

PERSEPHONE AND APHRODITE AT LOCRI: A MODEL FOR PERSONALITY DEFINITIONS IN GREEK RELIGION*

I. THE DEFINITION OF DIVINE PERSONALITIES

Too often in the study of Greek divine personalities assumptions about deities' nature and development have been reflected in the methodology adopted and have thus introduced distortions, forcing the evidence into inflexible interpretative frameworks which may be logical without being correct. I believe we must aim at a 'neutral', bias-free approach which does not allow the operator's convictions to distort the evidence by casting it into a preconceived mould. I shall first set out the factors which, in my opinion, determine the definition and development of Greek divine personalities; these can be established by considering detectable historical developments in these personalities. I then propose an open-ended and flexible methodological framework which will take account of this model but will not depend on its validity.

The first determining factor is clearly the worshipping group and its specific realities and needs as they develop in the course of time. Deities are shaped by the societies that constitute the worshipping group and develop with them. A second factor to be taken into account is the pantheon to which they belong and the spheres of activity of its members. For a pantheon is an articulated religious system within which divine beings catering for the needs of the worshipping group are associated and differentiated; and this nexus of relationships contributes to the definition of each divine personality.¹

Consequently the study of a divine personality should take account of the other deities of the pantheon to which that personality belonged, and of the (changing) circumstances, economic, social and other, of the worshipping group. The concepts 'worshipping group' and 'pantheon' bring us to an important aspect of Greek religion: the fact that the Greek deities existed at two levels—the local, *polis* level, and the Panhellenic level.

Too often, in the study of Greek divinities, the local personality of a deity is overshadowed by the Panhellenic one and the individuality of the different local deities is ignored.² However, it is extremely unlikely that the establishment and crystallization of a Panhellenic *persona* for a deity so stamped out the local personalities that only insignificant variations remained. For the parameters affecting their definition differed in different cities, and again at the Panhellenic level. The realities and needs of the worshipping groups differed while some were common to all and also operated at the Panhellenic level. The composition and hierarchy of the pantheon also differed in the different cities, and again at the Panhellenic level. Moreover of the spheres in which a divine personality manifests itself³ that of cult would be especially resistant to change under the impact of Panhellenic religion; for cult operates primarily at the *polis* level, having a function within its structures. These distinctions are based on the assumption that before the emergence in the eighth century of the agents of Panhellenic religion, the Panhellenic sanctuaries and literature such as the Homeric poems, there were significant differences in divine personalities and the composition of the panthea in the different cities. I shall now attempt to justify this assumption by considering briefly the background to the development of historical Greek religion.

* This article is an enlarged version of a paper delivered at the Triennial Conference of the Greek and Roman Societies in Oxford on 1st August, 1975. I would like to thank Dr H. Hoffmann for reading, and commenting on, that early version.

¹ Cf. also J.-P. Vernant, *Mythe et société en Grèce ancienne* (Paris 1974) 110.

² Contemporary scholars do allow significant variations in some divine personalities in some of the colonies, where they attribute them, usually unsupported by any evidence, to the notorious 'indigenous influences'. Against the approach that assumes many take-overs of indigenous cults by Greek colonists in cases where there is no explicit evidence for such a phenomenon cf. G.

Pugliese-Carratelli, *Convegno Magna Grecia iv* (1964) 19–28; S. Pembroke, *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilizations v* (1970) 1255–8.

³ The (interrelated) spheres in which a divine personality manifests itself are the following. The sphere of divine name, with its subordinate sphere of epithet; that of *Bildvorstellung*, including the attributes; the sphere of myth; the sphere of cult, involving a deity as a recipient of worship; that of theology in the sense of sets of beliefs about the functions and areas of activity of the deity; and finally, the sphere of 'ideology', derivative from the previous one, primarily through the agency of literature, involving the deity as an embodiment of certain ideas and concepts.

Whatever degree of religious uniformity may have existed in the Mycenaean world—and the present evidence does not allow any firm or wide-ranging conclusions—conditions in the Dark Ages⁴ favoured radical changes, localized developments and diversification. The collapse of the Mycenaean palace societies, insecurity, desertions of sites and movements of population altered the nature of society, and therefore the needs fulfilled by the deities. Moreover, and more tangibly, the collapse of the framework for administering cult controlled by the palaces inevitably affected both cult and, through it, other spheres of religion. Some religious practices previously detected in the archaeological record now disappear. The comparative isolation and inward-looking character of the Dark Age communities, especially in the early part of the era, cannot but have led to separate local developments in religion. Diversification would have been intensified by two factors. First, differences in prosperity, economic activities and life-patterns between different areas, especially in the later Dark Ages. Secondly, the arrival, in some areas, of intrusive population groups—later glorified into the ‘Dorian Invasion’—groups which brought with them new religious concepts and practices expressing the realities and catering for the needs of simpler societies than those of their Mycenaean kinsmen. It is likely that these new practices and beliefs had an important impact precisely because they corresponded more closely to the new realities of the simpler Dark Age societies than did the legacy of the Mycenaean religious tradition. We should envisage, then, a complex process of development and interaction.

These circumstances can explain the important differences between Mycenaean and archaic Greek religion, which cannot be obscured by a few divine names common to both.⁵ Even these names are less significant than is sometimes assumed, since identity of name does not entail identity of the other parts of the divine personality, especially when, as here, the panthea to which the deities belong are different.⁶

In the Dark Ages, then, the panthea of the different *poleis* and the personalities of their members were likely to have developed in different ways. Consequently, the divine personalities in local panthea from the eighth century onwards should be envisaged as products of an interplay between on the one hand the Panhellenic personality of each deity, promoted by the great Panhellenic centres and by poetry, and on the other the original local personality, itself developing not only under the influence of this Panhellenic *persona*, but also in response to changes within the worshipping society. It is clear that in some cases, as in that of Apollo, the Panhellenic dimension is particularly strong, due to the special circumstances of its diffusion.

This model cannot be proved to be correct. However, since it cannot be invalidated (on the contrary, the circumstantial evidence points in its favour) the possibility that it may be correct must be taken into account. Hence the study of Greek divinities must not be based on the assumption that the divine personality of a deity was substantially the same throughout the Greek world. Consequently to avoid the danger of distortions we must study each local divine personality of a deity separately from the Panhellenic one, and not use evidence from the latter to determine the former. Instead, we must recover each local manifestation of the personality, and then relate it to the Panhellenic *persona*. Moreover, we must not extrapolate from one local cult to another and attempt to interpret an aspect found in one place through another found elsewhere. Nor should we conflate evidence from different parts of the Greek world. The result would be a totally artificial conflation that had no cultic or theological reality. The fact that a given function is, for example, associated with Aphrodite at Sparta only means that this function belongs to her in the context of a particular personality nexus. It is not necessarily found in all, or indeed any, of her other personality nexuses which, I have argued above, had a different profile. Nor is it an inalienable part of an integral complex which included all the aspects of Aphrodite from the whole of the Greek world, and which would be ‘the’ Aphrodite. For divinities only existed at two different levels of cultic reality: local and Panhellenic. No aspect of a deity has any significance when separated from its organic context. Tendencies and aspects common to a deity throughout the Greek world have to be recovered and tested, not assumed or extrapolated.

To sum up, the study of Greek divine personalities should be based on specific local religious

⁴ On the Greek Dark Ages cf. A. M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece* (Edinburgh 1971); V. R. d’A. Desborough, *The Greek Dark Ages* (London 1972).

⁵ Cf. A. Brelich, *Atti e Memorie del Primo Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia* (Rome 1968) 922.

⁶ Cf. Brelich, *op. cit.*

units and rely on internal evidence alone. The panhellenically consistent traits would then be recovered and tested. It should be clear that this method based on the study of local cults is valid whether or not my initial analysis is correct. For it is a neutral approach that does not introduce any preconceived distortions. Moreover, it allows a circumscribed investigation of the circumstances of the worshipping group, necessary for the study of the development of any one deity, and of the other deities of the pantheon to whom it related.

I now propose to apply this approach to the study of the divine personality of Persephone at Locri Epizephyrii. For reasons of space this investigation cannot be complete. I cannot analyse here the whole material pertinent to Persephone's cult at Locri. I shall only discuss that which illuminates important and/or new aspects of her personality—aspects corroborated by the evidence that will not be discussed. Again I cannot branch off into consideration of the whole Locrian pantheon, on which our information leaves much to be desired. However, I shall consider *en passant* Persephone's consort Hades, and I shall discuss briefly the personality of Aphrodite, with whom Persephone is associated in cult, and of Aphrodite's Locrian *paredros* Hermes. I believe this limitation to be legitimate in so far as it is clear to me, as I hope to show, that Persephone's main concern at Locri was with an area of life and religion that can to some extent be defined as 'circumscribed', in so far as any area of cult can be said to be so—the world of women. I shall only use internal Locrian evidence and I shall not allow its decoding to be contaminated by preconceived ideas based on external evidence, either Panhellenic, or from other local cults, unless the comparison of internal evidence with Persephone's Panhellenic personality shows that a particular Panhellenic aspect was also found at Locri. Since the investigation will use material from one period only, the first half of the fifth century, I shall discuss the personality of the goddess at that period alone. The results may also be valid for other periods—indeed, given the nature of the deity they probably are—but they cannot be assumed to be so. This limitation in time is the reason why I omit discussion of the historical background. The relevant aspect of the worshipping group is the position of women in the city. In general Locri did not differ from any other Greek city in this respect.⁷ About the details we are ignorant.

II. PERSEPHONE AT LOCRI

1. Introduction

Our main source of information for the cult of Persephone at Locri is the series of clay relief plaques with religious scenes from the first half of the fifth century known as the Locrian *pinakes*. The great majority of these were found in the Locrian sanctuary of Persephone between the hills Abbadessa and Mannella.⁸ Other evidence, albeit not very informative from our point of view, comes from literary sources⁹ and a few inscriptions;¹⁰ archaeological finds complete the picture.¹¹

Persephone, in whose sanctuary the *pinakes* were found, is the main deity involved in the cult and myth reflected in the representations. Aphrodite also has a place in that cult, and some types of *pinakes* belong to her.¹² This presence of Aphrodite in a basically Persephonean context is not due to an alleged accidental mixing of two deposits, an untenable hypothesis put forward by

⁷ Cf. S. Pembroke, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

⁸ Publications of *pinakes*: P. Orsi, *BdA* iii (1909) 1–43; Q. Quagliati, *Ausonia* iii (1908) 136–234; P. Zancani Montuoro, *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* v (1935) 195 ff.; *id.*, *RIA* vii (1940) 205–24; *id.*, *RAAN* xxix (1954) 79–86; *id.*, *Atti SocMGrec* 1954 (hereafter *Note*) 71–106; *id.*, *ASCL* xxiv (1955) 283–308; *id.*, *ArchClass* xii (1960) 37–50; *id.*, *Marsyas. Essays in memory of K. Lehmann* (New York 1964) 386–95; H. Prückner, *Die lokrischen Tonreliefs* (Mainz 1968). Cf. also A. W. Oldfather, *RE* s.v. 'Lokroi'; *id.*, *Philol.* lxxix (1910) 114–25; *id.*, *Philol.* lxxi (1912) 321–31. I have briefly discussed the circumstances

of the *pinakes* in *JHS* xciv (1974) 132–4.

⁹ Cf. G. Giannelli, *Culti e miti della Magna Grecia*² (1963) 187–204; Prückner, *op. cit.*, 4–7; Zancani Montuoro, *RendAccLincei* 1959, 227 n. 5.

¹⁰ Cf. Zancani Montuoro, *RendAccLincei* 1959, 227.

¹¹ Orsi, *op. cit.* (n. 8); *id.*, *NSc* 1909, 321–2; *NSc* 1911 Suppl. 67–76; Zancani Montuoro, *op. cit.* (n. 9), 225–32; A. de Franciscis, *Ricerca sulla topografia e i monumenti di Locri Epizefiri* (Naples 1971) 75–9.

¹² I have discussed this problem briefly in *JHS* xciv (1974) 133.

Prückner¹³ and heavily criticized.¹⁴ The remarkable unity of the whole series¹⁵ shows that we are dealing with one cultic nexus in which the two goddesses are closely associated. The reasons for this association can only be understood after the divine personalities of Persephone and Aphrodite at Locri have been defined. It must be clear from what I said in the first section of this paper that speculation based on the 'general' Greek characteristics of the two deities is worse than useless: it carries a strong danger of distortion.

Given that the series contains types belonging to two different goddesses, and that there is some disagreement about which goddess some of the *pinakes* belong to,¹⁶ a rigorous methodology needs to be used, which will not depend on preconceptions about the type of scene that we should expect to belong to each goddess. I propose, using internal iconographical evidence alone, to begin with the scenes that indisputably belong to Persephone, and isolate the symbols and cult objects peculiar to her in the local cult. The presence of a symbol in a Persephone-scene is not, clearly, sufficient evidence that it characterizes the goddess and her cultic sphere, and can thus be used for attributing other scenes to Persephone. It must first be ascertained that this symbol does not also appear in contexts associated with Aphrodite. The connection with Persephone can be firmly established only if the same symbol is found in more than one of the types which indisputably belong to her. The symbols and cult objects thus shown to be characteristic of Persephone at Locri will allow us to attribute more scenes to Persephone. Clearly, given the limitations set out above, it is not my intention to divide all the scenes found in the *pinakes* between the two deities. I am aiming at obtaining firm attributions to Persephone for those scenes that illuminate the important and salient aspects of the goddess' personality.

2. Scenes indisputably belonging to Persephone's sphere

The first series of scenes indisputably belonging to Persephone—a fact that has never been doubted—is that showing a bearded and majestic male figure carrying off a girl in a winged chariot.¹⁷ It represents, of course, the Rape of Persephone by Hades. The fact that this is a purely mythological representation, that is, the iconographical expression of a myth, may explain why no symbols are included here, as they are in the context of cult scenes. The only additional feature shown, a chain of flowers,¹⁸ belongs to myth: Persephone had been picking flowers when Hades abducted her.¹⁹

These scenes confirm that Hades' *Bildvorstellung* at Locri is the same as that elsewhere in Greece: majestic bearded god of mature age, of the same type as those of Zeus and Poseidon who are, of course, characterised by their attributes.²⁰ They show too that the myth of Persephone's Rape by Hades, associating her with the earth's fertility and with the funerary sphere which was an aspect of her Panhellenic personality, was also an aspect of her personality at Locri.

Another series also indisputably belonging to Persephone is that of 'the Young Abductor', showing a girl being carried off by a beardless youth in a chariot, in one example in the presence of Hades.²¹ I have argued elsewhere²² that these *pinakes* were wedding dedications; and that they showed an ideal representation of a bride and bridegroom depicted according to the iconographical model of the divine bride and bridegroom of Locri, Persephone and Hades, whose marriage was preceded by an abduction depicted in another series of *pinakes*. I also argued that these dedications were made by girls who were getting married and seeking Persephone's protection. If this interpretation is correct, it entails that not only was the wedding of Persephone and Hades an important part of the Locrian cult and myth, as Zancani Montuoro has been arguing,²³ but also, and this is where I go further,²⁴ that the Locrian Persephone was associated

¹³ *op. cit.*, 63, 68.

¹⁴ Cf. J. Boardman, *CR* xxi (1971) 144–5; G. Zuntz, *Gnomon* xliii (1971) 492–4.

¹⁵ Cf. Boardman, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ Cf. *JHS* xciv (1974) 133.

¹⁷ *BdA* iii 28 figs. 36–7; Prückner 75 fig. 13; pl. 12.

¹⁸ Cf. Prückner 70 type 59.

¹⁹ *h. Hom. Dem.* 6 ff.

²⁰ On Hades' *Bildvorstellung* cf. P. E. Arias in *EAA* iii

1081–2; Γ. Ι. Δεσπίνη, *Συμβολή στη μελέτη του έργου του 'Αγορακρίτου* (Athens 1971) 139–40.

²¹ *BdA* iii figs. 30–5; *Ausonia* iii figs. 18–23; Prückner 71 fig. 12 and pls. 13–21.1–3; *RAAN* xxix 1954 pl. viii.

²² *BICS* xx (1973) 12–21.

²³ *op. cit.* (n. 8).

²⁴ I should note that in *ASCL* xxiv (1955) 299 n. 2 Zancani Montuoro, while talking about a different type of scene, makes a tentative remark which to some extent

with marriage in a way which suggests that she fulfilled the role of protectress of marriage and weddings. In other cities, this role is usually, though not always, fulfilled by Hera.²⁵ In this paper, I shall extend my earlier suggestion that Persephone was such a protectress at Locri. First, I shall try to show that there is further evidence connecting this role with her. Secondly, I hope to show that the Locrian Persephone also had a kourotropic function, a role related to that of protectress of marriage. This would suggest that she was presiding over the world of women and their concerns, that she was a women's goddess like Artemis Brauronia in Attica.

The following cult objects and symbols are found in the 'Young Abductor' series.²⁶ (1) The **kalathos** with fruit or flowers (*BdA* iii 26 figs. 32–3; 27 figs. 34–5; Prückner pls. 17.1; 21.1; *Note* pl. xxix; cf. also *Ausonia* iii 165h; Prückner 70, 71, 72). (2) The **cock** (*BdA* iii 26 fig. 32; 27 fig. 34; *Ausonia* iii 154 fig. 18; 155 fig. 19; *BICS* xx (1973) pl. I b, c; Prückner pls. 14.2–4; 15.3; 16.3, 8; 17.2; 18.2; cf. also Prückner 71). (3) The **ball** (*Note* pl. xxx; cf. also Prückner 71, 72). (4) The **small chest** (*Ausonia* iii 172, xxv). (5) **Flowers** (One flower: Prückner 71 [type 73], cf. also 72; a wreath of flowers: Prückner 71 [type 78]).

None of these objects appears in a scene firmly associated with Aphrodite. Note that the only symbols and cult objects that we can definitely associate with Aphrodite, because they appear in scenes which indisputably belong to her (for which cf. *infra*), are the following. (1) The **dove** (Prückner pl. 2.1). (2) The **alabastron** (Prückner pl. 2.1). (3) The **'rose-like' large flower** (*BdA* iii 12 fig. 12; Prückner pl. 1.1). (4) The **bowl full of fruit** (*BdA* iii 13 fig. 13). (5) The **mirror** (cf. Prückner 135 n.107). (6) The **phiale** is associated with Aphrodite's *paredros*, Hermes (Prückner 17 fig. 1). As we will see, the phiale is also associated with Persephone and Hades, and the mirror and the alabastron have also gravitated into Persephone's orbit. It will be clear that Persephone, the dominant partner in the cult, has by far the richer nexus of symbols and cult objects.

Two more series, related to each other, also belong indisputably to the sphere of Persephone: the scenes depicting Hades and Persephone enthroned, and the 'homage' scenes in which various deities pay homage to an enthroned Persephone or to the enthroned couple.

In the first series²⁷ we find the following symbols and cult objects. (1) The **cock** (one is held by Persephone and another is standing under the throne). (2) The **thymiaterion surmounted by a cock**. (3) The **stalk of grain** (held by Persephone). (4) The **phiale** (held by Hades). (5) A **blooming twig** (held by Hades). (6) The **throne with a back ending in a goose's head**.

In the homage scenes²⁸ the divinities paying homage hold attributes which identify them (e.g. Hermes the ram), or offer the cock or other objects appropriate to Persephone or the circumstances.²⁹ The following deities appear in these scenes. (a) *Hermes*, always with a ram, and often presenting a cock to Persephone;³⁰ he is sometimes accompanied by a female figure to whom I shall return below. (b) *Dionysos*, holding a kantharos and a vine, sometimes also accompanied by a female figure. (c) *Apollo*, in one type with a lyre, in the other with a lyre and a bow.³¹ (d) *Triptolemos*, holding a stalk of grain in one hand and with the other guiding the winged serpents of his chariot. (e) The *Dioskouroi*, who are represented as horsemen, sometimes followed by a female figure; they hold a cup or a kantharos and a shield or a lyre. Prückner³² also recognizes Athena in one of the types. The identification of the female figure with the mantle drawn over her head who sometimes accompanies Hermes, Dionysos or the *Dioskouroi*, and never appears

points in the same direction: 'Può darsi peraltro, ma poco giova l'indovinare, che il quadretto fosse offerto da una sposa locrese, che le sue nozze intendeva assimilare a quelle della dea per invocarne la protezione.' However, she is clearly thinking in terms of an *ad hoc* dedication rather than of an established cult function of the goddess.

²⁵ Cf. L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* i (Oxford 1896) 188–92.

²⁶ Since the objects held by the girl were appropriate to this ritual occasion which belonged to Persephone's sphere, it follows that they were connected with Persephone's cult.

²⁷ *BdA* iii 10 fig. 8; *Note* pl. xxiii; Prückner 76 fig. 14 and pl. 22; cf. also Prückner 75–6.

²⁸ *BdA* iii 8 fig. 5; 9 fig. 7; 11 figs. 9–10; 12 fig. 11; *Note*

pls. xiii–xxii; Prückner pls. 23–30.4. Cf. *Note* 79–90; Prückner 77–81.

²⁹ Cf. *Note* 83.

³⁰ Cf. *Note* 83–4.

³¹ Zancani Montuoro (*Note* 86) interprets the scene illustrated in Prückner 47 fig. 7 as Ares paying homage to Persephone. However, the presence of a c. 12 year-old girl in the scene suggests that this is a representation of a very different kind (cf. *infra*). Her suggestion concerning a presence of Artemis (in the scene illustrated in *BdA* fig. 14) is also unlikely to be correct. For the 'spotted' peplos worn by the offering figure connects this scene with another series, that of the 'offering girls' (cf. *infra*).

³² *op. cit.* 79.

alone,³³ is difficult. She is shown offering a cock, a ball, a small chest and an alabastron. Of these the cock has already been connected with Persephone, and we shall also find that Persephone herself is holding a cock in some homage scenes. The ball, offered together with cock by the woman accompanying Dionysos, has been associated with Persephone through the 'Young Abductor' scenes. Moreover, as we will see later on, the ball and the cock appear, again as joint offerings to Persephone in the hands of mortal girls. The small chest, already found in the Young Abductor series, is also, we shall see, held by Persephone herself in some homage scenes. The alabastron, we saw, is associated with Aphrodite; we have not, so far, found it in the realm of Persephone. Three out of the four objects connected with this problematic goddess then belong to the realm of Persephone and do not characterize the enigmatic figure. The alabastron, which only appears once, held by the goddess accompanying Hermes, belongs to Aphrodite, though, we shall see, it also seems to have been attracted into Persephone's sphere. Therefore, the identification of the unknown goddess must depend primarily on context, the associations with the male companions. I am inclined to agree with Zancani Montuoro³⁴ that a different goddess is shown in each of the three contexts: Ariadne with Dionysos, a married couple; Aphrodite with Hermes, an illicit pair important in Locrian cult; Helen with the Dioskouroi³⁵ (Helen's marital affairs had been presented in a favourable light by Stesichoros, a poet connected with Locri,³⁶ in the *Palinode*, a poem associated with Locri³⁷).

With regard to the significance of the homage scenes, there can be little doubt that, as Zancani Montuoro has argued,³⁸ they represent various deities paying homage and offering gifts to Persephone or Persephone and Hades on the occasion of their wedding. Prückner,³⁹ who has rejected this interpretation in favour of a much less convincing one of his own,⁴⁰ has not produced any cogent arguments against it. Before considering his objections, I want to suggest that Zancani Montuoro's interpretation can be extended, and that the meaning which she has established for these scenes can be given another level of significance. Persephone's wedding had an important place in Locrian cult and myth, and there are strong reasons for thinking that she was the patron goddess of weddings and marriage. This nexus of ideas present in the minds of the Locrians would inevitably affect their perception of mythological events involving Persephone as a bride. In this context, the paying of homage and offering of gifts by various deities to Persephone the bride or to the bridal couple would, I think, also be seen as expressing the importance of weddings, and of the institution of marriage, in the divine, and therefore also in the human, world. This double point of reference, mythological-narrative and conceptual, may have been an important reason for the adoption of the iconographical scheme of the homage for the representation of this event, instead of the usual procession of deities, a choice which Zancani Montuoro⁴¹ attributed to the restrictions of space. Alternatively, the choice of scheme may indeed have been dictated by the restrictions of space, and this choice may have facilitated the perception of the representation in 'symbolic-conceptual' terms. But I am convinced that, given the nexus of ideas about Persephone in the Locrians' minds, whatever the exact mechanics, these representations could hardly have failed to be perceived also as an expression of the importance of weddings and marriage.

If this is correct, the fact that these scenes were not only representations of a mythological event, but also expressions of an idea in representational language, and that at the conceptual level Persephone the divine bride expressed and 'symbolized' the concept of marriage, may explain why she could be shown alone, where in a strictly narrative scene in this context we would have

³³ Cf. Note 89, Cf. also *op. cit.* 85 and Prückner 155 n. 592 with reference to the scene illustrated in *BdA* iii fig. 5.

³⁴ Note 89.

³⁵ As Zancani Montuoro has suggested (*op. cit.*).

³⁶ Cf. T. J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* (Oxford 1948) 168–9.

³⁷ Cf. G. Vallet, *Rhégion et Zancle* (Paris 1958) 310–11.

³⁸ Note 90.

³⁹ *op. cit.* 80.

⁴⁰ *op. cit.* 80–1. He suggested that the scenes show the presentation of deities newly arrived at Locri to the old

established deities Persephone and Hades; Aphrodite is acting as their patron in this presentation because their cults were annexed to hers. I need hardly point out that this interpretation depends on a series of wholly unsupported assumptions. But it may be worth mentioning that there is no iconographic parallel for such a situation; while there are parallels for deities paying homage to a divine bridal couple, albeit shown in a different iconographic scheme, that of procession. On this last point cf. also Note 90.

⁴¹ Note 90.

always expected the bridal couple. And this answers the first objection put forward by Prückner⁴² against Zancani Montuoro's interpretation, the objection that, if that interpretation were correct, Hades would have always been present. His second objection is that if the scenes were indeed showing the paying of homage and the offering of gifts at Persephone's wedding, all the gods, or at least all the most important gods, would have been present, and certainly Zeus would not have been absent. This objection takes no account of the fact that all the deities involved in the scenes are important divinities in the Locrian pantheon,⁴³ and that there is clearly a local emphasis in the selection. The series does not represent Panhellenic myth, like the representations which Prückner has in mind; it does not even, if I am right, represent only myth, but also an evaluation of a human social institution in mythological-narrative terms drawing on local myth and cult. But the absence of Zeus does indeed require explanation, since his cult was important at Locri.⁴⁴ In my opinion, it is due to the fact that it would be inappropriate to have Zeus, the highest divinity, paying homage to Persephone and Hades; it would be particularly inappropriate if it is correct that this iconographical scheme also expressed a 'symbolic' evaluation of marriage in which Persephone, representing the concept of marriage, played the dominant role; for in that case, the connotation of homage would have been emphatically present in the perception of the scene.

The following symbols and cult objects are associated with Persephone in this series. (1) The **phiale** (Note pls. xv–xvi and p. 81; *BdA* iii 11 fig. 9, Prückner pl. 24.3). (2) The **cock** (*BdA* iii 9 fig. 7; 11 fig. 9; cf. Note 86). (3) The **stalk of grain** (*BdA* iii 9 fig. 7; cf. Note 81). (4) The **small chest** (Note pl. xviii; Prückner pl. 24.3). (5) The **kalathos** (Note pl. xviii). The following objects are held by Hades. (1) The **kantharos** (Note pls. xiii–xvi. cf. p. 81). (2) The **phiale** (*BdA* iii 11 figs. 9–10). (3) The **pomegranate** (*BdA* iii 11 fig. 9). (4) The **goose** (cf. Note 79–80). (5) The **sceptre ending in a figurine of a sphinx** (cf. Note 80). The **throne with a back ending in a goose's head** is associated with both divinities.

As I mentioned earlier, among the offerings to Persephone, the cock, the ball and the small chest should be taken as appropriate to the receiving goddess; the alabastron, only offered in Prückner's type 105⁴⁵ by a woman who is probably Aphrodite is more dubious; it may characterize the offering goddess.

Of these objects and symbols, the following also occur in the other series belonging to Persephone's sphere which I have considered, and therefore emerge as firmly connected with that sphere. The **cock** (Young Abductor, enthroned couple, homage series); the **stalk of grain** (enthroned couple, homage); the **small chest** (Young Abductor, homage); the **kalathos** (Young Abductor, homage); the **ball** (Young Abductor, and in the homage scenes as an offering to Persephone in association with the cock). The **phiale** is associated with Hades in the enthroned couple series and with Persephone in some homage scenes; it belongs then to this sphere, but not exclusively, since, we saw, it is also held by Hermes. The **throne with a back ending in a goose's head** firmly belongs here (it is found in the enthroned couple and the homage series). The **flowers** are found in the Young Abductor and in the Rape of Persephone series. There are also some other symbols and cult objects which are only found in one series, but are nevertheless likely to belong to Persephone's sphere. For they are never found in types that can certainly be attributed to Aphrodite and are frequently associated firmly with Persephone's realm either through context (objects consistently held by Hades in one series, like the kantharos) or through their nature (for example, the thymiaterion surmounted by a cock which incorporates an element firmly connected with the goddess). These are, firstly, the thymiaterion decorated with a cock, and secondly, the following objects held by Hades: the kantharos, which also belongs to Dionysos; the pomegranate; the goose; the blooming twig.

I now propose to consider these symbols and cult objects connected with Persephone's sphere and examine their associations and significance. This will allow us to understand and determine their connection with Persephone more precisely.

⁴² *op. cit.* 80.

⁴³ Cf. Giannelli, *Culti* 187–210.

⁴⁴ For the cult of Zeus at Locri cf. Giannelli, *op. cit.* and A. de Franciscis, *Stato e società in Locri Epizefiri. L'archivio*

dell'Olympieion locrese (Naples 1972) 143–58.

⁴⁵ Cf. Prückner 79.

⁴⁶ On Persephone's association with the stalk of grain cf. B. Conticello, *EAA* iv 386–94.

3. *Symbols and cult objects*

(a) The **stalk of grain** is associated with Persephone everywhere in the Greek world, especially in her character as Demeter's daughter. The connection is particularly close in Eleusinian contexts.⁴⁶ This symbol denotes fertility, especially fertility of the earth, which was, of course, conceptually connected with other kinds of fertility. The **blooming twig** held by Hades undoubtedly has the same connotation of fertility.

(b) The **cock** appears to have been very closely connected with Persephone at Locri. Apart from its frequent appearance in connection with the goddess on the *pinakes*, the cock is also found in the hands of some female terracotta figurines found in Persephone's sanctuary, where terracotta figurines of cocks, mostly in low relief, more rarely moulded in the round, have also been discovered.⁴⁷ Because of the close connections between Locri and Sparta,⁴⁸ it may be of interest to note that the cock is associated with the enthroned Underworld deities in the problematic Laconian reliefs.⁴⁹ Porphyry, *De abst.* iv 16 suggests that the cock was sacred to Persephone not only at Eleusis, but in the Greek world in general. For the Greeks in general the cock had two main symbolic connotations. Firstly, maleness, in the double sense of bravery and fighting spirit, and of male sexuality;⁵⁰ and secondly, the terrifying things of this world and especially death⁵¹—from which aspect is derived the bird's apotropaic character. This second aspect explains the cock's widespread association with Persephone. The first makes it appropriate to a wedding/marriage context and therefore also to Persephone in her *persona* as divine bride and patron of marriage. The cock in a specifically nuptial context can be seen as symbolizing maleness, including male sexuality and aggressiveness, harnessed into marriage, an institution necessary for society.

(c) The terracotta **balls** with incised decoration, very similar to those shown on the *pinakes*, which have been found at Locri⁵² were probably dedications to Persephone made in circumstances similar to those of the dedications depicted on the *pinakes* (see below). For the Greek mentality the ball, like the cock, had, it appears, a double connotation, one chthonic and funerary, the other nuptial and pre-nuptial.⁵³ The second of the two associations may be at least partly derived from the Greek practice of girls dedicating toys to divinities on marriage as symbols of childhood left behind,⁵⁴ a dedication marking their passage to the new status which was the fulfilment of their destiny. I wonder whether the funerary connotation of the ball may not have derived from the cases of girls who died unmarried, and for this reason had a ball buried with them as symbol of their unfulfilled destiny.⁵⁵ In any case, it is clear that the ball was an appropriate object for Persephone and a particularly appropriate offering to her in a nuptial context.

(d) Terracotta **pomegranates** predominate among the terracotta fruit discovered in the sanctuary of Persephone.⁵⁶ Of the many female figurines found near the Marasà temple, some are holding a pomegranate while others hold a dove,⁵⁷ the former, in my opinion, representing Persephone or a votary of hers, the latter Aphrodite or a votary of Aphrodite. In the Laconian reliefs the pomegranate is associated with the Underworld couple.⁵⁸ In the Greek world in general the pomegranate had both chthonic and fertility connotations.⁵⁹ It was widely associated

⁴⁷ Orsi, *BdA* iii 14; cf. also E. Lissi, *Atti SocMGrecia* 1961, 92 no. 91.

⁴⁸ I have discussed this matter in *CQ* xxiv (1974) 189–90 where a bibliography can also be found.

⁴⁹ Cf. M. Andronikou, *Peloponnesiaka* i (1956) 253–314 *passim* and esp. 305.

⁵⁰ Cf. the most interesting article by Hoffmann in *RA* (1974) 195–220; cf. especially 204–6.

⁵¹ Cf. Hoffmann, *op. cit.* 213–14. For the cock as offering to the dead cf. P. Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen* (Leipzig 1910) 142, 152, 192; O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt* ii (Leipzig 1920) 140.

⁵² Cf. Lissi, *op. cit.* 96 no. 111, pl. xli.

⁵³ On the significance of the ball cf. G. Schneider-Herrmann, *BABesch* xlvi (1971) 123–33. Cf. also O. Brendel, *MDAI(R)* li (1936) 80–9. Cf. also the Attic black-figure

ball belonging to a hetaira which bears a funerary inscription published in *BMusFineArts* lxi (1963) 20–2 by Dr H. Hoffmann who kindly drew my attention to the object. Cf. also B. Neutsch, *Apollo* i (1961) 53–66.

⁵⁴ Cf. *Anth. Pal.* vi 280.

⁵⁵ Balls have been discovered in tombs; cf. n. 53 and Schneider-Herrmann *op. cit.* 131 n. 38. It is not impossible that balls made of perishable materials were also placed in tombs and have not survived.

⁵⁶ Orsi, *NSc* 1911 suppl. 71; cf. also Lissi, *op. cit.* 96 no. 112, pl. xli.

⁵⁷ Orsi, *NSc* 1890, 262. Prückner is mistaken in thinking that the same figurines hold both dove and pomegranate (Prückner, *op. cit.* 30).

⁵⁸ Cf. Andronikou, *op. cit.* 305.

⁵⁹ Cf. F. Studniczka, *Jdl* xxvi (1911) 129, 141.

with Persephone,⁶⁰ and this association was expressed mythologically in a most important episode of her myth, her final binding to Hades and his realm through the consumption of a pomegranate given to her by Hades.⁶¹ Consequently, it is a most appropriate symbol for the bridal couple Hades and Persephone.

(e) The **goose** is held by Hades in some homage scenes, but it also appears in many other types in the motif of the throne decorated with a goose's head with which Hades and Persephone are firmly associated in the *pinakes*. This firm association suggests that this throne of the *pinakes* reflects a real throne in the sanctuary or a throne in which the cult-statues of the deities were seated. Terracotta geese were included among the finds of the Manella sanctuary of Persephone.⁶² Zancani Montuoro⁶³ has pointed out that a goose appears to be associated with Hades (inscribed 'Eumolpos') on side B of the skyphos London E 140 by Makron.⁶⁴ Outside Locri the goose is generally associated with Aphrodite, being considered an erotic bird,⁶⁵ but in Lebadeia it is associated with Persephone.⁶⁶ This confirms the need for establishing attributes and associations for each local cult unit, instead of importing those that seem more widespread throughout Greece. It is possible that it was the erotic aspect of the bird that here attracted it to the sphere of the marriage deities, but this is by no means certain.

(f) The **kantharos** is associated with both Hades and Dionysos in the *pinakes*. This causes no ambiguity, for context and especially iconography make clear the identity of each of the gods. The vessel is, of course, a Panhellenic attribute of Dionysos. It is associated with the seated couple of Underworld deities in the Laconian reliefs.⁶⁷

(g) The **phiale**, in the *pinakes* associated with Hades and Persephone, but also with Hermes, is elsewhere widely associated with many different deities, denoting the performance or the reception of libations.⁶⁸

(h) **Flowers** and flower-picking are associated with Persephone in the myth of her abduction: she was picking flowers when Hades carried her off, and this was reflected in one of the *pinakes* types depicting the Rape, in which Persephone is holding a chain of flowers. For this reason flowers were appropriate to wedding contexts at Locri⁶⁹—hence also the flower or chain of flowers held by the girl in some Young Abductor types. Terracotta flowers, and especially, it seems, flowers of lotus, have been found in the Locrian sanctuary of the goddess, where one lotus flower made of ivory was also discovered.⁷⁰ Many of the female terracotta figurines found in the sanctuary and one 'maschera' are holding flowers in their hands.⁷¹ In the Locrian colony of Hipponion a legendary flower-picking of Persephone in the area was the action for cultic *ἀνθολογεῖν* and *στεφανηπλοκεῖν* by the women.⁷² Pollux⁷³ mentions a festival of Persephone, or rather Kore, called Anthesphoria which was celebrated in Sicily: *Κόρης παρὰ Σικελιώταις Θεογάμια καὶ Ἀνθροσφόρια*; Zancani Montuoro⁷⁴ argued that this Anthesphoria was part of the celebration of Persephone's wedding, commemorating Persephone's flower-picking before the abduction. It is clear then that the flowers and flower-picking were firmly associated with Persephone at Locri, but also elsewhere,⁷⁵ and especially with Persephone in her bridal aspect.

(i) The **kalathos**, held by Persephone in some homage scenes, also appears in the Young Abductor series where it contains fruit or flowers—it is difficult to distinguish which. We have

⁶⁰ Cf. B. Conticello, *EAA* iv 390. Because of its fertility aspect it can also, in some places, be associated with other goddesses (cf. e.g. for Hera: Paus. ii 17.4).

⁶¹ Cf. *h. Hom. Dem.* 371–4, 411–13. It is interesting to note that this hymn was known at Locri and is reflected in one of the scenes on the *pinakes* (cf. Prückner 82–4 and 82 fig. 15; cf. also *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, ed. N. J. Richardson (Oxford 1974) 168–9).

⁶² Orsi, *BdA* iii 15.

⁶³ Note 80 n. 2.

⁶⁴ *ARV*² 459, 3; E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* (Munich 1923) 111 fig. 437.

⁶⁵ Cf. D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford 1936) 329.

⁶⁶ Paus. ix 39.2.

⁶⁷ Cf. Andronikou 305. Andronikou, *op. cit.*, *passim* has

argued convincingly that the seated figures are Underworld deities and not heroised dead.

⁶⁸ Cf. E. Simon, *Opfernde Götter* (Berlin 1953) 7.

⁶⁹ Cf. also L. Gernet, *Anthropologie de la Grèce antique* (Paris 1968) 43 on the general connection between marriage rites and flowers and flower-picking.

⁷⁰ Orsi, *BdA* iii 15, 36.

⁷¹ For figurines: *BdA* iii 14; for the 'maschera': *op. cit.* 13.

⁷² Strabo vi 256.

⁷³ i 1.37.

⁷⁴ Note 102.

⁷⁵ A flower is also associated with the couple of Underworld deities on the Laconian reliefs (cf. Andronikou, *op. cit.* 305).

the same difficulty in another series of *pinakes*⁷⁶ in which girls are picking fruit or flowers from a tree and placing them in the kalathos. Since these scenes are shown on *pinakes* they must have a religious significance; the presence of a cock in some of the types indicates that we are in the realm of Persephone; this is confirmed by the firmly Persephonean connections of the kalathos with or without the fruit or flowers. The appearance of the kalathos with the fruit or flowers in the Young Abductor series may suggest that it is connected with weddings and that the garden scenes also involve a nuptial context. According to Zancani Montuoro,⁷⁷ the nuptial context involved in the garden series is mythological, that of Persephone's wedding. But it is equally possible that the context is cultic and that we are dealing with Locrian nuptial rites. If the objects in the kalathos are flowers, as their appearance in the garden series seems to suggest, we would be dealing again with the flower-picking motif in a nuptial context. If they are fruit, and specifically, as Zancani Montuoro suggests, pomegranates and quinces, we would still have connotations of wedding and fertility.⁷⁸ We have seen that terracotta fruit, and especially pomegranates, were dedicated at the sanctuary of Persephone at Locri. In any case, it would appear that Persephone's connection with the kalathos derives from its use as a receptacle for fruit or flowers in the course of nuptial rites celebrated in Persephone's cultic sphere.

(j) The **small chest** probably became associated with Persephone and nuptial contexts because of its place in the life of women; if it is seen as a miniature version of a household chest it belongs to the sphere of house management, one of the main functions of a Greek wife; if it is seen as a small container for jewellery and the like it belongs to the beautification activities appropriate to brides and women in general. Small chests and other small replicas of items of furniture appear to have been dedicated at the sanctuary of Persephone, to judge from the ivory plaques which had been inlaid in them found there.⁷⁹ These dedications may perhaps provide some confirmation for my argument that Persephone at Locri was closely associated with women and their concerns.

(k) With regard to the **sceptre ending in a figurine of a sphinx**, the firm chthonic and funerary associations of this monster hardly need mentioning.

Now I propose to consider briefly the associations and values of these symbols, when these are known independently of their context in the *pinakes*, and see what these can tell us about the connotations of the deity with whom they are associated; and whether these connotations derived from the symbols confirm or invalidate the conclusions about the Locrian Persephone's personality and functions reached so far on the basis of the content of the scenes, conclusions which will, I hope, be confirmed and extended below through the examination of further scenes.

The small chest, we saw, indicates the sphere of women and their concerns in general. The usual function of the kalathos in ancient Greece is as a wool-basket:⁸⁰ it belongs therefore to the sphere of female activities. It is undoubtedly for this reason that at Locri it was transferred to the cultic activity of flower- (or fruit-) picking which is widely associated with women even outside Persephone's cult.⁸¹ It is also generally associated with marriage rites.⁸² The flowers, and the blooming twig, carry the connotation of the blooming, rejuvenation and fertility of nature. The stalk of grain also denotes fertility of the earth and prosperous agriculture. The cock has a double connotation, a funerary one and one of maleness and aggression. The ball belongs to the sphere of marriage and prenuptial rites and also to the funerary realm. The pomegranate has connections with fertility and with the funerary sphere. The sphinx has funerary connections.

Even if we knew nothing else about the goddess with whom these symbols are associated, we could still deduce from the associations that she was concerned with the life of women and their

⁷⁶ Cf. *BdA* iii 31 fig. 42; *Ausonia* iii, fig. 72; Prückner 58 fig. 10 (and pp. 58–60); cf. also Note 98–9, where Zancani Montuoro reads the objects as fruit, pomegranates and quinces; and cf. B. Neutsch, *MDAI(R)* lx–lxi (1953/4) 62–74.

⁷⁷ *op. cit.*

⁷⁸ Cf. Zancani Montuoro *op. cit.*; for the pomegranate cf. also *supra*.

⁷⁹ Orsi, *BdA* iii 37.

⁸⁰ Cf. G. M. A. Richter and M. J. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (New York 1935) 14, 15 and illustration on p. 17; E. Simon, *Die Geburt der Aphrodite* (Berlin 1959) 64, 68 fig. 40. The kalathos also had an important place in some cults of Demeter (cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung* (Leipzig 1906) 350–2; cf. also A. Longo, *EAA* iv 295.

⁸¹ Cf. Hesych. s.v. Ἡροσάνθειαι; Phot. s.v. Ἡροάνθεια.

⁸² Cf. n. 69.

pursuits, with special reference to marriage; she was associated with fertility,⁸³ especially of the earth; and she was also involved with the funerary sphere. This confirms the conclusions reached through consideration of the scenes indisputably belonging to her. We may note that her connections with fertility and the funerary sphere are aspects found also in the Panhellenic personality of the goddess, while her connections with marriage and the world of women are peculiar to Locri.

4. Further scenes from the cult of Persephone

I shall now consider some cycles of scenes which can be attributed to the cultic realm of Persephone on the basis of the symbols and cult objects in them which have been firmly connected with this goddess in the previous sections.

I shall begin with a nexus of scenes involving young girls, and take as the centre of the investigation a group of scenes showing young girls bringing offerings to a seated goddess. I take these to be either 'ideal representations' in which the goddess is represented as 'ideally' present at the moment of the offering, in the manner of votive reliefs, or depictions of actual cultic scenes in which Persephone's priestess receives the offerings on behalf of the goddess.

Before discussing this series, I want to mention a type which is related to it but does not belong in it.⁸⁴ It shows Hades and Persephone seated, Hades holding a phiale and pomegranate, Persephone a cock. A kantharos stands on a small table in front of them. A girl wearing chiton and himation is pouring a libation. The context is clearly different from that of the presentation of offerings to Persephone. The girl may be a priestess offering a libation either in front of the cult-statues, or to the two deities perceived and represented as 'ideally present'.

The series includes the following types.

(1) Prückner's type 89.⁸⁵ Persephone is seated, holding a stalk of grain together with poppy-flowers or poppy-heads;⁸⁶ on a table in front of her there is a cup; a girl wearing chiton and himation is offering a *κανοῦν* with pastry and a pomegranate. This scene is very similar to another one, illustrated in *BdA* iii 15 fig. 16,⁸⁷ in which two girls wearing chiton and himation are shown in front of an altar; the first is holding a similar *κανοῦν* with pastry and a small phiale and stooping over the altar on which she is about to place something; the other is offering a cock and a kalathos; between the first girl and the altar stands a thymiaterion surmounted by a cock; a kantharos and two phialai are hanging on the wall. There can be no doubt, given all the objects firmly connected with Persephone, that this scene, like the related type of the offering girl with which I started, belongs to Persephone's cultic sphere, and that therefore a *κανοῦν* with pastry was an appropriate offering in this goddess' cult in at least two different rituals. What may appear slightly surprising is that in the scene with the two girls a mirror is also hanging from the wall, an object which appeared in connection with Aphrodite and her cultic realm: I will return to this later. To return to the offering of the single girl, we have already noted the double connotation of the pomegranate. The *κανοῦν* had definite nuptial associations in ancient Greece, for it had an important place in wedding rites.⁸⁸

Prückner suggests, I think rightly, that the girls bringing offerings here and in his types 90 and 91—my nos (2) and (3)—are brides worshipping Persephone the heavenly bride, but he does not extend this interpretation to a second group of scenes showing girls bringing offerings, my nos (4)–(7), which he arbitrarily attributes to Aphrodite. He does not draw any conclusions about Persephone's personality and functions from this suggestion. Presumably, he takes the (few)

⁸³ It is conceivable that the naked female figurines with pronounced erect breasts found in the sanctuary of Persephone (*BdA* iii 14) may also have connotations of fertility.

⁸⁴ Prückner, who describes it (*op. cit.* 77, type 88), lumps it together with one of his two series of offering girls. His division of the cycle of the offering girls into two series, one of which he attributes to Aphrodite and the other to Persephone, is purely arbitrary. As will be apparent from the discussion, there is a fundamental unity

in the series, and the symbols and cult objects firmly establish that the goddess involved is always Persephone.

⁸⁵ Described in Prückner 77.

⁸⁶ The poppy is associated with Demeter (*cf.* Steier in *RE* s.v. 'Mohn' 2445).

⁸⁷ *Cf.* Prückner 65, type 51.

⁸⁸ *Cf.* J. Schelp, *Das Kanoun, der griechische Opferkorb* (Würzburg 1975) 11; 25–6 and *passim*; *cf.* also L. Deubner, *JdI* xl (1925) 210–23.

scenes which he interprets in this way as *ad hoc* acts of worship rather than part of a cultic cycle connected with a well-established aspect and role of the Locrian Persephone.

(2) The fragmentary type illustrated in *BdA* iii 14 fig. 14 (Prückner's type 91).⁸⁹ Persephone, on the left holds a stalk of grain, the girl, who is wearing a 'spotted' peplos is offering a cock; one of her forearms and hands is missing and so is most of the space between goddess and girl.

(3) The type illustrated in *Ausonia* iii 211 fig. 59 (Prückner's type 90).⁹⁰ Persephone is seated on the left; her attributes are the stalk of grain together with poppy-heads, the cock and the phiale. The girl is offering a toilet box and a mirror. The mirror thus appears again in Persephone's sphere—for the goddess' attributes leave no doubt as to her identity. We have to accept then that the mirror and the toilet box, both belonging to cosmetic activities, were considered appropriate offerings to the Locrian Persephone, and that the mirror was associated with that goddess in other contexts, although it was also connected with Aphrodite. The explanation of this phenomenon clearly lies in Persephone's close association with girls of marriageable age and with weddings, an event above all requiring beautification. It must have been this that brought the mirror, and perhaps to a lesser extent the toilet box, into Persephone's orbit. Many bronze mirrors and some other bronze toilet articles were found in the Mannella sanctuary,⁹¹ but, given the joint cult, the possibility cannot be excluded that these were dedications to Aphrodite.

(4) The type illustrated in *BdA* iii 8 fig. 6 and *Ausonia* iii 197 fig. 47. Persephone is seated to the right, on a throne the back of which ends in a goose's head. She has her himation pulled over her head and is holding a deep phiale, while she has just dropped a wand.⁹² A small table stands in front of her under which a goose is shown—it is not clear whether it is to be understood as a real bird or as a decorative motif in relief. On the table lies a folded 'spotted' peplos and on top of it a box decorated with rosettes. Two phialai and an oinochoe, clearly metallic, are hanging on the wall. The girl is standing on the other side of the table; like the companion of Dionysos in the homage scenes, she is offering a cock and a ball. These, I argued, are very appropriate offerings in a wedding context. The various symbols and offerings make clear beyond any doubt that the goddess concerned is Persephone. The folded peplos is, I believe, a bridal peplos placed in front of the goddess, or her priestess, so that she can bless it, perhaps, if the woman is the priestess, by sprinkling it with the wand with water from the phiale; if the woman is Persephone we would be dealing with an 'ideal representation' of the blessing modelled on actual rituals. Zancani Montuoro's reading⁹³ is not dissimilar from mine at this point, but our interpretations of the precise circumstances differ, as she is thinking in terms of Persephone's own wedding and bridal peplos.

(5) The type illustrated in *Ausonia* iii 199 fig. 48 (Prückner's type 32).⁹⁴ Here too, Persephone (or her priestess), dressed as in (4) and seated to the right, holds a deep phiale and has just dropped the wand. There is an altar in front of her, on the side of which there is a cock, probably to be understood as sculpted in relief. On the altar lies a peplos similar to the one in (4) and on top of it a very ornate crown which, if the peplos is indeed a bridal peplos, should be the bridal crown. The girl is holding a ball in her right hand, while with her left she holds up the end of her apoptygma, stretching it out towards Persephone.

(6) A type closely related to (5), and preserved in a fragmentary form, is that illustrated in *Ausonia* iii 224 fig. 73, Prückner pl. 7.1, and especially in Allard Pierson Museum, *Algemeene Gids* (Amsterdam 1937) 2077 pl. xcviij.⁹⁵ It differs from (5) in two respects. Firstly, the girl is here wearing a 'spotted' peplos, and secondly, her outstretched apoptygma contains flowers or, perhaps less probably, fruit. It is important to note that in one of the types of the garden series, that illustrated in Prückner 58 fig. 10, a girl, who is wearing 'spotted' garments, is holding the flowers (or fruit) which she is picking in the folds of a similarly outstretched himation. The offering of the flowers (or fruit) and the connection with the flower-picking (or *karpologia*) of the garden scenes give nuptial connotations to the scene discussed here, as does the ball held in the girl's right hand.

⁸⁹ *op. cit.* 77.

⁹⁰ Described *op. cit.* 77.

⁹¹ Orsi, *BdA* iii 39.

⁹² A deep phiale and wand are held by a priestess in a series of scenes showing processions involving girls which

I will discuss below.

⁹³ Note 94–5.

⁹⁴ *op. cit.* 49.

⁹⁵ Cf. also Prückner 49; he does not distinguish this from the previous type.

(7) Prückner⁹⁶ mentions and describes a seventh type, his type 33, which appears to be unpublished. His use of the word 'Truhe' for both table and altar elsewhere does not allow the reader to understand which of the two is depicted here. In any case, a Siren is shown under it, and on top of it just a box, no peplos. The wand is also missing. This may suggest that the use of the wand was connected with the peplos, and that this is probably a different moment in the ritual. With regard to the Siren, a being of chthonic, funerary nature,⁹⁷ it is worth mentioning that Sirens are associated with cocks in another type of scene, illustrated in *BdA* iii 19 fig. 21.

There are then clear nuptial connotations in this series, and a less pronounced fertility connection, itself appropriate to a nuptial context. A nuptial context is suggested by the *kanoun*, the flowers (or fruit) and the connection with flower-picking or *karpologia*, and the offerings of cock and ball. The fertility aspect is denoted by the stalk of grain and the pomegranate. In my opinion, the combination of several symbols and offerings suggestive (even if perhaps not always conclusively in each case) of a nuptial context, the presence of the peplos and crown and especially their place in the syntax of the scene, and the fertility connotations, leave no doubt that these scenes show a cult act which was part of the Locrian wedding rites. Specifically, they appear to represent young girls making offerings to Persephone on the occasion of their wedding, and getting their bridal peplos blessed by the deity.

This series relates, we saw, to the garden series. It also relates to another cycle of scenes, to which I now turn, which involves six groups of representations. This cycle is connected with the 'offering girls' series through two elements, found in nos 4–7 of the latter series: first the peplos, and secondly the woman wearing chiton and himation and holding the deep phiale and wand (whom I will call, for brevity's sake, the *phialophoros*). I shall argue that in this cycle of six groups of scenes involving a *peplophoria*, the *phialophoros* is the priestess of Persephone. That the *peplophoria* cycle belongs to Persephone is shown by the various objects and symbols present and also by the connection with the 'offering girls' series.

Of the six groups two show the *phialophoros* and four girls carrying an unfolded spotted peplos.⁹⁸ A third group⁹⁹ shows a girl carrying a folded peplos on a tray resting on her head, followed by the *phialophoros*; other elements that appear are the thymiaterion surmounted by a cock, a small boy, a cock walking in the procession. A fourth group¹⁰⁰ represents a woman, himation drawn over her head, carrying a cock and with a tray containing a folded peplos resting on her head. In the fifth group¹⁰¹ a girl carrying the peplos on a tray and followed by the *phialophoros* arrives in front of a seated deity who has her himation drawn over her head and is holding a cock; under her seat there is a hydria. This type would suggest that in this cycle at least the *phialophoros* figure is a priestess, while the goddess, shown as 'ideally present', is meeting the peplos-carrying procession. The final group¹⁰² shows a girl putting the peplos away in a chest which stands in front of a throne with a back ending in a goose's head. Since this simple act is shown on *pinakes*, it must have had a religious significance. The peplos, the type of throne, and the kalathos and kantharos hanging on the wall indicate that we are still in Persephone's cultic sphere. A mirror is also hanging on the wall: we saw that this object had entered Persephone's orbit. There is also a lekythos on the wall, but this conveys no information to us. The context indicates a sacred garment kept in a sanctuary; this, in combination with the *peplophoria* scenes, suggests an occasion of garment presentation to a goddess, a well-known ritual act in Greek religion. Zancani Montuoro suggested that we are dealing with the presentation of Persephone's bridal peplos; she considered the whole nexus of scenes involving the peplos as part of Persephone's *theogamia*, but was undecided as to whether these are cultic scenes taking place in the Locrian sanctuary or mythological ones, though she is inclined towards the latter view.¹⁰³ I think that she is right about

⁹⁶ *op. cit.*

⁹⁷ Cf. E. Buschor, *Die Musen des Jenseits* (Munich 1944) *passim*.

⁹⁸ In one (*BdA* iii 21 fig. 25; Prückner 43 fig. 5, Prückner's type 16, p. 42), the *phialophoros* precedes the girls, in the other (*BdA* 22 fig. 26; *ArchClass* xii, pl. ii; Prückner's type 17, p. 42), she follows. The peplos is held differently in each case.

⁹⁹ *BdA* iii 16 fig. 17; *ArchClass* xii pls. i, iii; cf. Prückner 43–4.

¹⁰⁰ *BdA* iii 17 fig. 18; *ArchClass* xii pls. iv 3; v 1–2.

¹⁰¹ Described in Note 93 and Prückner 45–6.

¹⁰² Prückner pl. 4.4.

¹⁰³ Cf. Note 90–102; *ArchClass* xii 40–5; Cf. also *id.*, *ASCL* xxiv (1955) 283–308.

the garment being Persephone's bridal peplos. For, first, Persephone in her character as bride was most important in the Locrian cult, and secondly, the 'offering girls' series showed us the peplos and the *phialophoros* figure in a nuptial context. However, I do not think that we are dealing with the same peplos and the same nuptial context in the two cases. In my opinion, the *peplophoria* is part of a festival celebrating Persephone's wedding, while the 'offering girls' series represents ritual activities that were part of the Locrian marriage rites in which Persephone played a role. There are differences between the two series of scenes which, I think, justify their attribution to different cultic occasions. Firstly, in the 'offering girls' series the *phialophoros*, deity or priestess, is the person who is receiving the offerings, and in front of whom the peplos has been deposited; while in the *peplophoria* the *phialophoros*, who must be a priestess, is differentiated from the seated deity who will receive the peplos—she is part of the offering procession. Even if the *phialophoros* is a priestess in the 'offering girls' series, her role is to stand in for the goddess, while in the *peplophoria* she is acting as an officiating priestess and comes in front of the 'ideally present' Persephone. This difference in the role of the *phialophoros* may indicate that, although the general cultic context is the same, involving the bridal aspect of Persephone, the specific occasion is different in each case. A second such indication lies in the fact that in the 'offering girls' series there are only two participants in the action: the offering girl and the receiving goddess (or priestess). This contrasts sharply with the *peplophoria* scenes (always involving more than one mortal person) and also, and especially, with the gift-offering procession depicted in the type illustrated in *ArchClass* xii pl. vii, which also forms part of the celebration of the *theogamia*. The one-to-one relationship suggests offerings by individual girls, not part of the celebration of a festival in honour of a divinity. Another consideration which strengthens the cumulative evidence in favour of this hypothesis is that Persephone (or her priestess standing in for her) who is receiving the offerings from the girls, appears to be 'blessing' the bridal peplos lying in front of her. It is unlikely that the goddess, or her priestess while standing in for the goddess, would have been shown doing this to Persephone's own bridal peplos. Finally, according to Zancani Montuoro,¹⁰⁴ the 'offering girls' series has comparatively few types, but is represented by a large number of specimens. This situation would fit perfectly the hypothesis that these *pinakes* were votive offerings for a standard occasion, weddings, at which girls dedicated 'ideal' representations of themselves performing a cult activity that was part of the marriage ritual; an activity through which they obtained the blessing and protection of the goddess and which also symbolized their change of status. Some at least of the different types may represent different stages in the ritual. If my interpretation is correct, the 'offering girls' series confirms Persephone's role as protectress of marriage at Locri.

I shall now consider another group of scenes, which I shall call 'the children in the basket'.¹⁰⁵ The following scenes from this group are published.

(1) *Ausonia* iii 193 fig. 44. (2) *Ausonia* iii 194 fig. 45. (3) *Ausonia* iii 195 fig. 46. (4) *BdA* iii 29 fig. 39. (5) *BdA* iii 30 fig. 40; Prückner 31 fig. 3. (6) *BdA* iii 30 fig. 41.

This cycle of representations can be divided¹⁰⁶ into two basic groups: one with a simple iconographical scheme, and one more elaborate. The scenes following the simple scheme all show a majestic woman, wearing chiton and himation, seated on a throne with a back ending in a goose's head, in front of an ornate table or chest on which there is a large elaborate basket; the woman has drawn the basket towards herself and opened it, and is holding the lid up with her right hand; in the basket lies a small child, its back propped up against a cushion, dressed in a himation, with long hair falling on its shoulders and arms around its knees. In (1), which is preserved in a fragmentary form, there is nothing in the space under the throne, although this is preserved. In (2) very similar, and also fragmentary, a mirror hangs on the wall above the basket. (3), also fragmentary, has a hydria under the table or chest. In (4) there is a bird under the throne and an alabastron as well as a mirror on the wall; under the table there is a hydria. (5) shows a table and a basket of a slightly different type, a similar throne and a bird under it similar to the one in (6), a mirror on the wall and a kantharos under the table; on the table, behind the basket, there is a round flask.

There is only one illustration of the elaborate iconographical scheme, (6). This is a fragmen-

¹⁰⁴ Note 93.

¹⁰⁵ On this group cf. Prückner 31–6.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Prückner *op. cit.*

tary representation in which the basket, held open by the woman, faces away from her and towards the approaching figure of a young woman of whom little is preserved, the right arm and hand raised in a gesture of adoration, and the left hand holding a kalathos upright on the palm. The child is standing in the basket. It is clearly female. This is shown first by the hair-style, which can be found in young men, but not, to my knowledge, in small male children, and secondly, by the aggressively female coquettish stance in which the child is shown. Moreover, the 'spotted' himation worn by the child also appears to have female connotations, for we found it worn by girls in a nuptial context; furthermore, the bridal peplos was also 'spotted'. The full scene, as well as other types involving the elaborate iconographic scheme, are described by Prückner.¹⁰⁷ The full version of (6) includes a door on the left; in some cases the kalathos is filled with painted flowers or fruit.

In another group of scenes with the enlarged scheme the enthroned woman has taken the child on her lap, while the basket again faces away from her and towards the young woman. In one of these types the approaching young woman has a taenia, a mirror and an alabastron.

In my opinion, the different iconographical arrangements and positions of basket and child correspond to different moments in the action. First, the woman opens the basket and finds the child; then she picks the child up, turns it round and places it on her lap; finally she puts it back in the basket standing on its feet. This is surely the only way in which the differences between the iconographical schemes can be explained. I will argue below that this explanation also makes sense in terms both of iconography and of content.

Before attempting to interpret this cycle of scenes, we should first try to determine the cultic sphere to which it belongs. This cycle does not tie up with any other; nor is a clearly identifiable male god present, such as Hades or Hermes. For this reason, we have to rely exclusively on the symbols and cult objects for the identification of the cultic sphere. It would be very dangerous to begin, as Prückner does, with a hypothesis about the significance of the scene, and then try to fit the facts and symbols into it.¹⁰⁸

The following symbols and objects are found in this cycle. Mirror, alabastron, hydria, kantharos, bird (on which see *infra*), kalathos, spherical flask, taenia, throne with a back ending in a goose's head. Of these, the spherical flask and the taenia can offer no help.¹⁰⁹ The kalathos is firmly fixed in Persephone's cultic sphere, and so is the throne with a back ending in a goose's head. The mirror, we saw, had entered Persephone's sphere at Locri, although it was also associated with Aphrodite. The alabastron belonged to Aphrodite; it is offered to Persephone by a goddess that is probably Aphrodite in one type of homage scene, but it also appears associated with objects and symbols belonging to Persephone in two 'furniture' *pinakes*,¹¹⁰ representations of furniture, vessels and other objects. It would appear then that the alabastron, although primarily characteristic of Aphrodite, had also been attracted into the orbit of the dominant Persephone, probably because of her association with women and their pursuits. The hydria and the kantharos are alternatives in the 'children in the basket' series. The kantharos at Locri was associated with both Hades and Dionysos. The hydria we have found only in connection with Persephone, though only once.¹¹¹ However, it also appears on a furniture-type *pinax*¹¹² which shows two cocks and a hydria standing on a very ornate chest under which there are two Sirens; the cocks and the Sirens from Persephone's sphere, place, surely, the whole representation in her realm, giving us another instance of the association of the hydria with Persephone. The fact that kantharos and hydria are alternatives in the scenes with the children in the basket suggests that the kantharos is present here in virtue of its association with Hades rather than Dionysos, since, if this is right, both vessels would belong to the same cultic sphere, that of Persephone-Hades. Prückner

¹⁰⁷ *op. cit.* 32.

¹⁰⁸ Whether we understand the symbols and objects as present in the sanctuary in the course of this cult activity (or in the location of the mythological event if the scenes show a myth), or added by the artist, in order to determine the cultic sphere, or enrich the scene, they must have belonged to the same cultic sphere as the ritual (or myth) depicted. For even if they were added with the simple purpose of enriching the scene their choice would have been determined by the nexus of associations between

cultic sphere and cult objects and symbols in the artist's mind.

¹⁰⁹ The taenia does appear elsewhere sporadically, but the discussion of these scenes is beyond my present scope. I believe that the taenia is not cultically fixed in one or the other sphere, for it seems to occur in both.

¹¹⁰ *BdA* iii 19 fig. 22; *op. cit.* 20 fig. 23.

¹¹¹ Cf. Note 93; Prückner 45-6.

¹¹² *BdA* iii 19 fig. 21.

assumes that the vessels are associated with the child. But even if this *a priori* assumption is correct, it cannot be excluded that the cultic sphere was also relevant. I argue below that there was a connection both with the child and with the cultic sphere.

It appears then that all the symbols considered so far which are fixed in one cultic sphere belong to Persephone. No symbol exclusively associated with Aphrodite is present. Now we turn to the bird under the throne. Prückner takes it to be a dove, a bird firmly connected with Aphrodite. However, in all the drawings published, the bird looks definitely different from the dove held by Eros in the scene illustrated in Prückner pl. 2 and from the doves shown in the scene illustrated in *BdA* iii 13 fig. 13 and Prückner pl. 11.2. I do not know what this bird is, nor do I know whether it is a naturalistic representation of the bird it is meant to portray. But it seems to me significant that the artists have represented it differently from Aphrodite's dove. This suggests to me that it is meant to be a different bird. Consequently, it cannot, I believe, be argued that this bird brings a discordant Aphroditic note into the scenes.

Scholars have interpreted this cycle of scenes in various ways,¹¹³ but there is unanimous agreement on one point: that we are dealing with mythological representations, and that both woman and child are divine. There is no compelling reason for this view, indeed, there is at least one strong argument against it. The child in the basket cannot be divine, for its sex can be either male or female. No divine female infant—other than the new-born Athena in totally different circumstances—has a role in myth; but even if one did, the variation of male or female infant in the same myth would be impossible. That the sex of the child is female in at least one case cannot, I believe, be doubted. It is true that the sex of the children shown still lying in the basket is difficult to determine. But I would like to suggest that it was indicated through the presence of either the kantharos or the hydria under the chest; that the hydria, associated with fetching water and other female occupations, denoted a girl, the kantharos, a drinking vessel, belonging to the sphere of the symposion and male pursuits, a boy. The fact that we are dealing with Persephone's cultic sphere would have determined which vessel associated with women (hydria rather than, say, alabastron) and which drinking vessel (kantharos rather than, say, kylix) was chosen. I argue shortly that these *pinakes* were dedicated by parents of children on a certain occasion in the child's life. The vessel may have been added by the artist as a means of differentiating the sexes and thus making, with little effort, some *pinakes* appropriate for girls and others for boys. Alternatively, a hydria or a kantharos, depending on the sex of the child, may have been actually placed under the chest during the cultic act which, I believe, is represented in the scenes. This must then have been considered sufficient indication of sex for the artist not to have otherwise differentiated children of different sexes. It is interesting to note that the one (published) case in which the sex of the child is clearly shown to be female depicts what I argue is the culminating point of the ritual. In any case, I want to stress that the fact that at least once the child in the basket is female shows that this is not a mythological scene involving a divine male infant as is generally believed, but a representation of a cultic event in which different (mortal) children were involved. There is one cultic occasion that suggests itself: the 'presentation' of children to a goddess, an act through which the child is placed under the protection of the divinity.¹¹⁴ This interpretation would make sense of the whole iconographical nexus; it introduces the most important cultic occasion in which Greek

¹¹³ Quagliati (*Ausonia* iii 195–6) was reminded of Erichthonios and thought in terms of a myth parallel to his. Oldfather (*Philol.* lxxix [1910] 121–2) thought of Dionysos, but considered it also possible that the scenes show symbolically the birth of a child, considered as an offering of the gods as well as the product of the parents. Later (*Philol.* lxxi [1912] 325–6) he opted for Iakchos, a view also favoured by Orsi (*BdA* iii 30–1) and Pagenstecher (*Eros und Psyche*, *SBHeidelberg* 1911, 14. Putorti, *Italia antichissima* n.s. xi (1937) 3–11, identified the child as Dionysos or Iakchos, *Studniczka*, *JdI* xxvi (1911) 143, as Adonis, a view embraced by Ashmole (*Late Archaic and Early Classical Greek Sculpture in Sicily and South Italy*, from *PBA* xx, separately printed, London 1936, 17) and

Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum* (London 1954–9) i no. 1219. Prückner (*op. cit.* 32–4) argued against all these theories and suggested that the scenes show Aphrodite and Dionysos.

¹¹⁴ On the presentation of children to deities cf. N. M. Kontoleon, *Aspects de la Grèce préclassique* (Paris 1970) 1–21, *passim*; *id.*, *ArchEph* 1974 13–25; W. Lambrinudakis, *Μηροτραφής* (Athens 1971) 218–28; *id.*, *AAA* ix (1976) 108–19; O. Walter, *Beschreibung der Reliefs im kleinen Akropolismuseum in Athen* (Vienna 1923) 32; *id.*, *ArchEph* 1937 i 103; *id.*, *ÖJh* xxx (1937) 59 ff.; cf. also M. Guarducci, *L'istituzione della fratria nella Grecia antica e nelle colonie greche d'Italia* (Rome 1937–8) 37–8.

children were involved, and, moreover, it offers iconographical parallels for our scenes. I should note that even if we disregard the argument based on the sex of the children, the existence of the iconographical parallels still indicates that this is the most likely interpretation of the scenes showing children in a basket.

The most important parallel is provided by the so-called Ino-Leukothea or Albani relief¹¹⁵ which is very closely connected stylistically with the Locrian *pinakes* and is likely to have been made at Locri.¹¹⁶ A seated goddess has a female child standing on her lap; two children and a woman are shown standing, the woman offering a taenia. Another close parallel is found on the Ikaria stele¹¹⁷ which shows an enthroned woman holding a child on her lap while two more children and two men are approaching, the latter making gestures of adoration. The third close iconographical parallel, or rather cycle of parallels, is provided by a series of Corinthian vases depicting the presentation of small boys and small girls to Demeter.¹¹⁸ The following representations offer some close parallels with our scenes. (i) Pyxis Paris Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des médailles 94 (H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* [Oxford 1931] no. 878; *BCH* xciv 51 fig. 3). Demeter, seated between two women, holds a small naked boy on her knees. (ii) Pyxis Munich 7741 (*BCH* xciv 49 fig. 2). The scene on the shoulder shows Demeter seated with a girl standing on her lap. (iii) Bottle Béziers 22 (*BCH* xciv 54 no. 5; *AntK* vi pl. 17, 1.3.5.6). Representation similar to (ii). (iv) Alabastron Berlin 4285 (*Necrocorinthia* no. 1203; *BCH* xciv 53 fig. 5). Demeter is shown seated with a small boy on her knees. Other monuments depicting presentations of children are the following. Acropolis relief no. 581;¹¹⁹ Acropolis relief no. 3030;¹²⁰ Xenokrateia relief, Athens, Nat. Mus. no. 2756.¹²¹

In these circumstances, there can be little doubt that the scenes on the *pinakes* show the presentation of Locrian children to the kourotrophic deity, a cult act designed to ensure the goddess' blessing for the children. All these scenes depicting children's presentations, at Locri and elsewhere, show the deepest meaning of this cult act, by representing the goddess, understood as 'ideally present', in physical contact with the child. At Locri, the presentation would seem to have involved the placing of the child in a basket, a ritual which can be explained when it is remembered that in myth divine children who were 'adopted', as it were, by kourotrophic goddesses had been similarly placed in baskets. Such was the case with Erichthonios, who was 'adopted' by Athena,¹²² and, most importantly, with Adonis who was 'adopted' by Persephone, to whom he was handed over by Aphrodite hidden in a basket.¹²³ In reality, it would be the priestess of Persephone who 'received' the child in the basket on behalf of the goddess in the course of a ritual which would have involved the three stages which are represented in the *pinakes*. Alternatively, the Locrian ritual may not have involved an actual placing of the child in the basket. In this case, the scenes on the *pinakes* should be understood as 'symbolic' representations of the ritual, modelled upon the myth involving Persephone in a kourotrophic role, the myth of Adonis. The *pinakes* were probably dedicated by the parents on the occasion of their child's presentation.

In any case, these scenes show that the Locrian Persephone was a kourotrophic goddess, the protectress of children. This aspect of the goddess is another manifestation of her involvement in the world of women. The role of protectress of women, marriage and children is peculiar to the Locrian personality of the divinity. This Locrian personality also included aspects found in her Panhellenic *persona*, that is her involvement with the fertility of the earth and with the funerary sphere. However, at Locri her character as Demeter's daughter, so prominent in Panhellenic

¹¹⁵ Cf. Kontoleon, *Aspects* pl. vi; *ArchEph* 1974 pl. 57; cf. also *Aspects* 10 n. 1, 17.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Ashmole, *JHS* xlii (1922) 248, 252.

¹¹⁷ Kontoleon, *Aspects* pl. i; *ArchEph* 1974 pl. i. Kontoleon has argued very convincingly that this relief represents a presentation of children in *Aspects* 1–21 and again, refuting the objections of Rühfel (*AntK* xvii [1974] 42–9) in *ArchEph* 1974, 13–25. Lambrinudakis (*AAA* ix [1976] 108–19) has completed Kontoleon's case.

¹¹⁸ D. Callipolitis-Feytmans, *BCH* xciv (1970) 45–65; I. Jucker, *AntK* vi (1963) 47–61; cf. also Lambrinudakis,

Μηροτραφής 218–28, who argued conclusively in favour of interpreting the scenes as presentations of children to the kourotrophic deity.

¹¹⁹ Kontoleon, *Aspects* pl. iv; *ArchEph* 1974 pl. 6 and p. 20.

¹²⁰ Walter, *Beschreibung* 32 no. 3030; *ArchEph* 1974 pl. 4.

¹²¹ *ArchEph* 1937 i 102 fig. 1 and 101–3.

¹²² M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*³ (Munich 1967) 317; cf. also G. Becatti, *EAA* iii 419–20.

¹²³ Cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* iii 14.4.

religion, is hardly noticeable; Demeter's place in the Locrian cult of Persephone is minimal.¹²⁴ This phenomenon is undoubtedly related to the fact that at Locri the emphasis was on Persephone the bride and spouse.

It is of some interest to the problem of the definition of divine personalities that the personality and functions of Persephone at Locri as recovered here resemble in many ways those of Hera at the sanctuary of Foce del Sele.¹²⁵

III. APHRODITE AT LOCRI

It is impossible to conduct here an exhaustive investigation into the Locrian Aphrodite's personality. This would involve, among other things, a necessarily inconclusive discussion of the attempts to identify her Locrian sanctuary. It would also involve a lengthy discussion of some problematic scenes¹²⁶ that could belong to her but cannot conclusively be shown to do so, because of the paucity of the symbols and cult objects that can firmly and exclusively be associated with this goddess. I should, however, point out that this uncertainty in no way affects the conclusions about Aphrodite's personality which can be drawn from those series that definitely belong to her and from some fragments of literary evidence which are relevant to this cult. The problematic scenes would neither add anything to, nor change anything in Aphrodite's personality as it can be recovered from the evidence available.

The following types of scenes indisputably belong to Aphrodite.

(i) Aphrodite, Hermes and Eros.¹²⁷ Eros, holding a lyre, is standing on his mother's arm. Hermes has the kerykeion, Aphrodite holds a 'rose-like' flower;¹²⁸ between the two there is a simple thymiaterion. Prückner¹²⁹ thinks that the scene shows the cult-statues of the deities.

(ii) Eros holding a dove and a winged girl holding an alabastron are drawing a chariot; Aphrodite is standing in it while Hermes is just climbing on.¹³⁰ The precise meaning of the scene is problematic.¹³¹

(iii) A woman hands a statue of Eros over to another woman in the presence of a third who is holding a taenia.¹³²

(iv) The birth of Aphrodite.¹³³ Aphrodite has just emerged from the sea and is being received by two female figures, one of whom is about to envelop her in a garment. The goddess is shown in a smaller scale.

(v) The temple of Aphrodite and Hermes.¹³⁴ The scene shows a temple with open doors through which can be seen the cult-statues of Aphrodite and Hermes, the latter holding a phiale. An altar stands in front of the temple, decorated with a relief representation of a satyr copulating with a hind. A youth and a girl are standing by the altar, the former pouring a libation on it. Alternatively,¹³⁵ only a girl is shown and a mirror hanging in the air.

(vi) A fragmentary type showing a temple with mixed Doric and Ionic elements like the one in (v) and with a pediment decorated with two doves; in the temple there is a goddess holding a bowl full of fruit, and in front of her a girl playing the double flute.¹³⁶

We can deduce the following about Aphrodite's personality.

First, the myth of her birth from the sea, which was part of the goddess' Panhellenic myth, was included in her personality-nexus at Locri. Secondly, she is associated in cult with Eros.¹³⁷

¹²⁴ Cf. also Zancani Montuoro, *RendAccLincei* 1959 227–8; Demeter appears on the type of *pinax* which reflects the Homeric Hymn to Demeter (illustrated in Prückner 82 fig. 15; cf. also *supra* n. 61).

¹²⁵ On Hera at Foce del Sele cf. Zanotti-Bianco in P. Zancani Montuoro and U. Zanotti-Bianco, *Heraion alla Foce del Sele* i (Rome 1951) 14–18.

¹²⁶ Cf. e.g. *BdA* iii 24 fig. 28; Prückner 53 fig. 9.

¹²⁷ *BdA* iii 12 fig. 12; Prückner pl. 1.1.

¹²⁸ On the flower cf. Prückner 16.

¹²⁹ *op. cit.*

¹³⁰ *Ausonia* iii 189 fig. 41; Prückner pl. 2.

¹³¹ Cf. a discussion in Prückner 22–7.

¹³² *Ausonia* iii 191 fig. 42; cf. Prückner 67–8.

¹³³ *Ausonia* iii 212 fig. 60; 213 fig. 61; Prückner 37 fig. 4; cf. Zancani Montuoro, *Marsyas* 386–95 (and figs. 4–7); cf. also Prückner 36–8.

¹³⁴ *RIA* vii pl. 1; fig. 2; Prückner 17 fig. 1; pl. 1.2; cf. Zancani Montuoro, *RIA* vii (1940) 205–24; Prückner 17–19.

¹³⁵ Prückner type 2A, *op. cit.* 135 n. 107.

¹³⁶ *BdA* iii 13 fig. 13.

¹³⁷ On Eros cults cf. L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* v (Oxford 1909) 445–6, 476–7; G. Schneider-Herrmann, *BABesch* xlv (1970) 86–117 *passim* and esp. 87–8.

The fact that Eros had a place in cult is shown by types (i) and especially (iii) which depicts a ceremony involving a statue of Eros. I must stress that the Eros with whom Aphrodite is associated here is not the funerary Eros of later South Italian iconography. This last cosmic and funerary Eros is iconographically very different from the one on the Locrian *pinakes*. The funerary type is effeminate, and this is not a casual characteristic, but an important aspect of his iconography which expresses important concepts about his personality.¹³⁸ Moreover, the Locrian Eros is not associated with the funerary one through any common attributes. On the *pinakes* Eros is shown as a boy, according to the usual iconographical type of Eros–Love.¹³⁹ This is important. For it must be clear that there is nothing in Aphrodite's personality or associations at Locri that would connect her with the funerary sphere. Aphrodite does have a funerary aspect in some places,¹⁴⁰ but not at Locri. Therefore her cultic association with Persephone is *not* due to a common funerary aspect.

Aphrodite's cultic association with her son, Eros, in his *persona* as Love indicates that her Locrian personality involved her Panhellenic aspect as goddess of love. This is confirmed by the symbols and cult objects that are associated with her. The attribute most closely connected with the goddess at Locri, the dove, was considered by the Greeks a love-bird;¹⁴¹ it is, of course, widely associated with Aphrodite throughout Greece.¹⁴² The mirror and the alabastron, connected with beautification, point in the same direction.

The last piece of information provided by the *pinakes* about Aphrodite's personality will confirm the above considerations. It is that she was cultically associated with Hermes who was her *paredros* at Locri. A similar cultic association between the two is also found in local cult-units in other parts of the Greek world.¹⁴³ This cultic pairing must reflect a connection between the two divine personalities: in the local cults in which such an association is found, each deity's personality must have important aspects that relate to important aspects of the personality of the other. Failing an analysis of the relevant cults, we can make an *a priori* supposition about which aspects of the two deities are likely to have been related in a way that could be expressed by pairing them. If we construct an artificial conflation by adding up all the aspects and functions of the two deities in all the different Greek cults, we will recover all the aspects and functions that each can 'cover' in the Greek world. We will then find that there are firmly established aspects of Hermes, his ithyphallic powers and connections with wild nature, which relate to Aphrodite's *persona* as goddess of love, sex and the creative force which operates in nature through love.¹⁴⁴ It is likely that it is this connection which led to the pairing of the two deities¹⁴⁵ in some cults where their divine personalities were emphatically characterized by these aspects. The evidence for Hermes' personality at Locri is too scant to test this hypothesis. Aphrodite on the other hand does appear to be primarily the goddess of love. Further consideration of the functions of the two deities as a pair in the Locrian cult will, in my opinion, confirm this hypothesis.

First we may note that, as Prückner points out,¹⁴⁶ Aphrodite and Hermes are not a married couple, they are a pair of lovers. The argument for this is not so much that they are not attested as spouses anywhere (Prückner's argument) but that the Panhellenic religious dimension, particularly through the Homeric poems, would have had an especially powerful influence in matters such as the relationships between the twelve gods. Even if originally in some cults Aphrodite and Hermes had been a married couple their relationship would have been transformed into an illicit one under the impact of Panhellenic religion.

Secondly, we may consider again the scene depicting the temple of Hermes and Aphrodite,

¹³⁸ Cf. Schneider-Herrmann, *op. cit.*, esp. 105.

¹³⁹ On the iconography of Eros cf. A. Greifenhagen, *Griechische Erosen* (Berlin 1957); G. M. A. Richter, *Arch-Class* x (1958) 255–7; E. Speier in *EAA* iii 426–33.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Farnell, *CoGS* ii (1896) 652–3.

¹⁴¹ Cf. *EAA* i 116; *RE* s.v. 'Taube'.

¹⁴² Cf. *EAA* i 116, 119. The wild dove, *φάσσα*, was associated with Persephone (cf. O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt* ii 123).

¹⁴³ Cf. bibliography in Prückner 134 n. 114; to this should be added Nilsson, *GGrR*³ 503, and especially a recently discovered sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite

at Kato Syme Viannou in Crete, which is in the process of being excavated (cf. A. Lebesse, *AAA* vi (1973) 104–14; *Ergon* 1973, 118–23; *Ergon* 1974, 118–21; *Ergon* 1975, 171–5; *Praktika* 1972, 193–203; *Praktika* 1973, 188–98; *Praktika* 1974, 222–7); in this sanctuary Hermes appears to be closely connected with trees and animals, wild goats, billy-goats, hares.

¹⁴⁴ On this last demiurgic aspect of Aphrodite cf. Aesch. *fr.* 44 N²; Sophokles *fr.* 855 N²; Eurip. *fr.* 898 N².

¹⁴⁵ Cf. E. Buschor, *MDAI(A)* lxxii (1957) 77; Nilsson, *GGrR*³ 503.

¹⁴⁶ *op. cit.* 22.

and especially the relief decorating the altar. It shows a satyr copulating with a hind, an act of bestiality, involving on the one hand a satyr, the embodiment of the wildest type of human nature, especially of human sexuality, and on the other hand an animal. The fact that this scene was judged suitable for the decoration of an altar to Hermes and Aphrodite—whether in reality or only on the *pinakes*—is significant.¹⁴⁷ It shows that bestiality too belongs to the cultic sphere of Hermes and Aphrodite, the illicit lovers. In other words, Aphrodite and Hermes preside over love and sex in its entirety, as a cosmic principle, which includes manifestations that society may classify as perverse. The demiurgic aspect of the love represented by Aphrodite may conceivably be hinted at through the bowl of fruit in (vi), which may be taken to denote fertility. In the same scene, the presence of the flute-playing girl in front of Aphrodite may perhaps illustrate the goddess' connection with the illicit aspects of love, since the flute is associated with hetairai.

IV. PERSEPHONE AND APHRODITE AT LOCRI

We can now see how Aphrodite relates to, and is differentiated from, Persephone at Locri: she relates to Persephone first through Persephone's connections with fertility, a concept associated with that of love as a demiurgic force represented by Aphrodite; secondly, through Persephone's role as protectress of marriage, because Aphrodite represents and presides over the demiurgic aspects of love and sex which are very important for marriage. But there is also a clear differentiation between the types of love which concern the two goddesses. Persephone, and Persephone and Hades as a bridal pair and married couple, presided over its institutionalized forms operating within the *polis* and harnessed to the needs of society. Aphrodite—and her lover Hermes—stands for love and sex as a cosmic principle, which includes all its manifestations, that is also its illicit and 'aberrant' forms which do not serve society, love unconfined by institutions.

The story about the *votum* made by the Locrians to Aphrodite in 477/6¹⁴⁸ tends to confirm these remarks. The inhabitants of Locri had vowed to prostitute their virgin daughters at the festival of Aphrodite if they managed to defeat the tyrant Leophron of Rhegion who was attacking them. I have expressed elsewhere my agreement with the view that this *votum* had nothing to do with an alleged institution of sacred prostitution.¹⁴⁹ The point I want to make here is that this inversion of the structures and values of the city, this strikingly 'outside' manifestation of sexual activity imposed on the virgin daughters of citizens, was a vow to Aphrodite not because Aphrodite was a warrior goddess at Locri—there is not the slightest hint of evidence to that effect—but because she had jurisdiction over love and sex as a principle, unconfined by social institutions, and therefore also over the 'outside' manifestations of love and sex. However, by this vow—which was never fulfilled—Persephone's realm was impinged upon. For in the normal course of events, the virgin daughters of citizens, destined to marriage and the 'social' forms of love and sex, came under the jurisdiction of Persephone. There may be some evidence suggesting special dedications to Persephone aimed at propitiating her for the prospective encroachment on her realm. There is one type of *pinax*¹⁵⁰ which shows a seated Persephone holding a phiale and a very elaborate stylized flower, and in front of her a girl, much younger than those in the 'offering girls' series—no more than *c.* 12–13 to their *c.* 16–20—offering a ball, accompanied by a warrior offering a cock. This is a variant of the scenes with the dedication of a ball and a cock to Persephone by girls about to get married. The important variations are three: the younger age of the girl, the fact that she is only offering a ball, and the presence of the warrior by whom the cock is offered. These similarities and divergences suggest that the occasion portrayed here is related to the ritual of the wedding dedications but has a different significance and function. The fact that this scene is only found in one type of *pinax* represented by many specimens¹⁵¹ may suggest that we are dealing with a special dedication, and therefore also with a special occasion. In my opinion,

¹⁴⁷ Prückner (*op. cit.* 29) has misunderstood this significance. He talks as though the representation involved two animals copulating and misses the element of bestiality when he takes the relief to be a reference to Aphrodite's power, through love, in the animal as well as the human world.

¹⁴⁸ I have discussed this *votum* in some detail in CQ xxiv (1974) 186–96.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. previous note.

¹⁵⁰ Prückner 47 fig. 7.

¹⁵¹ Note 86.

the occasion that would best meet these requirements would be a special dedication to Persephone at the time of the *votum* aiming at propitiating the goddess in the face of the prospective encroachment on her realm; a dedication that would mark the end of girlhood for the girls who were to be prostituted, in a way similar to that taking place before marriage, and with Persephone's blessing. The very young age of the girl on the *pinakes* I take to be an iconographical convention for expressing 'premature abandonment of girlhood, before the normal occasion of marriage'. The girl is dedicating the ball as a symbol of the childhood (and virginity) that was to be left behind. The cock, symbol of maleness, aggression and male sexuality (in this case not to be harnessed into marriage) as well as of the fighting spirit, is offered by the figure who embodies the concepts expressed by the cock at the symbolic level: the warrior, a representative of the male citizens and soldiers of the city who were instrumental figures in the *votum*. If this interpretation is correct we would have gained an interesting insight into a special manifestation of the relationship and interaction between the cultic spheres of Aphrodite and Persephone.¹⁵²

The emphasis in the Locrian Aphrodite's personality on the cosmic and demiurgic aspect of love, which includes also the sexual activities situated 'outside' the city structures, and the cultic association with Hermes and Eros make Aphrodite's personality at Locri distinct. It is closely related to the Panhellenic personality of the goddess, but has also been shaped by its interactions with the personalities of Persephone and Hermes. Both, the former primarily by differentiation, the latter by association, tended to reinforce the emphasis on the cosmic and demiurgic aspect of love and sex which is not confined by civic institutions. Persephone's personality at Locri includes some of the aspects which characterize her Panhellenic personality, but without the close association with Demeter; moreover, it contains some other functions not associated with her elsewhere: she presided over the world of women, with special reference to the protection of marriage and the rearing of children, that is of those female activities that were most important for the life of the *polis*.

I would like to suggest that these conclusions confirm the observations made in the first section of this paper on the definition of divine personalities, and demonstrate the validity of an approach based on the study of local cults.

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¹⁵² I should note that in other cities Aphrodite is sometimes associated with marriage, the family and the *polis* structures (cf. Farnell, *op. cit.* ii 655-7). Nilsson (*GGrR*³

524), who denies this, has conflated evidence from different parts of the Greek world and treated it as though it came from one cultic unit.