

## AN UNDERWORLD SCENE ON A BLACK-FIGURED LEKYTHOS

(PLATE XVIII)

THE National Museum at Athens houses many fine vases of the late black-figure and early red-figure technique, as well as the Acropolis fragments, but the display cases which perhaps attract no less attention are those containing the small Attic black-figured lekythoi. The paintings on these vases, making no claim to artistic pretensions and produced in answer to local burial needs, often echo impressions the vase-painters received from the theatre or from figures in monumental painting. It is worth noting that they were inspired not only by well-known myths but also by stories of popular belief which the painters of large vases scorned to represent. The large vases were made and painted for the Italian and Etruscan markets and had to be decorated with impressive themes. On the small lekythos which concerns us here (PLATE XVIII, 1-2), we meet a unique theme which raises a host of questions and leads to a wealth of conjectures.<sup>1</sup>

The picture is framed by two columns with Doric capitals. The right-hand column, which is the better drawn, spreads to a sort of base, and the painter must have imagined both columns to be of wood. Of the three female figures on either side of the weird figure in the middle, the one on the right, dressed in chiton and himation, turns her head to the left, whilst her feet point to the right. She extends her right arm imperiously, palm open, towards the central figure. The latter is distinguished from the others by the fact that her feet do not appear beneath her himation which hangs below them. Her coiffure differs from that of the others, as we shall see later.

It seems clear that she stands not on her own feet but on the body of a black dog with feet projecting beneath and a long, fat, unnatural tail stretching behind, to which is connected the hindquarters of a second dog. Its head is somewhat larger than that of the first and ends in a pointed nose which pierces the back of a small human figure. The latter is suspended in mid-air with legs and long arm dangling, his hand touching the nose of the lower dog. The forepaw of the upper dog protrudes menacingly, filling the empty space between its own body and that of the lower dog.

On the left are two female figures, dressed like the first. The one immediately behind the central figure extends her right arm with palm open, the other holds an object in her closed fingers. Careful examination shows it to be a flower.

On all three figures the unextended arm is hidden beneath the himation; in this way the back or breast of the figure, instead of being seen in side view, is shown flat on the vase surface. The feet of the two women on the left differ from those of the first in being unusually long, particularly on the left-hand figure, but the difference has no significance.

For an explanation of the picture we must first consider the two columns. The building

<sup>1</sup> Athens NM inv. no. 19765. Ht. to shoulder 0.105 m. Unknown provenance, most likely found in a tomb in Athens. I have the impression that it comes from the same excavation that produced the small lekythos 18606 (*ex* Empedocles collection) with the Suppliants scene (to be published in *RA* 1972). I am sorry that I was unable to show Sir John Beazley these two vases, but they along with some others were locked away and forgotten in an office of the National Museum.

Of the five palmettes on the shoulder only the centre

one points downwards, almost on the line of the central figure. PLATE XVII, 2, is from an old drawing which I owe to the skill and willing generosity of Alex. Kontopoulos. Through the kindness of Barbara Philippaki, I was recently able to check the drawing against the vase. I observed only slight divergencies from the original, as for instance in the wrist of the central figure and, even less marked, in the heads of the two women on the left.

For the translation of the Greek text I am indebted to the kindness of Dr Brian Sparkes.

they suggest is that known from representations of Herakles and Cerberus, the classic example being the amphora by the Andokides Painter in the Louvre.<sup>2</sup>

On vases with this scene there is usually a single column shown—sometimes with geison—but the reason is that Herakles is *outside* Hades.<sup>3</sup> On a few early white-ground lekythoi Hades is alluded to by a single column behind the mourning woman holding a lekythos—undoubtedly the dead.<sup>4</sup>

The two columns on our lekythos, however, show that the scene is imagined *inside* the underworld. In the same way Hades is represented by two columns on the Ferrara krater with the divine pair.<sup>5</sup> But for the location of our scene a more important element in the painting is the weird, monstrous female figure with the dogs, as well as the presence of the small human figure. The latter must be an *εἶδωλον καμόντος*, stripped of all clothing and condemned to undergo a frightful punishment in Hades.

As for the identification of the central figure one should note that she is represented as *attached* to the two dogs. Besides the absence of feet which we have already noticed, the fact that she is shown shorter and stockier than the others, with larger head, confirms this observation. As the painting is not done with absolute precision, the question arises whether the tail really does belong, as it would appear to do, to the body of the lower dog only, and not to the body of the woman as well. There is the further problem of whether the hindquarters of the upper dog are attached to the large tail of the lower one. An incised line separates the arcline of the large tail in the middle, so that the curve of the upper dog's tail perhaps shows that its tail is attached to the body of the woman.

Whatever the answers to these questions may be, it seems certain that the whole figure is three-bodied, with the main part female. We might best say that the human body ends at the knees and is attached below and behind to two dogs.

Who can this figure be? The choice lies between two monsters, both connected with dogs: Skylla and Hekate. The difficulty with calling the lekythos figure 'Skylla' lies in the fact that she has no real place in the underworld. Even if in earlier thought Skylla was a monster of Hades before becoming a terror to seamen, the relevant evidence is missing, and this location for her does not appear plausible for the fifth century.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Buschor *GV*<sup>2</sup> fig. 155; Arias, Hirmer and Shefton, pls. 88 and xxix; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 4, 11, also p. 1617 and *Paralip.* 321; Schefold, *Propyläen* fig. 196a and p. 221 (I. Scheibler); Devambez, *La peinture grecque* pls. 93-4; Kerényi, *Heroen der Griechen* pl. 35; H. Walter, *Gr. Götter* 223, fig. 200.

<sup>3</sup> The inside of Hades with only one column is shown on a Corinthian kotyle from Argos: Payne, *NC* fig. 45c and p. 309, no. 942; Brommer, *Herakles* pl. 24b. The second column, on the left, simply divides the scene from that with the Hydra. One column, with Cerberus behind, on a bf. hydria: Gerhard, *AV* pl. 131; Beazley, *ABS* 43, 8; *ABV* 360, 10 (Leagros Group); Kerényi, *Heroen der Griechen* 193 f.; Rhode, *Psyche* i 304 f. One column at the side on a hydria in Würzburg, by the Antimenes Painter: Langlotz, *W.* pl. 95, no. 308; *RA* xxxi-xxxii (1948) 903, fig. 3 (G. Roux); *ABV* 267, 19. Column with geison on an amphora in the Vatican: Albizzati, *Vasi del Vaticano* pl. 50, no. 372; *ABV* 368, 107 and *Paralip.* 162. For Cerberus, see *RA* xxxi-xxxii (1948) 896 f. (G. Roux); *JdI* lxxvi (1961) 66 f. (Schauenburg); *Recueil Dugas* 147 f.; and recently, *AK Beiheft* vii (1970) 50 f. and 61 (Brommer).

<sup>4</sup> NM 17287: *CVA* ii pl. 20 (94) 2-3. The draw-

ing on this vase prompts the suspicion that the seated goddess who holds a sceptre and phiale on an early white-ground lekythos in the National Museum (from the Stathatou collection) is not Hera (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 643, 121, the Providence Painter, and *Paralip.* 401 'near him'). E. Holmberg in his publication (*Opuscula Atheniensia* i 81, fig. 1 = Amandry, *Coll. Stathatos* iii pl. 24, no 83) calls her Demeter and compares (p. 82, note 8) Plouton with a similar inclination of the head, on a white-ground lekythos in Berlin: Pfuhl, *MuZ* fig. 531; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 750. It would be more correct to call the goddess on the lekythos in the NM Persephone in Hades. The picture on an early white-ground lekythos in the British Museum (Murray, *WAV* pl. 21A; Johansen, *Attic Grave Reliefs* 157, fig. 80; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 746, 3) of a seated woman holding a lekythos and a pomegranate provides a connection with Buschor's 'Haus und Grab' idea (*ÖJh* xxxix [1952] 12 f.).

<sup>5</sup> Alfieri, Arias, Hirmer, *Spina* pls. 74-75; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1052, 25; *Paralip.* 444. E. Simon, *Opfernde Götter* 79 f.; Kerényi, *Mythol. der Griechen und Römer* pl. 58.

<sup>6</sup> Gruppe, *Gr. Mythologie* i 408 f.; Preller-Robert, *Gr. Mythologie* i 617 f.; PW vii 2772 (Heckenbach); Roscher, *Myth. Lex.* iv 1024 f. (O. Waser); Scholz,

Another, more important goddess, with much greater claims, answers the lekythos figure closely: 'Εκάτη ἢ Ἐνοδία, ἢ Τυμβιδίη, Ψυχαῖς νεκύων μέτα βακχεύουσα, ἢ Χθονία.<sup>7</sup> Her connection with the kingdom of the dead is indicated by other epithets: νερτέρων πρύτανις, ὑποχθονίων δεσπότις, ταρταρόπαις.<sup>8</sup>

Hekate brought her close connexion with dogs from her birthplace, Asia Minor. We know that at Kolophon black dogs were sacrificed to her,<sup>9</sup> that her daughter was Skylla,<sup>10</sup> and that she was given the epithets σκυλακίτις, σκυλακάγεια, φιλοσκύλαξ, etc.<sup>11</sup> On the lekythos picture she has entrusted to her dogs the punishment of the human shade for some wrongdoing of his in the upper world, impiety to the gods or injustice to men, perhaps matricide. The painter probably wished to indicate not that the dogs are tearing him apart but that they are drinking his blood. Hekate herself is called Αἴμοπότις.<sup>12</sup> This connects with the μέλαν αἷμα of the dead which the witch in the second idyll of Theocritus says Hekate seeks, and we learn from our lekythos that she hands over this disgusting task to her dogs. We come now to the unusual headdress that Hekate wears in the painting. That it is not simply hair but some sort of 'sakkos' can be deduced from the horizontal edge below, the two parallel lower lines and from the general shape which is different from the coiffure of the other three women. We venture to suggest that it resembles the related Ἄιδος κυνέη, known chiefly from the Hades of the Etruscan 'Tomba del'Orco', and from the headdress on a plastic vase in the Athens National Museum with a fine representation of Thanatos.<sup>13</sup>

der Hund 36; *Lexikon der alten Welt* s.v.; *EAA* vii 109 f. (E. Paribeni).

<sup>7</sup> *Schol.* Aristophanes *Ran.* 298 (= *frr.* 500-501K; Edmonds, *Fragments of Attic Comedy* i 712, nos. 500-1); Farnell, *Cults* ii 602, note 24. See especially Kraus, *Hekate* 78 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Schol.* Theocritus ii 12; *PW* vii 2774; Roscher, *Myth. Lex.* i 2, 1896 (Steidig and Roscher); Rhode, *Psyche* ii 80 f.: 'Hekate ist eine chthonische Göttin, in der Unterwelt ist ihre Stelle'; Preller-Robert, *loc. cit.* i 321 f.; Nilsson, *Gr. Relig.* i 722; *Popular Religion* 111. As proof of her connexion with popular worship one should remember that Hekate is not referred to in the Homeric poems (Rhode, *op. cit.* and *PW* vii 2770 [Heckenbach]). Her elevation to the rôle of Great Mother of earth, sea and sky in Hesiod's *Theogony* (411-52) we shall not consider here, since, even if the lines themselves are not considered interpolations (see West's edition pp. 276-80), that aspect of her takes us from the themes which concern us here. For the problem, see Rhode, *Psyche* ii 82, note 3; Kraus, 57 f.

<sup>9</sup> Roscher, *Myth. Lex.* i 2, 1886; Farnell, *Cults* ii 501 f.; Kraus, 25. Anatolian origin of Hekate: Roscher, *Myth. Lex.* i 2, 1885; *PW* vii 2779; Nilsson, *Gr. Relig.* i 722; *Lexikon der alten Welt* 1230. See in particular the detailed examination of the problem by Kraus, 20.

<sup>10</sup> See n. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Wilamowitz, *Glaube* i 109 f.; Nilsson, *Gr. Relig.* i 686: 'Sowohl Euripides wie Aristophanes nannten den Hund Ἐκάτης ἄγαλμα φωσφόρον.' See also Gruppe, *Gr. Mythologie* ii 1288, note 7; Roscher, *Myth. Lex.* i 2, 1889; Stengel, *Opferbräuche* 153; Kraus, 89.

<sup>12</sup> Rhode, *Psyche* ii 81 f. and 409; Wilamowitz, *Glaube* i 169 f.; *PW* vii 2776 (Heckenbach).

<sup>13</sup> Weege, *Etr. Malerei* pl. 61; Giglioli, *Arte Etrusca* pl. 248, 3; Pallottino, *Peinture étrusque* 111 (fig.), 112;

Rumpf, *MuZ* 129, pl. 7; Herbig, *Götter und Dämonen der Etrusker* pl. 7 and p. 1, 19 (see also *Gnomon* xxvi [1954] 322 f.); L. Banti, *Die Welt der Etrusker* pl. 94. Plastic vase in the National Museum, recently published in *BCH* xcv (1971) 118 f., figs 10-11 and 120, note 13. K. D. Mylonas had already called the demon's headgear Ἄιδος κυνέη (*AM* vii [1882] 388). Furtwängler was the first to connect this small work with the cap of the Athena Albani (*MW* 114, note 1). If, as Langlotz (*Der Triumphierende Perseus* 1-4, pls. 111-12) maintains, the head does not belong to the statue, I would be inclined to believe that it comes from a statue of Hekate. But after recent examination the unity of the statue has been championed once more (forthcoming publication by W. Fuchs in Helbig, *Führer*<sup>4</sup> iv 210-11, as D. Willers kindly informs me). So we must return to the old view that the Athena Albani is a copy of the Itonia of Agorakritos at Coroneia (Furtwängler, *MW* 113; Fuchs, *op. cit.* 211). On the other hand, in a brilliant publication, G. Despinis, following Langlotz in the view that the head does not belong, proposes that the Hope-Farnese Athena was consort to Zeus-Hades in this sanctuary (*Συμβολή στη μελέτη τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ Ἀγορακρίτου* 151-5). In my opinion, the fact that Hekate wears the Ἄιδος κυνέη on our lekythos leads us to conclude that Agorakritos borrowed the headdress for the Itonia from a non-Attic single-faced statue of Hekate. For Aegina, an important centre for the worship of Hekate, see Kraus, 110 f. It is likely that in the classical period her image was renewed there by a statue which was set next to the wooden one (Pausanias at ii 30.2 put too much trust in the interpreters' belief that it was the work of Myron). A dedicatory relief from Aegina: Svoronos, *Nat. Mus.* pl. 135; Kraus, 112. Aristophanes (*Ach* 390) calls the Ἄιδος κυνέη 'σκοτοδασυπικνύτριχα'.

It is tempting to compare the basket or 'polos' of the later Hekataia, which until Late Hellenistic times was the attribute of Hekate. A. Schober has identified a female figure on the west frieze of the temple dedicated to Hekate at Lagina as Hekate herself from the presence of the basket on her head.<sup>14</sup>

Two female figures to right and left of Hekate give orders for the shade to be punished; the right-hand figure is more peremptory, stretching out her arm. Who then are the three figures with Hekate? We know that the Erinyes lived in the underworld and punished perjurers, particularly matricides.<sup>15</sup> One would add 'tyrants' as well, were not the vivid description at the end of Plato's *Republic* concerning the punishment of tyrants (not however as shown here) so far removed in date from our vase.<sup>16</sup>

Another female triad that comes to mind is the Fates. But these were above all guardians of fate and not avengers; they have, therefore, no place in the underworld, even though they are connected with Hekate.<sup>17</sup> The august appearance of the figures on our lekythos with long chitons and himatia is no hindrance to their identification with the Erinyes, as Pausanias, describing the statues in the sanctuary of the Semnai, says *τούτοις ἔπεισιν οὐδὲν φοβερὸν*.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, the well-known small reliefs of the Eumenides from Hekate's sanctuary in the Argolid (recently located, with some good reasoning, near Tiryns)<sup>19</sup> raise no feeling of dread. If the last figure on the left of the painting does actually hold a flower, as we have surmised, it serves to emphasise, as on the reliefs, the particular connexion the Eumenides had with fertility and fecundity.<sup>20</sup>

The older image of the Eumenides which survives in the Argive reliefs was affected by the influence of Aeschylus. Being forced to make his chorus move, the poet gave them a new appearance with a short chiton borrowed from the Harpies (though without the wings), as seen on older paintings. He almost confesses his debt when he says:

εἶδόν ποτ' ἤδη Φινέως γεγραμμένας  
δεῖπνον φερούσας ἄπτεροί γε μὴν ἰδεῖν  
αὐται, μέλαιναι δ' ἔς τὸ πᾶν βδελύκτροποι.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Hekataion von Lagina* 70; Kraus, pl. 1, 3; Fuchs, *Gr. Kunst* fig. 548 and 466: 'um 130/120 v.c.'. For the *kalathos* on Hekataia, see Petersen, *AEM* v (1881) 55. In the magic papyri it is referred to as a *μίτρα* (PW vii 2773). Chr. Christou gives the name Artemis-Hekate to the goddess with the dog on the terracotta pinax from Daimonia at Sparta (*AE* 1953-4, iii 188 f., fig. 1). But the lack of any attribute belonging to Artemis, as well as the fact that the pinax was found in a grave, characterizes her rather as Hekate. For Artemis-Hekate on Hellenistic Delos, see Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos* 202-3.

<sup>15</sup> Nilsson, *Gr. Relig.* i 91; Roscher, *Myth. Lex.* ii 1, 998, 999: 'Ἐρινὺς καταχθονία'; PW Suppl. viii 116 (E. Wüst); Nestle, *von Mythos zum Logos* 26; Rhode, *Psyche* i 72, note 2, and 267 f.

<sup>16</sup> G. Seferis used the image in Plato's *Republic* (616) for one of his most brilliant later poems: 'Ἐπὶ Ἀσπάλιθων.

<sup>17</sup> PW Suppl. viii 89, 113 (E. Wüst); J. Harrison, *Themis* 476-7; Wilamowitz, *Glaube* i 359-62; Roscher, *Myth. Lex.* ii 2, 3084 f. See also *JdI* xix (1899) 209; Kerenyi, *Mythol. der Griechen und Römer* 37 f.

<sup>18</sup> i 28.6. J. Harrison, *Prolegomena* 242; PW Suppl.

viii 138 f. (E. Wüst); Kerenyi, *op. cit.* 51 f. For the Erinyes, see Wilamowitz, *Griech. Tragödien* ii (1900, 1901<sup>2</sup>) 209-41; Dietrich, *Demeter Erinyes* 129 f.; Farnell, *Cults* v (1904) 437 f.; Rose *Handbook of Greek Mythology* 80 f.; *EAA* iii 416 f. (Mingazzini); *Lexikon der alten Welt* 857. An Erinyes, or at least a related chthonic goddess, may be represented on an archaic pinax from the Agora: *Hesperia* ii (1933) 604 f., 637 f., figs. 72-3 (D. Burr [Thompson]). But the place where it was found, below the Areopagus, should support the name of 'Erinyes'.

<sup>19</sup> *ADelt* xxiii (1968) 117 f. (Papachristodoulou).

<sup>20</sup> Flowers and not garlands were offered to the Eumenides at the annual festival at Sikyon (Pausanias ii 11.4; *ADelt* xxiii [1968] 128).

<sup>21</sup> *Eum.* 50-52. Harrison, *Prolegomena* 228 f., 239 f., 290; PW Suppl. viii 124. Wilamowitz, *Glaube* i 406, believes that in earlier paintings the Erinyes would have been shown winged. Watzinger considered that the Erinyes type on Italiote vases was derived not from the influence of the theatre but from imitation of Attic vases (FR iii 2, 364, pls. 178-80; cf. also figs. 172-5). One might compare the lebes gamikos in Syracuse by the Hekate Painter: Trendall, *LCS* 589, no. 27, pl. 228, 1.

It is perhaps not superfluous to mention that Schiller in his poem 'The Cranes of Ibycus' presented another vision and showed the awful terror of the Eumenides chorus as they entered the theatre, clothing them in black:

Ein schwarzer Mantel schlägt die Lenden,  
Sie schwingen in entfleischten Händen  
Der Fackel düsterrote Glut,  
In ihren Wangen fließt kein Blut.

The conclusion to which we are inevitably drawn from the identification of the central figure as Hekate is clear: we have here the only representation of Hekate *χθονία*, as the Athenians knew her, prior to the work of Pheidias' pupil, Alkamenes. Although this is not the occasion to consider which Hekataion echoes the *'Επιπυργίδα* of the Propylaea most faithfully, we may briefly consider the opinions germane to the question.

Some years ago Eduard Schmidt in his brilliant study of the archaistic style was the first to conclude that the Hekataion in the British School at Athens was not of the Roman period but much earlier, being made soon after the erection of the triple Hekate on the Nike bastion.<sup>22</sup> After personal investigation, T. Kraus in his *Hekate* (to which we shall return below) accepted Schmidt's opinion. Later F. Eckstein devoted an entire essay to a study of this little work and after critical investigation concluded by agreeing with his two predecessors.<sup>23</sup> These opinions were disputed by Eve Harrison, though she had not seen Eckstein's treatment at the time of writing.<sup>24</sup> I have the impression that Eve Harrison, in what is in fact a useful and extensive review of Hekataia, was drawn to her conclusion not only by the Agora material but also by a subconscious belief that contemporary reproductions could not have existed. So she assigns a Roman date to those Hekataia which had been thought older, the small example in the British School and the slightly later and larger example from the Agora.<sup>25</sup>

Today we know many examples of reproductions of famous works in the classical period, so we cannot completely exclude contemporary or slightly later reproductions of the Epipyrgidia. There was a great demand for small Hekataia in Athens at the end of the fifth and in the fourth centuries, and the influence of Alkamenes' recent work would not have been small.<sup>26</sup>

Eckstein's exemplary study of the British School Hekataion, accompanied as it is by exceptionally fine photographic details, makes any general description of it superfluous. Only two out of the three figures are preserved. Schmidt (*op. cit.* 48) was the first to cite the

<sup>22</sup> *Archaistische Kunst* 47 f., pl. 24, 1 and 3. Petersen was the first to attempt a detailed division of Hekataion types in *AEM* iv (1880) 140 f. and v (1881) 1 f. Compare Bulle, *Archaisierende griechische Rundplastik* 19 f., pl. 5.

<sup>23</sup> *Antike Plastik* iv 27 f.; Kraus, 97 f. with pl. 3, 2.

<sup>24</sup> *Athenian Agora* xi 87 f.

<sup>25</sup> I cannot accept C. M. Havelock's rejection of the older and more recent opinions (*AJA* lxix [1965] 337, note 32): '... I am nevertheless compelled to say that without the British School Hekataion as a point of departure and without Schmidt's conception of 4th century archaizing, which is invalid, Kraus' list of fourth century Hekataia becomes extremely suspect.'

<sup>26</sup> Reproduction of classical works in contemporary sculpture: *Robinson Studies* i 674 f. (Brommer); *Essays K. Lehmann* 155 f.; *AM* lxxxii (1967) 158 f.;

A. Delivorias, *Antike Plastik* viii 19 f., with pl. 79, and pp. 23 f., 27 f. with fig. 1. Eckstein (*op. cit.* 34 f. and fig. 12) rightly stresses the connexion of the Alkamenes Hekataion with the Xenokrateia relief, ascribing the single form of the figure to the reduced space available at the corner of the relief. On the original there would also have been a high basket (not a *polos*) on her head. Was Alkamenes the first to abandon the terrifying *"Αἶδος κενέη* and substitute this type of head-gear? It would be significant if we could establish the point. Xenokrateia relief: Charbonneaux, Martin, Villard, *Grèce classique* 181, fig. 195. O. Walter's study remains fundamental: *AE* 1937, 97 f. To the known archaistic statues of Hekate, add one found in Aulis: *Ergon* 1959, 53, 56, figs. 58-9. Hekataion in Cambridge: *Arch. Reports for 1970-71* 80, fig. 5 (where for 'Fuchs in *Ant. Plastik*' read 'Eckstein...')

low position and width of the belt above the overfall as features that connected this work with the Alkamenes original, and he attributed the treatment of the folds particularly to 'die originale Meisselführung der perikleischen Epoche'. Thanks to the kindness of the Director of the British School, Dr Catling, I was able to take a fresh look at the piece and was persuaded of the correctness of Schmidt's opinion. This carving must have been done c. 410 B.C., as Eckstein believes. Overlooking some small blemishes which are easily explained in a work of lesser craftsmanship, one has only to consider the beautiful treatment of the folds of the garment over the breast where the deep furrows give them life, or the other, softer, flimsier folds over the thighs.

The conclusion to which these facts point is that such harmonious curves would have been impossible in Roman times, because such fine marble carving had been forgotten by then, and also something more important and not unrelated to it: all sculptural sensitivity had declined by that time.

For our own enquiry, however, it is more significant that Alkamenes, most likely c. 430 B.C., chose to erect a *triple* Hekate. Kraus, after considering the older theories, came to the conclusion that this form of Hekate was derived merely from the notion of her 'gerade in ihrer Rolle als Schützerin vor Tür und Tor'.<sup>27</sup> However, the lekythos picture, in acquainting us with another triple-bodied Hekate, prompts the question—was it perhaps the earlier image of chthonic Hekate attached to two dogs, and not the Trioditis, which determined the triple body? Alkamenes then turned his back on this old terrifying version of popular belief and created the anthropomorphic form. Even though Kraus did not know the lekythos painting, he saw the deeper significance of the change and expressed it well: 'Alkamenes . . . hat als erster das volle körperliche Bild geformt, drei mädchenhafte Gestalten, denen alles Unheimliche, Schreckliche felt . . . (Alkamenes) schuf daraus das erste dreifache Kultbild vor den Toren des Heiligtums in drei Mädchengestalten: Dies ist eine klassische Tat.'<sup>28</sup> We might add that only in Periclean Athens was such a realisation, such a step to the anthropomorphic possible. We must presume that the older image of the terrifying triple Hekate was well established, otherwise Alkamenes would have depicted her in the one-bodied form we see on some Attic vases of the fifth century—though, as Kraus observes, they are few in number.<sup>29</sup> The Niobid Painter shows her as a single figure, carrying torches in her hands, on his Gigantomachy krater in Ferrara.<sup>30</sup>

On an excellent painting on another calyx-krater in the same museum her identity is certain from the inscription: Hekakte. The Peleus Painter reveals her peaceful side, as guardian of marriage, lighting the newly-wedded pair, Peleus and Thetis, with torches behind the chariot.<sup>31</sup> We meet her again with torches, outside Hades this time, on a krater by the Persephone Painter in the Metropolitan Museum, with the anodos of the goddess.<sup>32</sup>

I would like to add to these vases a bell-krater in Utrecht with a figure that has remained unexplained until now.<sup>33</sup> The scene shows Herakles making ready to attack Cerberus. Only one head of the dog is shown, and above it on a rock sits a woman, alone. Very probably this is Hekate. It is tempting to compare her with a similar figure at the right side

<sup>27</sup> Kraus, 106. According to L. Capuis, *Alkamenes* 26 the artist 'primo avrebbe fuso le due tradizioni, cioè l'aspetto unicorporeo et quello tricorporeo.'

<sup>28</sup> Kraus, 108–9. See also 108: 'Er hat ein klassisches Götterideal geschaffen.' For Alkamenes see most recently *JdI* lxxxii (1967) 38 f. (D. Willers) and Despinis, *Agorakritos* 206 f.

<sup>29</sup> Kraus, 92 f.

<sup>30</sup> Alfieri, Arias, Hirmer, *Spina* pls. 34–6; Vian, *Repert. des Gigantomachies* 74, no. 338, pl. 37; *Recueil Dugas* pl. 32; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 602, 24; *AK* vii (1964) pl. 10, 1; *Paralip.* 395.

<sup>31</sup> Alfieri, etc., pls. 89–90; Kraus, 93; Pelizzola, *Mostrà grafica di Spina* pl. 15; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1038, 1 and *Paralip.* 443.

<sup>32</sup> Richter and Hall, pl. 124, no. 124; Richter, *Handbook* pl. 80c; Kraus, 93; Beazley, *Attic White Lekythoi* 18: 'a solemn and religious picture'; *AM* lxxvi (1961) 91, Beil. 58, 2; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1012, 1 and *Paralip.* 440; Hans Walter, *Gr. Götter* 148, fig. 132.

<sup>33</sup> *Robinson Studies* ii 106 f., pl. 35a–b (van Hoorn); *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1053, 42 (Group of Polygnotos: undetermined).

of a relief in Munich with three dancers and a small Hekataion at the left end.<sup>34</sup> The presence of the Hekataion and the similarity of the seated figure to that on the Utrecht bell-krater show the figure to be female, not male, as Furtwängler suggested.<sup>35</sup> So her identity with Hekate gains in probability. Petersen had earlier called her Artemis Brauronia and emphasised the significance of the whole scene for the topography of the Acropolis.<sup>36</sup> Comparison with the probable Hekate in Utrecht suggests that Hekate herself came to be connected, however remotely, with the chorus of Nymphs not far from her Hekataion.<sup>37</sup>

The painter of a small red-figured lekythos in the National Museum makes a subtle allusion to the fact that Hekate lives below ground. A young woman is sacrificing and has fixed three torches in the ground. She bends down, holding a basket in her left hand, a small animal in her right. The scene had previously been connected with the Athenian festival of the Skira,<sup>38</sup> until Rumpf's keen eye noticed that the small animal was not a piglet but a puppy. So the sacrifice is to Hekate, identified in Athens with Aphrodite Genetyllis.<sup>39</sup>

We are indebted to the Beldam Painter's preference for the unusual and the terrifying for giving us this unique figure: Hekate as she was known in Athens before Alkamenes. It is the only one of this painter's unusual subjects that it has been possible to interpret clearly, since there is no agreed interpretation of the name-vase with the 'beldam' nor of the lekythos

<sup>34</sup> *Antike Plastik* iv 35, note 58. Old drawing: Herbig, *Pan* pl. 22, 3 and p. 58.

<sup>35</sup> Furtwängler-Wolters, *Führer* no. 456; Eckstein, *loc. cit.* 35, note 58, agrees.

<sup>36</sup> *JdI* xxiii (1908) 25.

<sup>37</sup> The painter of the vase could have taken his inspiration from figures like that on the bell-krater in Thessaloniki with a representation of the Nemean Lion (*Ἐπιτύμβιον Τσοόνα* 380 f., pls. 3-4); Rhomaios prefers to call her a local nymph (*ibid.* 382-3). The seated female figure on the Utrecht krater has no connexion (except as an iconographic type) with the figure on the Thessaloniki krater (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1053, 43 Group of Polygnotos: undetermined). The short-sleeved chiton of 'Hekate' on the Munich relief is not unconnected with the chthonic nature of the figure shown. By the second century B.C. the Sarapis type by Bryaxis—dressed in a sort of sleeved chiton—was widespread throughout the Hellenistic world. In answer to Lippold's objections (*Festschrift Paul Arndt* 116 f.) that Bryaxis did not find this dress in older representations of Hades, no-one would deny that in the fifth century the Hades-Plouton type closely matched representations of Zeus, but the known monuments with Hades are few, and it is not impossible that representations like that of Sarapis existed. See particularly Thiemann, *Vatergottheiten* 27 f., 47 f. and 138. Thanatos on a plastic vase in the National Museum wears a sleeved chiton (see note 13, where it is dated just after 400 B.C.). See also Hades on the Nekyia krater in New York (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1086) and on the volute-krater in Karlsruhe: *AK* xiv (1971) 53, note 62 (R. Lullies); *Bildhefte des badischen Museums, griechische Vasen* pl. 25 (J. Thimme). As for the marble statuette of Hades in the Sparta Museum, of the sixth century B.C. (Wace, *Catalogue* no. 600), which has recently been resurrected after long neglect and well reproduced by H. Walter (*Gr. Götter* 133, fig. 137), there is such

damage to its appearance that any deductions from it are useless. Hades with sleeved chiton on Italiote vases: *JdI* lxxiii (1958) 63, fig. 9 and 67, fig. 12 (Schauenburg); *ibid.* for representations of Hades in general. Apulian amphora in Ruvo with Plouton in sleeved chiton: Sichtermann, *Griech. Vasen in Unteritalien* pl. 52, no. 36. We would exceed the limits of this study if we attempted a comparison between the Hekataion kalathos and the kalathos-modius of Sarapis. This head-gear, connected as it is with the chthonic gods (V. Müller, *Polos* 79 f.), could have been borrowed by artists from Anatolian monuments. A lengthy account of Bryaxis' work was given by Picard, particularly in *Mon* iv 2a, 867 f. Cf. Lauer and Picard, *Stat. ptolémaïques du Serapeion de Memphis* 76, 82 f., pl. 8, and Schefold, *Museum Helveticum* xiv (1957) 36. Also, Helbig, *Führer*<sup>4</sup> i no. 44 (v. Steuben) and *EAA* vii 204-7 (L. Vlad-Borelli), and H. Jucker, *Schweizer Münzblätter* xix (1969) 78 f. (I owe this reference to D. Willers.) A recent fine publication of the Sarapis in the Alexandria Museum: H. Walter, *Gr. Götter* 154, fig. 138. A notable late Hellenistic relief in the British Museum with Kore and Plouton (short sleeves!), perhaps from Athens: *Anc. Marbles Brit. Mus.* xi pl. 47; *JdI* lxxviii (1953) 44, fig. 7 and 46, no. 21. Heroes at nekrodeipna (*Totenmahlreliefs*) with polos: Furtwängler, *Sammlung Sabourouff* pls. 31-2, 1; Rhea Thönges-Stringari, *AM* lxxx (1965) 14, Beil. 15.

<sup>38</sup> Deubner, *Attische Feste* 44, pl. 2; Rumpf, *Rel.* fig. 110; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1204 and 1704 (connected with the group of Palermo 16).

<sup>39</sup> *Bonner Jahrbücher* clxi (1961) 208-9: 'Archäologen nehmen es mit der zoologischen Bestimmung von Tieren mitunter nicht sehr genau. Es kommt vor, dass z. B. das Fell eines Ebers für das eines Löwen erklärt wird. . . . Das einzige was das kleine Tier mit einem Ferkel gemeinsam hat ist dass es vier Füße besitzt.'

with the 'pirates'.<sup>40</sup> We trust that no one will doubt the ascription of this vase to the Beldam Painter, grouped last in the list of lekythos painters by E. Haspels who has analysed his work with such freshness. We can recognise his hand in the rough, free drawing, and particularly on the smaller vases, in the distorted treatment of figures with their long limbs almost disjointed.<sup>41</sup> Some paintings have been attributed to his imitators, but we believe that this lekythos drawing could not have been painted by any other hand, that his mind, and only his, could have conceived it. This choice of picture (not an original invention of his, as we shall see) was suggested to the painter by the funerary purpose of the little vase. He started his career by painting small lekythoi which had no funerary content<sup>42</sup> but later began to decorate some lekythoi with simple burial scenes, not the sort of pictures with delicate allusions to the dead which the Athena Painter had produced a little earlier.<sup>43</sup>

From the free treatment of the folds, particularly on the lower part of the chiton, the Hekate painting dates to *c.* 470 B.C. It is directly followed by a lekythos in the National Museum with a funerary theme.<sup>44</sup> In this later phase, our painter was inspired by monumental painting, as Haspels noticed in connection with a lekythos with Amazons in the National Museum. An old drawing of this picture (FIG. 1) serves to confirm its dependence

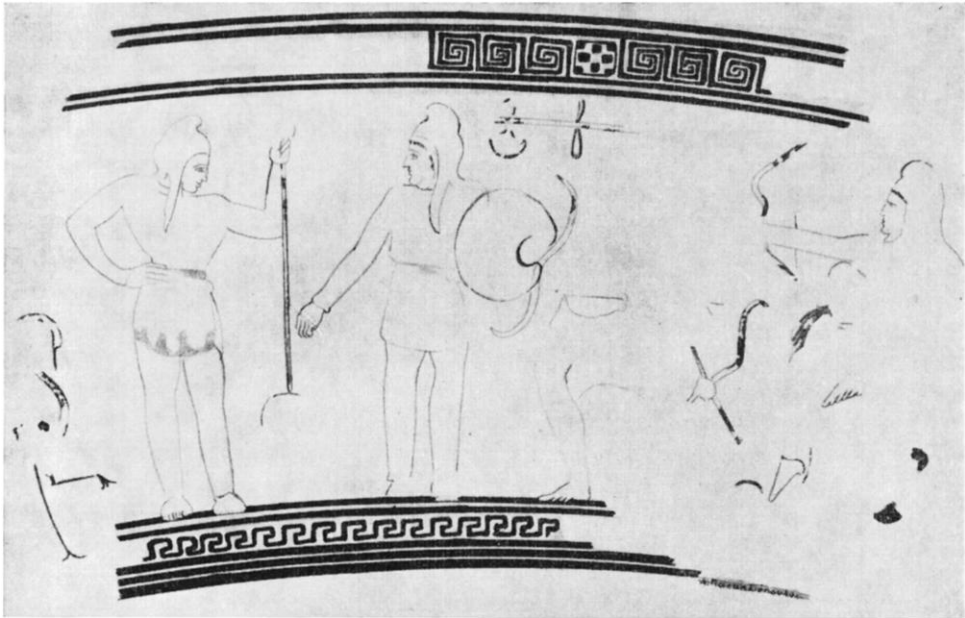


FIG. 1.—White-ground lekythos in the National Museum, Athens, 1983.

<sup>40</sup> Beldam lekythos, Athens NM 1129: *AM* xvi (1891) 300 f. and pl. 9 (M. Mayer), lii (1927) 230 f. (Buschor); Haspels, *ABL* 170–2, 176, 190–1, 266, no. 1, pls. 49, 50, 2 and 51, 1; Beazley, *Paralip.* 292. 'Pirates' lekythos, Athens NM 487: Haspels, *ABL* 172, 267, no. 11, pl. 50, 1.

<sup>41</sup> According to Haspels, the unusual drawing of this artist represents the last phase of the 'pictorial black-figure style'.

<sup>42</sup> Apart from the references given by Haspels, see also the small white-ground lekythos in Stuttgart: *CVA* i pl. 23, 3 and 4 and p. 29; Erika Kunze-Götte dates it to 480–470 B.C. Cf. *Paralip.* 293. *CVA* Norway i pl. 32, 3 and pl. 33, 1–2 (S. Marstrader and A. Seeberg); *Paralip.* 294. Sir John Beazley devoted a

number of pages (199–294) of *Paralipomena* to the groups of small black-figured lekythoi. Of interest also are the two published by E. Haspels and L. Kahil in *Mélanges Michalowski* 437 f., 481 f. (= *Paralip.* 294, Beldam Class). For small lekythia on the steps of stelai, see F. Felten, *Thanatos und Kleophonmaler* pl. 1, 4, pls. 3–5, pl. 4, pl. 6, 3.

<sup>43</sup> See specially the recent article 'Satyroi pyrrichistai' in *Kernos* in honour of Georg Bakalakis.

<sup>44</sup> See note 46. Haspels places the earlier works of the painter in these years (*ABL* 187). For the disjointed legs of the figure on the extreme right of our lekythos, compare one of the daughters of Pelias on Haspels, *ABL* pl. 53, 5b and the right figure on another lekythos, *ABL* pl. 51, 2a. For the Beldam



on the Amazonomachy of the Stoa Poikile.<sup>45</sup> Four Amazons are shown preparing for battle. Their bodies have been drawn in outline, and applied white has been used for the naked parts—the beginning of polychromy. Of the two standing Amazons, the left-hand one in particular suggests by her stance some knowledge on the painter's part of early rhythmic 'contrapposto'. The white coating on the body of the lekythos itself, as on the other in the National Museum with the funerary scene, fits in with the artist's progressive development, his introduction of new themes and the influence on his work of large-scale painting.<sup>46</sup> We should place these vases between 460 and 450 B.C.

It is likely, however, that for the earlier, pure black-figure Hekate lekythos a famous mural painting or something similar was also used as a prototype, a picture which expressed popular belief in the effectiveness of Hekate in the underworld in punishing the impious. We cannot today deduce which sanctuary housed the painting. But if we let our imagination run free, it would lead us to the underground sanctuary below the Nike temple—though there has been insufficient investigation there.<sup>47</sup> Must there not also have been, from primitive times, an underground enclosure in the Kerameikos, perhaps on the site fixed by a base and a later relief of the second or third century A.D.?<sup>48</sup> Also, the sanctuary of Kallisto who was Hekate and Artemis combined, is fixed in the Kerameikos from offerings made there.<sup>49</sup> But all this is slight evidence to back up a slender hypothesis, though this picture of the underworld is well designed for the decoration of an underground sanctuary of Hekate.

What is more certain is that Alkamenes' triple Hekate in human shape not surprisingly had no deep psychological influence. It gave birth to works of art, the sculptors of Hekataia, particularly from the fourth century onwards, depended for their inspiration on this model, but the influence went no further. We know from Sophocles' *Rizotomoi* and from passages of Aristophanes that the Athenians of the fifth century knew the terrifying side of Hekate.<sup>50</sup> Following the decay of classical feeling, the demonic and chthonic character of Hekate began to revive and grow and to master the minds of men. In this aspect Hekate with her connexion with magic lasted until Neoplatonist times.<sup>51</sup> In the Hellenistic period she was as the older Athenians had imagined her and as we see her in the lekythos picture:

τᾶ χθονία θ' Ἐκάτη τὰν καὶ σκύλακες τρομέοντι  
ἐρχομένην νεκρῶν ἀνά τ' ἡρία καὶ μέλαν αἶμα

(Theoc., *Id.* ii 12–13)

On moonless nights she was carried on her dogs round the graves in the Kerameikos, attended by the band of *ἄωροι*, the young who had left the world before their time; the howls heard in those parts were thought to be the barkings of her dogs.<sup>52</sup>

Painter, see also *AE* 1942, 44, 63 f. (N. Verdélis); *ABV* 586 f., *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 750 f. and *Paralip.* 292 f. Also *JdI* lxxvii (1962) 196, no. 20, figs. 48–51 (B. Andraea).

<sup>45</sup> Athens NM 1983: *ABL* 173, 267, no. 13, pl. 52, 2; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 751, 2; von Bothmer, *Amazons* 92, no. 18.

<sup>46</sup> Athens NM 1982: *ABL* 173, 267, no. 12 and pl. 51, 4: 'belong to the latest phase of the painter's work.' Like the lekythos mentioned in note 45, this is connected with the beginning of polychromy: 'second white used' *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 751.

<sup>47</sup> *AM* xlvi (1923) pls. 4, 5, 6 (G. Welter). Judeich, *Topogr.*<sup>2</sup> 233 f.; Picard, *l'Acropole* 30; O. Walter, *Akropolis* 30; Kraus, 95.

<sup>48</sup> Brückner, *Friedhof am Eridanos* 43–7, 53–5, figs.

19–20; Kraus, 169; Travlos, *Lexikon zur Topographie des ant. Athen* 302, fig. 391, no. 173.

<sup>49</sup> *BCH* li (1927) 155 f. (Philadelphus); *ib.* 164 f. (P. Roussel); Kraus, 86; *Athenian Agora* iii 59, 222; Travlos, *Lexikon* 302.

<sup>50</sup> Nauck, *Trag. Frag.*<sup>2</sup> no. 492; Wilamowitz, *Glaube* i 170; Nilsson, *Gr. Relig.* i 686; Kraus, 87.

<sup>51</sup> Nilsson, *Gr. Relig.* ii 418, 427, 441, 517, 609; PW vii 2769 f. (Heckenbach); Rhode, *Psyche* ii 82; P. Levêcque, *Les grandes divinités de la Grèce* 64, note 70.

<sup>52</sup> Scholz, *der Hund* 39–43; Kraus, 153; Kerényi, *Mythol. der Griechen und Römer* 40–41, *ἄωροι καὶ βαιοθάνατοι*; Rhode, *Psyche* ii 411 f.; Nilsson, *Gr. Relig.* ii 525. Among the numbers of Hekataia or representations of Hekate which derive directly or

As far as I know, a striking passage in Plutarch's *Life of Cimon* (18.3) has not been cited in this enquiry to show the connexion of dogs as Hekate's representatives with the idea of death in the period before Alkamenes:

ἤδη δὲ παρεσκευασμένων ἀπάντων καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ παρὰ ταῖς ναυσὶν ὄντος, ὄναρ εἶδεν ὁ Κίμων· ἐδόκει κύνα θυμουμένην ὑλακτεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ὑλακῆς μεμειγμένον ἀφείσαν ἀνθρώπου φθόγγον εἶπεῖν:

στείχε· φίλος γὰρ ἔση καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐμοῖς σκυλάκεσσιν.

οὕτω δὲ δυσκρίτου τῆς ὄψεως οὔσης, Ἄστυφίλος ὁ Ποσειδωνιάτης, μαντικὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ συνήθης τῷ Κίμωνι, φράζει θάνατον . . .

As a result of the art-historical studies that have been made, it seems certain that the group of three maidens, hands touching in a joyful dance—some with the goddess' polos on their heads—was added to Hekataia only in the early Hellenistic period. Older archaeologists were unsure what name to give them.<sup>53</sup> Kraus, in his detailed review of the problem, did not fail to note the proximity of the Epipyrgidia to the Charites, who were also guardians of the Propylaea, and yet he decided not to apply that name to the dancers on the Hekataia, while Schwarzenberg should have paused to consider the matter but instead passed it by hastily.<sup>54</sup> Miriam Ervin devoted more time to the identity of the group. Starting from the sound proposition that these figures should be recognised among those worshipped on the Acropolis, she reviewed the rich sources for the subject and came to the conclusion that the figures dancing round the Hekataia were the Nymphs Aglaurides.<sup>55</sup> Hauser in his famous study of Neoattic reliefs had proposed this name for a type of dancers, and Fuchs has now accepted it for a group of such reliefs with dancers.<sup>56</sup>

Whatever may have been the name of the lovely dancers, we may note that the female figures who accompany Hekate in the underworld are three in number. So, one cannot escape the thought that some artist of the Hellenistic period decided to connect these figures, which were known from older representations, with the form of Hekataion, but thereby changed their shape, their meaning and their function. Instead of avenging Furies, he devised the lovely Graces, Seasons or Aglaurides who danced round in a spring dance. The Ἄνταία of the crossroads became a messenger of Spring, and a Hellenistic idyll was united with a classical creation. But at the same time there was a parallel development: fear of the other, chthonic power of the Ἐνοδία grew strong and completely overshadowed the minds of simple people.

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*Athens*

indirectly from Alkamenes' work, a relief of the late Hellenistic period showing a dog suspended from the body of the goddess is not intelligible without taking into consideration the influence of the archaic pictures which preceded the anthropomorphic form. Its Theran origin is assured (Hiller von Gaertringen, *Thera* i 263 f.; Svoronos, *Nat. Mus.* pl. 66, 3; Kraus, 32, 151).

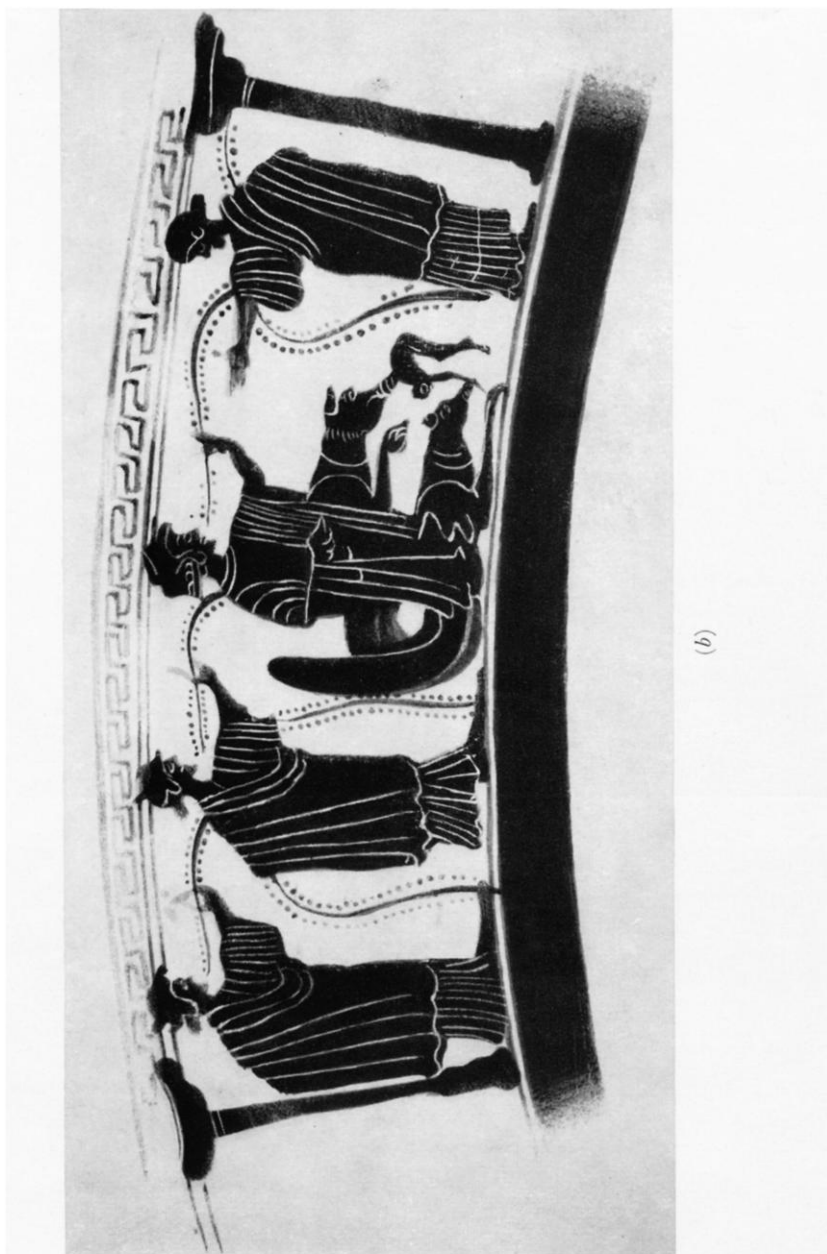
<sup>53</sup> *AEM* v (1881) 43f. (Petersen). Rumpf is content

to call them 'Frauengestalten' (*Rel.* on pls. 44-47).

<sup>54</sup> Kraus, 150; Schwarzenberg, *Die Grazien* 22 f.

<sup>55</sup> *Ἀρχαίων Πόντον* 1958, 129 f.

<sup>56</sup> Hauser, *ÖJh* vi (1903) 79 f.; Fuchs, *Neuatt. Rel.* 68. Some years ago Ch. Karouzos called the dancers on the marble krater in the NM (no. 3625: *ADelt* x [1926] 101) *Charites*. Fuchs has reservations (*loc. cit.* 56, 177, no. 2) and calls the dancers on the monument 'Dreiverein.'



Athens NM inv. no. 19765

AN UNDERWORLD SCENE ON A BLACK-FIGURED LEKYTHOS