Dawkins, *BSA* xv (1908-9) 121, fig. 3, no. 32, fragmentary; the missing figure could be either male or female; cf. Type III 4b i. Rizza and Scrinari, 252, fig. 347; although the lower part of the figure is missing, it seems that it is male in comparison to the left figure. *Orthia*, Sparta, terra-cotta plaque, late Daedalic, nude male between two nude females with hand on the pubes: *BSA* xiv (1907-8) 67, fig. 7c. The reliefs with two female and a male figure from Gortyn: Korres, 115 ff. pls. Θ' and I'; they can be best explained as the Apollonian Triad by analogy to such well-documented groups as the sphyrrelata from Dreros, the belt from Fortetsa and the Sparta reliefs mentioned above; cf. also p. 51 ff., especially the inscribed relief from Miletus (Dresden Museum, inv. No. Z.V. 1050: Reinach, *Chroniques d'Orient* xi 348; *AA* 1894, 26, fig. 7) with the Apollonian Triad flanked by *Kourotrophos* and the worshipper (PLATE IV 8). There must have been several groups of the Triad as cult-statues. In the temple of *Artemis*, called *Paidotrophos* according to Pausanias, *Orthia* according to an inscription, the preserved base of the cult statue is so elongated that it must have supported statues of the Triad: *AJA* lxvii (1963) 281 and pl. 65, fig. 17. The same thing was probably true in Sparta. This type is one of the most interesting iconographically, as it apparently came to Crete and the Peloponnese from Egypt some time in the eighth century, either directly or indirectly through Phoenicia. A faience amulet of Saitic date in the Cleveland Museum of Art⁸⁰ (PLATE IV 9) with *Horus* between *Nephtys* and *Isis*, his aunt and mother,⁸¹ all nude, strongly recalls Greek Triads, in particular the one from Sparta. Such miniature faïences were easily available, as is shown by oriental imports of the Saitic period found in the Cave of Inatos (*Tsoutsouros*) in Crete, together with local terra-cottas of Geometric and Orientalizing style.⁸² Note also that the man's head-dress in the belt from Fortetsa reminds one of the curl of *Horus* more than anything else. It is with such objects that the Greek examples can be compared, rather than with monuments such as the reliefs from the funerary temple of King *Mycerinus* in *Gizah*,⁸³ which are both chronologically remote and geographically inaccessible to the local craftsman. The translation of the Egyptian triad (*Nephtys*, *Isis*, *Horus*) to the Greek (*Leto*, *Artemis*, *Apollo*) seems very convincing. One could argue for the Eleusinian Triad (*Demeter-Kore-Triptolemos*) as depicted in the classical masterpiece of the National Museum of Athens, especially as the Greeks later often paralleled *Isis* with *Horus* to *Demeter* with *Iakchos*. However here, both the iconography (the God is a grown-up youth, not a boy) and the context argue for the Apollonian Triad.

(b) *Standing alone*

Orthia, Sparta: Dawkins, *Artemis Orthia* pls. xcvi, 1 and cl (PLATE V 10). Votive stone relief from Miletus: cf. p. 51 f. and n. 32 (PLATE V 11). Some representations of two standing women on r.f. Attic vases interpreted as *Artemis-Leto* could be also interpreted as *Demeter-Kore*: Speier, pl. 18.1.

(c) *Seated*

Ivory groups from Sparta, Athens, NM, inv. no. 15481: Dawkins, *Artemis Orthia*, pls. cxxiv, cxxv, 2 (PLATE V 12). Poulsen, *Orient und frühgr. Kunst* (1912) figs. 191-2;

⁸⁰ From the James Parmelee Collection, inv. no. 40.624, xxvth Dynasty or later, Room 11, Case 6.

⁸¹ J. Černý, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (1952) 35, 84, esp. p. 106.

⁸² Exhibited in Heraklion Museum; unpublished. Most interesting for this study is a small faïence

statuette depicting two Goddesses seated side by side found together with a statuette of a suckling *Isis*, cf. discussion by T. Hadzisteliou Price in *The Greek Kourotrophos*, Chapter: Crete (forthcoming).

⁸³ Rizza and Scrinari, 251 f.

The group PLATE V 13 (Athens, NM, inv. no. 15484: Dawkins, *Artemis Orthia* pl. cxxv, 1) has one figure differentiated by the lifted (not short) skirt. This could be explained as a differentiation of age (?), status, function (*cf.* Type III 2c i New York ivory) or sex (?). However in archaic seated groups of couples, such as they appear in Boeotian and Rhodian examples, the differentiation is clearly marked, and the man wears the long chiton or himation: Mollard-Besques, i pl. xi B90. Votive double statues from Miletus: *cf.* n. 31 (PLATE VI 14). Terra-cotta group from Larnaca: Ohnefalsch-Richter, pl. 38.14 = pl. 158.4. Same type from Caere: Winter, *Typen* i pl. 134.7. Terra-cotta groups from the grove of Artemis Paralia on the salt Lake near Kition: Ohnefalsch-Richter, 317, pl. 38.7, 33.7 and 105.1; Winter, *Typen* i pl. 89.8; Heuzey, *Terres Cuites* pl. 16.1.

2. DEMETER-KORE (PLATE VI 15-16)

(a) *Standing*

As Kore is connected with the underworld and Demeter is so much connected with the dead that in Athens they were called *Δημήτρειοι*,⁸⁴ one can be justified in interpreting the groups of two Goddesses found in tombs as Demeter-Kore. The Daedalic double-headed terra-cotta statuettes found in tombs, for instance in Rhodes, where the cult of Demeter was also celebrated in the plural (Damateres), are more likely to represent the Damateres than the Mother-Daughter: *Clara Rhodos* vi-vii 89, fig. 101; Ohnefalsch-Richter, pl. 36.4 and 10; Mollard-Besques, i pl. xxv, B197, where further bibl.

- (i) Terra-cotta arula with two identical women in chitons, from Locri, *c.* 500 B.C. (PLATE VI 15): A. de Franciscis, 'Un Frammento di Arula da Locri' in *Atti e Mem. della Soc. M. Grecia* n.s. ii (1958) 37 ff., apparently made in Medma as the coarse red clay indicates. In both cities the cult of Persephone was very strong, therefore it is probable that the Arula represents the Great Goddesses; on the other hand it might represent only Kore, duplicated.
- (ii) Early fifth century terra-cotta from cemetery at Olynthos: *Olynthus* vii pl. 21, nos. 174, 175, under veil, embracing (clay turned black). *cf.* also mid-fifth century and later groups from houses: *Olynthus* xiv 136 and 213, no. 272; here it is wrongly stated that 'Before the Hellenistic period groups are extremely rare in terra-cottas and there are few parallels for any groups'. *cf.* also of similar type embracing: *Olynthus* xiv pl. 88, no. 267 and Winter, *Typen* ii pl. 3.6; *Olynthus* xiv pl. 87, no. 266, early fourth century from houses. Fragment from the Erechtheion Frieze, from the context interpreted as Demeter-Kore: Speier, pl. 11.2. Similar type embracing, limestone relief fragment from Tarentum: Speier, pl. 9.3, *c.* late fifth century B.C. Similar: Mylonas, 'Two statuettes from Mycenae' in *AJA* lxvi (1962) 303-4, pl. 80. 3-4, Hellenistic copies of late fifth century original. Most probably there was a celebrated sculpture of monumental size, which all the above groups of two embracing women from the late fifth century to Hellenistic times are copying more or less faithfully.

(b) *Seated*

Boeotian archaic terra-cottas, hand modelled, from tombs, Athens NM no. 4011 (PLATE VI 16): Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce* (1936) no. 101. Possibly Demeter-Kore as coming from tombs. Potniai? *cf.* Scranton, *The Emory University Quarterly* xvi (1960) 3 f.

⁸⁴ *cf.* note 47.

3. DAMATERES (PLATE VII 17-19)

(a) *Standing*

The double-headed Daedalic figurines found in tombs in Rhodes, PLATE VII 17 for which cf. Type II 2a, could be best explained as Damateres, for whose cult in Rhodes there is epigraphic evidence: Nilsson, *Archiv für Religionswiss.* xxxii (1935) 87 n. 5, where further bibl. Similar to these, somewhat later, with wing-like arms, is an example from Tanagra, Boeotia, exhibited in the National Museum of Athens (unpublished, inv. no. 13046; PLATE VII 18a-b).

(b) *Seated*

Terra-cotta figurines of two seated identical figures under a veil, many examples of which come from votive deposits of a female cult or from tombs. From Rhodes: *Lindos* i pl. 102, nos. 2232, 2234b and 2235; Higgins, *BMC Terracottas* i pl. 39, nos. 231, 232, mid-fifth century, from Camirus; Mollard-Besques, i pl. xxvi, B207, from Camirus, c. 500 B.C.; *ibid.* pl. lxxvii, C138 and C165; Walters, *BMC Terracottas* B199; Winter, *Typen* i pl. 52; *Clara Rhodos* iv 107 (Camirus); Froehner, *Coll. Greau, Terr. grecques* 290, found in Cyprus. Some unpublished examples (PLATE VII 19) come from a deposit of a female Goddess, perhaps Demeter, in East Crete, ancient Olous (Mus. of Ayios Nikolaos).

(c) *Busts*

D. White, 'The cult of Malophoros at Selinous' in *AJA* lxxi (1967) 347, pl. 105, figs. 18-21, two arulae from Soluntum: (a) three miniature busts of Demeter with polos (figs. 18, 20); (b) three busts separated by lion-protomes (fig. 19).

4. DOUBLE OR TRIPLE HERA ARGIA

(a) *Double Seated*

C. Waldstein, *Argive Heraion* ii 21, nos. 59-62, pl. xliii, 5 and 11; hand-modelled sub-geometric of 'Tirynthian Argive' type. Pausanias, ii 17.3-5, saw in the Heraion of Argos, apart from the chryselephantine statue of Hera by Polykleitos, a second statue of Hera, wooden, more ancient which, he says, was brought from Tiryns. A similar double type to the Argive one was found in the Sanctuary of Hera Limenia in Perachora, where there were found several imports from Argos and the Argive influence is not negligible, H. Payne, *Perachora* i 247, no. 258, pl. iii, with 'table or board' running across the figures' knees. The Argive examples also hold on their knees what is described as 'a broad roll or band, marked with five grooves'. It seems to me that this 'bundle' is nothing else but swaddling clothes, hand-modelled in a most schematic way.

(b) *Triple Seated*

H. Payne, *Perachora* i 247, no. 259, pl. iii, hand-modelled sub-geometric. Payne asserts that 'groups of three females are not elsewhere known among the Argive terra-cottas'. Pausanias, on the other hand, ii 17.3, saw in the ante-chamber of the temple of Hera at Argos a group of three ancient statues, which he readily describes as Charites: ἐν δὲ τῷ προνάῳ τῇ μὲν Χάριτες ἀγάλματα ἔστιν ἀρχαῖα, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ κλίνη τῆς Ἥρας. He adds that at the right is the bed of Hera. These ancient statues, for which he gives no detail of stance or attributes, or their predecessor, could be the prototype for the triple group in terra-cotta which could represent Hera in her three aspects of *Εὔβοια* (fertility aspect, 'of the good bulls') *Πρόσυμνα* (the infernal

Goddess) and 'Ακραία (the Goddess of the sea) who had separate Sanctuaries in Perachora as Hera Akraia and Hera Limenia. That these three names are attributed, again by Pausanias (ii 17.1-2), to three separate beings, daughters of a river and nurses of Hera, shows again the analytical tendency of late antiquity. *cf.* also P. Zancani Montuoro—Zanotti Bianco, *Sele* i 18-19.

5. SAMIAN HERA(?)

Double draped standing, early Daedalic figurine from the Heraion of Samos: K. Vierneisel, 'Neue Tonfiguren' in *AM* lxxvi (1961) 25 ff., Beil. 11, no. 718.

TYPE III

I. TWO-SEATED FEMALE FIGURES (PLATE VIII 20-24; FIG. 3)

(a) *Both Draped*

(i) *On Cart*

Daedalic from Boeotia and Perachora, of Corinthian fabric: Higgins, *BMC Terracottas* i no. 897 (PLATE VIII 20); *Perachora* i pl. 89, nos. 19 and 20. Usually interpreted as Demeter-Kore; there is no attribute, so they could equally well be Leto-Artemis, or even priestesses.

(ii) *Under one veil*

From Myrina, Mollard-Besques, ii pl. 5 f., no. 1211, mid-fifth century B.C. (PLATE VIII 21)); Mollard-Besques, i C138 from Rhodes, C165 from Cyzicus; Higgins, *BMC Terracottas* i pl. 39, nos. 231-2, from Rhodes; *Clara Rhodos* iv 107, fig. 94; Mollard-Besques, i pl. xxvi, B207, wearing kekryphalos, c. 500 B.C. from Camirus. The Rhodian examples can be interpreted as Damateres (*cf.* Type II 3b). Perhaps the rest bear a similar meaning? Also holding phiale: Schmidt, *De Graesk-Aegypt. Terrak. Ny Carlsberg* pl. viii, fig. 21.

(iii) *Seated without veil*

Unpublished late classical figurine exhibited in the Museum of Kavalla, Room with finds from the tombs of Amphipolis; colours very well preserved; polychromy. Pryce, *BMC Sculpture* ii A326, fig. 9: two Goddesses (?), the one holding a roll, the other an open book; one slightly larger. *ibid.* B466, archaic from Italy.

(b) *One draped, one half-nude*

Hellenistic from Nemi: Winter, *Typen* i pl. 134.6, both holding phiale; it should be distinguished from the similar type of man and woman embracing, with child, Winter, *Typen* i pl. 134.4.

(c) *With one or two children*

(i) *Mycenaean*

cf. nn. 12-15: I. child seated on their shoulders; II. child standing near them (ivory group).

(ii) W. Froehner, *Cat. du Musée de Marseille (Château Borély)* (1897) no. 1225, inv. no. 2725, from M. Graecia, almost identical, with low polos, the one at the right holding a child frontally (PLATE VIII 22). Very similar: H. S. Jones, *Cat. Sculp. Pal. dei Conservatori* (1926) pl. 76, above; Castell. iii 7 and below; Castell. iii 23, pl. 119, nine similar examples. American Academy of Rome,

Cat. no. 90 (PLATE VIII 23), seated on throne with side-wings, slightly differentiated; the right one wears polos and holds a child frontally, the left does not wear a polos, has different hair-style and looks younger; they both

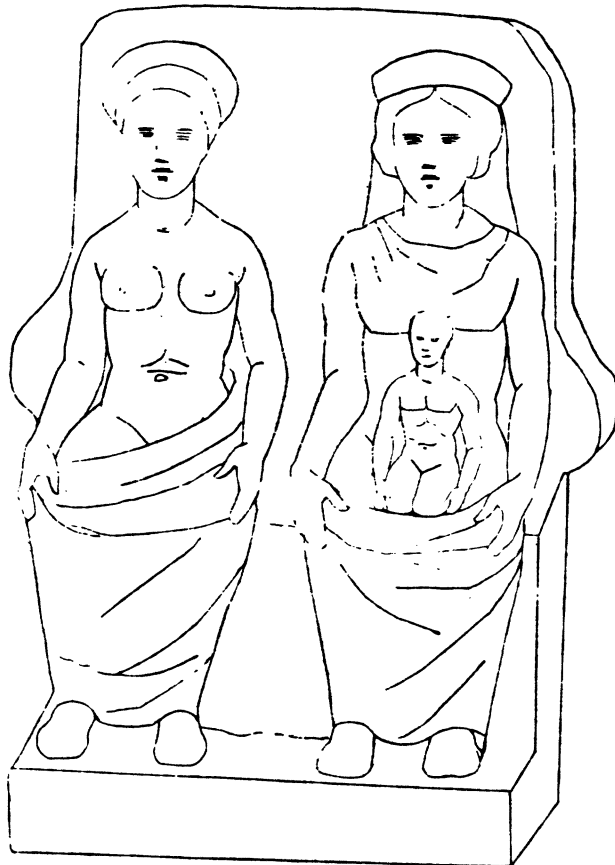


FIG. 3

hold phiale. This example should be distinguished from the almost identical type, Winter, *Typen* i pl. 134.8 where the figure at the left is a man; examining a photograph of the latter I came to the conclusion that the figurine in Rome depicts two women. The left figure younger and half-nude: Gerhard, pl. iii 1 from Praeneste; the figure at right holds the child frontally (FIG. 3). Gerhard again explained them as Demeter-Kore-Iakchos, but they could equally well be Leto-Artemis-Apollo.

(iii) *With one child seated below between them*

American Academy Rome, Cat. no. 87, himation covering their heads separately, apparently nude bust, small draped figure seated below. Similar examples: Staatl. Mus. Berlin (PLATE VIII 24), from Praeneste; Winter, *Typen* i pl. 134.2 where further bibl.; Gerhard, 45 f. pl. ii, explained here as Demeter-Kore with Iakchos, or Herakles as Idaean Dactyl. A similar example from the temple of the Etruscan Triad at Veii, Portonaccio, is exhibited in Villa Giulia, in the Room of Herakles. This is apparently a local Italian type, created probably under the influence of such S. Italian examples as Winter, *Typen* i pl. 134. cf. also Pryce, *BMC Sculpture* ii D244.

(iv) *With two children on the lap*

H. Wallis, *Catalogue of Classical Antiquities from Nemi in Art Museum of Nottingham* no. 133, p. 17: duplication of the rather common Italian type of a frontally seated woman holding a child frontally on her knees; this type appears already (single) on the handle of an archaic bucchero thymiaterion exhibited in the Museum für Kleinkunst, Staatl. Museen, Antiken Abt., E. Berlin, inv. F1595.

2. TWO STANDING FEMALE FIGURES (PLATE IX 25–8)

(a) *With raised arms*(i) *Minoan-Mycenaean*

cf. nn. 16–18. Also, Zervos, *L'Art de la Crète néolithique et minoenne* figs. 744–5: LM III mould from Seteia with two identical female figures holding double axe and poppies (?); according to Alexiou a representation of two terra-cotta idols of a Goddess, placed side by side, as those of Gazi (cf. Type I 1a).

(ii) *Later survivals*

Alexiou, *Kretika Chronika* xii (1958) 248 ff., 290, n. 447, 292. *AJA* xxxv (1931) 25, fig. 23 from Corinth. The Cypriot Geometric group of three women, Karageorgis in *Proceedings of the 2nd Cretological Congress* ii pl. 1A', does not represent three Goddesses with raised arms, as stated by the author above, but a group of women dancing around a musician.

(b) *Two Cult Statues under Naikos*

Rizza and Scrinari, 251, pl. xxxiv, no. 219. Ohnefalsch-Richter, pl. ccv 3 and pl. xxxiii 3 from Larnaca, Cyprus (Berlin, TC. 6222): identical; with the right hand they hold border of cloak; probably from the Sanctuary of Artemis Paralia. All of Daedalic period. Compare with belt from Fortetsa, Type II 1a and the Attic votive relief Type I 1a.

(c) *Nude or semi-nude*

(i) Daedalic ivory in New York: J. Dörig, 'Lysippe und Iphianassa' in *AM* lxxii (1962) 72–91, pls. 16–17, where further bibl. and discussion (Tarentine according to Dörig, Cretan according to Richter and others). Thermon Metope: Dörig, *loc. cit.* pl. 23. The Gortyn relief plaque, Rizza and Scrinari, pl. xvii no. 99a, interpreted by Rizza and others as double Goddess, is in fact a triple one with the third figure missing, as part of a fifth leg in the extreme right indicates.

(ii) *Nude with hands on breasts*

Ohnefalsch-Richter, pl. 38.6 (orientalising); perhaps there was a third figure now missing?

(d) *Identical Draped Goddess(es) with polos*

Plaques from Anavlochos: P. Demargne, 'Plaquettes votives de la Crète archaïque' in *BCH* liv (1930) 195 ff. pl. x, where further bibl. Also, P. Demargne, 'Recherches sur la site de l'Anavlochos' in *BCH* lv (1931) 398–400, fig. 31, nos. 49 and 50. Korres, pl. Z' 2. P. Demargne, *La Crète dédalique* (1947) 299 f. P. Demargne, *BCH* liii (1929) 508: in the site Kako Plagi, in Anavlochos, in a deposit from a sanctuary of a Nursing Goddess, as it included several figurines of Kourotrophoi, there was found 'a statuette of two Goddesses held by hand'.

(e) *Classical and later, more or less differentiated double groups*

(i) *Olynthus* xiv 203 f., pl. 85, terra-cottas from houses: nos. 262, 266 early fourth century; no. 264 with stele or altar at their right, early fourth century.

Mollard-Besques, ii pl. 134b (Myrina 1020 + 1092); pl. 135c, B65, and 135b, B27, Hellenistic (PLATE IX 25–6). Also Speier, pl. 30.1. *Cesnola Atlas* iii 2 pl. cxviii no. 8 (inv. no. 5976): two leaden Hellenistic figures on a single pedestal, from Larnaka.

(ii) *Slightly differentiated, apparently genre*

One with head covered: Mollard-Besques, ii pl. 134e and 135d (PLATE IX 27). Speier, pl. 30.3. One figure slightly smaller (daughter?): Mollard-Besques, ii pl. 134a, early first century B.C. One figure semi-nude: Speier, pl. 32.2, third quarter, fourth century B.C.

(iii) *Groups of two related female figures, divine or human, on Classical vases*

Speier, pl. 17.1 and 17.4; pl. 3, pl. 21.2; pl. 1.2; pl. 4.1–2.

(f) *Two figures under one veil*

M. Guarducci, *passim*, where further bibl., and figs. 1, 2, pls. xix 1–4, xx 1–2. Also, *CVA* British Museum 3(4) III He pl. 29 (149) 1d. The terra-cotta group, Mollard-Besques, ii pl. 5e, from the mid-fifth century B.C. (PLATE IX 28) described as male-female seems, to me at least, unclear. It is possibly two women connected by a garment behind.

3. THREE OR MORE SEATED FEMALE FIGURES

I do not know any examples of three, other than Type II 4; group of four, archaic, with pointed polos: Winter, *Typen* i pl. 54.7 from Troy.

4. THREE OR MORE STANDING FEMALE FIGURES (PLATE X 29–30)

(a) *Nude*

(i) *Hands on the thighs*

Rizza and Scrinari, 250 f., pl. xvii no. 99 (*cf.* also Type III 2c i); D. Levi, 'Gli Scavi del 1954 sull'Acropoli di Gortina' in *ASAA* n.s. xvii–xviii (1955–56) 243, fig. 40; Korres, pl. IB (PLATE X 29a–b). Similar orientalisising type: G. Becatti, *Orificerie Antiche* (Rome 1955) pl. xlv no. 232; orientalisising Faliscan gold ornament. See for oriental prototypes: Nimrud ivory in Metrop. Museum, N.Y., no. 52.232, four nude women in polos, around four sides of a piece of furniture.

(ii) *Hands on the pubes*

Rizza and Scrinari, 251, pl. xxi, no. 124; D. Levi, *loc. cit.*, 242, fig. 39; Korres, pl. IA'.

(iii) *Hands on the breasts*

Bronze sheet, horse forehead-ornament from Samos, Heraion: H. Walter, 'Die Ausgrabungen im Heraion von Samos' in *ADelt* xviii (1963) II, *Chronika* 286 ff., esp. 294, pl. 341. In the above publication it is described as an Oriental import. The figure supporting them underneath reminds me of the orientalisising figure on one of the Idaean Shields (Rizza and Scrinari, 248, fig. 342). However it is probable that it was made locally, as such strongly orientalisising figures are common in this period in places of immediate Phoenician impact, such as Etruria (Type III 4a i), and Cyprus (Type III 2c ii and Type III 4b ii). End of limestone Sarcophagus from Amathus,

Cyprus, 540–500 B.C.: *Cesnola Atlas* i 2 pl. cxlix no. 1184, described as Aphrodite-Astarte, of Phoenician inspiration.

(b) *Draped*

(i) *Hands on thighs*

Early orientalising gold ornament from the Idaean Cave: J. Boardman, *The Cretan Collection in Oxford* (1961) 236, fig. 51c; Boardman, *BSA* lxii (1967) 59f.; Rizza and Scrinari, 252. From the Menelaion in Sparta, Therapnai: *BSA* xv (1908–9) 120, no. 32, daedalic plaque with three frontal figures; fragmentary.

(ii) *Hands on breasts*

Ohnefalsch-Richter, pl. 38.3 and 5 and pl. 52.12; orientalising terra-cotta crowns.

(iii) *Holding hands*

Orientalising Etruscan from Caere: Becatti, *Orificerie Antiche* pl. li no. 239b. Similar representations probably existed in Greek Orientalising art. Some gold pendants from Rhodes are decorated with three female heads which seem like abbreviations of the Etruscan group with the same hairstyle and cap-like top hair; cf. Type III 5. A Tarentine early Classical terra-cotta relief bears three women, two holding hands with the other hand supporting a tray (of offerings?) on their heads; at the right there is a third figure with tray and the right arm hanging down, and remains of the arm of a similar fourth figure; the initial number depicted cannot be made out, though it is probable that they were four (priestesses?): Allard Pierson, *Algemeene Amsterdam Gids* (1937) pl. xcii no. 1910. W. Fuchs, *Die Vorbilder der Neuattischen Reliefs* (1959) pl. 12b. cf. also Hellenistic Triple groups (Charites?) on Canosa askoi with plastic decoration: M. Borda, *Ceramiche Apule* (1966) fig. 49.

(iv) *Holding their garment, objects*

Winter, *Typen* i pl. 57.10 late archaic; pl. 64.1–2 early classical. In pl. 64.1, it seems that there are only two female figures (Charites, Nymphs, or something similar, with Hermes), unless part is missing. For possible interpretations of such female ‘trinities’ without clear attributes or inscriptions cf. J. E. Harrison, ‘Delphica’ in *JHS* xix (1899) 217 below–219. Alabaster group from Cyprus: Ohnefalsch-Richter, pl. ccv 2 Hellenistic. cf. also *ARV*² p. 1126, no. 3, side B and stand.

(v) *Hellenistic S. Italian type*

From a sanctuary on Lipari, not yet fully published, come many votive terra-cotta relief-plaques with three or four frontal figures, usually with an altar in front of the middle figure, who plays the double flutes, in the three-figure plaques (PLATE X 30). Attributes such as fruit and fan are common: *AA* 1964, 743–4, fig. 57. They are not very likely to be Demeter and Kore with a priestess, as Fuhrmann (*AA* 1941, 699, fig. 155) and Bernabò-Brea (*Kokalos* iv [1958] 126, pl. 47) explained them; nor can they readily be identified with the Nymphs or Charites, as W. Fuchs (*AA* 1964, 744) suggests, because their number varies from three to four. In the fourth century the number of Nymphs and Charites is canonised and there is no parallel for such variation. The Meteres, that Fuchs again proposed, are very vaguely known in Crete itself and in Sicily; there is no epigraphical evidence, and nothing much else really apart from the passage of Diodorus (cf. n. 22). These representations are most likely priestesses in the service of the deity worshipped,

or the deity itself, whose exact identity is unknown, but from the finds, seems to be a chthonic fertility Goddess, repeated three or four times in different aspects, with her various attributes.

- (vi) Three or more women under a single veil or himation. M. Guarducci, *passim*, pls. xix 2, xx 3-5; also further bibl.

5. DOUBLE OR TRIPLE PROTOMES

A Daedalic female protome with 'layer wig' is repeated twice or three times on some East Greek gold pendants or rosettes of excellent craftsmanship (repoussé with added filigree): Ohnefalsch-Richter, pl. 38.1; H. Karydi, 'Ein Naxischer Goldhänger in Berlin' in *AA* 1964, 266-286 and figs. 3, 4, 9, 10, 11. This repetition may be simply decorative, but it seems more probable that it is meaningful, as protomes were common votive offerings, and pendants and ornaments in this period most often bear religious representations (amulets etc.).

6. GROUPS OF TWO IDENTICAL FEMALE FIGURES ON EITHER SIDE OF A LARGER FEMALE FIGURE

(a) *Central figure seated*

Ohnefalsch-Richter, pl. ccvi 3: enthroned Goddess with polos (Athena?), smaller standing figures on either side, archaic; *ibid.*, pl. cciv 2 from Larnaca: enthroned figure with smaller standing figures holding caskets; classical from the Artemis (?) Temenos. The figures on either side in such examples must be mortal, worshippers or priestesses, and not goddesses or heroines.

Marble relief with the side figures smaller but identical to the central: O. Walter, *Beschr. der Reliefs in Kl. Acrop. M.* (Athens, 1921) 68 f., n. 117, interpreted as 'reproduction of group of cult-statues'.

(b) *Central figure standing*

Relief Amphora from Thebes with a Goddess with raised arms (Hera, Leto?) supported by what should most probably be the Eileithyiai: K. Schefold, *Frühgriechische Sagenbilder* (München 1964) fig. 12. Two identical smaller figures, but winged, and in different positions, appear on either side of a rather enigmatic representation of a seated winged figure of undetermined sex, which has the arms raised, and from whose head emerges a small armed figure, on a Tenian pithos of the seventh century: Schefold, *op. cit.*, fig. 13 (interpreted as the birth of Athena); N. Kontoleon explains it as a female figure giving birth to Zeus, 'The Birth of Zeus' (in Greek), in *Kretika Chronika* xvi (1961-2) 292 ff. The genii assisting at the birth and 'preparing the bath of the child' could again be Eileithyiai. Another possible explanation might be the birth of Ares by Hera on analogy with that of Athena by Zeus, after a lost literary source, or popular tradition.

CONCLUSIONS

Origin: Such types as the two identical female figures with raised arms are survivals of the Minoan-Mycenaean tradition, in art as well as in thought. Although the type of two identical standing or seated women exists in Minoan-Mycenaean times, with or without child, there seems to be a gap in Geometric times until the later eighth century, according to the existing evidence. The types that reappear in late Geometric and early Orientalising times have generally not much in common iconographically with their Minoan-Mycenaean

predecessors, therefore they cannot be derived from them. On the contrary, these types follow more or less faithfully Egypto-Phoenician prototypes. It is significant that the type of the two-seated identical Goddesses that appears in Greece in the early Orientalising period (Type II 1b, Sparta Ivories) has been attested in a Cretan deposit in an eastern faience, found together with a miniature Isis-Horus faience statuette of Saitic times and local late Geometric and Orientalising terra-cottas (*cf.* discussion under Type II 1a and n. 78). Also the standing Triad of two females on either side of a male, so popular since the eighth century B.C., goes back to a long Egyptian tradition, particularly attested in miniature faiences of the Saitic period, which were popular and widespread in the whole Mediterranean world (PLATE IV 9). Other types, such as the Rhodian daedalic (Type II 2a i) recall Syro-Phoenician prototypes stylistically.

Certainly the idea of duplication or bifurcation was nothing new to Greek religious thought, as the LM mould from Seteia at least indicates (Type III 2a i). Even the Minoan artistic expressions of such religious conceptions were not free of oriental influences, receptive and volatile as the Minoans were. The renewed oriental contacts of the eighth century B.C. onwards, brought a new stimulus to Greek religious and artistic expressions which resulted in such interpretations of these eastern stimuli as the Dreros cult-statues, the belt from Fortetsa, the gold ornament from the Idaean Cave, in metal work; the ivories from Sparta and the New York ivory group; the limestone reliefs and terra-cotta plaques from Gortyn and Anavlochos; the graceful marble groups from Miletus; the Daedalic Rhodian, Corinthian and Boeotian double Goddesses, strong, expressive, schematised works with a very pleasing decorative effect, if not of high artistic quality; also many 'xoana' whose reminiscence only survived in people's memory.

Development: The Greeks soon exploited all the possibilities of such duplications, multiplications and bifurcations both in religious meaning and symbolism, and in artistic form and expression. The double and triple groups took all the possible symbolisms of female fertility, chthonic strength, productivity, love, youthfulness, grace, beauty, purity, and became Horai, Nymphs, Eumenides, Kourotrophoi, Damateres, Charites, Muses, Korai, Eileithyiai, indivisible mother-daughter, but also Nemeseis and Hekatai. This scheme is followed also with some male deities, lesser or chthonic ones, and heroes, as the multiplication is connected with the female principle, and with the ones nearer to the earth. As the symbolism is varied, so also is the iconography. Although some basic types continued through from the earliest Orientalizing times to the mature Classical, such as the two identical Goddesses, the Classical age created its own more humanized versions where the relation of the figures or their oneness is expressed with subtle movements and gestures and with posture, in painting as well as in the plastic representations (Type III 2e iii; Type I 5, 6; Type II 2a iii). The Hellenistic age subsequently removed the 'mystique' and added the casual grace of the genre (Type III 2e ii). There are still however, in early Hellenism, such remarkable iconographic survivals as the frontal triple groups in polos from Lipari whose predecessors one could trace back to the Daedalic plaques (PLATE III 6 and FIG. 2).

Interpretation: To attempt a universal interpretation, even in one area or period of the Greek world, is not possible; the Greek mind remained diverse and 'polytheistic'. However general principles lie behind this diversity, which can be summed up as: bifurcation (Demeter-Kore; Leto-Artemis); repetition, differentiated or not, for religious reasons (Athena: Type I 1; Cybele: Type I 2); functional duplication or triplication (Eileithyiai: Type III 5b; Hekateion: I 8; Hermes: Type I 11). This conceptual tendency of the Greeks towards repetition or duplication of certain religious images continued in modern times. Scholars know that St Theodore was a single figure, but folk thought created his duplicate counterpart, and undistinguishable 'St Theodores' are represented, standing in military costume, in Byzantine iconography. Apparently the duplication is felt as strengthening the particular

faculty of the figure. Again the 'three Hierarchs' are worshipped as an undivided unity, as protectors of youth and learning, and as a trinity they are represented in the Byzantine iconography—one cannot help recalling the Nymphs of the Phaleron relief in the National Museum of Athens, to whom a mother entrusts her son for his education, or the diad Eunomia-Paidia on some late classical Attic vases with scenes of upbringing. The three Charites survived in the Christian Greek religion, with different moral content, as Elpis, Pistis and Agape (Hope-Faith-Love).

Many of the Greek pre-Hellenistic double or triple groups come from deposits of sanctuaries or shrines of female deities, concerned in one way or another with nursing and procreation. Such groups came from the deposit (of the Mycenaean temple?) at Mycenae, the Cave of Eileithyia at Tsoutsouros (Inatos), Crete, the deposit of Olous-Ayios Nikolaos, Crete, the Sanctuaries of Lindos, Artemis Orthia, Gortys, Artemis at Larnaca, Cyprus. Not a few came from graves, where the symbolism must be similar. From the distribution of the types in contexts one can come to some conclusions as to the meaning of particular iconographic types. Such a study has led to the following interpretations. The type of the standing Triad of a male and two females, popular in the eighth-seventh centuries in the Peloponnese and Crete, is a translation of the Egyptian Triad of Nephthys-Horus-Isis to the Greek one of Leto-Apollo-Artemis, as the Greek examples have been found as cult-statues and votives in Sanctuaries of Apollo or Artemis (the primary deity worshipped in the early period of the Sanctuary of Gortyn could have also been Artemis, in her early oriental form). The seated twin Goddesses were associated with cults of Artemis or Demeter and could therefore be explained as Leto-Artemis or Artemis duplicated, or Demeter bifurcated as Demeter-Kore. The early triple female representations (nude or draped Daedalic examples) are most probably the multiple type of the single figure, as in deposits such as the Gortyn one there are many single figures, similar double ones, and the same type again in triple. The move to separate and make distinct such female Trinities as Horai, Korai, Nymphs, Charites, Eumenides, appears later, with attributes and/or inscriptions.

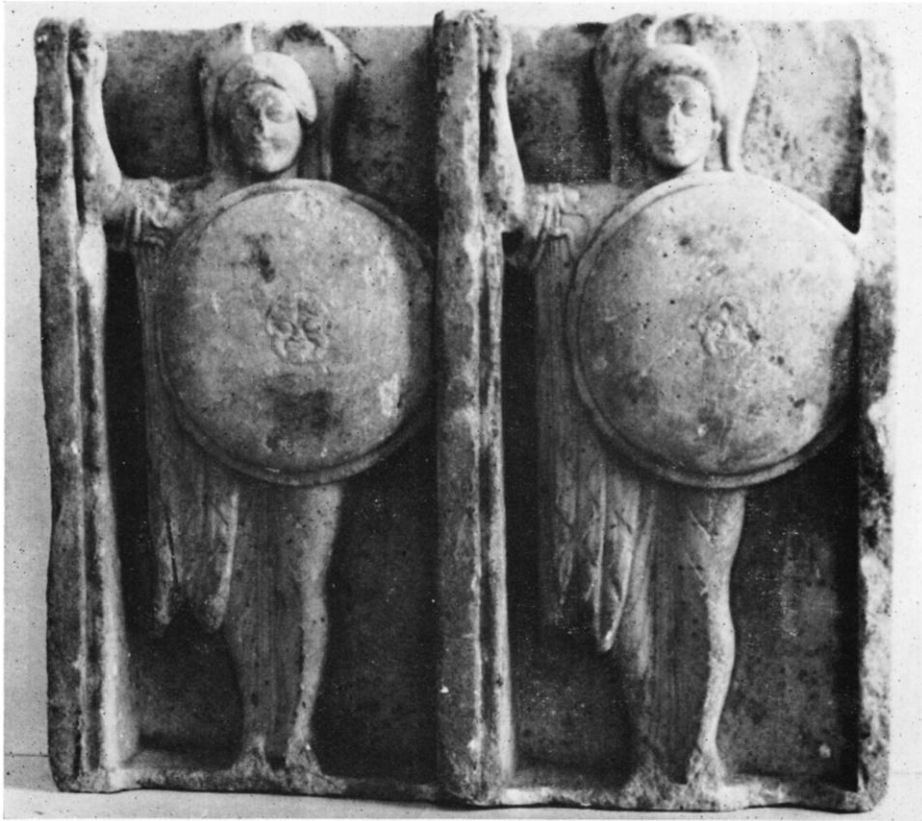
The variety of elements, influences, symbolism and iconography attest to the richness, vitality and versatility of the Greek religious and artistic spirit.⁸⁵

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1. Double Athena (Type I 1a)



2. Leto-Artemis (Type I 4b)

DOUBLE AND MULTIPLE REPRESENTATIONS IN GREEK ART
AND RELIGIOUS THOUGHT



3. Demeter-Kore (Type I 5a)



4a. Aphrodite (Chicago)

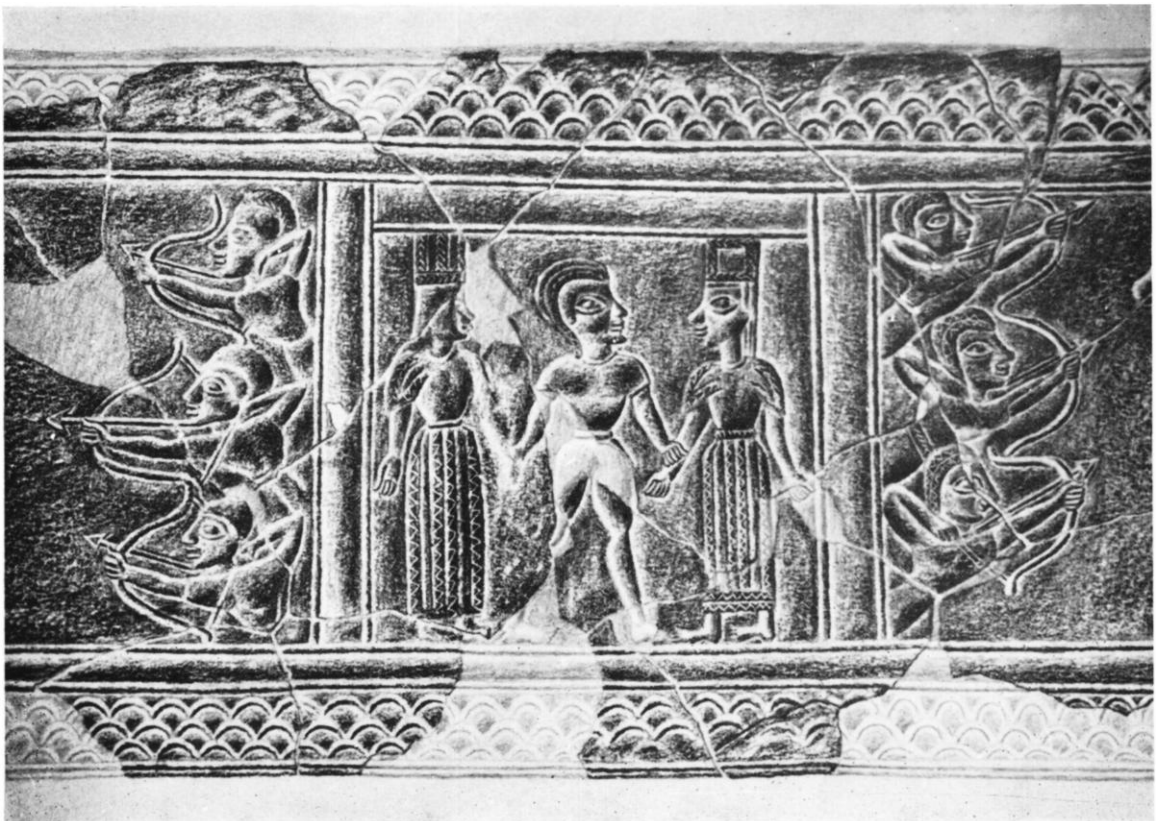


4b. Detail of Aphrodite (Chicago)

DOUBLE AND MULTIPLE REPRESENTATIONS IN GREEK ART
AND RELIGIOUS THOUGHT



5a-b. Leto-Apollo-Artemis (Type II 1a)



6. Leto-Apollo-Artemis (Type II 1a)

DOUBLE AND MULTIPLE REPRESENTATIONS IN GREEK ART
AND RELIGIOUS THOUGHT



7. Leto-Apollo-Artemis (Type II 1a)



9. Isis-Horus-Nephthys (*cf.* Type II 1a)



8. Kourotrophos-Leto-Apollo-Artemis-worshipper (Type II 1a)



10. Leto-Artemis (Type II 1b)



11. Leto-Artemis (Type II 1b)



12. Leto-Artemis (Type II 1c)



13. Leto-Artemis (?) (Type II 1c)

DOUBLE AND MULTIPLE REPRESENTATIONS IN GREEK ART
AND RELIGIOUS THOUGHT



14. Leto-Artemis (Type II 1c)



15. Demeter-Kore or Double Kore? (Type II 2a i)



16. Demeter-Kore (Type II 2b)

DOUBLE AND MULTIPLE REPRESENTATIONS IN GREEK ART
AND RELIGIOUS THOUGHT



17. Damateres (Type II 3a)



19. Damateres (Type II 3b)



18a-b. Damateres (Type II 3a)

DOUBLE AND MULTIPLE REPRESENTATIONS IN GREEK ART
AND RELIGIOUS THOUGHT



20. Type III 1a i



21. Type III 1a ii



22. Type III 1c ii



23. Type III 1c ii



24. Type III 1c iii

DOUBLE AND MULTIPLE REPRESENTATIONS IN GREEK ART
AND RELIGIOUS THOUGHT



25. Type III 2e i



26. Type III 2e i

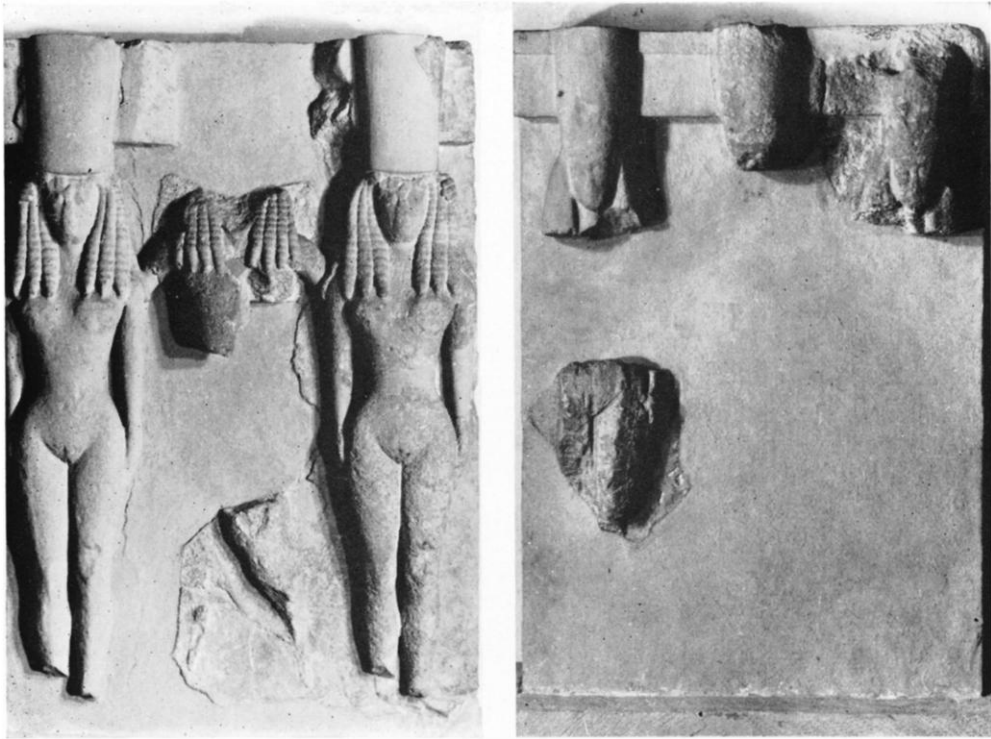


27. Type III 2e ii



28. Type III 2f

DOUBLE AND MULTIPLE REPRESENTATIONS IN GREEK ART
AND RELIGIOUS THOUGHT



29a-b. Type III 4a



30. Type III 4b v

DOUBLE AND MULTIPLE REPRESENTATIONS IN GREEK ART
AND RELIGIOUS THOUGHT