

**THE UNEQUAL TWINS:**  
ARTEMIS AND APOLLO IN ATHENIAN  
DRAMA AND ICONOGRAPHY

by  
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# Abstract

Artemis and Apollo were both important deities in Athens, but while in Attic vase iconography they are repeatedly portrayed alongside each other, in Athenian drama Apollo is mostly depicted by himself and Artemis' presence is considerably smaller. The dissertation argues that the discrepancy between the two media derives from the strong Homeric influence on the playwrights, since the Homeric corpus, especially the *Iliad*, portrays Artemis as a weak and marginalized goddess, who does not belong on the battlefield and who punishes heroes rather than helping them. However, while Homer's depiction canonized in many ways Artemis' literary portrayal, it did not have a similar effect on the vase-painters, who present Artemis repeatedly and favorably.

The first chapter examines the Homeric attitude towards the twins, focusing on Homer's maltreatment of Artemis in the *Iliad*. While Apollo is depicted as a great and powerful god, his familial bond with his twin sister is downplayed in a consistent effort to detach them from one another. Artemis was considered potentially dangerous to the warriors of the *Iliad*, and therefore it was better to distance her from the battlefield and minimize her power. Homer's great influence established Artemis' literary character and affected her later portrayal, albeit without the negative tone found in the *Iliad*, as we may see already in the *Homeric Hymns* to Apollo and Artemis.

The second chapter studies the representations of Artemis and Apollo in Athenian drama, demonstrating that the plays usually maintain and replicate some of the Homeric biases against Artemis as well as the dynamic between her and Apollo, thus continuing her marginalization. In

most of the plays, she is only allotted a role secondary to that of her brother. However, when the playwrights describe expressions of devotion, such as prayers, hymns, and invocations, Artemis is hailed, worshipped, and honored. These represent authentic Athenian customs, which allow us to see the religious world and perceptions of Athens in the fifth century BCE. Therefore, the plays present a dialectical tension between the immense importance and influence of the Homeric poems, on the one hand, and the Attic cultic reality on the other.

The final chapter turns to iconography, revealing that unlike Artemis' scarce presence in epos and drama, she was very popular in Attic vase-painting. Yet in most of the images, the basic hierarchy between the twins does not change. This is built into representations of divine twins in Antiquity, in which usually one is the child of a god and the other of a mortal man. With Artemis and Apollo, both sired by Zeus and too different to be undistinguishable, Artemis' gender is used to place her below her brother in the internal hierarchy between them.

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# Table of Contents

Abstract .....	ii
Acknowledgements .....	iv
Introduction .....	1
Chapter 1 - Artemis and Apollo in Epic Poetry .....	28
1.1 - The <i>Iliad</i> and the <i>Odyssey</i> .....	28
1.2 – The <i>Homeric Hymns</i> .....	61
Chapter 2 – Athenian Drama .....	75
2.1 – Aeschylus.....	75
2.2 – Sophokles.....	92
2.3 – Euripides.....	108
2.4 – Aristophanes .....	139
Chapter 3 – Artemis and Apollo in Attic Vase Paintings.....	153
3.1 – Narrative Scenes .....	153
3.1.1 – Myths of Artemis and Apollo .....	153
3.1.2 – Myths of Apollo .....	181
3.1.3 – Myths of Artemis .....	213
3.1.4 – Myths of Others .....	235
3.1.5 – Chariot Scenes .....	244
3.2 – Non-Narrative Scenes .....	269
3.2.1 – Black Figure Non-Narrative Scenes .....	269
3.2.2 – Red-Figure Non-Narrative Scenes .....	297
Conclusions .....	344
Appendix 1 – Catalogue of Vases .....	348
Appendix 2 – Tables .....	451
Bibliography .....	455
Curriculum Vitae .....	494

# Introduction

This dissertation is an interdisciplinary study of the representations of Artemis and Apollo together, focusing on the apparent gap between their depictions in Attic iconography, where they are repeatedly portrayed alongside each other, and in Athenian drama, where Apollo is mostly depicted by himself while Artemis' presence is considerably diminished. I argue that the discrepancy between the two media derives from the strong Homeric influence on the playwrights, since the Homeric corpus, especially the *Iliad*, portrays Artemis as a weak and marginalized goddess, who, unlike her brother, does not belong on the battlefield, and who punishes and ignores heroes rather than helping them. Homer's great importance and influence has established, if not canonized, this approach and has affected Artemis' portrayal in Athenian drama. However, in vase-painting, the goddess is depicted favorably and frequently, since Attic iconography better reflects the cultic reality of Athens, where Artemis was an important goddess.

## Their worship in Athens

Artemis and Apollo were both important members of the Greek Pantheon. Burkert claims that "Artemis had one of the most widespread Greek cults and is one of the oldest Greek deities, second only to Apollo,"<sup>1</sup> and according to Larson, Artemis' cults were "numerous and more widespread than those of any other Greek goddess,"<sup>2</sup> while Apollo was one "of the most widely worshipped deities in the Greek world."<sup>3</sup> Hussey, too, notes that Apollo and Artemis are the god

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<sup>1</sup> W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, (Cambridge, MA, 1985), p.149.

<sup>2</sup> J. Larson, *Ancient Greek cults*, (New York, 2007), p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.* p. 86.

and goddess who had the greatest number of temples in the Greek world,<sup>4</sup> and Dasen argues they “forment un couple fraternel modèle, toujours allié dans le danger, notamment pour secourir ou venger leur mère,” and that they are readily presented together in scenes of divine assemblies, often looking at each other as a symbol of their unity.<sup>5</sup>

In Athens, notwithstanding the understandable prominence of Athena, both were major deities, although they were usually not worshipped together, despite their close familial bond. Artemis was worshipped as a kourotrophic deity in Athens, a goddess of fertility (of both humans and animals), who protected women and children.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, she was a goddess of civic life and of hunting.<sup>7</sup> Kahil claims that Artemis played an important part in the Attic civic piety, since she was “the protectress of families, to whom she insures continuity,” noting that “even as a civic goddess, Artemis never loses her essential character of goddess of the outdoors and of nature. Her real domain is not Athens, but Attica, the countryside, the limits of the city.”<sup>8</sup>

Artemis’ most important Attic sanctuary, and possibly the oldest, was her temple in Brauron, which, according to Vikela, was extremely important for the well-being of the

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<sup>4</sup> G.B. Hussey, “The Distribution of Hellenic Temples,” in *American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts*, vol. 6, no. 1/2 (1890), p. 60.

<sup>5</sup> V. Dasen, *Jumeaux, jumelles dans l’Antiquité grecque et romaine*, (Zürich, 2005), p. 164.

<sup>6</sup> C. Calame, *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece*, (Lanham, 2001), p. 101; L. Foukara, *All in the Family: the Apollonian Triad in Attic Art of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries BC*, (Unpublished doctoral thesis), The University of Edinburgh, (Edinburgh, 2014), pp. 141, 146, 157-158; Th. Hadzisteliou-Price, *Kourotrophos: Cults and Representations of the Greek Nursing Deities*, (Leiden, 1978), p. 21; B. Lundgreen, “Boys at Brauron,” in T. Fischer-Hansen and B. Poulsen (eds.), *From Artemis to Diana*, (Copenhagen, 2009), pp. 117-126; L. Kahil, “Mythological Repertoire of Brauron,” in W.G. Moon (ed.), *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*, (Madison, WI, 1983), pp. 232-243.

<sup>7</sup> L.A. Beaumont, “The Changing Face of Childhood,” in J. Neils and J.H. Oakley (eds.), *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*, (New Haven, 2003), p. 61; Kahil (1983), pp. 232, 240; J. Mejer, “Artemis in Athens,” in T. Fischer-Hansen and B. Poulsen (eds.), *From Artemis to Diana*, (Copenhagen, 2009), p. 62; V. Sabetai, “Birth, Childhood, and Marriage: Women’s Ritual Roles in the Cycle of Life,” in N. Kaltsas and H.A. Shapiro (eds.), *Worshipping Women*, (New York, 2008) p. 291.

<sup>8</sup> Kahil (1983), p. 243.



community.<sup>9</sup> This local cult was promoted by Peisistratos or his son, Hippias, who hailed from Brauron, and who made it into an official state cult. They transported this cult to Athens and installed a Braurion on the Akropolis during the sixth century BCE, where an older temple of Artemis Epipyrgidia (*of the tower*) once stood.<sup>10</sup> Vessels associated with the Braurionian ritual, known as krateriskoi, were found in Brauron, Mounichia, Halai, the temple of Artemis Aristoboule, and on the Acropolis.<sup>11</sup> The Brauronia festival was held every four years, but most of the attention regarding Brauron is given to the ritual of the Arkteia, in which girls of a pre-marital age were shedding their saffron robes and “playing the bear” in honor of Artemis, probably while serving in her temple for a certain period.<sup>12</sup> Many statues of small children, boys

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<sup>9</sup> E. Vikela, “The Worship of Artemis in Attica,” in N. Kaltsas and H.A. Shapiro (eds.), *Worshipping Women*, (New York, 2008), p. 79. For more on the cult in Brauron, see E. Bevan, “The Goddess Artemis, and the Dedication of Bears in Sanctuaries,” in *the Annual of the British School at Athens*, vol. 82 (1987), p. 19; C. Calame, “Identities of Gods and Heroes: Athenian Garden Sanctuaries and Gendered Rites of Passage,” in J. Bremmer and A. Erskine (eds.), *The Gods of Ancient Greece*, (Edinburgh, 2010), pp. 253-263; J.M. Camp, *The Archaeology of Athens*, (New Haven, 2001), pp. 125-126, 277-279; L. Kahil, “L'Artémis de Brauron: Rites et mystère,” in *Antike Kunst*, vol. 20 (1977), pp. 86-98; L. Kahil, “Le 'craterisque' d'Artemis et le Braurion de l'Acropole,” in *Hesperia*, vol. 50 (1981), pp. 253-263; Kahil (1983), pp. 231-244; Larson (2007), p. 107; J. Neils, “Children and Greek Religion,” in J. Neils and J.H. Oakley (eds.), *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*, (New Haven, 2003), pp. 151-152; M.L. Nosch, “Approaches to Artemis in Bronze Age Greece,” in T. Fischer-Hansen and B. Poulsen (eds.), *From Artemis to Diana*, (Copenhagen, 2009), p. 30; R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens*, (Oxford, 2005), pp. 4-5; E.D. Reeder, *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece*, (Baltimore, 1996), pp. 321-322; Sabetai (2008), pp. 290-291.

<sup>10</sup> C.W. Hedrick, “The Temple and Cult of Apollo Patroos in Athens,” in *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 92, no. 2 (1988), p. 207; Kahil (1981), pp. 259-260; Kahil (1983), p. 243; Vikela (2008), p. 85; H.A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens*, (Mainz am Rhein, 1989), p. 66; E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica*, (Madison, WI, 1983), p. 83; J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, (New York, 1971), pp. 124-125. For Artemis Epipyrgidia, see E. Simon, *Opfernde Götter*, (Berlin, 1953), p. 158. Simon dates the older temple to the Bronze Age (p. 83).

<sup>11</sup> L.G. Kahil, “Autour de l'Artemis Attique,” in *Antike Kunst*, vol. 8 (1965), pp. 23-34; Kahil (1977), pp. 87-88; Kahil (1981), pp. 253-263; Kahil (1983), p. 237; N. Kaltsas and H.A. Shapiro (eds.), *Worshipping Women*, (New York, 2008) pp. 83, 102-105; Shapiro (1989), p. 65.

<sup>12</sup> The major debate regarding the Arkteia is whether this was a rite of passage or an appeasement rite. Some scholars consider it a rite of passage, guiding young girls in their transition from childhood to puberty and preparing them for marital bliss (e.g. A.M. Bowie, “Religion and Politics in Aeschylus' Oresteia,” in M. Lloyd (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies: Aeschylus*, [Oxford, 2007], p. 340; Calame [2010], pp. 260-261; P. Perlman, “Acting the She-Bear for Artemis,” in *Arethusa*, vol. 22, no. 2, [1989], pp. 122-123; Vikela [2008], p. 82). Others, however, have argued that it was impossible for all the girls in Attica to play the bear, and since there is no evidence for such an initiation by proxy, they conclude that the Arkteia was an appeasement ritual (e.g. Larson [2007], p. 108; J.D. Mikalson, *Ancient Greek Religion*, (Oxford, 2005), pp. 62-63; M.B. Walbank, “Artemis Bear-Leader,” in *Classical Quarterly*, vol. 31, no. 2 [1981], p. 277). Parke assumes that in the beginning this was a rite performed by all the local girls in Brauron, but after the cult of Artemis Brauronia became a state religion, acting the bear remained the

and girls, were found in Brauron, either given in gratitude for safe deliveries or placing the children under Artemis' protection, hoping she would oversee their well-being.<sup>13</sup> Although the earliest statues are dated to the fourth century BCE, they must represent earlier sentiments and parents in the sixth and the fifth century BCE also thanked and appeased Artemis in this regard, only expressed it differently.<sup>14</sup>

Alongside her Brauronian cult, Artemis was worshipped in Athens and Attica under various epithets and in many different locations. Some of her cults focused on feminine aspects, while others were closely associated with civic and militaristic affairs. Kahil claims that from very early on, Artemis became the patroness of civic and social life in Athens, and that this is

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duty and privilege of a select aristocratic few (1977, p. 140). Parker suggests that while all Athenian girls had the right to play the bear, those who could not afford to pay for their daughter to participate in the Arkteia settled for offering the goddess a tithē or a krateriskos, referring to it as “universal right of access (among citizens) but restricted actual participation” (Parker [2005], pp. 233-234). Faraone, on the other hand, claims that there were different rituals, which were conflated by later sources. One was a restricted communal ceremony to appease Artemis, performed by girls between the ages of five and ten, another was a pre-nuptial and private ceremony, in which maidens appeased the goddess, and finally there was a limited period of temple service (C.A. Faraone, “Playing the Bear and Fawn for Artemis,” in D.B. Dodd and C.A. Faraone [eds.], *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives*, [London, 2003], pp. 55-62). However, the exact nature of the Arkteia or the Brauronia is irrelevant for the purposes of this study, only that it proves the great significance of this cult in Athens.

<sup>13</sup> Bevan (1987), p. 19; Camp (2001), p. 278; Kahil (1983), p. 237; Larson (2007), p. 108; Lundgreen (2009), p. 122; I. Nielsen, “The sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia: Can Architecture and Iconographic Help to Locate the Settings of the Rituals?” in T. Fischer-Hansen and B. Poulsen (eds.), *From Artemis to Diana*, (Copenhagen, 2009), p. 95; Parker (2005), pp. 49n12, 231; Sabetai (2008) p. 291. According to Kondis, the larger number of statues of boys could indicate the parents' preoccupation with having healthy and strong male offspring (I.D. Kondis, “Artemis Brauronia,” *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον*, 22, [1967], pp. 180, 203.

<sup>14</sup> The presence of the boys' statues should not be surprising, since despite the feminine emphasis, Brauron was not exclusively female, and from one point it had a gymnasium and a palaestra and we also hear of a sacred hunt, stables, and dining-rooms for men, and these led Parker to claim that perhaps “young men had or acquired a greater place in the life of the sanctuary than most other evidence suggests” (Parker [2005], p. 230). Additionally, according to Hollinshead, men also took part in the Brauronian cult, and she bases her argument on the presence of men in the various dedicatory reliefs and on the existence of a palaestra and a gymnasium on the site, which were likely to serve men, although not necessarily (M.B. Hollinshead, “Against Iphigeneia's Adyton in Three Mainland Temples,” in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 89, no. 3, [1985], p. 36.). This is possible, although the important thing is that the Brauronian cult was closely connected with the female and with the feminine.

Mejer wonders if the presence of boys' statues means that the Brauronian cult was not only for young girls ([2009], p. 71), but these statues can be easily explained as dedication for safe deliveries of baby boys etc.

also closely linked to her other aspects and to her origins.<sup>15</sup> However, according to Shapiro, these political aspects under which Artemis was worshipped were new and influenced by the Persian Wars, since previously her worship exhibited only the traditional aspects of childbirth, marriage, animals, and nature.<sup>16</sup>

A good example for Artemis' involvement in political and militaristic matters can be found at a small shrine in Agrai, near the Ilissos river, dedicated to Artemis Agrotera (*Huntress, fond of the chase*), to whom the Athenian ephebes swore an oath before they entered military service, pledging their allegiance to the polis at her sanctuary.<sup>17</sup> Artemis Agrotera was also the patroness of the Council of the 500 in Athens, and the Athenians believed that she assisted them during the battle of Marathon.<sup>18</sup> In order to thank her and to commemorate her help, each year the polemarch sacrificed 500 goats to her, in what was possibly a great festival, which included a procession of ephebes, who perhaps also helped in the ritual.<sup>19</sup>

Although Agrotera is a hunting epithet, Larson explains its transformation and connection to military affairs by claiming that in societies where hunting was mainly an aristocratic pastime activity, "the powerful deities of the hunt are not forgotten but modified; Artemis' interest in the

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<sup>15</sup> *ibid.* p. 232. For more on Artemis' political aspects, see S.G. Cole, "Landscapes of Artemis," in *Classical World*, vol. 93, no. 5 (2000), p. 474; I. Petrovic, "Transforming Artemis: From Goddess of the Outdoors to City Goddess," in J. Bremmer and A. Erskine (eds.), *The Gods of Ancient Greece*, (Edinburgh, 2010), pp. 217-227.

<sup>16</sup> Shapiro (1989), p. 66.

<sup>17</sup> Camp (2001), pp. 105-106; Cole (2000), p. 478; Reeder (1996), p. 303; Travlos (1971), pp. 112-120.

<sup>18</sup> Cole (2000), p. 479; T.R. Martin, *Ancient Greece: from Prehistoric to Hellenistic Times*, (Ann Arbor, 1996), p. 127.

<sup>19</sup> Cole (2000), p. 478; L.R. Farnell, *The cults of the Greek states*, (New Rochelle, NY, 1977), p. 434; Mejer (2009), p. 65; Parker (2005), pp. 79, 400, 461; I. Polinskaya, "Liminality as Metaphor: Initiation and the frontiers of ancient Athens," in D.B. Dodd and C.A. Faraone (eds.), *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives*, (London, 2003), p. 101; Vikela (2008), p. 87.

death-dealing potential of the hunter is transferred to the warrior.”<sup>20</sup> According to Cole, Artemis Agrotera

“represented the borderlands in need of military protection, inspiring the intense emotion male citizens required in order to transform themselves into the soldiers war compelled them to become... During battle, Artemis Agrotera inspired soldiers at critical moments, who sometimes claimed to be marked by the appearance of the goddess herself. Dramatic epiphany of the goddess, described as accompanied by a flash of light, was associated with the moment of crisis or the turning point of battle.”<sup>21</sup>

The temple of Artemis Mounichia in the Piraeus was another important cultic site of the goddess, which merged the various facets of the goddess’ character, from feminine and private to the masculine and public. It, too, hosted the arkteia festival, and according to Shapiro, this was a branch of the Brauronian cult, although Mejer claims there was little in common between the two sites.<sup>22</sup> It had two altars: one which served as a refuge for persecuted seamen, and one which was dedicated to Artemis Phosphoros (*torch-bearing*) by the democrats. The democrats believed Artemis helped them in their struggle against the Thirty Tyrants in 404 BCE and that she played an essential part in restoring the democracy, and therefore she was later included in the official prayers of the governing bodies in Athens.<sup>23</sup> The festival of Mounichia commemorated Artemis’ aid to the Greeks in the battle of Salamis and ephebes, hoplites, and cavalry participated in the

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<sup>20</sup> Larson (2007), p. 102.

<sup>21</sup> Cole (2000), pp. 478-479.

<sup>22</sup> Mejer (2009), p. 66; Parker (2005), p. 475; Shapiro (1989), p. 66.

<sup>23</sup> Cole (2000), p. 480; Vikela (2008), p. 87.

procession and took part in the sacrifices.<sup>24</sup> In the Hellenistic period, and perhaps earlier, the festival included either a boat race or a naumachia.<sup>25</sup>

Two more temples marked Artemis' assistance during the Persian War. The first was the small temple of Artemis Aristoboule (*of the best counsel*), dedicated by Themistokles near his house in the deme of Melite, in commemoration of the victory in the battle of Salamis in 480 BCE and the good counsel he received from the goddess.<sup>26</sup> It is uncertain which cult Artemis received there, but Mejer claims this shrine had civic importance since a statue of Themistokles was placed there.<sup>27</sup> The second temple, erected in the decades after the battle of Salamis, was the shrine of Artemis Eukleia, founded from the spoils of Marathon, and we know nothing of its cult.<sup>28</sup>

The temple of Artemis Tauropolos (*bull-tender*) in Halai Araphenides is another ancient sanctuary of the goddess, dated to between the sixth and the fourth century BCE and Graf and Lloyd-Jones have argued that Artemis Tauropolos was associated with rites of passage for boys or young men.<sup>29</sup> The local festival was called the Tauropolia and according to Euripides, it included a symbolic drawing of blood from a man's throat, in order to compensate Artemis for the human sacrifices she lost by leaving the land of the Taurians (*IT* 1458-1461), which could

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<sup>24</sup> Bowie (2007), pp. 340-341; Cole (2000) pp. 479-480; Larson (2007), p. 102; Parker (2005), pp. 209, 400, 475-476; E. Pfuhl, *De Atheniensium Pompis Sacris*, (Berlin, 1900), p. 81; Vikela (2008), p. 87.

<sup>25</sup> Cole (2000), pp. 479-480; Mejer (2009), p.66; H.W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians*, (London, 1977), pp. 138-139; Simon (1983), pp. 81-82.

<sup>26</sup> Camp (2001), pp. 61-62; Cole (2000), pp. 479-480; Mejer (2009), p. 63; Parker (2005), p. 400; J. Threpsiades and E. Vanderpool, "Themistokles' Sanctuary of Artemis Aristoboule," in *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον*, 19 (1964), pp. 26n1, 28-30; Travlos (1971), pp. 121-123.

<sup>27</sup> Mejer (2009), p. 63.

<sup>28</sup> D.C. Braund, "Artemis Eukleia and Euripides' Hippolytus," in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 100 (1980), p. 185; W. Gauer, *Weihgeschenke aus den Perserkriegen*, (Tübingen, 1968), p. 70; Shapiro (1989), p. 66.

<sup>29</sup> F. Graf, "Das Götterbild aus dem Taurerland," in *Antike Welt* 4 (1979b), 33-34; Hollinshead (1985), p. 429; P.H.J. Lloyd-Jones, "Artemis and Iphigeneia," in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 103 (1983), p. 97; Parker (2005), p. 228; T. Spawforth, *The Complete Greek Temples*, (London, 2006), p. 147.

symbolize the transition from human sacrifice to a sacrifice without murder or *miasma*.<sup>30</sup> According to Hollinshead, although the Tauropolia was an existing ritual, Euripides invented new *aitia* for it in his play (1446-1461).<sup>31</sup> Parker claims that this festival included a mock sacrifice of a young man, a vigil, and possibly a competition in pyrrhic dancing,<sup>32</sup> although Larson writes that there is no further evidence for this practice, stating that it demonstrates “the uncanny and savage aspect of the goddess and the belief that she desired such sacrifices.”<sup>33</sup>

The temple of Artemis Kalliste and Ariste (*fairest and best*) in the Kerameikos, on the road to the Academy, yielded votive offerings in the shape of female genitalia.<sup>34</sup> Bevan associates them with Artemis’s connection to motherhood and childbirth<sup>35</sup> and Vikela extends this, suggesting they were dedicated as thank-offerings for successful childbirth or in the hope of bearing healthy infants.<sup>36</sup> Parker interprets them as referring to childbirth and lactation, therefore serving as aids during and after pregnancy.<sup>37</sup> Nearby was the shrine of Artemis Soteira, although we do not know its precise location.<sup>38</sup> In the district of Kyathenaion, was a sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia, and its festival, the Amarysia, in honor of the goddess, was according to Pausanias as splendid as its Euboian counterpart (I.31.4-5).<sup>39</sup> The shrine of Artemis Bouleia, also known as Phosphoros, in the Agora, had an altar on the southeast side of the tholos in the fourth century BCE and probably earlier and the goddess received sacrifices there before the meetings of the

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<sup>30</sup> A. Shabtai (ed.), *Iphigenia in Tauris*, (Tel Aviv, 2007), p. 108.

<sup>31</sup> Hollinshead (1985), p. 429.

<sup>32</sup> Parker (2005), p. 481.

<sup>33</sup> Larson (2007), p. 104.

<sup>34</sup> Foukara (2014), pp. 19-20n56.

<sup>35</sup> Bevan (1987), p. 19.

<sup>36</sup> Vikela (2008), p. 80; Mejer (2009), p. 63.

<sup>37</sup> Parker (2005), p. 412.

<sup>38</sup> *ibid.* p. 57.

<sup>39</sup> Mejer (2009), p. 64; J.D. Mikalson, “Religion in the Attic Demes,” in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. 98, no. 4. (1977), p. 432.

Assembly.<sup>40</sup> Other deities as well received sacrifices near the tholos, such as Apollo Prostaterios (*protector*) and Athena Archegetes (*leader, founder*).<sup>41</sup> There were many other Attic shrines of Artemis. Of some, we know very little, of others, we know nothing. The former category includes such temples as the shrine of Artemis Kolainis in the deme of Myrrhinous<sup>42</sup> and the sanctuary of Artemis Orthosia in the area of the Keramikos, whose goddess was believed to support men in their victories and children when they were born.<sup>43</sup>

Apollo too was one of Athens' major deities from the Archaic period, if not earlier.<sup>44</sup> While Artemis' most important Athenian cult was a local Attic one, the great importance of Apollo's Panhellenic sanctuaries in Delphi and in Delos, alongside the extensive Athenian involvement in them, meant that these were the most important cults of Apollo in Athens. Although they had local manifestations, the Athenians maintained a close connection with the original temples. Or as Parker puts it:

“The Athenians looked east to Delos and west to Delphi, and in both directions they saw Apollo... Circumstances might occasionally force them to seem to favour Apollo Pythios more than Apollo Delios or vice versa, but their basic instinct was to revere both and to insist on their connection... The Athenian

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<sup>40</sup> Kahil (1983), p. 243; Mejer (2009), p. 62; Travlos (1971), p. 553.

<sup>41</sup> Travlos (1971), p. 553.

<sup>42</sup> Mejer (2009), p. 64; Parker (2005), pp. 72, 457; Mikalson (1977), p. 437.

<sup>43</sup> Mejer (2009), p. 64.

<sup>44</sup> Shapiro (1989), p. 48. On Peisistratos' close association with the god, see W. Lambrinudakis [et al.], *LIMC II, s.v. Apollo*, (Zürich, 1984), pp. 261-265; Shapiro (1989), pp. 48-58; H.A. Shapiro, “Athena, Apollo, and the Religious Propaganda of the Athenian Empire,” in P. Hellström and B. Alroth (eds.), *Religion and Power in the Ancient Greek World*, [Uppsala, 1996], p. 104; H.A. Shapiro, “Apollo and Ion on Classical Athenian Vases,” in L. Athanassaki, R.P. Martin, and J.F. Miller (eds.), *Apolline Politics and Poetics*, (Athens, 2009a), p. 266.

relation with no other god was quite like this, so dependent on foreign missions.”<sup>45</sup>

Aside from the great importance of these sites, there were many temples of Apollo all over Attica, including his four major cultic sites in Athens. Of the four sites, two temples were peripheral: the Pythion, located south of the Olympieion, near the Ilissos river, which was Apollo's oldest local cult center; and the nearby Delphinion, dated to the late sixth century BCE.<sup>46</sup> Robertson notes that the Delphinion and the Pythion, located alongside the temple of Artemis Agrotera in Agrai, were all on the southeast side of Athens, which antedates the synoecism, claiming that the processions to these shrines were “a demonstrative way of uniting the city of Theseus with its predecessor.”<sup>47</sup>

The cult of Apollo Delphinios was promoted by Kleisthenes in the early years of the Athenian democracy.<sup>48</sup> His temple was located near the Ilissos River and it hosted one of the Athenian murder courts, as well as the law court which determined issues of citizenship and paternity.<sup>49</sup> Under this epithet, the god presided over the youths’ transition into manhood,

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<sup>45</sup> Parker (2005), p. 87.

<sup>46</sup> Larson (2007), p. 95; Travlos (1971), pp. 100-103. Parker assumes that there was also a temple of Delian Apollo in Athens (Parker [2005], p. 81), although it was suggested that the Delian Apollo was associated with the temple of Apollo Patroos (J.D. Mikalson, “Unanswered Prayers in Greek Tragedy,” in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 109 [1989], p. 85; Shapiro [1996], p. 103n19).

<sup>47</sup> N. Robertson, “The City Center of Archaic Athens,” in *Hesperia*, vol. 67, no. 3 (1998), p. 299.

<sup>48</sup> Shapiro (1989), p. 61.

<sup>49</sup> A.L. Boegehold, *The Lawcourts at Athens: Sites, Buildings, Equipment, Procedure, and Testimonia*, (Princeton, 1995), p. 135; F. Graf, “Apollon Delphinios,” in *Museum Helveticum: schweizerische Zeitschrift für klassische Altertumswissenschaft*, 36, (1979a), pp. 9-16; Graf (2009), p. 110; Parker (2005), p. 404; A.C. Scafuro, *Demosthenes, speeches 39/49*, (Austin, 2011), p. 67n28. For more on the Athenian Delphinion and other local cults to Apollo Delphinios in Thorikos and Erchia, see S.D. Lambert, “Two Notes on Attic ‘Leges Sacrae,’” in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 130 (2000), p. 76.



receiving hair-offerings as they entered their phratries.<sup>50</sup> Apollo Delphinios was possibly associated with the Pyanopsia, the agricultural “Festival of the Vegetable Stew,” which took place at the beginning of winter.<sup>51</sup> It was associated with Theseus, who took a vow to make an offering to Apollo if he and his companions returned safely. Upon their arrival back to Attica, on the seventh day of Pyanopsion (October/November), they took all their remaining provisions, cooked it all in one pot, and ate the stew together.<sup>52</sup> During the Pyanopsia, a boy whose parents were alive brought to Apollo’s temple an olive branch garlanded with produce (εἰρεσιώνη). It is assumed that many other boys did the same all over Attica, and so was the offering and consumption of the stew.<sup>53</sup>

It is possible that Apollo Delphinios was not solely associated with boys, since on the sixth day of the month of Mounichion, an annual supplicatory procession of maidens arrived to the Delphinion carrying suppliant olive branches wrapped with white wool (ικετήριος).<sup>54</sup> This procession had strong connection with Artemis, since the sixth was known as her day and the month of Mounichion was named after Artemis Mounychia.<sup>55</sup> Therefore this festival involved both Artemis and Apollo - the date and the girls are closely associated with Artemis, while the location and the possible addressee of the prayers is Apollo, according to Bourboulis, as the branches were offered solely to Apollo and not to Artemis.<sup>56</sup> However, Pfuhl and Parke suggest

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<sup>50</sup> Graf (1979a), p. 18; Parker (2005), p. 436. Additionally, according to Mejer, it is possible that during the Apaturia, young men dedicated their hair to Artemis as well (Mejer [2009], p. 67).

<sup>51</sup> F. Graf, *Apollo*, (London, 2009), p. 107; Parker (2005), pp. 203-204.

<sup>52</sup> Graf (2009), p. 107; Parke (1977), p. 75.

<sup>53</sup> Parker (2005), p. 480.

<sup>54</sup> Parke (1977), p. 137; Parker (2005), pp. 226, 465; Simon (1983), pp. 79-80; P.P. Bourboulis, *Apollo Delphinios*, (Thessaloniki, 1949), p. 63. According to Bourboulis, this procession had no name, and Parke (p. 137) and Parker (p. 465) merely refer to it as a procession to the Delphinion. Simon, however, refers to it as the *ικετηρία* festival, although she makes it clear that it is uncertain whether this was indeed its name (p. 79).

<sup>55</sup> Parker (2005), p. 465; Simon (1983), p. 80.

<sup>56</sup> Bourboulis (1949), p. 63.

that it was Artemis Delphinia who was honored and appeased by this procession and Mommsen claims that the festival celebrated both Artemis and Apollo.<sup>57</sup> The obvious connection of Artemis with this procession and with the Delphinion has caused a disagreement in relation to her function in this temple.

Pausanias mentions the temple of Apollo with the epithet Delphinios (I.19.1), yet some scholars assume it was a joint sanctuary to both Apollo and Artemis.<sup>58</sup> However, even if the twins were worshipped in the Delphinion, this does not necessarily mean the temple belonged to both of them, and Artemis could be hosted or honored in her brother's sanctuary. Travlos, for example, refers to it as the temple of Apollo Delphinios, in which Artemis Delphinia and Apollo Delphinios were jointly worshipped,<sup>59</sup> so perhaps it is better to be cautious, and, like Farnell, to acknowledge that Artemis Delphinia was connected with Apollo Delphinios and his temple, without determining that she shared her brother's sanctuary.<sup>60</sup>

Two more Apollonian sanctuaries were placed at the heart of Athens. Apollo's cave sanctuary on the northwest slope of the Akropolis, which was associated with Apollo Pythios, from which his priests regularly watched for lightning to flash over the cliff of Harma, on the Athenian border, which was a sign to send a procession to Delphi and the temple of Apollo Patroos (ancestor). This temple referred to Apollo as the patron god of the Ionians, and was located on the west side of the Agora. It was believed that the archaic temple to Apollo Patroos, on the west side of the Agora, was founded by Peisistratos around the middle of the sixth century

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<sup>57</sup> Parke (1977), p. 137; Pfuhl (1900), p. 79; A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum*, (Leipzig, 1898), p. 449.

<sup>58</sup> e.g. Boegehold (1995), p. 135; Faraone (2003), p. 48; Mejer (2009), p. 67; Parke (1977), p. 137; Scafuro (2011), p. 67n28; Simon (1983), p. 80.

<sup>59</sup> Travlos (1971), p. 83.

<sup>60</sup> L.R. Farnell, *The cults of the Greek States*, vol. IV, (New Rochelle, NY, 1977), p. 147.

BCE, and that later it was replaced by a newer temple.<sup>61</sup> However, some scholars believe that only the fourth-century temple on this site was dedicated to Apollo Patroos, and the older temple perhaps served a different manifestation of the god. Hedrick suggests that Apollo Patroos was worshiped in the Pythion during the Tyranny, while Lawall, Cromey, and de Schutter assert that the public cult of Apollo Patroos began only in the fourth century BCE.<sup>62</sup>

The temple of Apollo Lykeios, which stood to the east of the city, was the main training ground for the Athenian hoplites, archers, and cavalry and was also known for its running contests, since, as Graf notes, warfare and athletics are never far apart.<sup>63</sup> Under this epithet, the god was closely associated with the introduction of men into military service and civic participation.<sup>64</sup> According to Jameson, Apollo Lykeios “conspicuously represents the culmination of the initiatory, integrating process [in Athens]. He is the god of the adult males, hoplites who have passed their tests and have been fully accepted... the god of the initiated, not the initiants.”<sup>65</sup> Parker, however, notes that despite the connection between Apollo Lykeios and the adult citizens in arms, the god was not accorded the credit for their military successes.<sup>66</sup> A possible link between the shrines of Artemis Agrotera and Apollo Lykeios was suggested by Cole, since when “the Athenians mobilized for war, this temple of Artemis at Agrai was directly

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<sup>61</sup> J.M. Camp, *The Athenian Agora: Excavations in the Heart of Classical Athens*, (New York, 1986), pp. 159-161; Camp (2001), pp. 119-120; Graf (2009), p. 108; Parker (2005), p. 55; A.W. Parsons, "Klepsydra and the Paved Court of the Pythion," *Hesperia* 12 (1943), pp. 235-236; Shapiro (1989), pp. 50-52; Simon (1983), pp. 73-74; Travlos (1971), pp. 91-99.

<sup>62</sup> Hedrick (1988), pp. 190-193, 209; M.L. Lawall, "The Temple of Apollo Patroos Dated by an Amphora Stamp," in *Hesperia*, 78 (2009), p. 401; R.D. Cromey, "Apollo Patroos and the Phratries," in *L'Antiquité Classique*, 75, (2006), pp. 41, 68; X. de Schutter, "Le culte d'Apollon Patroos a Athenes," in *L'Antiquité Classique*, 56, (1987), pp. 103-129.

<sup>63</sup> Graf (2009), p. 121.

<sup>64</sup> M.H. Jameson, *Cults and Rites in Ancient Greece*, (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 58-60; Lambert (2000), p. 77.

<sup>65</sup> Jameson (2014), p. 58.

<sup>66</sup> Parker (2005), pp. 420, 436.

in view of the hoplites assembling for battle at the sanctuary of her brother, Apollo Lykeios, before they marched out of the city.”<sup>67</sup>

The temple of Apollo Pythios was associated with the festival of the Thargelia, an ancient Ionian festival which, much like the Pyanopsia, was an agricultural affair.<sup>68</sup> In Athens, it was celebrated during two days, the sixth and the seventh of the month of Thargelion (May/June), days which were associated with Artemis and Apollo respectively, and Farnell assumes that Artemis was incorporated into this festival due to her connection with Apollo.<sup>69</sup> The festival marked the beginning of summer, and it included sending envoys (θεωροί) to Delphi, purifying Attica by the expulsion of human scapegoats, choral competitions, and a procession to the temple of Apollo Pythios, in which cooked vegetarian offerings (θάργηλοι) were carried to the god.<sup>70</sup>

Artemis and Apollo were usually not worshipped together in Attica, although a few times their cults intersected.<sup>71</sup> One such example comes from the small temple of Apollo Zoster at Halai Aixonides, dated to the end of the sixth century BCE, in which Apollo was worshipped alongside Artemis and Leto.<sup>72</sup> Three marble bases were discovered in the adyton of this temple, and presumably they carried the cult statues of Apollo, Artemis, and Leto. According to Pausanias, the temple held altars for Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, as well as for Athena, (I.31.1), and Stephanus of Byzantium writes that the people of Halai worshipped Apollo Zoster, Artemis, and Leto in this temple (s.v. Zoster). However, epigraphical evidence shows that this was a

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<sup>67</sup> Cole (2000), p. 478.

<sup>68</sup> Hedrick (1988), p. 204.

<sup>69</sup> Farnell (1977), p. 439.

<sup>70</sup> Hedrick (1988), pp. 204-205; Larson (2007), p. 93; Parker (2005), pp. 203, 241-242, 481; Travlos (1971), p. 100.

<sup>71</sup> For more on their cults in the demes, see Lambert (2000), p. 72; Mikalson (1977), pp. 424-435; D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica, 508/7-ca. 250 B.C.*, (Princeton, 1986).

<sup>72</sup> Camp (2001), p. 316; A. Kattoula, *Antiquities of Vouliagmeni*, (Athens, 2005), p. 25.

sanctuary of Apollo Zoster, who, therefore, hosted his mother, sister, and half-sister in his temple, and the local festival, the Zosteria, was held in Apollo's honor.<sup>73</sup>

## Secondary Literature

Most of the secondary literature tends to focus on either Artemis or Apollo. Only a few scholarly works study both of them together and they tend to focus on specific aspects relating to the two gods, and concentrating on only one medium. None of them address the twins' representations and relationship in a comprehensive manner.

The small part Artemis plays in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is probably the reason why very few studies were dedicated to her in this regard.<sup>74</sup> The Theomachy scene in which Artemis reprimands Apollo has gained some scholarly attention, but only as part of larger topics or in commentaries. There is no comprehensive study analyzing the twins in Homer, and the scholarly focus tends to be on Apollo. Graf, for example, dedicated a chapter to Apollo in the Homeric poems, providing a methodical outline of the god's presence and importance. Although he occasionally mentions Artemis, Graf does not delve into the complexity of the twins' relationship in these texts.<sup>75</sup> When we move to the Homeric Hymns, here too, there is no study examining their presence in each other's hymns. The short hymns to Artemis have received very

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<sup>73</sup> Parker (2005), pp. 58, 69, 72. On Cape Zoster, see H.R. Goette, *Athens, Attica, and the Megarid: an Archaeological Guide*, (London, 2001), pp. 195-197; Kattoula (2005), pp. 25-29; K. Kourouniotes, "Τὸ Ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ζωστήρος," in *Αρχαιολογικὴν Δελτίων*, 11 (1927-28), pp. 9-52; Spawforth (2006), pp. 144-145; Whitehead (1986), pp. 182-183.

<sup>74</sup> J. Herbillon, *Artémis Homérique*, (Luttre, Belgium, 1927); M.S. Jensen, "Artemis in Homer," in T. Fischer-Hansen and B. Poulsen, (eds.), *From Artemis to Diana*, (Copenhagen, 2009), pp. 51-60; Petrovic (2010), pp. 209-227.

<sup>75</sup> Graf (2009), pp. 9-32.

little scholarly attention, and while Hymn III to Apollo is extensively discussed, none of these studies focuses on Artemis' scanty presence in this hymn.

Due to the paucity of Artemis' appearances in most of the Athenian plays, scholars usually do not examine her presence or her connections with Apollo in them. The small part the twins play in the comedies of Aristophanes is probably the reason why there is no study of their role in his plays. In the few tragedies in which Artemis plays an important part, such as *Hippolytos*, Apollo is barely mentioned. There is no complete study of the overall presence of Artemis and Apollo in tragedy. Most scholars either focus on one deity,<sup>76</sup> one play,<sup>77</sup> or one writer.<sup>78</sup> The main exception to this is Hartigan, who examines the presence of Artemis and Apollo in Euripides' plays, yet she limits her study to the question of ambiguity and self-deception.

As for iconography, Carpenter's article, one of the few comprehensive studies of Artemis and Apollo together in art, explores only images from the sixth century BCE. However, as he himself notes, his observations are not necessarily valid for other periods and places.<sup>79</sup> The most recent study is Foukara's dissertation, in which she analyzes the representations of the Delian Triad in black- and red-figure vases.<sup>80</sup> Otherwise, as in drama, the scholarship tends to focus on one deity,<sup>81</sup> on one object,<sup>82</sup> or on narrow issues.<sup>83</sup> In works of greater scope, the tendency is to

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<sup>76</sup> e.g. A. Bierl, "Apollo in Greek Tragedy: Orestes and the God of Initiation," in J. Solomon (ed.), *Apollo – Origins and Influences*, (Tucson, 1994), pp. 81-96.

<sup>77</sup> e.g. K. Zacharia, *Converging Truths: Euripides' Ion and the Athenian Quest for Self-Definition*, (Leiden, 2003).

<sup>78</sup> e.g. W. Nicolai, *Euripides' Dramen mit rettendem Deus ex machina*, (Heidelberg, 1990).

<sup>79</sup> T.H. Carpenter, "The Terrible Twins in Sixth-Century Attic Art," in Solomon, J. (ed.), *Apollo: Origins and Influences*, (Tucson, 1994), p. 62.

<sup>80</sup> Foukara (2014).

<sup>81</sup> J.-M. Moret, "L' 'Apollinisation' de L'imagerie Légendaire a Athènes dans la Seconde moitié du Ve Siècle," in *Revue Archéologique, Nouvelle Série*, Fasc. 1. (1982), pp. 109-136.

<sup>82</sup> S. Drougou, *War and Peace in Ancient Athens: The Pella Hydria*, (Athens, 2004).

treat the representation of each twin individually, while addressing the other twin when necessary.<sup>84</sup> Some scholarship focuses on the Delian Triad, but mostly addresses the political circumstances behind its appearance and popularity, and not on the representation and connection of the twins in it.<sup>85</sup> Each one of these studies is important and valuable, but they are limited in their scope. My dissertation aims to collect and analyze a much broader corpus of evidence, in order to provide a better understanding of how Artemis and Apollo were perceived in Athens and why their representation varied within Athenian society.

## Outline

The dissertation is comprised of three chapters, each examining the representations of Artemis and Apollo: first in epic poetry, second in Athenian drama, and lastly in Attic vase-painting.

The first chapter focuses on the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the Homeric Hymns. It examines the Homeric attitude towards Artemis and Apollo as a platform from which the analysis of Athenian drama emerges. Most of the chapter deals with the *Iliad*, but it also addresses the *Odyssey*. Another sub-chapter examines the Homeric Hymns to Artemis and Apollo (III, IX,

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<sup>83</sup> e.g. G. Jurriaans-Helle, “Apollo and the Deer on Attic Black-figure,” in H.A.G. Brijder [et.al.] (eds.), *Enthousiasmos*, (Amsterdam, 1986), pp. 111-120.

<sup>84</sup> e.g. E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen*, (München, 1998a).

<sup>85</sup> e.g. Lambrinudakis (1984), pp. 261-265; Shapiro (1989), pp. 56-58; Shapiro (1996), pp. 101-113; Shapiro (2009a), p. 266; M.A. Tiverios, “Αττική ερυθρόμορφη Λήκυθος απο την αρχαία Αργυλο,” in *Αρχαία Μακεδονία IV*, (Θεσσαλονίκη, 1986), pp. 600-604; M.A. Tiverios, *Ελληνική Τεχνη: Αρχαία Αγγεια*, (Αθήνα, 1996), p. 299.

XXVII). Hesiod, who mentions Artemis only twice in the *Theogony* (14, 918-920) and Apollo – five times (14, 94-95, 346-348, 770-771, 918-920), is not examined here.<sup>86</sup>

Homer had a tremendous importance in the Greek world, and he was especially influential over the Athenian playwrights. According to Athenaios, Aeschylus described his plays as slices from the great banquet of Homer (VIII.347e), and indeed, Anderson notes that the tragedians borrowed heavily from epic poetry, explaining this popularity as partly deriving “from the monumental status of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in the Greek poetic tradition and partly from the sheer number and variety of well-known myths surrounding the war against Troy.”<sup>87</sup> Even though tragedians reshaped and modified its plots, they mostly remained in the legendary realm of the past and were closely linked with well-known myths.<sup>88</sup> Or as Gould puts it, the playwrights had “everything to learn from the poetry of Homer. He was ‘the poet’... who had produced images of human experience that were true and right and timeless... and with a mastery and a sophistication that were, for Aeschylus, Sophokles, and Euripides, their education.”<sup>89</sup>

At the core of this chapter stands Homer’s treatment of Artemis in the *Iliad*. Most of the gods in the *Iliad* are occasionally portrayed negatively, yet none is treated as unfavorably as Artemis. Unlike the other deities, she is almost never depicted in a positive manner in a sharp contrast to Greek cultic reality, in which she was a powerful deity. Artemis and Apollo, the only pair of Olympian twins, may be regarded as illustrating “strong family ties and undisputed

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<sup>86</sup> Artemis is mentioned in two fragments of the catalogue of Women (fr. 19, fr. 161), while Apollo appears a few times in the *Shield of Herakles*.

<sup>87</sup> M.J. Anderson, “Myth,” in J. Gregory (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Tragedy*, (London, 2005), p. 130.

<sup>88</sup> Anderson (2005), p. 121.

<sup>89</sup> J. Gould, *Myth, Ritual Memory, and Exchange*, (Oxford, 2001), p. 173.



loyalty,”<sup>90</sup> yet in the *Iliad* they are treated very differently, with Apollo depicted as a great and powerful god, while Artemis is constantly portrayed as weak and marginal, her associations with the masculine activities of hunting and archery downplayed and ignored, even though Homer’s use of her epithets, such as Τοξοφόρος (bow-bearing), Ἴοχέαιρα (arrow-pourer), and Ἀγρότερη (huntress), indicates that he was familiar with these aspects of hers. Homer also downplayed the familial bond between the twins, in an effort to detach them from one another, with Apollo bravely fighting and assisting the Trojans, while Artemis hardly takes part in the battles. Whenever Artemis uses her bow, it is almost always against women, and this too distances her from the battlefield, where one should kill men, not girls.

Next, I analyze the *Homeric Hymns* to Apollo and Artemis (III, IX, XXVII) and examine how they present the twins’ relationship and the dynamic between them, in order to see whether the hymns continue the tendencies seen in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, or whether their poets treat these gods differently. I argue that although Artemis is praised in these hymns, she is consistently presented as less important than Apollo. While he is very prominent in her hymns, Artemis plays only a minor part in Apollo’s hymns, and she is immaterial for his depiction or to the plot. More importantly, in her hymns, Artemis does not return triumphantly to her own temples, but rather goes to Apollo’s sanctuaries, placing herself under his tutelage, submitting to him her emblems of power, and allowing him to tame her and to incorporate her back into civilization. Therefore, the hymns maintain the Homeric attitude towards Artemis, presenting her as lesser than Apollo, albeit without the negative tone found in the *Iliad*.

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<sup>90</sup> J. Wallensten, “Apollo and Artemis: Family Ties in Greek Dedicatory Language,” in M. Haysom and J. Wallensten (eds.), *Current Approaches to Religion in Ancient Greece*, (Stockholm, 2011), p.23.

The second chapter studies the representations of Artemis and Apollo in Athenian drama, with four sub-chapters dedicated to Aeschylus, Sophokles, Euripides, and Aristophanes. In this chapter, I demonstrate that Athenian drama incorporates two different attitudes towards Artemis. First, due to the strong Homeric influence on the plays and the playwrights, they, especially Aeschylus and Sophokles, usually maintain and replicate some of the Homeric biases against Artemis as well as the dynamics between her and Apollo – continuing her marginalization, with a few exceptions (*Seven against Thebes*, *Iphigeneia in Aulis*, and *Hippolytos*). Apollo is much more present and active in the plays than Artemis, and while he appears in most of the surviving tragedies (and in all of Aristophanes' comedies), Artemis is present in twenty plays and in most of them she is only mentioned once or twice, with the exception of *Iphigeneia in Aulis*, *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, and *Hippolytus*. Artemis is generally presented in a positive light in the plays, but in most cases she is placed under the control of her brother or depicted as less important or powerful than him. In most of the plays, her presence is considerably reduced, and this does not correspond with her cultic importance during that time. Apollo, on the other hand, is mentioned in almost all of the plays and in some of them he is presented prominently. Artemis is mostly presented together with her brother, and my chapter focuses on these moments, although it also explores a few times in which she appears without him.

As in Homer, Artemis in the plays is frequently associated with the feminine sphere while her other, more masculine sides are regularly ignored. Her depiction in *Seven against Thebes*, where she is invoked in order to protect the Theban wall, is a rarity (447-450). A few of Euripides' plays give her a more substantial role, yet a close reading demonstrates that she is either passive (*Iphigeneia in Tauris*) or is allowed to be powerful only when she is paired with

another Homerically weak goddess or mere mortals (*Hippolytus*, *Iphigeneia in Aulis*). The plays do not continue the *Iliad*'s negative portrayal of Artemis, although they do maintain the power balance between her and Apollo. Mikalson has noted that in Sophokles, Artemis is often presented as her brother's junior partner in prayers,<sup>91</sup> and the same can be said regarding the other playwrights. The tragedians drew inspiration and ideas from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and therefore they present continuity from the eighth century BCE to the fifth century BCE.<sup>92</sup> However, when the playwrights describe daily religious activities such as prayers, hymns, and invocations, i.e., expressions of devotion representing authentic Athenian customs, Artemis is hailed, worshipped, and honored. These few mentions allow us to see behind the epic façade the religious world and perceptions of Artemis by the Athenians in the fifth century BCE. Athenian plays present a dialectical tension between the immense importance and influence of the Homeric poems on the one hand, and the Attic cultic reality, in which Artemis was a powerful and important goddess, on the other.

The third chapter turns to iconography, analyzing the portrayal of Artemis and Apollo on vase imagery, both in mythological scenes and in non-narrative scenes, which have no clear mythological context. Of the Olympian gods appearing on Attic vases, Apollo and Artemis are very popular, preceded only by Dionysos, Athena, and Hermes. The vast body of vases depicting the twins provides a sufficient database for analysis, much more than other forms of art, such as sculpture.<sup>93</sup> Moreover, in many ways vase-painting is a unique Athenian medium, and it

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<sup>91</sup> Mikalson (2012), p. 441.

<sup>92</sup> D. Kovacs, *The Heroic Muse*, (Baltimore, 1987), p. 73.

<sup>93</sup> There are a few other representations of the twins in Attic sculpture, such as the east pediment of the Parthenon (e.g. I.S. Mark, "The Gods on the East Frieze of the Parthenon," in *Hesperia*, vol. 53 [1984], pp. 289-342; J. Neils, "Reconfiguring the Gods on the Parthenon Frieze," in *the Art Bulletin*, vol. 81, no. 1 [1999], pp. 6-20; E.G. Pemberton, "The Gods of the East Frieze of the Parthenon," in *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 80, no. 2 [1976], pp. 113-124.), the Brauron Relief (e.g. L. Kahil, "Le relief des dieux du sanctuaire d'Artémis à Brauron:

corresponds well with the purpose of this study, to examine the Athenian representations of Artemis and Apollo and to compare them, since the volume of the vase-imagery and its importance are a good match to the dramatic corpus. I strived to include all academically-published Attic vase images that show adult Artemis and Apollo together in the same scene. I excluded vases that are too fragmentary to provide a good understanding of the image, as well as vases which were only partially published. However, even if one or more images are missing, this does not hinder my analysis or conclusions due to the extensive scope of my catalogue, which provides a database that is comprehensive enough to support my arguments and is sufficiently representative of the ways in which Artemis and Apollo were portrayed in Athenian art.

The images in this chapter are divided into two basic categories: narrative and non-narrative scenes. The first category includes depictions of Artemis and Apollo in various mythological scenes. These could be myths related to both of them, such as the myths of the Niobids' deaths or the punishment of Tityos, or myths which are not exclusively associated with Artemis and Apollo, in which the twins participate alongside other gods, such as the Gigantomachy and the Trojan War. Next, there are myths associated with one twin in which the other is present. Most of the vases of this sub-category portray myths of Apollo: the Struggle for

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essai d'interprétation," in J.-P. Descoeudres [ed.], *Eumousia: Ceramic and Iconographic Studies in Honour of Alexander Cambitoglou*, [Sydney, 1990], pp. 113-117; M.S. Venit, "A Reconsideration of the 'Relief of the Gods' from Brauron," in *Antike Kunst*, vol. 46 [2003], pp. 44-55.), the Xenokrateia Relief (e.g. Beschi, L. "Culti stranieri e fondazioni private nell'Attica classica: alcuni casi," in *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente*, vol. 80, no.3.2 [2002], pp. 13-42; E. Voutouras, "Φροντίσματα: Το ανάγλυφο της Ξενοκράτειας και το ιερό του Κηφισού στο Νέο Φάληρο," εν Α. Δεληβορριάς, Γ. Δεσπίνης, και Α. Ζαρκάδας. *Έπαινος Luigi Beschi*, [Αθήνα, 2011], pp. 49-58.), or a relief in Athens of the Triad of unknown provenance (G. Günter, *Göttervereine und Götterversammlungen auf attischen Weihreliefs*, [Würzburg, 1994], pp. 64, 156; Kaltsas and Shapiro [2008], pp. 98-99; E. Vikela, "Attische Weihreliefs und die Kult-Topographie Attikas," in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Athenische Abteilung*, vol. 112 [1997], pp. 205-210), but considering their relatively small number, they are not at the center of the discussion here.

the Tripod, the competition with Marsyas, the myth of Orestes, and the courting of Marpessa. Artemis' myths are represented on a considerably smaller number of vases, portraying the myth of the Kerynian Hind and the killings of Orion, Aktaion, and Kallisto. Additionally, Artemis and Apollo are presented many times in mythological scenes which focus on other deities, such as mythological wedding processions or the apotheosis of Herakles.

The second category includes representations of the gods without any clear mythological meaning. This includes scenes of the Delian Triad, where the twins stand together with their mother, and variations of this, whether presenting only Artemis and Apollo, or adding other deities to them. The scenes of the Triad, as well as its variations, have a specific iconography. At other times, the twins merely participate in general assemblies of the gods, where they are a part of a larger throng of deities. A close attention will be given to the differences between the black- and red-figure non-narrative images, since with the transition a new iconographical context begins to dominate the twins' representations, in which they are frequently presented as performing libations, before the ritual, or after it.

The frequency of these images demonstrates that Artemis and Apollo were often depicted acting together, and it puts the iconography in sharp contrast with how Artemis and her relationship with Apollo were portrayed in Athenian drama. Moreover, this chapter reveals that despite Homer's great popularity, in this medium, Artemis was perceived very differently, reflecting the religious world of the painters and their customers. In contrast to her scarce presence in epos and drama, Artemis was very popular on Attic vases, and she was always presented in a positive manner.

However, in most of the images, the basic hierarchy between the twins does not change. On images depicting their mutual myths, Apollo is mostly leading the action, even when Artemis is presented as a warrior, and only twice is she portrayed as active while Apollo is passively watching her. More importantly, there are only a few vases depicting myths which customarily present the twins acting as equals, and they too mainly preserve the hierarchy between them. Depictions of myths which focus on Artemis are even fewer, and Apollo usually takes over the action in them, as he does on vases depicting his own myths, maintaining his superiority and centrality.

## **Methodology**

According to Parker, the “powers of one god are defined and limited by those of another, and one cannot usefully contemplate the powers of Artemis, say, in isolation, any more than one can isolate the powers of the bishop in chess: Artemis is what she is by contrast with other gods, just as is the bishop by contrast with knights and pawns.”<sup>94</sup> In this study, I examine and analyze the relationship between Artemis and Apollo and its changing dynamics, including the hierarchy between the twins and how it is manifested. The ways in which I do this differ between the literary and the artistic media, although in both cases it involves a close examination, comparing and contrasting of the evidence. The chief elements I investigate regarding the dynamic between the twins and their representations are whether they are presented as active or passive, and when both are presented as active, who is leading the action and who is being led. Another question is who is at the center in static scenes. I look into whether their positions, location – above or

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<sup>94</sup> Parker (2005), p. 388.

below, in front or behind – and what objects they hold –a bow vs. a flower or a kithara vs. nothing - can also demonstrate a hierarchy. I also consider their attributes, epithets and spheres of interest.

The hierarchy in each medium is manifested in different ways. In literary sources, this can include who is mentioned first, and whether this is within an ascending or a descending order of importance. This hierarchy is based on other elements as well, such as who opens the list of gods and how each god functions within it. This is why Mikalson can easily determine that Zeus is generally given precedence over the other Olympian gods, since he appears first in such lists.<sup>95</sup> Indeed, a list of gods that begins with Zeus and Athena must be of a descending order of importance, while a list opening with Aphrodite and ending with an ode to Athena demonstrates the less common ascending hierarchical order. We may further understand that these lists are hierarchical by nature, and most present the gods in a descending order of importance, unless special circumstances are at hand, i.e. lists which may exhibit a different order, such as a geographical one, describing a journey which passes cultic sites of deities, or historical events which are associated with deities. However, these are rare. In most of the literary examples, Apollo is powerful because he is the son of Zeus and he is mostly associated with his father, and this is a further indication of his importance, since as Lefkowitz notes, in any contest, the god most closely associated with Zeus will win.<sup>96</sup> The directionality of figures may shift as well. The focus may be on the figure in the middle, yet in depictions of processions, it will be either on the figure leading the procession or on the one towards which the procession is advancing.

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<sup>95</sup> Mikalson (2012), p. 434.

<sup>96</sup> M. Lefkowitz, *Euripides and the Gods*, (Oxford, 2016), p. 101.

Thus, the underlying assumption in this work is that order of presentation is significant if we wish to decipher the meaning of scenes, both literary and iconographical. The order and arrangement of characters must be understood as significant. This, however, does not mean that there is only one possible arrangement. For example, scenes depicting the Judgement of Paris may place each one of the goddesses closer to Paris, i.e., at the more important position. This does not negate the hierarchical order in their depiction, but rather that there are different hierarchies, and each goddess can be perceived as the most important one, since each arrangement expresses different categories of importance. Aphrodite won the golden apple, Athena was the patron goddess of the painter's polis, and Hera was the consort of the head of the Greek pantheon. Each one of them is important, yet it is the artist who decides who is more important for his purposes.

In the literary chapters, I examine how Artemis is portrayed with her brother, what functions they both serve, and with which elements she is associated. The focus will be on the representations of the twins together, although I also address some cases in which Artemis is mentioned without her brother, in order to gain a better understanding of how she is portrayed and treated. I pay close attention to how the twins' familial relationship is presented, how often they are depicted as the other's brother or sister, and with whom they are more associated - with their almighty father or with their mother. I also compare the functions they fulfil and whether these match each deity's cultic persona. Additionally, I look into what lies behind each poet's decision to choose the presentations they do. Since Homer, especially in the *Iliad*, attempts to disassociate Apollo from his sister, most of the sub-chapter dealing with the Homeric poems compares how the twins are presented and treated in different circumstances (alongside a few



times in which they act together). Aeschylus, Sophokles, and Aristophanes mostly depict Artemis alongside her brother, so I focus on these instances, since Artemis hardly ever appears in their plays without her brother. As for Euripides, in some of his plays the twins appear together or are associated with one another, although in some tragedies Artemis is presented prominently and independently from her brother. I give greater attention to these plays, which provide a unique opportunity to examine Artemis' character in depth.

In iconography, this somewhat changes, and the third chapter investigates the representations of Artemis and Apollo based on their level of activity and centrality. I examine when the twins carry their attributes (and when they do not), under what circumstances Artemis is present in her brother's scenes and vice versa, and when the twins appear in scenes in which neither of them is the leader of the action. Most of the images tend to place the more important deity in the center, provided that they are not portraying a procession, which could either be led by the most important deity, or arrive at his or her seat. Here, too, the proximity to each other, as well as to other deities, plays an important part.

# Chapter 1 - Artemis and Apollo in Epic Poetry

## 1.1 - The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*

Homer, as Herodotus rightly notes, taught the Greeks about their gods (II.53), yet his portrayal of the Greek deities is far from impartial. While some gods, such as Zeus, Apollo, and Athena, were presented in all their might, his depiction of other deities does not accord with how they were worshipped in Greece. De Jong argues that neither the Homeric narrator nor the Homeric epics are objective,<sup>1</sup> and this is especially true regarding Artemis, whose Homeric portrayal, particularly in the *Iliad*, is mostly negative and scarce. She is presented as a weak and marginal goddess, despite her prominent role in Greek religion and her many important cults.<sup>2</sup> Homer has no qualms about portraying the gods in a negative light, yet while other gods are also presented in a more positive manner, his depiction of Artemis is consistently negative and denigrating, almost a mirror image of her twin, Apollo, who throughout the Homeric corpus as a great and mighty god, extolled as the chief defender and supporter of the Trojans.<sup>3</sup>

Homer's treatment of Artemis has been noticed by scholars. Herbillon stated that "Quand on lit l'Illiade et l'Odyssee... on est frappé par le peu d'importance du rôle que la déesse joue dans

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<sup>1</sup> I.J.F. De Jong, "Homer and Narratology," in I. Morris and B. Powell (eds.), *A new companion to Homer*, (Leiden, 1997), p. 308; I.J.F. De Jong (ed.), *Iliad Book XXII*, (Cambridge, 2012), p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Homer ignores other important deities such as Dionysos and Demeter, yet they are not very associated with the battlefield and other similar aspects, while Artemis' association with archery should have made her a welcomed addition to the ranks of the battling gods. For a further discussion of Artemis and warfare, see p.55n81.

<sup>3</sup> This is why Achilles warns Patroklos not to attack the Walls of Troy, but rather to remain in the battlefield, since Apollo loves the Trojans very much and will come to help them (*Il.XVI.91-94*). In a sense, Apollo becomes the commander in chief of the Trojan army.

l'action."<sup>4</sup> Burkert acknowledged that Artemis' sphere of activity as a huntress and a mistress of animals is suppressed, saying she "is made a girl" who is "forced into the role of an awkward adolescent."<sup>5</sup> Larson notes that "the cult of Artemis bears only a partial resemblance to the Homeric goddess,"<sup>6</sup> and Petrovic states that the goddess "scored poorly" when Homer distributed honors and competences.<sup>7</sup> Petrovic also claims that Homer's use of Artemis' epithets qualifies her "as a goddess of hunting and wild animals," yet whenever these are mentioned, it is in a negative context, "as if the poet was trying hard to demonstrate that the domains of Artemis are not worth very much."<sup>8</sup> Jensen, too, noticed Artemis' passivity and restricted role in the Homeric corpus, that her actions are unimportant to the narrative, and that she does not interfere in the events or assist her favorite heroes. Jensen suggests this might derive from the fact that Artemis was not originally associated with the Trojan War. While this explains why Artemis is mostly missing from the battlefield, it does not explain her absence from the various invocations and archery-related scenes, or the general negative attitude towards her.<sup>9</sup> The goddess' literary persona is very different from how she was perceived and presented in cult and, as we shall see later, in iconography.

It is important to note that the Homeric divine hierarchy does not represent the hierarchy in Greek religion as it was practiced. When discussing the question of Olympian hierarchy, Bremmer acknowledges that "it is clear that Artemis, for example, was more important than Hephaistos or Themis" due the combined evidence of the number and location of their

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<sup>4</sup> Herbillon (1927), p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Burkert (1985), pp. 149-150.

<sup>6</sup> Larson (2007), p. 101.

<sup>7</sup> Petrovic (2010), p. 210.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid*, p. 211.

<sup>9</sup> Jensen (2009), pp. 52-55.

sanctuaries, the cults they received, their appearances in myth and iconography, and their “divine relationship to the social and political order.”<sup>10</sup> The polytheistic society of Greece was without a doubt a hierarchical one, both in the various local pantheons and in Homer’s Panhellenic pantheon. In the cultic reality, each polis had its own major gods, who overshadowed the other local deities.<sup>11</sup> As for the Olympians in Homer, Dietrich notes that they “observe distinctions of class. Thus beside the supreme Zeus stand Apollo and Athene who in turn are superior to Poseidon, Hera, and Artemis.”<sup>12</sup> Another sign that the Homeric hierarchy does not represent general Greek religious sentiments can be seen in the difference between the literary treatment of Zeus, the powerful and authoritative ruler of the gods, and the Greek cultic reality, in which he was the patron god of only a few poleis.<sup>13</sup> In a similar manner, within the context of the Homeric poems, Artemis is placed below all of the other Olympians, despite her great importance in the Greek world, while, as Zaidman and Pantel note, in “terms of the divine hierarchy, Apollo appears to have been Zeus's favourite son.”<sup>14</sup>

## The Theomachy

Artemis and Apollo are portrayed together only a few times in the *Iliad*, twice in Troy: thus in the “reality” of the poem and a few more times in the *exempla* told by other characters in the poem. The main Homeric scene in which the twins interact together takes place toward the end of the *Iliad*, during the Theomachy, when the gods set out to confront each other

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<sup>10</sup> J. Bremmer and A. Erskine (eds.), *The Gods of Ancient Greece*, (Edinburgh, 2010), p. 16.

<sup>11</sup> J. Larson, *Understanding Greek Religion - A Cognitive Approach*, (Abingdon, Oxon, 2016), p. 32.

<sup>12</sup> B.C. Dietrich, *Death, Fate, and the Gods*, (London, 1965), p. 297.

<sup>13</sup> Larson (2016), p. 33. Olympia and Nemea are the most noted exceptions.

<sup>14</sup> L.B. Zaidman and P.S. Pantel, *Religion in the Ancient Greek City*, (Cambridge, 1992), p. 196.

(Il.XXI.435-520). Excluding Zeus, all the Olympians present at Troy participate in the Theomachy, as well as Leto and Xanthus. Ten gods are paired against each other, apart from Aphrodite, who is not joined by anyone else. Apollo faces Poseidon, yet he refuses to raise a hand against his uncle. According to West, this is done in order to keep Apollo “in good shape” so that he will be able to defend Troy later on and since he and Poseidon “are too important to suffer physical ignominy.”<sup>15</sup> Artemis does not get this immunity, either because she was not expected to provide any significant contribution in that regard, or because her status in the poem is so low.

Apollo’s approach does not impress Artemis, who reprimands and mocks him harshly:

φεύγεις δὴ ἐκάεργε, Ποσειδάωνι δὲ νίκην  
πᾶσαν ἐπέτρεψας, μέλεον δέ οἱ εὖχος ἔδωκας:  
νηπύτιε τί νυ τόξον ἔχεις ἀνεμώλιον αὐτως;  
μή σευ νῦν ἔτι πατρὸς ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἀκούσω  
εὐχομένου, ὡς τὸ πρὶν ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν,  
ἅντα Ποσειδάωνος ἐναντίβιον πολεμίζειν. (Il.XXI.472-477)

*“for you escape, O Far Shooter, and you yielded the complete victory to Poseidon, you gave him an unearned boast: why do you bear your bow in vain, as a mere child? May I not hear your boasting in the halls of our father, bragging that previously among the immortal gods you set to wage war against Poseidon”.*

(trans. author)

This is the only time in the entire Homeric corpus in which one of the twins directly addresses the other, and it demonstrates that no brotherly love is lost between them. It also emphasizes the twins’ different attitudes towards their family, showing Artemis as disagreeable

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<sup>15</sup> M.L. West, *The Making of the Iliad*, (Oxford, 2011), p. 381.

towards heroes and gods alike and indicating that unlike Apollo, she does not accept the importance of respecting one's family - not only she does not assist the Trojans, but she berates her brother, who constantly helps them. West considers this incident as reinforcing the idea that Apollo "is the moral loser in the conflict with Poseidon," yet he is not the deity whose image is truly harmed in this scene - that is his twin sister.<sup>16</sup> Apollo does not reply to Artemis. Perhaps he refuses to be dragged into a family feud, having just avoided one, or maybe he considers it beneath him to refute her accusations. In any case, this incident reveals a rift, maybe even animosity, between the twins. Such a behavior cannot go unpunished, and it is Hera, who was paired off with Artemis earlier for the Theomachy (*Il.XX.70*), who scolds her, telling her to go back hunting and not interfere in the matters of war; or, as West puts it, she is "reminded of her proper province and advised to stick to it."<sup>17</sup> Interestingly, this is one of the rare times in the *Iliad* in which Artemis is associated with hunting other than using her relevant epithets. Moreover, this is the only time in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in which Artemis is called by her otherwise common title, *πότνια θηρῶν* (*mistress of animals*) (*Il.XXI.470*),<sup>18</sup> yet this happens in a context in which this great Mistress of Animals is being beaten and humiliated. Hera quickly moves on from words to actions and, grabbing Artemis' emblems of power - her bow and quiver - she hits her with them, causing Artemis to run away crying. Not only does the Mistress of Animals not use her bow and arrows against her assailant, but she leaves them behind. In the face of provocation, Artemis loses her previous (and momentary) valor - or perhaps she is courageous only when facing her own brother, since she cannot apply the same bravado toward other gods.

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<sup>16</sup> West (2011), p. 381.

<sup>17</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Burkert deduces that this epithet was a well-established formula ([1985], p. 149). For more on Artemis as Potnia Theron, see Larson (2007), pp. 101-104; N. Marinatos, *The Goddess and the Warrior*, (London, 2000), pp. 92-109.

As a scared child, shaking and crying, she seeks solace in her father's embrace, while Leto stays behind to pick up her bow and arrows (*Il.XXI.489-514*).

Zeus comforts Artemis, asking her who of the gods has insulted her. She answers that it was Hera, and the poet does not provide us with the rest of their conversation, only saying they talked to each other (*Il.XXI.505-514*). This is similar to an earlier incident, in which Zeus calmed down Aphrodite, after she was attacked by Diomedes. Zeus tells Aphrodite that the works of war were not meant for her, and that she should leave them to Ares and Athena (*Il.V.428-430*). Similarly, Diomedes' words regarding Aphrodite, whom he considers a weak and feeble goddess, who has no business in the war of man, since she is neither Athena nor Enyo, the sacker of cities (*Il.V.331-333*). The words of Zeus and Diomedes to Aphrodite could be easily applied to Artemis as well, based on the manner in which she is portrayed. However, the greater emphasis on Aphrodite's misfortunes, the fact that we are told what was said to her while we may only infer Artemis' consolation, is another sign of how insignificant she was to Homer, who only provides us with the insults hurled against her and not with the comforting words she received. Moreover, this provides us with a glimpse into the heroic way of thinking, regarding who deserves to be in the battlefield, and consequently - in poems about said battlefields. Based on Diomedes' approach, Artemis, who has shown herself incapable of defending herself or using her weapon when facing a non-animalistic foe, is mostly excluded from the *Iliad* since she does not belong to the war of men. To this we must add the heroic apprehension of her vindictive character and more importantly, her tendency to punish heroes, which is less characteristic of Aphrodite, and this allows us to begin to understand how Artemis is the least honored deity in the *Iliad*.

Richardson considers the Theomachy episode as “an essential respite between the intense scenes preceding it” and the battle of Achilles and Hektor that follows.<sup>19</sup> Burkert says that this “is how wayward children are disciplined by a stepmother,” regarding this scene as a “divine burlesque.”<sup>20</sup> Jensen agrees that it was meant to induce the audience to laugh by presenting the gods as an ordinary, human family.<sup>21</sup> But why does all this merriment come at the expense of Artemis? Vernant writes that by allowing Hera to disarm and bully her, “Artemis shows herself to be a weakling.”<sup>22</sup> Louden refers to the incident as a “catfight,” judging it to be a parody of “heroic vaunts,” concluding that the “patriarchy behind these myths apparently finds greater comedy in divine combat that involves goddesses.”<sup>23</sup> Marinatos notices the discrepancy between Artemis’ description in this scene and her image in other sources, claiming that “the girl who gets chastised by Hera... is a very different character from the powerful Mistress of Animals.”<sup>24</sup> Indeed, Artemis’ portrayal here, as weak and childish, excludes her from the masculine domain of war and demonstrates that she does not belong on the battlefield. It also depicts her as the complete opposite of her brother and half-sister, who accompany and assist the Homeric heroes. Not only is Artemis not a match for Hera, she is not even on par with Aphrodite, who, although unsuited for battle, still played a more active role in the *Iliad* than she.

Other deities, such as Hera, Aphrodite, Ares, Hephaestus, and even Zeus, are ridiculed or depicted negatively in the Homeric poems, yet they are also portrayed in a more positive light, demonstrating their powers or their contributions to the war effort. In this manner, they are

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<sup>19</sup> N. Richardson, *The Iliad: A Commentary. Books 21-24*, vol. 6, (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 85-86.

<sup>20</sup> W. Burkert, “Homer’s Anthropomorphism: Narrative and Ritual,” in W. Burkert, *Kleine Schriften*, vol. 1, (Göttingen, 2001), p. 82.

<sup>21</sup> Jensen (2009), p. 57.

<sup>22</sup> J.-P. Vernant, “Artemis and Preliminary Sacrifice in Combat,” in J.-P. Vernant, and F.I. Zeitlin (eds.), *Mortals and immortals*, (Princeton, 1991b), p. 245.

<sup>23</sup> B. Louden, *The Iliad: Structure, Myth, and Meaning*, (Baltimore, 2006), pp. 216-218.

<sup>24</sup> Marinatos (2000), p. 92.



redeemed from the mockery and humiliation they suffer elsewhere in the poems, or at least have a counterbalance. Hera unfailingly assisted the Greeks and did not hesitate to confront Zeus on their behalf; crippled Hephaestus forged the magnificent new weaponry of Achilles (*Il.*XVIII.462-617) and stopped with his fire the dangerous flood of the Xanthos River (*Il.*XXI.328-358 – at Hera’s request); Aphrodite saved (or tried to save) Aeneas and Paris (*Il.*III.371-382; V.310-318), displayed her powers in the girdle scene (*Il.*XIV.188-221; 292-294), and together with Apollo watched over Hektor’s body (*Il.*XXIII.184-191). Even Ares, who was attacked by Diomedes and Athena, occasionally proved himself useful (*Il.*V.505-510 – at Apollo’s command; V.590-595). Many times Greek and Trojan heroes such as Hektor and Ajax are compared to him (e.g. *Il.*VII.106; VII.208-209; VIII.215; XIII.500) and his name serves as an epithet to describe heroes, such as “ἀτάλαντος Ἄρηϊ” (*equal to Ares*) (*Il.*II.627) or “ἀρηίφιλος” (*dear to Ares*) (*Il.*III.21).

West suggests that the specific pairing of the deities in the Theomachy scene derives from an earlier Theomachy narrative.<sup>25</sup> If this is true, then Artemis potentially had a greater and more integral part in the war. In Homer’s version, however, Artemis is never given the chance to redeem or prove herself, and her contribution to the war effort is the smallest of all the Olympians present in Troy. Additionally, this scene emphasizes what is implied all along the Homeric poems: that Apollo and Artemis are not equal or similar twins, and they do not cooperate much. Although both Apollo and Artemis side with the Trojans, and despite the fact that Apollo may occasionally trust his sister, their relationship does not seem to be a very good one.

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<sup>25</sup> West (2011), p. 366.

## Aeneas

Artemis contributes to the Trojan war effort only once, yet it is not an act she initiates. After Apollo saves the wounded Aeneas and brings him to his temple on the citadel of Troy, he returns to the battlefield to further help the Trojans, while Artemis and Leto nurse the hero back to health, thus supporting the Trojan cause in a different, less combatant, way (*Il.V.445-448*). Aeneas is healed at Apollo's behest, while Artemis abides with him, rather than initiating actions that favor or assist the Trojans herself. So while Apollo is fighting bravely alongside the Trojans, his sister and mother are placed away from the battlefield. Kirk emphasizes Apollo's connection to the hero's healing, noting that after Apollo brings Aeneas to his temple he is miraculously healed. Only later he mentions Artemis and Leto, saying they "are imagined as healing Aineias' shattered thigh" in Apollo's adyton, since the god was otherwise occupied.<sup>26</sup> West, on the other hand, emphasizes that Apollo in this scene is more of the Lycian god than a god of healing.<sup>27</sup> However, the Homeric Apollo does have a healing aspect, and he heals the wounded Glaukos (*Il.XVI.513-531*), not to mention the plague which he both brought and cured in the beginning of the *Iliad*. Thus, we may assume that even though Apollo rushes out of this scene, his presence still looms: the healing, which takes place at his temple, was under his auspice as a healer god. It is possible that since he had more pressing matters on the battlefield, Apollo had to delegate responsibility and allow Artemis and Leto to take care of Aeneas. Artemis' nursing of Aeneas may be perceived more as her obeying her brother, and less as her own decision to help the hero, and this maintains Apollo's position as the one in charge.

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<sup>26</sup> G.S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary. Books 5-8*, vol. 2, (Cambridge, 1990), p. 107.

Monro interprets "adyton" in the meaning of a temple, not necessarily the inner room (D.B. Monro [ed.], *Homer: Iliad, Books I-XII*, vol. I, [Oxford, 1884], p. 302).

<sup>27</sup> West (2011), p. 323.

## Niobids

While the episode with Aeneas clearly demarcates the twins as unequal, Homer also provides us with one instance in which they perform on an almost equal basis. This does not take place during the Trojan War, but in one of the *exempla* mentioned during it – in a myth told by Achilles to Priam, when the hero attempts to coax the old king into sharing a meal with him, an act which is required to demonstrate the agreement reached between them.<sup>28</sup> Achilles tells the myth of Niobe, who boasted that while Leto only had two children, she herself had twelve. Following this boast, “τοὺς μὲν Ἀπόλλων πέφνεν ἀπ’ ἀργυρέοιο βιοῖο χωόμενος Νιόβη, τὰς δ’ Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα” (*Apollo slew the sons with his silver bow, being angry at Niobe, and the arrow-pouring Artemis - the daughters*) (*Il.XXIV.605-606*).<sup>29</sup> Tölle-Kastenbein identifies the twins’ role in this myth as “die Rächer der Hybris, als Rächer von Übermut, Hochmut, Stolz und Anmassung,”<sup>30</sup> although this myth was brought up by Achilles to demonstrate that even Niobe, in her great grief, remembered to eat, and not to celebrate the twins’ cooperation. While it is agreed that the myth of Artemis and Apollo killing the Niobids was well-established during Homer’s time, if not earlier, some scholars have suggested that Homer invented the part regarding Niobe eating, in order to support his narrative, or as Kakridis puts it, “Niobe in Book 24 eats for the simple reason that Priam must eat.”<sup>31</sup> It is this particular part of the *exemplum*

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<sup>28</sup> West (2011), p. 423.

<sup>29</sup> For the myth of Niobids, see LIMC, vol. VI, pp. 908-929; C.W. Clairmont, “Niobiden,” in *Antike Kunst*, vol. 6 (1963), pp. 23-32; R.M. Cook, *Niobe and Her Children*, (Cambridge, 1964b); T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth*, (Baltimore, 1993), pp. 536-540.

<sup>30</sup> R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *Pfeil und Bogen im antiken Griechenland*, (Bochum, 1980), p. 154.

<sup>31</sup> J.T. Kakridis, *Homeric Researches*, (New York, 1987), p. 99.

which has attracted most of the scholarly attention.<sup>32</sup> However, it is irrelevant for my purposes, which lie in how Homer presents the twins in this myth.

Artemis was included in Achilles' rendition of the Niobids' myth due to her role as the swift killer of women, a function she serves a few times in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, as we shall see below, and this gender convention is utilized by Homer to keep her away from war and the masculine sphere, despite her actions and her use of weapons. This stands in contradiction with her portrayal in other, albeit later, texts, which depict her as killing (or causing the death of) males such as Tityos,<sup>33</sup> the Aloadai, Aktaion, and other Giants and hunters. Artemis is presented as an active archer in Homer only when she is away from the battlefield and the presence of heroes. While she was a kourotrophic deity in Greek cults, in the Homeric texts she primarily kills girls and women, while her other known aspects are considerably downplayed. The Niobids myth upholds the gendered division between the twins, since in this function Artemis is perceived as working alongside her brother who, by killing the more important males (i.e., former, current, and future warriors), maintains his superiority over his sister, the killer of mere girls. Although at other occasions she is able to use her bow and arrows well, in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, Artemis is still restricted to killing females, with only one exception – Orion, whose death in the *Odyssey* could represent a shift in the attitude towards Artemis between the two Homeric poems.

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<sup>32</sup> e.g. Kakridis (1987), p. 99; West (2011), p. 423; M.M. Willcock, "Mythological Paradeigma in the *Iliad*," in the *Classical Quarterly*, vol. 14, no. 2 (Nov., 1964), p. 436.

<sup>33</sup> According to Pindar, it was only Artemis who had killed the giant (*Pyt.IV.90-91*).

## The *Odyssey*

Orion's death is briefly mentioned in the *Odyssey*, when Kalypso complains that the gods do not approve of goddesses mating with mortal men (*Od.V.118-124*). According to Kalypso, Artemis χρυσόθρονος (*of golden throne*)<sup>34</sup> killed Orion, Eos' lover, with her gentle arrows at Ortygia.<sup>35</sup> Herbillon claims Artemis functions here as an instrument of the jealousy of the gods, Louden suggests that Artemis was the one to punish the hunter due to his unchaste behavior, and Jensen interprets Kalypso's words as indicating that Artemis followed an order by gods to kill Orion.<sup>36</sup> It is possible that this unique deviation occurred because of the less combatant atmosphere of the *Odyssey*, which also brought the goddess' improved status in it, since there is no need in this poem to demonstrate how unsuited she is for the battlefield or to restrict her actions. However, since this is the only time Artemis is portrayed as killing a male in the Homeric corpus, it is more likely that it was done due to the goddess' close connection to either Orion, who was a hunter, or Ortygia, which was more commonly associated with her. This is the exception, and Artemis is not associated with the Homeric depictions of the deaths of the Aloadai and of Tityos, since in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, it is mainly Apollo who kills men. Additionally, the formula in line 124, “οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέεσσιν ἐποικομένη κατέπεφνεν” (*attacking with her gentle arrows, she killed him*), used to describe how Artemis killed Orion, commonly denotes a sudden and painless death given by Artemis to women and by Apollo to men (using ἐποικόμενος), is unusual in this case, and this reversal can be seen as eccentric.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> This is an epithet of Artemis, Hera, and Eos.

<sup>35</sup> Orion is briefly mentioned elsewhere, in *Od.XI.310*, when it is said about the Aloadai that they were the most handsome in the world after Orion.

<sup>36</sup> Herbillon (1927), p. 18; Jensen (2009), p. 53; B. Louden, “Kalypso and the Function of Book Five,” H. in Bloom (ed.), *Homer's The Odyssey*, (New York, 2007), p. 182.

<sup>37</sup> A. Heubeck, S. West, and J.B. Hainsworth, *A Commentary of Homer's Odyssey*, vol. I, (Oxford, 1988), p. 267.

Other than that, the gods in general are less present in the *Odyssey*. Kearns, for example, notes that in this poem the gods had been toned down, and they are less colorful and individualized.<sup>38</sup> Artemis' treatment in the *Odyssey* mirrors the way in which she is presented in the *Iliad*, with one notable difference: now that the setting of a heroic battle, where she was perceived as dangerous and unhelpful, has changed, so does the negative tone so prevalent in her depiction in the *Iliad*. However, though Artemis is portrayed more positively in the *Odyssey*, in many ways her representation in it continues and even extends the Iliadic tendency to separate and differentiate between her and Apollo. Here, too, the poet strives to disassociate Artemis from some of her most known traits, to limit her realms of responsibility, and to distance her from her brother, who is presented as the more important twin.

In the *Odyssey*, Artemis' disassociation with Apollo continues, although the god is no longer omnipresent as in the *Iliad*, and his role and presence are narrowed down. Apollo is associated again with the masculine aspect of archery and he is the one who grants glory and success in this regard (*Od*.XXI.360-365; XXII.5-7), while Artemis is mainly connected to feminine issues, including her role as killer of women. Moreover, she occasionally functions as a paragon of beauty, against which the beauty of Helen (*Od*.IV.121-122), Penelope (*Od*.XVII.36-37; XIX.53-54), and Nausikaa is measured (*Od*.VI. 101-109, 149-152), an aspect which is missing from the *Iliad*.<sup>39</sup> Artemis not only represents beauty personified in the *Odyssey*, but she may also endow attractive physical traits, since according to Penelope, the goddess gave the daughters of Pandareus a slender figure (*Od*.XX.71). It is possible that Artemis' beauty is stressed in the *Odyssey* in order to strengthen her femininity in a kinder way than what we have

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<sup>38</sup> E. Kearns, "The Gods in the Homeric epics." in R. Fowler (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Homer*, (Cambridge, 2004), p. 67.

<sup>39</sup>Penelope is also compared to Aphrodite in these two instances.

seen in the *Iliad*, yet it still increases the gap between her and her brother. The only difference is that while in the *Iliad* this was done in a derogatory way, in the *Odyssey* it is by introducing her as a fair maiden, who is still inherently weaker than her mighty twin-brother. Thus, the great differences between the twins are maintained in the *Odyssey*, only this time they take a different form: while Artemis is described as a beautiful maiden, rejoicing with her entourage (*Od.VI.102-108*) and occasionally killing women, Apollo, despite his reduced presence, is still a mighty god, who is closely associated with Odysseus' victory at the end of the poem (e.g. *Od.XXII.5-7*).

Artemis and Apollo are portrayed as acting together only once in the *Odyssey*: although here too they do not break the boundaries of the gender dichotomy. This happens when Eumaios the swineherd describes the island of Syria, his homeland, where the twin gods kill with their gentle arrows those who have reached old age, killing not out of retribution or vengeance, but rather as an act of kindness, bringing swift and gentle death to those whose time has come. (*Od.XV.409-411*). According to Eumaios, “ἐλθὼν ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξὺν / οἷς ἄγανοῖς βελέεσσιν ἐποιχόμενος κατέπεφνεν” (*Apollo with the silver bow came with Artemis and attacking with his gentle arrows, he killed them*) (410-411). Apollo, who is in the nominative, is presented again as the active subject and as the leader of the action, since both the verb and the participle are in singular masculine, therefore referring only to him, while Artemis, who has no epithet, is in the dative case and she is only added to him, her actions, killing the women, only inferred but not stated. In this way, Homer construes their short depiction in a manner that distinguishes them and gives Apollo the central position as the subject, thus indicating their unequal status and hierarchical order. This is why Heubeck and Hoekstra suggest that Apollo has

taken precedence in this regard over his sister.<sup>40</sup> Yet apart from this story, the poet strives to disassociate Artemis and Apollo whenever possible in the *Odyssey*.

There is one additional time when Artemis and Apollo are presented in the same context, yet it too serves to emphasize their dissimilarity as well as to limit the presentation of cultic sites of Artemis. This takes place when Odysseus compares Nausikaa's beauty to a palm shoot he saw on Delos (*Od.VI.160-168*). Since Odysseus also said Nausikaa resembles Artemis (*Od.VI.150-152*), it stands to reason that the goddess also bears a resemblance to said palm shoot. Yet when the poet anchors this botanical metaphor to the cultic reality of Delos, he mentions the altar of Apollo, thus associating the island with him rather than his sister. In this way, Artemis may look like Nausikaa (and vice versa), yet her cultic importance on Delos is ignored, and the island is associated with her brother. The poet goes back to the Iliadic tendency to focus solely on Apollo's cult sites rather than on Artemis', even though Artemis was, according to Burkert, "the real mistress of the sanctuary," and her cult on the island predates Apollo's, who later became dominant on Delos during the Archaic period.<sup>41</sup>

With the different atmosphere and circumstances of the *Odyssey*, Artemis perhaps does not pose a danger of hindering or interfering in the "πολεμῆϊα ἔργα" (works of war) (*Il.V.428*), and consequently she is perceived in a better way, with the emphasis shifting to her beauty, although she is carefully associated only with responsibilities in the feminine realm. Regardless, her disassociation with Apollo continues. He may be presented as vindictive - he has killed Eurythos who had dared to challenge him in archery (*Od.VIII.226-228*) - yet the *Odyssey*

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<sup>40</sup> A. Heubeck and A. Hoekstra (eds.), *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey*, vol. 2, (Oxford, 1989), p. 258.

<sup>41</sup> Burkert (1985), p. 144. For more on Artemis and Delos, see P. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les Cultes de Délos à l'Époque Hellénistique et à l'Époque Impériale*, (Paris, 1970), pp. 171-202; Foukara (2014), pp. 1-2; H. Gallet de Santerre, *Délos Primitive et Archaique*, (Paris, 1958), pp. 127-147, 239-258; Larson (2007), p. 92; J. Solomon, "Apollo and the Lyre," in J. Solomon (ed.), *Apollo: Origins and Influences*, (Tucson, 1994), pp. 43-44.



mentions Apollo's cults, powers, and importance, which overshadow his less benevolent moments.

## Apollo's Cult and Worship

Although the Homeric corpus presents us with the Panhellenic pantheon, which differs from the many local pantheons and cults, it nonetheless provides us with a valuable, albeit partial and possibly distorted, source on the way in which the Greeks worshipped their gods.<sup>42</sup> While Zeus is the supreme god, presiding impartially over the Trojan War, and while the gods are divided among themselves in their support of the two sides, neither the Greeks nor the Trojans confine their worship to the gods who support them. This is shown, for example, by the oath “αἰ γὰρ Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἄπολλον” (*by Zeus the father, Athena, and Apollo*), which occurs four times in the *Iliad* and five times in the *Odyssey*.<sup>43</sup> Tsagarakis sees Apollo's association with Zeus and Athena in this formula as an indication that he was greatly honored in the religious life of the Homeric men.<sup>44</sup> Additionally, this invocation succinctly summarizes the triangle of divine powers in the Homeric world and its most powerful deities. The Trojans, who worship Athena, try in vain to gain her assistance by prayers and offerings (*Il.VI.286-310*), while Apollo's support of the Trojans does not prevent the Greeks from worshipping him as well, and this demonstrates his relative importance in the religious world of the *Iliad*. Indeed, the *Iliad* and

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<sup>42</sup> Burkert (2001), pp. 80-94; F. Graf, “Religion un Mythologie im Zusammenhang mit Homer: Forschung und Ausblick,” in J. Latacz (ed.), *Zweihundert Jahre Homer-Forschung*, (Stuttgart, 1991), pp. 331-362; Kearns (2004), pp 59-73; O. Tsagarakis, *Nature and Background of Major Concepts of Divine Power in Homer*, (Amsterdam, 1977), pp. 34-45.

<sup>43</sup> In the *Iliad*: twice by Agamemnon (*Il.371, IV.288*), once by Nestor (*VII.132*) and once by Achilles (*XVI.97*). In the *Odyssey*: twice by Telemachos (*XVII.132, XVIII.235*), and once by Menelaos (*IV.341*), Laertes (*XXIV.376*), and Alkinoos (*VIII.311*).

<sup>44</sup> Tsagarakis (1977), p. 34.

the *Odyssey* provide us with many descriptions of how the Greeks and the Trojans worshipped Apollo, both publicly and privately. Two of his priests are mentioned by name,<sup>45</sup> and we hear of many of his sanctuaries and temples, such as Delphi with its stone temple, Delos and its altar, as well as Troy, Sminthos, Lycia, Tenedos, Chryse, and two sacred groves in Ismaros and Ithaca.<sup>46</sup> Of these, Delphi is the most renowned: Achilles mentions its wealth and its stone threshold (*Il.IX.404-405*) and in the *Odyssey*, Agamemnon crosses over the stone threshold of Apollo's temple in Delphi, when he goes to consult the oracle (*Od.VIII.79-81*). These examples not only denote Delphi's great importance already in Homer's time,<sup>47</sup> but according to Graf, it emphasizes the site's uniqueness, since most temples in Homer's time were wooden ones.<sup>48</sup> All this demonstrates that Apollo's worship was well established in the religious world of Homer (or at least during the time the Homeric poems crystallized into writing).

Apart from his sanctuaries, both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* provide an abundance of evidence regarding Apollo's public and communal worship. First are the great sacrifices performed by the Greeks in order to appease him: Agamemnon offers the god "a perfect hecatombs of bulls and goats by the shore of the barren sea" (*Il.I.313-317*). After delivering Chryseis back to her father, the Greeks perform an additional hecatomb sacrifice, a ritual that

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<sup>45</sup> Chryses in the *Iliad* (I.10-13 and elsewhere) and Maron of Ismaros in the *Odyssey* (IX.197-198).

<sup>46</sup> Delphi is mentioned when Achilles explains to the messengers that he appreciates his life more than the treasures of Apollo's temple in Delphi, buried under its stone threshold (*Il.IX.401-405*). In the *Odyssey*, Demodokos mentions that Agamemnon once went to consult the oracle in Apollo's temple in Delphi, also mentioning its stone threshold (*Od.VIII.75-82*). Unlike the Homeric short description of Delphi and its treasures and groves, the only time we hear of Delos in Homer is when Odysseus, trying to find the right metaphor to describe Nausikaa's beauty, compares her to a young palm shoot he once saw in Delos near the altar of Apollo (*Od.VI.162-163*). Apart from these mentions, the only other *temenos* of Apollo mentioned in Homer is his sacred grove of many trees in Ismaros, where his priest lived with his family (*Il.IX.195-201*).

<sup>47</sup> West writes that Delphi's wealth, as it is described here, is a perception of the seventh century BCE, and therefore it reflects Delphi's importance not in the heroic age but rather during Homer's time (West [2011], p. 223) and Griffin notes that the reference here must not be later than ca. 700 BCE (Griffin, J. [ed.], *Homer - Iliad Book Nine*, [Oxford, 1995], pp. 123-124).

<sup>48</sup> Graf (2009), p. 25.

includes purification, prayers, a sacrificial meal, libations, hymns, and music (*Il.I.430-474*). In the *Odyssey*, there is another hecatomb sacrifice during Apollo's festival in Ithaca, in which the suitors, as well as Telemachus and the disguised Odysseus, all enjoy the “ἐρικυδέα δαῖτα” (*glorious feast*) (*Od.XX.276-283*). Rutherford notes that the poet uses Apollo's festival to emphasize the difference between the godless suitors and the pious community, while de Jong points out that the suitors will only use Apollo's festival as a pretext to stop the competition, which did not go well for them.<sup>49</sup> This scene adds weight to Odysseus' revenge, in which he slays the suitors using his own bow on the holy day of the archer god, providing another strong association between Apollo and archery, while Artemis is still mostly restricted to shooting women.<sup>50</sup>

In addition to public worship, the Homeric corpus provides us with many examples of individual acts of piety, with people interacting with Apollo, praying to him, swearing by him, and asking for his help. Although the Greeks occasionally call on Apollo, it is the Trojans who regularly invoke him, pray for his help in battle, ask for favors, and promise and offer him dedications. Hektor, for example, announces that he will dedicate his opponent's weapons in the god's temple if Apollo will grant him the glory, which is the proper way to give thanks for such assistance (*Il.VII.74-85*).<sup>51</sup> Apollo helps the Trojans when asked to do so, but he also acts on his own accord in saving some of the heroes (e.g. *Il.V.343-345*; *Il.XI.361-365*; *Il.XV.520-522*), healing one of them (*Il.XVI.508-531*). He assists the Trojans during battles (e.g. *Il.VII.20-21*; *Il.VII.269-272*; *Il.XV.220-262*), terrifies the Greeks (*Il.XVII.116-118*), while he bestows

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<sup>49</sup> R.B. Rutherford (ed.), *Odyssey: Books XIX and XX*, (Cambridge, 1992), p. 226; De Jong, I.J.F., *A Narratological Commentary on the Odyssey*. (Cambridge, 2001), p. 498.

<sup>50</sup> De Jong (2001), p. 498.

<sup>51</sup> However, he is not unique in this, and other gods, mainly Athena and Zeus, are also perceived as giving glory to the heroes. e.g. *Il.XI.361-365*; *Il.XX.441-452*; *Il.XXIII.659-661*; *Il.XXIII.865*; *Il.XXIII.870-876*.

courage, encouragement, and good advice upon the Trojans (e.g. *Il.IV.505-514*; *Il.XVII.71-81*, *Il.XVII.319-332*). Apollo is fully committed to the success of the Trojans, as Athena supports the Greek cause. His predilection towards the Trojans did not escape the Greeks, and both Achilles and Diomedes accuse Hektor, who was whisked off to safety by Apollo, of escaping death only because of his prayers to the god (*Il.XI.361-365*; *Il.XX.441-452*). This, of course, strengthens Apollo's status as the defender of Troy, although it also presents the best of the Trojans as a lesser hero, who would have perished without Apollo's help.

## Artemis' Cult

Unsurprisingly, the worship of Artemis is rarely depicted in either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, and while Apollo is honored by both sides, his sister is usually worshipped by none. We do not hear of any of her cultic sites, or of her presence in sites which she shared with Apollo, such as Delos.<sup>52</sup> In the *Iliad*, she is never hailed or evoked, and is thus excluded from representations of both public and private cult. This changes in the *Odyssey*, when Penelope prays to Artemis twice, asking the goddess to kill her (*Od.XVIII.200-203*, *XX.60-82*). This is hardly an improvement, although it is a continuation of the Iliadic tendency to associate her with the death of women. In one instance, we have an indirect and rather nondescript mention of choral dances in her honor, which indicates a ritual performance of some sort.<sup>53</sup> This is mentioned as the background story for when Hermes saw Polymele for the first time, dancing

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<sup>52</sup> Unlike other goddesses, e.g. Athena's Trojan temple (*Il.XI.269-310*); Aphrodite's Paphian temenos (*Od.VIII.363*); and Hera's three beloved cities, Argos, Sparta, and Mycenae (*Il.IV.50-52*).

<sup>53</sup> A. Henrichs, "Why Should I Dance?": Choral Self-Referentiality in Greek Tragedy," in *Arion*, vol. 3, no. 1 (1994-1995), p. 59.

and singing in honor of Artemis χρυσηλάκατος (*Il.XVI.180-183*).<sup>54</sup> According to Jensen, Polymele was part of the goddess' retinue,<sup>55</sup> and Janko notes that Hermes should have been more respectful towards Artemis.<sup>56</sup> Indeed, Hermes' action disrespects Artemis, since not only he is violating the sanctity of her festival, but he is taking away a παρθένος who belongs to her, intending to change her maiden status, and this is a great transgression on his part. Thus, the mention of Artemis' cult leads to her being affronted.

The only time a public sacrifice to Artemis is mentioned in the poems comes when old Phoinix tells the myth of the Kalydonian Boar, in which king Oineus held a harvest festival, in which he offered sacrifices to all the gods but neglected Artemis, who is uncharacteristically presented here as the daughter of great Zeus (Διὸς κόυρη μεγάληο) (*Il.IX.528-549*).<sup>57</sup> However, her connection with her father and his greatness are of no use to her, since she is so easily forgotten. According to Homer, this may have been due to a distraction or the king's

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<sup>54</sup> Although χρυσηλάκατος is commonly translated as the one with the golden distaff or spindle, I agree with Janko and Vernant who claim that ἡλακάτη originally meant reeds which were suitable for both arrows and distaffs, and since Artemis' nature has nothing to do with spinning, this epithet should be understood as the one with the golden arrow (R. Janko, *The Iliad: A Commentary, Books 13-16*, vol. 4, [Cambridge, 1994], p. 343; J.-P. Vernant, "The Figure and Functions of Artemis in Myth and Cult," in J.-P. Vernant and F.I. Zeitlin [eds.], *Mortals and immortals*, [Princeton, 1991], p. 196n4).

<sup>55</sup> Jensen (2009), p. 52. For more on girls' dances to Artemis, see Larson (2016), p.153.

<sup>56</sup> Janko (1994), p. 343.

<sup>57</sup> According to Barringer, there is an older tradition which preceded Homer's version (J.M. Barringer, *The Hunt in Ancient Greece*, [Baltimore, 2001], p. 147). However, it is more important what Homer does and how he chooses to present the myth.

The myth of the Kalydonian Boar has earned great scholarly debate regarding the nature of the Homeric exemplar. Yet it is seen as an older epic poem whose details had been changed by Homer, who modified it by using *ad hoc* personal inventions so it will fit better his attempt to establish a similarity between Meleager and Achilles. See L. Edmunds, *Myth in Homer*, (Highland Park, NJ, 1992), p. 420; B. Hainsworth, *The Iliad: A Commentary. Books 9-12*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 130-131; J. Griffin (ed.), *Homer - Iliad Book Nine*, (Oxford, 1995), pp. 135-136; West (2011), p. 226; M.M. Willcock, "Ad Hoc Invention in the *Iliad*," in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, vol. 81 (1977), p. 43. However, other scholars, such as Nagy, Lang, and Martin, have objected to this approach. Some observation regarding this, claiming that Artemis' part in this myth is irrelevant for Homer's purpose, thus there is no reason to doubt its authenticity. However, the manner in which Homer opts to present her, since it corresponds neatly with the rest of his poem, may have been also adjusted. Even if it was not, it is another poetic choice to depict Artemis as weak, marginalized, and slighted by men, which fits into the Homeric pattern.

forgetfulness, but Barringer notes this is an act of hubris,<sup>58</sup> regardless of the cause.<sup>59</sup> In retaliation, Artemis unleashes a ferocious wild boar, which ransacks the king's fields.<sup>60</sup> In Greek religion, when it is believed that a divine punishment had been exacted, it is necessary to identify which deity is responsible and then to appease him or her.<sup>61</sup> Yet unlike Apollo, who lifted the plague after he was placated, the boar is slain by heroes led by Meleager, the son of Oineus. Their actions not only defy Artemis, but ignore the reciprocity which stood at the basis of the human-divine interaction. They demonstrate that they can overcome her will, which further establishes her inherent weakness and the disrespect she receives. Artemis was usually offered a sacrifice after a successful hunt,<sup>62</sup> and we may deduce from the goddess' augmented wrath that this was not done after the boar was killed, thus presenting Artemis as being denied her due honor twice. The goddess' anger was unassuaged, and having her first plan thwarted, she made the heroes fight among themselves for the animal's head and the hide, which resulted in great losses, including Meleager's death.

This myth was well known by Homer and his audience: even Phoinix presents it as a well-known myth, and in all likelihood it predated Homer and was based on an earlier tradition.<sup>63</sup> However, Kakridis suggests that Homer added some elements to the basic myth, amongst which is Artemis' wrath.<sup>64</sup> If he is right, this is another example of how Homer deliberately presents

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<sup>58</sup> Barringer (2001), p. 147.

<sup>59</sup> Homer's attempt to provide the king with some justification does not recur elsewhere. For example, in the *Odyssey*, when the suitors ignore Apollo's festival, the poet does not provide any explanation or justification for their behavior, quite the contrary, as it is another layer in their negative portrayal (*Od.XX.240-283*).

<sup>60</sup> Schefold describes it as "jumbo-sized" (K. Schefold, *Gods and Heroes in Late Archaic Greek Art*, [Cambridge, 1992], p. 195).

<sup>61</sup> Larson (2016), p. 40.

<sup>62</sup> Barringer (2001), p. 158.

<sup>63</sup> Barringer (2001), p. 147; Jensen (2009), p. 53.

<sup>64</sup> Kakridis (1987), p. 15. The Meleager exemplum has gained great scholarly attention, since it is the main example used by scholars such to support their claim that the poet of the *Iliad* was free to invent and add to the narrative in

Artemis in a negative light, either by incorporating unflattering portrayals of her, by giving new interpretations to familiar myths, or perhaps by inventing them. It is possible, however, that Homer was striving to achieve symmetry in this myth. The myth of Meleager is similar to that of Achilles, and it is understandable, since the purpose of this *exemplum* was to push Achilles into rejoining the battle. Nagy has identified another similarity between the two, since Achilles' wrath "was preceded by the anger of Apollo, [while] the anger of Meleager was preceded by the anger of Apollo's sister, Artemis."<sup>65</sup> The main difference, as noted above, is how each deity is treated afterwards.

Pausanias writes that according to the *Catalogue of Women*, and the lost epic poem, the *Minyas*, it was Apollo who killed Meleager, for the god sided with the Kouretes (X.31.3). We cannot know if Homer was aware of this version and if he opted to ignore Apollo's part in it. On the surface, it seems a good opportunity to demonstrate Apollo's might and present him in a positive light, solving problems created by his sister, as he did in the myth of the Atreidai, for example. It could also be a warning to Achilles, indicating what may follow Apollo's anger. At the same time, the Homeric version is compatible with Homer's general line of thought, since assigning the blame for Meleager's death to Artemis introduces yet another hero harmed by her.

If Homer did not invent Artemis' wrath and Oineus' ignoring her, then we could say that she was disregarded even before Homer's time. However, another possibility is that the myth, like the plague in the myth of Oedipus, originally had a wild boar mysteriously appearing and the Kalydonians had to discover which god they had angered and needed to appease. Regardless of whether Homer invented parts of this myth or not, it is the fact that he incorporated this myth in

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order to support his purposes. Yet these relate to the later and larger parts of the myth, and the myth itself was well known to Homer and his audience – even Phoinix refers to it as such.

<sup>65</sup> G. Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans*, (Baltimore, 1999). p. 104.

its present form that matters, since his choice, every choice, reflects his agenda. According to Finkelberg, “Homer both reshapes the tradition he inherited and adapts it to his own agenda, which as a rule do not concur with those of his sources.”<sup>66</sup> Other scholars emphasize the poet’s use of well-known poetical materials in creating his own poem. Herbillon states that “Homère n'en a pas inventé les traits, il a choisi parmi ceux qui étaient à sa disposition,”<sup>67</sup> and Scodel elaborates, arguing that the “story-teller’s task lay not in inventing a tale and telling it with originality, but in selecting his story, telling it at the level of detail appropriate to the occasion, and deploying the familiar epic language to make it vivid.”<sup>68</sup>

A few things may be extrapolated from the apparent insignificance of Artemis, conveyed by this *exemplum*. We may deduce that a goddess, who is irrelevant to one mythological king, is not relevant to the other mythological kings and warriors.<sup>69</sup> Oineus’ mistreatment of her reflects the way in which she is treated by Homer, regardless of her position in Greek cultic life and her association with distinctively masculine spheres. These are mostly covered by Apollo in the *Iliad*, since Homer deliberately shifts the power away from Artemis and to downplay her importance here and elsewhere. Even if we consider the punishment she has exacted on the Kalydonians or Niobe, Artemis’ powers are present not in the reality of the Trojan War, but in *exempla* embedded within the *Iliad*, rather than in the plot of the *Iliad* itself, another sign of her weakness in the Homeric world.

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<sup>66</sup> M. Finkelberg, “Homer as a Foundation Text,” in H. Bloom (ed.), *Homer*, (New York, 2007), p. 172.

<sup>67</sup> Herbillon (1927), p. 56.

<sup>68</sup> R. Scodel, “The Story-Teller and his Audience,” in R. Fowler (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Homer*, (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 45-46.

<sup>69</sup> Another example of people who give sacrifice to the deities that match their status comes in the *Odyssey*, where Eumaios prays to the gods, but gives the meat to the nymphs and to Hermes, while “the immortal gods” receive the first-fruit offerings. According to Shabtai, this is done since the local cult belonged to the nymphs and since Hermes is the patron god of the herds (A. Shabtai, [ed.], *Odyssey*, [Tel Aviv, 2014]. p. 275).



We could, of course, understand this story as a warning sign: one must honor all the gods, otherwise misfortune and vicious wild boars will follow. It may indeed be a simple cautionary tale, yet it is unlikely that a similar incident would happen to Apollo, Athena, or Zeus: Homer would probably not portray them as easily forgotten or ignored.<sup>70</sup> The myth of the Kalydonian Boar, inserted into the *Iliad*, does not give us information about the worship of Artemis, but the complete opposite. By incorporating it into his poem, Homer reiterates to his audience Artemis' insignificance, thus maintaining his disregard of her.

## Archery

Apollo's depiction closely connects archery, one of his best-known traits, and the battles, since this is an important aspect in which he renders assistance to the Trojans. Thus, even though Artemis was also associated with the bow, the twins are presented very differently in this regard. On the surface, the twins are both strongly associated with archery: in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, Apollo has a total of eight relevant epithets, recurring about sixty times, while Artemis receives five different epithets, which occur almost thirty times. Considering the small part she plays in the poems, the nature of her epithets is indicative of the centrality of archery to her character.

Hunting in antiquity was perceived as a highly masculine and aristocratic activity. Apollo is presented again and again as the patron of archers and archery in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. He even gave a bow to two archers, Pandaros of Lycia (*Il.II.827*) and Teucer, son of Telamon (*Il.XV.441*). Some scholars believe that this is merely an indication that they were already

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<sup>70</sup> It is true that the suitors in the *Odyssey* forget or ignore Apollo's festival, but this is perhaps used as another sign of their wickedness, which is not what Homer is going for here. (*Od.XX.240-283*).

excellent or renowned archers, especially since elsewhere in the *Iliad*, Pandaros fashions his bow by himself (*Il.IV.105-111*).<sup>71</sup> Janko, however, rightfully notes that a god may give a hero both archery skills and a bow.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, Pandaros might have had two bows, or perhaps Homer conflated two different traditions regarding the hero. In any case, Apollo is said to have given a threefold crested helmet to Hektor (*Il.XI.352-353*), and there is no reason to assume this was done figuratively; therefore the god did provide sometimes weaponry to heroes (*Il.XI.352-353*).<sup>73</sup>

Apollo's close association with archery causes many of the heroes fighting in Troy to pray and ask for his help in this regard, whether on the battlefield or in a contest.<sup>74</sup> Thus, when a disguised Athena tries to convince Pandaros to shoot an arrow at Menelaos, she tells him to make a vow of a hundred firstborn lambs to Apollo (*Il.IV.100-121*) and during Patroklos' funerary games, Meriones promises Apollo ἐκηβόλος (*far-shooting*) a hecatomb of firstborn lambs if he will help him in the archery competition (*Il.XXIII.870-876*). Neglecting to vow to Apollo his due and splendid hecatomb, brings failure, as Teucer discovers during Patroklos' funerary games (*Il.XXIII.862-865*). In the *Odyssey*, Apollo is invoked by men who ask him to guide their arrows; in the *Iliad*, he is more accessible to non-heroic characters, as Penelope wishes that he would kill Antinoos (*Od.XVII.492-494*) and Melanthius, the goatherd, prays for the death of Telemachos, either by Apollo's hands or by the suitors' (*Od.XVII.247-253*). Perhaps since neither of them is able to fight directly with noblemen, they resort to prayers, hoping Apollo will act on their behalf.

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<sup>71</sup> G.S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary. Books 1-4*, vol. 1, (Cambridge, 1985), p. 254; W. Lea (ed.), *The Iliad*, vol. I, (Amsterdam, 1971), p. 112; M.M. Willcock, "Some Aspects of the Gods in the *Iliad*," in *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London*, vol. XVII, (1970), pp. 3-4; M.M. Willcock, *A Commentary on Homer's Iliad: Books I-VI*, (London, 1978), p. 87.

<sup>72</sup> Janko (1994), p. 277.

<sup>73</sup> In Euripides' *Orestes*, it is said that Apollo gave the hero a bow of horn to chase away the Erinyes (249-287).

<sup>74</sup> Apollo's close connection to the bow and arrows is exemplified in other cases, when heroes who wish to succeed in archery (or others who wish that for them).

There is no doubt that Artemis was closely associated with archery and the hunt in Homer's time, as he mentions her relevant epithets: Ἀγρότερη (*huntress*), Ἐύσκοπος (*shooting well*), Ἰοχέαιρα (*arrow-pourer*), Τοξοφόρος (*bow-bearing*), and Χρυσηλάκατος (*with golden arrows*). As the mistress of the hunt, Artemis, especially under the epithet Agrotera, had a close connection with militaristic affairs and a significant role in the battlefield, especially in training the youths for battle through participation in hunts. Moreover, she oftentimes received preliminary sacrifices before battles.<sup>75</sup> Yet when we go beyond her epithets and examine how Artemis is described in the poems, she has very little to do with warfare. She is not presented as a great huntress either, even though, as Petrovic notes, Homer's use of Artemis' epithets qualifies her as a goddess of wild animals and hunting, although whenever these domains are mentioned, it is in a negative context.<sup>76</sup> Moreover, due to the close connection between hunting and warfare, which were not separate fields but complementing ones, the attempt to establish a distinction between archery for the hunt and for military purposes should be regarded as artificial, made in order to move Artemis away from the battlefield and distance her from the warriors.

Although Homer uses Artemis' various relevant epithets, her actual actions in association with archery are rather limited. No hero asks her to guide his arrows or to stable his bow and Skamandrios, the one hero whom she taught how to hunt (and therefore – to use the bow), dies in battle. Homer emphasizes Skamandrios' connection with the hunt three times: he was a skillful hunter (αἴμονα θήρης) and a good hunter (ἔσθλός θηρατήρ); and Artemis herself taught him

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<sup>75</sup> A. Brelich, *Guerre, agoni, et culti nella Grecia arcaica*, (Bonn, 1961), pp. 83-84; Herbillon (1927), p. 17; O. Kern, *Die Religion der Griechen*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1926), p. 106; R. Lonis, *Guerre et religion en Grèce à l'époque classique*, (Besançon, 1979), p. 201; Marinatos (2000), pp. 97-105; Vernant (1991b), pp. 244-257. For the most recent treatment, see M.H. Jameson, *Cults and Rites in Ancient Greece*, (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 112-114, 256.

<sup>76</sup> Petrovic (2010), p. 211.

“βάλλειν ἄγρια πάντα” (to strike down with arrows many wild animals) (*Il.V.52*). Additionally, Homer mentions his archery skills (ἐκβολία) and refers to Artemis as ἰοχέαιρα. Càssola assumes Skamandrios was Artemis’ disciple,<sup>77</sup> although Kirk says it only means that he was a good or a noble hunter.<sup>78</sup> Regardless, what is important here is that he dies in battle at the hands of Menelaos, and against his spear, neither Artemis nor the archery skills she taught Skamandrios help him (*Il.V.49-54*). In this, Artemis clearly does not adhere to the sentiment Aeschylus will put in Apollo’s mouth centuries later, when in *Eumenides*, the god states that “it is just to show kindness to your worshipper, especially when he happens to need it” (725-726).

Kirk notes that gods do not often help their favorite heroes in the *Iliad*.<sup>79</sup> However, in the *Iliad*, most of the time, when other gods stop assisting heroes, it derives from some external force. For example, Apollo was forced to leave Hektor due to the constraints of fate, and Aphrodite escaped the battlefield since she was harmed. Artemis, on the other hand, does not have any extenuating circumstances when she abandons Skamandrios, and this augments her presentation as cruel and harsh. And while the *Iliad* provides us with a plethora of deities assisting heroes, Artemis does not help anyone of her free accord, and saves only one hero at Apollo’s command. Artemis’ association with Skamandrios, the hunter-hero, only reveals her inherent shortcoming in these matters, since his hunting skills and archery prowess, which he learned from her, were useless at the critical moment, revealing that “the gifts of Artemis are obviously worthless in open battle.”<sup>80</sup> This incident serves as further Homeric proof that Artemis’ place is not in the battlefield.

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<sup>77</sup> F. Càssola, *Inni Omerici*, (Verona, 1975), p. 411

<sup>78</sup> Kirk (1990), p. 59.

<sup>79</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> Petrovic (2010), p. 211.

In antiquity, hunting was closely associated with warfare. According to Xenophon, hunting provides the best training for war (*On Hunting*, 12.1); and in Athens it was perceived as the proper training for ephebes on the path to become warriors.<sup>81</sup> Moreover, even if we accept that Artemis is only responsible for recreational archery, she is not portrayed as a good huntress either. Despite her epithets, Homer presents her as irrelevant to the masculine usages of the bow and arrows, limiting her almost exclusively to killing women. Therefore, since the predominance of Artemis' relevant epithets contradicts how she is portrayed, this must mean that Homer applies her traditional epithets as a matter of literary convention, while presenting her in a manner that corresponds with his different agenda, describing her archery skills as irrelevant to his narrative, to the war, and to the heroes. Thus, Artemis' epithets are the key evidence that her

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<sup>81</sup> Although Artemis was not a warrior goddess like Athena or Ares, she was responsible for some militaristic aspects, especially under her function as a huntress, since warfare and hunting were closely associated. According to Reeder, hunting "was considered an essential expression of manhood in Greek culture. Hunting was also regarded as the ideal training ground for war, which was closely identified with hunting. A hunter was viewed as a member of civilization who ventured into an uncivilized world where he occupied liminal status" (E.D. Reeder, *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece*, [Baltimore, 1996], p. 314). For more on the connection between hunting, warfare, and masculinity, see Barringer (2001), pp. 10-11; Vernant (1991b), p. 245; E. Vikela, "The Worship of Artemis in Attica," in N. Kaltsas and H.A. Shapiro, *Worshipping Women*, (New York, 2008), p. 87. The evidence for this is later than the Homeric poems, yet we might infer from this that Artemis was indeed associated at least with some militaristic aspects due to her status as the huntress-goddess. Barringer notes that the hunt had a crucial place in constructing the male aristocratic identity in Athens, and this is likely to be applied to other parts of Greece as well (Barringer [2001], p. 10). Thus, hunting in the Greek world was not only a pastime, but rather an elementary part of the education and the forming of young men, a regulated part which contributed to their incorporation into the society, transforming the ephebes into citizen-soldiers of the polis. (Barringer [2001], p. 11; Vernant [1991a], pp. 198-199). According to Larson, after hunting was reduced to a mainly aristocratic pastime, it was modified, and "Artemis' interest in the death-dealing potential of the hunter is transferred to the warrior" (Larson [2007], p. 102). It was under the epithet Agrotera that Artemis was mostly associated with military affairs, and she was worshipped as such in Athens, the Peloponnesos, and especially in Sparta, (Vikela [2008], p. 87). She protected soldiers and served important functions, especially in pre-battle sacrifices (σφάγιον) and in the post-victory thanksgiving sacrifices (Barringer [2001], pp. 12, 48-49; Parker, [2005], pp. 400-401; R. Parker, *On Greek Religion*, [Ithaca, 2011], p. 91; Vernant [1991b], pp. 245, 250; Vikela [2008], p. 87;). According to Vernant, despite the fact that Artemis is not a warrior-goddess, she is present at wars not to fight, but rather to protect "when a conflict threatens the city's continued existence... with total destruction... when warfare abandons the civilized codes... and moves brutally into the realm of savagery." Vernant [1991a], p. 203). Additionally, as the goddess responsible for boundaries between nature and culture and their crossing, Vernant identifies her as the one suitable for these matters, in which the boundaries between peace and war, civilization and savagery of war are crossed (Parker [2005], p. 400; Vernant [1991b], p. 252). Parker too notes her special status in the battlefield and its surroundings, as she received offerings just as the violence is about to break out, intervening "in battles as a savior at moments when the annihilation of one side, the destruction of a city and thus the negation of order, are in danger of occurring" (Parker [2011], p. 91).

persona and attributes were not as restricted as Homer presents them. Moreover, despite evidence which connected the hunt and the battle, understanding the former as a preparation for the latter, Homer possibly hints that mastering the hunt does not necessarily mean one will be successful in battle. He disassociates the hunt from warfare and further pushes Artemis away from the core themes of the *Iliad*.

The one area in which Artemis' archery skills are put to use in the Homeric corpus is the swift deaths of women. Her arrows exact punishment against women, just as Apollo may punish men, and perhaps this is why Hera calls her "λέοντα γυναιξί" (*a lioness to women*) (*Il.XXI.484*). Artemis acts as a punisher in the Niobids' myth and when Eumaios tells how, as a child, he was taken away from his family by a Phoenician slave-woman who wanted to sell him, he assures Odysseus that she did not escape from punishment, since Artemis ἰοχέαιρα struck her down, (*Od.XV.477-479*), presumably with one of the arrows in which she delights. It is also said that she killed Ariadne at Dionysos' request (*Od.XI.321-325*). Artemis is also associated with the timely death of elderly women. She killed Andromache's mother (*Il.VI. 428*), and in the Underworld, Odysseus asks his mother whether she died from a disease or if Artemis ἰοχέαιρα attacked her with her gentle arrows (*Od.XI.172-173*).<sup>82</sup> Killing women in this manner should not be considered as necessarily negative. It is merely the circle of life, and Artemis is not to be blamed for it. Such a death may even be considered as a special boon, as in Eumaios' story mentioned earlier, in which Apollo, together with Artemis, kills the Syrians who have reached old age (*Od.XV.403-411*). Artemis' portrayal as the killer of women hinders her kourotrophic aspects and her role as the protector of women, since she is mainly depicted as their killer. This

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<sup>82</sup> His mother replies that Artemis ἰοχέαιρα did not attack and kill her with her gentle arrows, repeating and accepting the notion that Artemis kills women with her arrows (*Od.XI.197-201*).

establishes her as a goddess of death, provided it is not death in the battlefield, meaning she is inconsequential to the warriors of the *Iliad*.

Lateiner asserts that “Homer is neither objective nor partisan,”<sup>83</sup> yet the consistent manner in which Artemis is presented throughout the *Iliad* indicates that it derived from an intentional effort; otherwise, as with Ares and Aphrodite, there would have been positive portrayals alongside the negative ones. Hera’s portrayal in the *Iliad* is a good example of Homer’s mixing positive and negative depictions. According to Larson, the “unyielding character of Hera in epic is a product of Homeric artistry, but it also reflects certain characteristics of regional ‘great goddesses’ such as Argive Hera and Spartan Orthia... behind the epic narrative lies an awareness of the power wielded by these preeminent goddesses.”<sup>84</sup> Yet this is not true regarding the Homeric Artemis, who, apart from one instance, is consistently portrayed in a negative manner. “[A]mong the Olympians, she is out of her depth; to humans, she is a terrible mistress,” writes Petrovic, claiming that “early Greek epic sums up the most important characteristics of the cult of Artemis, only in order to present their negative foil.”<sup>85</sup>

Moreover, Petrovic asserts that the manner in which early epic presented Artemis had influenced and dominated her depiction in Greek literature, even though it “barely corresponds to her role in cult” and therefore obfuscated her importance in the Greek pantheon.<sup>86</sup> I would like to further this claim and argue that in many ways, the Homeric attitude had essentially canonized the literary treatment of Artemis and her relationship with Apollo. Homer’s portrayal, in which Apollo is well-honored and respected by both Greeks and Trojans while his twin-sister is

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<sup>83</sup> D. Lateiner, “The *Iliad*,” in Fowler, R. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Homer*, (Cambridge, 2004), p. 21.

<sup>84</sup> Larson (2016), p. 34.

<sup>85</sup> Petrovic (2010), p. 215.

<sup>86</sup> *ibid.*

regarded in an entirely different manner, has greatly influenced the goddess' literary presentation henceforth, as we shall see in the next chapter, regardless of her many responsibilities, cults, and sanctuaries. The emphasis on the inequality in her relationship with Apollo and their differing portrayals, seen mostly in the *Iliad*, influenced their later literary depictions.

Homer's bias is revealed in the deliberate selections of myths and scenes in the *Iliad*, almost all of which depict Artemis in a negative light. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* do not portray her in a manner corresponding with her status and importance in the Greek world. Other major gods are also missing from these poems, namely Demeter, Dionysos, and Hestia, yet they have no direct connection to warfare, while Artemis' association with archery and battles should have delineated her as such, so her relative absence and the negative approach towards her may indicate deliberate choice.

So why Artemis is so slighted in the *Iliad*? Why, despite the vast evidence indicating that she was an important goddess throughout the Greek world from the Bronze Age onwards, she is mistreated and misrepresented by the poet of the *Iliad*? There is no obvious reason for Artemis' exclusion. It cannot be because she supports the Trojans, since Apollo does so as well, and his association with them does not prevent the Greeks from worshiping him or invoking his name – just as the Trojan women beseech Athena to save their city (*Il.VI.286-310*). Artemis' gender or virginity cannot be the reason either, since Athena, who shares these traits, shares none of the “blame.” The same goes for Artemis' connection with archery, a highly masculine and aristocratic activity, which was perceived at times as cowardly, with Paris serving as an obvious



example (e.g. *Il.*XI.385-392).<sup>87</sup> Yet Apollo's connection with archery is stressed continuously in the Homeric corpus, without any taint to his image, perhaps since he is "the quintessential male," as Hurwit describes him.<sup>88</sup> Some of the Greeks are archers, as we have seen earlier, not only unnamed soldiers, but the two heroes, Teucer and Meriones, as well. Therefore, archery cannot be understood as solely foreign and questionable.

Artemis' exclusion can be attributed to a few reasons. First and foremost, despite her connection with archery and the hunt, she was not a hero-oriented goddess. Unlike Apollo and Athena, who tirelessly assist heroes in the *Iliad*, she is not a "helper of heroes."<sup>89</sup> Quite the contrary, since Artemis is much more likely to punish a hero rather than help him. Following this, she was rendered useless to the warriors of the *Iliad* and her assistance and guidance were not sought after. Rather, she was presented as the one to be avoided, while her importance and association with masculine activities were considerably downplayed.

To this, we must add her role in what led to the Trojan War with Iphigeneia's sacrifice, when she actively prevented the Greeks from sailing to Troy, therefore stopping them from gaining victory, κλέος (which Apollo grants them), retribution, and spoils. De Jong notes that the attainment of κλέος was very important to the Homeric heroes,<sup>90</sup> and we may deduce that hindering it was not well received. Apollo not only assists the Trojan in gaining κλέος, but he also strives to prevent the Greeks from gaining it, or as Homer puts it "yet Apollo did not allow

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<sup>87</sup> However, even Paris manages to wound (*Il.*XI.368-383, 505-507, 581-585) and kill (*Il.*XIII.660-672) some of the Greeks with his bow.

<sup>88</sup> J.M. Hurwit, *The Athenian Acropolis*, (Cambridge, 1999), p. 241.

<sup>89</sup> S. Deacy, *Athena*, (London, 2008), p. 71.

<sup>90</sup> De Jong (2012), p. 21.

[Achilles] to gain the glory” (*Il.XXI.596-597*).<sup>91</sup> In lieu of Apollo’s actions, Artemis is conspicuously missing, as she hardly helps the Trojans and the little she does is done at the behest of her brother, thus providing another motive for the heroic dislike of her. This well exemplifies Burkert’s division between tales of the gods and descriptions of rituals in Homer, since the former are meant to entertain and not to edify, while the latter presents “the seriousness, the gravity and solemnity of religion.”<sup>92</sup> Or as Larson puts it, “Homer and his predecessors were... more concerned with the narrative than the devotional impact of epic song.”<sup>93</sup> Yet the Homeric poems do not even hint at the Greek practice of giving Artemis Agrotera a preliminary sacrifice before battles or thanking her afterwards, even though Homer uses this epithet of hers both in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. This may be the reason for the Homeric focus on her feminine sides, while her masculine aspects are downplayed. She is not excluded because of her feminine aspects, but rather is almost exclusively affiliated with them since she is not deemed fit to participate in the war like Athena and Apollo, with the latter becoming the sole addressee for the archery-related supplications and prayers. Additionally, perhaps the heroes are afraid to address her, lest something will go amiss and they will face her wrath, as the stories of Agamemnon and Meleager demonstrate. As part of this, she is disassociated from Apollo, either by reducing their appearances together or by presenting them in a major violent conflict. This may also explain why she is depicted negatively in the *Iliad*, while the *Odyssey*, with its less militaristic environment, only preserved her portrayal as a maiden associated with feminine issues.

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<sup>91</sup> On the individual level, there are many other instances where the god helps heroes in need. While we may assume the god abided Chryses’ prayers because he was his priest, many other heroes, who are not necessarily and personally related to Apollo, benefit from his aid.

<sup>92</sup> Burkert (2001), p. 85.

<sup>93</sup> Larson (2016), p. 33.

Thus, Artemis is perceived as an uncontrollable, wild, and dangerous deity to heroes and perhaps to the heroic way, and therefore she induces apprehension and rejection, which are manifested in her Homeric portrayal. In order to keep her away, she is given only a small part in the *Iliad*, and when she is presented, it is mostly either in a negative light or in connection with her feminine - and therefore weaker - aspects, in order to minimize her dangerous presence in the *Iliad* and her influence over the Homeric heroes.

## 1.2 – The *Homeric Hymns*

Although Homer and Hesiod were the ones who taught the Greeks about their gods, another important source for how the Greeks perceived their deities is the Homeric Hymns, which share many similarities with the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, such as the Homeric attitude towards Artemis and the manner in which her relationship with her twin-brother is presented. This perception of Artemis has seeped into and influenced her literary portrayal in the hymns, since in many ways the Homeric attitude had essentially canonized the literary treatment of Artemis and her relationship with Apollo. Although the Homeric Hymns do not display the Iliadic negative attitude towards the goddess, they preserve the Homeric power balance between the twins, in which Apollo is much more prominent than his sister. Thus, Apollo is not only present in both of Artemis' hymns, but he has a pivotal role in them, while she appears only a few times in his long hymn and plays a minor part in it.

While the scholarly attention tends to focus around the long hymn to Apollo, the short hymns to Artemis are often neglected.<sup>94</sup> However, they provide a valuable source for understanding the dynamic between Apollo and Artemis, and enhance and complement our knowledge regarding the twins and their connection, found in Hymn III. In this sub-chapter, I analyze and compare the representations of Artemis and Apollo in their Homeric Hymns (III, IX, XXVII),<sup>95</sup> arguing that the poetical portrayal of Leto's children together presents an unequal and hierarchical relationship, anchored by Homeric biases.

### **Hymn III to Apollo**

Hymn III to Apollo is usually dated from the first half of the seventh century BCE to the second half of the sixth century BCE. Burkert and Janko have suggested that the hymn in its final form was compiled when Polykrates, the tyrant of Samos, instituted a Festival in Delos in honor of Delian Apollo and Pythian Apollo in 523/522 BCE.<sup>96</sup> This hymn stands at the heart of many scholarly debates and the most important one of them may be dubbed as *die homerische Hymnenfrage*, with separatists claiming that the hymn is an amalgamation of two distinct poems and unitarians, who suggest it is one coherent unit.<sup>97</sup> For the purposes of this study, I agree with

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<sup>94</sup> Only a few studies address the corpus in its entirety e.g. T.W. Allen, W.R. Halliday, and E.E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns*, (Amsterdam, 1980); Càssola (1975); G. Zanetto, *Inni Omerici*, (Milano, 2000). West, for example, has nothing to say about twelve hymns in his introduction to the Loeb edition of the Hymns, and this includes the shorter hymns to Apollo and Hymn XXVII to Artemis. M. West, *Homeric Hymns, Homeric Apocrypha, Lives of Homer*, (Cambridge, MA, 2003).

<sup>95</sup> Since Artemis does not appear in Apollo's short hymns (XXI, XXV), they will not be addressed here.

<sup>96</sup> For more on the dating of the hymn, see W. Burkert, "Kynaithos, Polycrates, and the Homeric Hymn to Apollo," in G.W. Bowersock, W. Burkert, and M.C.J. Putnam (eds.), *Arktouros*, (Berlin, 1979), pp. 53-62; A. Faulkner, *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays*, (Oxford, 2011a), pp. 11-12; R. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns*, (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 99-115; West (2003), pp. 10-11.

<sup>97</sup> For a recent summary of the various opinions, see M. Chappell, "The Homeric Hymn to Apollo: The Question of Unity," in A. Faulkner (ed.), *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays*, (Oxford, 2011), pp. 59-81; Faulkner

Clay, who argues that “There is little justification for separating these two as for separating Delian and Pythian Apollo. They are one and the same, and by celebrating both simultaneously, the poet emphasizes Apollo's Panhellenic character.”<sup>98</sup>

Artemis is named only four times in this hymn, thrice in the Delian part and once in the Pythian part. Her appearances are neither vital nor central to the hymn or to Apollo's character as it emerges from it. Moreover, the two do not interact with one another and unlike the Homeric Hymns to Artemis, in which Apollo is associated with his sister relatively early,<sup>99</sup> here she is mentioned later (15), only after the poet has established Apollo's importance in a tripartite way. First, Apollo is presented as so mighty that the gods tremble in fear when he enters Olympus (2). Second, the bond between him and his parents is depicted as very strong: Leto takes away his bow and quiver and makes sure he sits near his father, while Zeus personally gives him nectar and welcomes him as his “beloved son” (10-11). Third, the poet emphasizes only Apollo's birth, as Leto rejoices “since she gave birth to a mighty and a bow-bearing son” (12-13). This deliberately sets Apollo apart from Artemis, whose birth, together with Apollo's, is mentioned later, when the poet addresses Leto again, telling her to rejoice for giving birth to glorious children “lord Apollo and arrow-pouring Artemis” (14-15). Furley claims that the moment of the

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(2011a). Some scholars take the separatist approach, such as Stehle, (*Performance and Gender in Ancient Greece*, [Princeton, 1997]), Burkert (1979), Janko (1982), and West (2003), yet they differ on various details. Janko believed that the Delian part was composed first while West suggested the Pythian section was the first. However, Janko later changed his mind and agreed with the Unitarian opinion following his review of Clay's book (*The Politics of Olympus*, [Princeton, 1989]); R. Janko, “The Homeric Hymns,” in *Classical Review*, vol. 41, no. 1 [1991], pp. 12-13). For other supporters of the Unitarian approach, see J.S. Clay, “Homeric Hymns,” in I. Morris and B. Powell, *A New Companion to Homer*, (Berlin, 2011), pp. 489-507. A.M. Miller, “The ‘Address to the Delian Maidens’ in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*: Epilogue or Transition?” in *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, vol. 109, (1979), pp. 173-186; A.M. Miller, *From Delos to Delphi*, (Leiden, 1986); N. Richardson, *Three Homeric Hymns: to Apollo, Hermes, and Aphrodite*, (Cambridge, 2010).

<sup>98</sup> J.S. Clay, “Homeric Hymns,” in I. Morris and B. Powell, *A New Companion to Homer*, (Berlin, 2011), pp. 501-501.

<sup>99</sup> In Hymn XXVII it is in line 3, in Hymn IX - lines 1-2.

birth “is celebrated as an epiphany of two mighty gods, children of Zeus himself and Leto,”<sup>100</sup> yet it is evident that even though the connection between the twins is not entirely ignored, it is acknowledged only after Apollo’s individual greatness had been determined, clearly demarcating him apart from his sister. Thus, Delos, which was “one of the most important cult-places for the worship of the trio”<sup>101</sup> is mainly associated with Apollo, despite of Artemis’ highly important (and earlier) presence in the place.<sup>102</sup> Moreover, the hymn differentiates between the births of Artemis and Apollo spatially, claiming Apollo was born on Delos while Artemis was born in Ortygia. Only in Pindar we have the first mention that Artemis too was born on Delos. (Pae. 12, fr.52m, 15-16).

Artemis’ birth receives small attention in Hymn III, and it is only said that she was born on Ortygia (15-16).<sup>103</sup> Apollo’s birth is given much greater consideration, with various details about the rocky Delos, the streams of the Inopus, the Kynthian hill against which Leto rested, and the palm tree which she clasped during labor (16-18). Some later versions suggest that Artemis was born first and helped to deliver Apollo, but we cannot know if this notion existed when Hymn III was composed.<sup>104</sup> Neither can we know whether Artemis was intentionally removed from this narrative, yet it is undeniable that the poet focused on Apollo’s birth alone, just as Zeus and Leto give their attention solely to their son, in what may be a poetical attempt to downplay Artemis’ and Apollo’s familial connection. This is understandable, as it is, after all,

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<sup>100</sup> W.D. Furley, “Homeric and Un-Homeric Hexameter Hymns: A Question of Type,” in A. Faulkner (ed.), *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays*, (Oxford, 2011), pp. 221.

<sup>101</sup> Foukara (2004), pp. 1-2.

<sup>102</sup> Burkert (1985), p. 144; Larson (2007), p. 112.

<sup>103</sup> Although Ortygia’s location is uncertain, it was suggested that it is either an area on Delos itself or an island nearby. For a fuller discussion of Ortygia’s literary references and possible locations see Richardson (2010), pp. 84-85.

<sup>104</sup> For other versions of this myth, see Gantz (1993), p.38.

Apollo's hymn, yet it is very different from the approach towards Artemis and her connection to her brother in her own hymns, as we shall see below.

Artemis is mentioned next in the description of the Delian festival to Apollo (possibly the same festival in which this hymn was sung), when a chorus of Apollo's handmaids praises the Delian Triad. First they sing to Apollo and then they sing again, this time to Leto and to Artemis, who is therefore separated from her brother in this hymn within a hymn, due to Leto's position between them (156-161). Clearly, the emphasis here is on Apollo, while Artemis only shares her brother's festival – it is not a mutual festival for the both of them, as demonstrated by the hierarchy exhibited here. It is evident that the importance of Artemis, whose cult on Delos predated Apollo's (ca. 700 BCE) and who was, according to Burkert, “the real mistress of the sanctuary” is not acknowledged in this hymn.<sup>105</sup>

In the end of the Delian section, Apollo and Artemis are finally hailed together, when the poet asks them to be gracious to him. Now they are expected to act similarly, although Apollo's greater importance is maintained, since he is named first and in the nominative while Artemis is added in the dative – “Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξύν” (165-166). However, the poet only mentions them briefly, and then turns his attention to the chorus of Delian maidens, trying to secure his future κλέος by asking the girls to name him when they will be asked whose poems are the fairest of them all (165-175). The connection between the girls and Artemis, who was responsible for girls' initiation rites and who was often honored with similar choruses, may be what stands behind her appearance here. Furthermore, in the *Contest of Homer and Hesiod*, which presents Homer as the one who composed Hymn III, it is stated that the Delians inscribed

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<sup>105</sup> Burkert (1985), p. 144. For more on Artemis and Delos, see Gallet de Santerre (1958), pp. 127-147, 239-258; Bruneau (1970), pp. 171-202; Solomon (1994), pp. 43-44.

its verses on a white tablet and dedicated it in Artemis' *temenos* (315-322); perhaps so it would be close to her young, female attendants, who would most likely participate in future choruses, reminding them of his request.

Artemis' final appearance in Hymn III comes in the description of the celebrations on Mount Olympus, in which various deities dance and sing (194-206). The list includes the Charites, the Horai, Harmonia, Hebe, Aphrodite, and Artemis Ἰοχέαιρα, who is “τῆσι μὲν οὔτ' αἰσχρὴ μεταμέλπεται οὔτ' ἐλάχεια / ἀλλὰ μάλα μεγάλη τε ἰδεῖν καὶ εἶδος ἀγητή, / Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα ὁμότροφος Ἀπόλλωνι” (*she sings and dances with these goddesses, neither ugly nor short, but very great to look at and admirable in form, the arrow-shooting Artemis who was reared with Apollo*) (197-199). Ares and Hermes join them and so does Apollo, playing his lyre. All of Zeus' Olympian children but Athena participate in the merriment; perhaps she is too wise or dignified for such activity. More likely, however, is that Athena's absence could have been caused by earthly politics, since if Burkert and Janko are right regarding the role of Polykrates in the composition of this hymn, it could have led to downplaying the importance of Athena and her namesake city. However, since, as Zaidman and Pantel state, the hymn presents Apollo as Zeus's “favorite son,”<sup>106</sup> I would like to further this claim and to connect it to the fact that Athena is hardly present in Hymn III at all. If Athena, who was born solely from Zeus, would have participated in these divine festivities, her presence would undermine the effort to present Apollo as Zeus' favorite offspring, whose importance trumps all others, at least within this context. Artemis, on the other hand, despite the praises she receives, poses no such threat to Apollo's status as ἀριστος καὶ μέγιστος, and her relationship with him only demonstrates his

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<sup>106</sup> Zaidman and Pantel (1992), p. 196.



superiority over her, as he fills his parents' "great hearts" with joy, when they see their beloved son playing for the gods (204-206).

Hymn III was most likely performed in Apollo's sanctuaries and festivals, hence its understandable emphasis on his presence and power. However, Artemis' absence from his short hymns, as well as the paucity of her appearances in Hymn III, reveals that she was irrelevant to her brother's literary definition and divine identity and that their twinhood was insignificant to his characterization, while Apollo's superiority is maintained in her hymns as well.

## **Hymn XXVII to Artemis**

Homeric Hymn XXVII, the longer of Artemis' two hymns, is dated to the fifth century BCE, and it is assumed that it was compiled and sung during a festival in Delphi.<sup>107</sup> The hymn opens with a short description of the goddess, which establishes her character and some of her traits. Artemis is mostly identified by Homeric epithets and characterization: χρυσηλάκατος (*the one with the golden arrows*), κελαδεινή (*the one who shouts during the hunt*), παρθένος αἰδοῖα (*the revered maiden*), ἐλαφιβόλος (*the deer-shooter*), ἰοχέαιρα (*the arrow-pourer*) (1-2). Then, in the third line, the emphasis moves to her family, and the poet introduces her as the sister (αὐτοκασιγνήτη) of Apollo Χρυσάορος (*of the golden sword*). Interestingly, Apollo is not associated here with archery, perhaps as an attempt to distinguish between the twins and to emphasize Artemis' connection with archery. Zeus and Leto, the proud parents, will be incorporated into the hymn only later (19-21). The many epithets connecting Artemis to the hunt

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<sup>107</sup> Càssola (1975), pp. 411-412; S.D. Olson, *The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite and Related Texts*, (Berlin, 2012), p. 303.

and to archery affirm her identity as the Huntress *par excellence*, although the stress on the reverence of her maidenhood perhaps anchors her other functions to her gender, since none of the others receive such adjectives, thus indicating that she is a maiden who hunts, not a hunter who is a maiden.

Olson claims that Hymn XXVII “systematically reduces [Apollo] to a minor figure, distinguished primarily by his status as Artemis’ brother.”<sup>108</sup> However, Apollo’s presence in Artemis’ hymns and her relative absence from his hymns present a different picture. Moreover, it is not Apollo who is portrayed here as Artemis’ brother, quite the opposite, since Artemis is defined as “αὐτοκασιγνήτην ... Ἀπόλλωνος” (*Apollo’s... own sister*) (3), which exemplifies a repeating literary pattern, in which she is predominantly presented as Apollo’s sister, while he is rarely introduced as her brother. A rare exception to this comes later in this hymn, when Apollo is called Artemis’ “κασιγνήτοιο φίλοιο” (*dear brother*) (13). Yet this happens only towards the end of the hymn, while in its beginning Artemis is presented as Apollo’s own sister (3). This is not a merely semantic distinction, since it determines the power balance between them, continually establishing Apollo as the dominant twin while Artemis’ identity is not autonomous, but rather defined and depended on him. Furthermore, as Richardson notes, in some of the Homeric Hymns, the deities visit their special cult-places,<sup>109</sup> yet while in Hymn III Apollo goes to his own sanctuary, Artemis visits her brother’s cultic-sites in her hymns, not her own temples.

Next in the hymn, Artemis is depicted galloping in wild forests and on mountaintops, spreading fear over land and sea while shooting arrows and rejoicing in the hunt. However, this independent phase is not permanent, and her wild, liminal condition is merely an introductory

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<sup>108</sup> Olson (2012), p. 303.

<sup>109</sup> Richardson (2010), p. 6.

state. She may run alone in rough terrains or partake in masculine activities, but this burst of carefree wildness must come to its end, since later in the hymn, when she wishes to return to civilization, she does not go to one of her own temples; rather, she places herself under Apollo's authority. Artemis goes to Delphi, the most renowned temple of her brother, where he mediates her transition and tames her.<sup>110</sup> She unstrings her bow and hangs it, as well as her quiver, in Apollo's temple in a dedication-like gesture, handing over the instruments symbolizing her power and identity. Then she joins the Charites and the Muses, leading them as they dance and sing the praises of Leto. This accolade, however, is not meant to celebrate Artemis alone, and it is used by the poet to praise both twins as well as their mother, who “τέκε παῖδας / ἀθανάτων βουλῆ τε καὶ ἔργασιν ἔξοχ' ἀρίστους” (*gave birth to children who best all the immortals both in counsel and actions*) (19-20). Seemingly, Artemis and Apollo receive equal honors here, yet Artemis' absence from Apollo's hymns, as we have seen earlier, demonstrates that this praise-sharing is not reciprocal.

Hymn XXVII recalls (and probably replicates) certain elements in Hymn III, with a few notable changes.<sup>111</sup> First, while Apollo frightens the gods when he arrives at Zeus' house on Olympus, causing them to tremble in fear, in Hymn XXVII, the mountains, the earth, and the sea also tremble (the same verb, τρομέω, is used in both cases). However, this happens due to the cries of the animals hunted by Artemis, not because she herself terrifies the elements. Second, Artemis unstrings her bow, while Leto unstrings Apollo's, and the same phrase, τόξα τιταίνει, is

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<sup>110</sup> Although Artemis had a temple or an “unofficial cult location” in Delphi, we do not know where it stood and it was probably later in date than Hymn XVII. M. Scott, *Delphi: A History of the Center of the Ancient World*, (Princeton, 2014), p. 103; Zanetto (2000), p. 309.

<sup>111</sup> Faulkner suggests this may imply that Hymn XXVII was directly influenced from Hymn III, especially due to some linguistic similarities (A. Faulkner, “The Collection of Homeric Hymns: From the Seventh to the Third Centuries BC,” in A. Faulkner [ed.], *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays*, [Oxford, 2011b], p. 203).

used here as well. Furthermore, both bows are hung in the δῶμα of others - Apollo's bow in Zeus' palace and Artemis' bow in Apollo's house. These are similar gestures; however, since Apollo's house in Delphi is his temple, Artemis' action can be construed as a dedication, whereas Leto's hanging Apollo's bow does not have similar connotations, since Zeus' Olympian abode does not function as an earthly temple. Third, both gods participate in celebrations: in Hymn III, Apollo plays the lyre and Artemis sings and dances on Olympus (186-203), while in Hymn XXVII, she leads the chorus in honor of Apollo, although he himself does not partake in the festivities (14-19).<sup>112</sup> Thus, both hymns are dedicated to one deity, yet they also present the next level of divine authority. In Hymn III, Apollo is placed under Zeus, since the hymn embraces the Olympian order rather than destroying or shaking it. Furthermore, the hymn reaffirms Apollo's loyalty to Zeus, the head of the pantheon. Similarly, the poet of Hymn XXVII places Artemis under Apollo, as she sings and dances in his honor, while he does not return the courtesy, making the hierarchy clear: Zeus, Apollo, and only then, Artemis.

It is possible that Hymn XXVII honors Artemis' brother and parents because both twins are regarded as important. After all, praising Leto for the birth of her children seems natural and Apollo's significance in this hymn recurs in Hymn IX to Artemis. Yet the lack of reciprocity, since this close familial bond, as we have seen earlier, is considerably downplayed in Apollo's hymns, means that while Artemis' literary portrayal requires the presence of her brother, thus emphasizing their connection (as well as Apollo's superiority within it), it also places him in the dominant position, as he is more independent and undefined by his association with her. It is possible to understand the manner in which Leto is praised in Hymn XXVII as another way to incorporate Apollo into his sister's hymn, a gesture which does not repeat itself in his shorter

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<sup>112</sup> For further discussion of the similarities, see Olson (2012), pp. 306-307.

hymns (from which Leto is also missing) or in Hymn III, in which he mainly stands by himself or associated only with his parents. These patterns represent a consistent, hierarchical attitude applied to the literary relationship of Artemis and Apollo, which recurs in Artemis' other hymn as well.

## Hymn IX to Artemis

Artemis' Hymn IX was most likely composed in Ionia, probably by a rhapsodist at Klaros.<sup>113</sup> The hymn is generally dated to the seventh century BCE,<sup>114</sup> although Bean and Olson have suggested the Hellenistic period.<sup>115</sup> Regardless of its date, Hymn IX exhibits the same pattern as Hymn XXVII, in which Artemis is associated with her brother, her identity completely intertwined with his. The hymn opens with the poet asking the Muse to sing of Artemis, yet here, too, the goddess is not defined in an absolute way, but rather through her association with Apollo, as her first characterization is "κασιγνήτην Ἐκάτοιο" (*the sister of the far-shooter*) (1).

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<sup>113</sup> Allen, Halliday, and Sikes (1980), p. 389.

<sup>114</sup> Càssola (1975), p. 303; West (2003), p. 17; Zanetto (2000), p. 297.

<sup>115</sup> Bean and Olson claim that Artemis' itinerary - watering her horses in the Meles river, going to Smyrna, and then to Klaros, would only make sense if it refers to New Smyrna, and that its foundation date, during the days of Alexander the Great, should be the *terminus post quem* for the hymn (G.E. Bean, *Aegean Turkey*, [New York, 1967], p. 47; Olson [2012], p. 287). Ancient Smyrna, which was destroyed around 600 BCE, was located near the modern Bayraklı region of Izmir, and to its south were the Meles, New Smyrna and finally Klaros. Thus, going to Ancient Smyrna would have required Artemis to go back on her tracks and go up north, only to go south again. However, already in antiquity there was an uncertainty regarding the exact location of the Meles, which may render the geographical argument invalid (C.J. Cadoux, *Ancient Smyrna*, [Oxford, 1938], pp. 10-13; Bean [1967], p. 45). Furthermore, the description of Artemis' journey may have had more to it than simple geographical data, since the Meles was closely associated with Homer and some ancient sources claim that he was born on the banks of the Meles, that he composed his poetry sitting at a grotto by the river, or even that the Meles was Homer's father (A.N. Athanassakis, *The Homeric Hymns*, (Baltimore, 1976), p. 99; Bean [1967], p. 45; Cadoux [1938], pp. 10, 73-74; Olson [2012], p. 287). Thus, it is possible that the river was named first in order to evoke its association with Homer, either invoking Homer as a poet hails the Muses or establishing a Homeric flavor to the Hymn, rather than supplying a geographical coordinate. As for the reason of Artemis' journey, it was suggested that the Hymn provides an aetiological explanation for a procession in which the cult-statue of Artemis was carried from Smyrna to Klaros on a horse-driven chariot and was bathed in a river as part of the ceremony (Allen, Halliday, and Sikes [1980], p. 389).

Only then we learn that she is also associated with archery, since she is the “παρθένον ἰοχέαιραν, ὀμότροφον Ἀπόλλωνος,” (*Arrow-Pouring maiden who was reared with Apollo*) (2-3), demonstrating yet again how closely she is associated with her brother in her own hymns, as well as emphasizing the archery skills of the two of them, in contrast to Hymn XXVII, with Apollo receiving two relevant epithets and Artemis - three, which furthers the similarity between them in this regard.

After Artemis is introduced and her connection with Apollo is established, she drives her chariot to the Meles River, where she waters her horses. From there, she goes to Smyrna, where she had a sanctuary.<sup>116</sup> However, as in Hymn XXVII, her final destination is not one of her own temples. After a spell of wandering, she arrives at Klaros, a sanctuary primarily associated with Apollo, although there was a small Ionian temple of Artemis south of Apollo’s temple.<sup>117</sup>

The emphasis in Hymn IX is on Artemis’ arrival at Apollo’s sanctuary and into his metaphorical embrace, since Apollo Ἀργυρότοξος (*with silver bow*), who was described by Olson as an important figure in this Hymn,<sup>118</sup> sits in his temple and awaits his far-darting and arrow-pouring sister. Olson also claims that the use of Ἀργυρότοξος closely connects Apollo with his sister, demonstrating yet again how Artemis is closely associated with her brother in her own hymns. Moreover, the poet’s use of Ἐκατηβόλος (*far-darting*) in reference to Artemis may be perceived as another connection, since, much like Ἀργυρότοξος, it is a common Homeric

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<sup>116</sup> Càssola (1975), p. 303, Athanassakis (1976), p. 99.

<sup>117</sup> The date of Artemis’ temple in Klaros is uncertain, and suggestions range from the end of the sixth century BCE to the middle of the fourth century BCE. Traces of huge statues of Apollo, Artemis, and Leto were found in Apollo’s temple - a greater indication of Artemis’ presence there, yet she is not perceived as Apollo’s equal, since he is the unchallenged master of the sanctuary, his great temple overshadowing her small shrine. (E. Akurgal, *Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey*, [Istanbul, 1978], pp. 138-139; Bean [1967], p. 195; M. Schwaller, “Secteur des Temple d’Apollon et d’Artemis,” in J. de La Geniere (ed.), *Cahiers de Claros I*. [Paris, 1992], pp. 65-90; Y. Sezgin, “Apollon Klarios Kutsal Alanı Artemis Sektörü 2003-2004 Çalışmaları,” in *Arkeoloji Dergisi*, vol. 2, [2008], pp. 191-203).

<sup>118</sup> Olson (2012), p. 287

epithet of Apollo. The fact that Artemis is referred to by her brother's epithet, may be interpreted as a poetical attempt to bind them closely together and to strengthen their twinhood as well as to emphasize their connection to archery.

Olson reads this hymn as “explicitly addressed to and in honor of Artemis alone,”<sup>119</sup> yet Apollo's presence and significance here are too great to be ignored. Càssola, on the other hand, suggests that the hymn hints at the superiority of the Klarian Apollo over Smyrnian Artemis, and that she moved to her brother's temple because of its growing prestige.<sup>120</sup> I agree with the latter approach, which emphasizes and identifies Apollo's dominance in the hymn, since at the end of the day, literally and figuratively, Artemis is not allowed full independence and has to be placed under her brother's tutelage instead of triumphantly returning to one of her own temples. Thus, the poet is utilizing Hymn IX in order to celebrate Apollo, turning it into the Homeric Hymn to Apollo and Artemis.

Thus, although Artemis is praised and hailed in these hymns, the paucity of her appearances in Hymn III and Apollo's superiority in her own hymns demonstrate that she was not depicted independently or on par with her brother, but that the poets opted to subordinate her to Apollo and to present her as lesser than him in rank and powers, therefore making them very unequal twins. So why do three hymns which vary in authorship, date, and provenance all present a similar attitude towards the twins and their relationship? This derives from the one source from which they all drew inspiration and validity – Homer. The portrayal of Artemis and Apollo in the Homeric Hymns had been heavily influenced by their depiction in the *Iliad* and the

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<sup>119</sup> *ibid*, p. 288

<sup>120</sup> Càssola (1975), p. 303.

*Odyssey*, while the Homeric bias towards Artemis, which perceived her as a weak goddess, who is less important than Apollo, had established, if not canonized, her literary image.



## Chapter 2 – Athenian Drama

### 2.1 – Aeschylus

Artemis is mentioned briefly in three of Aeschylus' surviving plays (*Agamemnon*, *Seven against Thebes*, and *Suppliants*), mostly alongside her brother, who is prominent in two of these plays (*Agamemnon* and *Eumenides*). Apollo is mentioned, to a lesser degree, in the remaining plays of Aeschylus.

#### **Agamemnon**

Artemis is the originator of the chain of events which led to Agamemnon's death, due to her demand for Iphigeneia's sacrifice, yet Aeschylus gives little attention to the goddess in his trilogy, and her anger, which sets off the events of the *Oresteia*, is mentioned briefly in *Agamemnon* alone. Apollo is presented much more prominently throughout the trilogy. True, Aeschylus' decision to begin with the events after the Trojan War naturally means that the focus is on Apollo rather than on his twin sister, yet as we shall see, other playwrights have incorporated Artemis into the later stages of the Atreidai saga (Sophokles' *Elektra* and Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris*). Therefore, it seems that Aeschylus deliberately minimized Artemis's presence in his plays.

In *Agamemnon*, Aeschylus does not dwell on the *Historia Calamitatum* of Agamemnon with Artemis. Her connection to the woes of the house of Atreus is only mentioned in the parodos, when the chorus recalls the events which took place in Aulis, describing the omen in

which two eagles devoured a pregnant hare. This is interpreted by Kalchas as a sign that Troy would be conquered, although he also warns the Greeks of further consequences, since

οἴκτω γὰρ ἐπί-  
φθονος Ἄρτεμις ἀγνὰ  
πτανοῖσιν κυσὶ πατρὸς  
αὐτότοκον πρὸ λόγου μογεράν πτάκα θυομένοισιν  
στυγεῖ δὲ δεῖπνον αἰετῶν (134-138).

*for holy Artemis, out of pity, bears a grudge against her father's winged hounds that slaughter the wretched hare with its offspring before it gives birth, the goddess hates the feast of the eagles*  
(trans. author)

Due to Artemis' great love of young wild animals, she would demand reparations, and this is why Kalchas considers the omen as fortunate yet inauspicious (145). Fearing the wrath of the goddess, the seer beseeches Apollo, referring to him as ἱῆιος Παιάν, to intercede with Artemis on behalf of the Greeks, so that she will not prevent them from sailing away to Troy (140-159). Sommerstein suggests that Kalchas addresses Apollo because he is the patron god of prophets, although Raeburn and Thomas believe that Apollo's position as a healer and as Artemis' twin could have been the reason.<sup>1</sup> It is likely that Apollo was asked to control his sister, since he had the best chance of doing so and, as we shall see below, this is not the only time he was asked to do so.

Agamemnon is presented here in a favorable light, innocent of any hubristic act and as a victim of the gods, especially of Artemis. Apollo, like his sister, is portrayed negatively in *Agamemnon*, mainly in his treatment of Cassandra, yet later in the trilogy he is presented in a

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<sup>1</sup> A.H. Sommerstein (ed.), *Aeschylus: Oresteia*, (Cambridge, MA, 2009), p.19; D. Raeburn and O. Thomas, *The Agamemnon of Aeschylus*, (Oxford, 2011), p. 83.

more positive light as he assists Orestes to overcome the Erinyes. The Athenian audience was familiar with versions in which both Artemis and Apollo undo the results of their harsh demands from Agamemnon and his son, yet Aeschylus not only ignored Iphigeneia's redemption, but he augmented Artemis' fault by presenting Agamemnon as a blameless victim of the gods, who committed no crime to match Artemis' punishment.

This scene and its meaning have been the focus of a scholarly debate regarding Artemis' anger and its implications. Fraenkel argues that Aeschylus "makes it clear that all the evil that is to befall Agamemnon has its first origin in his own voluntary decision," claiming that Aeschylus did not mention an earlier slight by Agamemnon against Artemis in order to place the focus on his current dilemma.<sup>2</sup> However, some scholars read the situation as more complex, and not one that is entirely Agamemnon's or the gods' fault, since, as Saïd notes, "Aeschylus' description is more ambiguous: his Agamemnon has himself 'slipped his neck through the strap of compulsion's yoke.'"<sup>3</sup>

Goward, for example, argues that Aeschylus opted not to present Agamemnon as uttering any hubristic words in order to weaken any connection between it and his punishment, thus making his death less readily understandable.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, she claims that the portent of the eagles should be interpreted only a symbol; therefore, it is another indication of Agamemnon's innocence, assuming it is impossible to know what the hare symbolizes.<sup>5</sup> Some scholars interpret

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<sup>2</sup> E. Fraenkel (ed.), *Aeschylus: Agamemnon*, vol. II (Oxford, 1950), p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> A. Rivier, "Remarques sur le 'nécessaire' et la 'nécessité' chez Eschyle," in *Revue des études grecques*, vol. 81 (1968), pp. 5–39; S. Saïd, "Aeschylean Tragedy," in J. Gregory (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Tragedy*, (Malden, MA, 2005), p. 225; J.-P. Vernant et P. Vidal-Naquet, *Mythe et tragédie en Grèce ancienne*, (Paris, 1972), pp. 41–74.

<sup>4</sup> Goward, B. *Aeschylus: Agamemnon*, (London, 2005), p. 55.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.* p. 55.

the portent literally; assuming Artemis is angry at the eagles themselves.<sup>6</sup> Raeburn and Thomas simply state that the demand for a sacrifice which ”*knows no law, unsuited for feast*” (151-152) was compensation for the death of the hare as well as a payment in advance for Agamemnon’s future actions in Troy.<sup>7</sup>

Other scholars identify the eagles with the Atreidai. Hammond assumes Artemis despises the eagles’ feast “because she loathes the bloodshed of the war which Agamemnon and Menelaos are starting,” and that she can act in this manner since she is “no servant of Zeus; she is the goddess of the weak and helpless, and she abominates the brutality of the impending war” and this approach is accepted by other scholars, such as Peradotto and Ewans.<sup>8</sup> Denniston and Page argue that Agamemnon had no choice, and had to sacrifice his daughter because of the curse of the Atreidai,<sup>9</sup> and so does Lloyd-Jones, who believes the hare represents Troy, which will also be torn apart. Therefore, Kalchas’ remark would indicate that Artemis, as a supporter of the Trojans, detests their forthcoming slaughter and would need to be appeased with Iphigeneia’s sacrifice.<sup>10</sup>

Peradotto extends this argument, claiming that Artemis’ anger is related to the young and innocent future victims on both sides, arguing that in avoiding hubris on Agamemnon’s part, Aeschylus eliminates any reason for the goddess to be angry with him. Peradotto believes that the omen is a test: Artemis does not wish Agamemnon to leave for Troy, so she makes him an

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<sup>6</sup> J.D. Denniston and D. Page (eds.), *Agamemnon*, (Oxford, 1986), pp. 80-83; S.E. Lawrence, “Artemis in the Agamemnon,” in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. 97, no. 2 (1976), pp. 97-110.

<sup>7</sup> Raeburn and Thomas (2011), p. 84.

<sup>8</sup> M. Ewans, *Ramus*, vol. 4 (1975), pp. 17-18.; N.G.L. Hammond, “Personal Freedom and Its Limitations in the *Oresteia*.” in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 85 (1965), p. 46; J.J. Peradotto, *Phoenix*, vol. 23 (1969) pp. 237-238.

<sup>9</sup> Denniston and Page (1957), pp. 80-83; Saïd (2005), p. 225.

<sup>10</sup> H. Lloyd-Jones, “The Guilt of Agamemnon,” in the *Classical Quarterly*, XII, (1962), pp. 189-190, 197-199.

offer he should have refused.<sup>11</sup> By deciding to go to Troy, Agamemnon fails the test, earning his own punishment for his decision, thus exonerating Artemis from accusations of cruelty. Kitto, on the other hand, interprets Artemis' anger as directed not towards Agamemnon, but rather against her own father, whose "winged hounds" she detests. Kitto argues that Artemis sends the adverse winds and demands a price which Agamemnon, as an honorable man of courage and sense would have surely refused to pay, in order to make him stop contemplating war.<sup>12</sup> Otherwise, he "who does such a thing as this, to wage a war and to kill his daughter in order to do it, shall be destroyed in return."<sup>13</sup> Willink, however, rightfully notes that the Aeschylus does not, in fact, tell us that Artemis demanded such a sacrifice, but carefully constructs the parodos so that it will only be on Kalchas' word that she does so. He could have been wrong and "nothing guarantees his divine spokespersonship," therefore the scene should be understood as "an innovation calculated to *absolve* Artemis from the savagery attributed to her in cult and myth."<sup>14</sup>

These attempts to clear Artemis and present her as a merciful deity are not accepted by all scholars. Sommerstein suggests that Artemis is angry at her father, and since she cannot directly retaliate against him, she turns to attack one of his mortal protégées.<sup>15</sup> Marinatos takes the more practical approach, interpreting Iphigeneia's sacrifice as a prerequisite to assure the success of the expedition to Troy, seeing it as some heroic or mythical equivalent of pre-war sacrifices, which are meant to precede and incite the violence of war. Yet he also suggests it could have been "a trial, even an ultimate initiation: is he a warrior primarily or a father? Does he have the

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<sup>11</sup> See Peradotto for a more in depth and recent summary of scholarly views in this regard as well as Conacher 1987, pp. 76-83.

<sup>12</sup> H.D.F. Kitto, *Form and Meaning in Drama*, (London, 1964), pp. 2-4.

<sup>13</sup> Kitto (1964), p. 5.

<sup>14</sup> C. W. Willink, "The Prologue of *Iphigenia at Aulis*," in *Classical Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (1971), pp. 348-349n6.

<sup>15</sup> Sommerstein, "Artemis in Agamemnon: A Postscript," in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. 101, no. 2 (1980), p. 166.

ability to be savage against his own fatherly instinct? ... Artemis demands of the warrior the ultimate test: to kill his own child.”<sup>16</sup> Lloyd-Jones also develops this theme, claiming that much like hunters, warriors, too, need to appease Artemis before they set out to kill. This way, he claims, Aeschylus is able to avoid the story of Agamemnon’s boast yet still cause Klytaimnestra’s anger, which in the end will serve Zeus in punishing Agamemnon for the crime of his father.<sup>17</sup>

Other scholars interpret Artemis’ portrayal here as deliberately cruel. Petrovich claims that Artemis is depicted in *Agamemnon* as “a cruel, cryptic goddess who... is so enraged over the destiny of Troy that she demands the life of an innocent virgin” and Kovacs understands this scene as Artemis influencing Agamemnon to commit an unholy act which entails his own death, claiming that in Aeschylus’ world “divinities vent their anger on those who have done nothing themselves to deserve destruction.”<sup>18</sup> Kovacs continues and asserts that the end of the trilogy reestablishes the trust in the gods and portrays them as benevolent, since it secures “the acquittal of the morally innocent Orestes.”<sup>19</sup> That is very true in regards to Apollo, who assists Orestes, yet Artemis is completely missing from the rest of the trilogy, as Aeschylus blames her without redeeming her. Moreover, regardless of what was behind Artemis’ rage, not only Aeschylus reiterated her Homeric depiction as opposing heroes, but his choice to ignore the tradition according to which Artemis saved Iphigeneia at the altar, demonstrates that despite Artemis’ compassion toward animals and their young, she does not care about Iphigeneia. Petrovich is harsher in this matter, asserting that since “Aeschylus does not mention the miraculous salvation

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<sup>16</sup> Marinatos (2000), pp. 108-109.

<sup>17</sup> Lloyd-Jones (1983), pp. 101-102.

<sup>18</sup> Kovacs (1987), pp. 72-73; Petrovic (2010), p. 216.

<sup>19</sup> Kovacs (1987), p. 73.

of Iphigeneia, but dwells on the horrific scene of her (unwilling!) sacrifice, it is the cruel nature of Artemis that hangs over the whole trilogy... Artemis is still a vengeful, capricious, dangerous deity.”<sup>20</sup> Thus, without the redemption offered by other versions of this myth, in which Iphigeneia is saved by Artemis, we have nothing to resolve or mollify the goddess’ relentless cruelty. Considering the fact that our earlier versions of this myth all depict Artemis saving the maiden and replacing her with a deer, it is clear that Aeschylus knowingly ignored that part of the story, much as he reinterpreted Agamemnon’s hubristic boast.<sup>21</sup>

Even if Artemis has acted as she did in order to help many other innocent lives, as some scholars have suggested,<sup>22</sup> the fact that Aeschylus opted to ignore the more lenient versions, in which she saves Iphigeneia at the last moment, even though there is no doubt he and his audience were familiar with them, strengthens her portrayal as harsh and vindictive. Aeschylus minimizes Artemis’ presence in this play, while drawing a direct line between her horrendous request and the atrocities to follow, all because of one goddess and one queen. The supposition here is that if Apollo would have restrained his sister, as he was asked to do, and had the king better controlled Klytaimnestra, the future violence would not have occurred, thus creating a parallel between the queen and the goddess. It also presents Artemis as cruel and unjust and her reaction - unmeasured and unproportional.

Aeschylus upholds Artemis’ Homeric portrayal as a goddess who is mostly rejected by heroes and warriors. Rather than helping them, she punishes and hinders them from gaining

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<sup>20</sup> Petrovic (2010), p. 216.

<sup>21</sup> Gantz (1993), p. 582. According to Gantz, the earliest versions in which Artemis replaced Iphigenia with a doe precede Aeschylus, and thus he must have known them. The story in the *Kypria* also includes Iphigenia’s transfer to Tauris by the goddess, although Hollinshead suggest this is a later addition, incorporated into the original text due to the great appeal of Euripides’ play. (Hollinshead [1985], p. 422).

<sup>22</sup> e.g. Ewans (1975), pp. 17-18; Hammond (1965), p. 46; Peradotto (1969) pp. 237-238.

victory and glory. Preferring hunted animals over the hunters themselves, she cannot find it in her heart to spare a young maiden's life, even though she too is as young and innocent as an animal. Additionally, Aeschylus exploits the concept of Apollo as a mediating power between the Greeks and Artemis, since Kalchas implores him to prevent his sister from achieving the evil part of the omen, asking him to control (or perhaps even to tame) her on behalf of the Greeks. Sommerstein notes that as her twin, Apollo has a better chance of influencing her,<sup>23</sup> and he is clearly believed to be capable of it, yet the result demonstrates that he either could not or did not wish to do so. This depiction of the twins and their relationship reaffirms the Homeric version, presenting Apollo as the more powerful of the twins and the opposite of his sister. It also demonstrates that while Artemis was perceived as trying to harm the House of Atreus, Apollo was thought to be its protector, hinting at what will come in the final play of the trilogy.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, it could also be another way to present Artemis as unsympathetic to Agamemnon's (and the other heroes') needs, enhancing the detachment between her and the Greek heroic ethos, at least as it is manifested in Homer. Therefore, Aeschylus preserves in his trilogy the twins' Homeric roles regarding heroes, with Apollo favoring them while Artemis hinders them. This corresponds with her portrayal in *Agamemnon*, as an unkind and harmful deity, because of her potential to prevent the Greeks from going to war, gaining κλέος and having their revenge, as well as by her insisting on the ghastly sacrifice of Iphigeneia.

Artemis is mentioned one additional time in *Agamemnon*, seemingly by herself, after the chorus described how Kalchas named Artemis as the deity to be placated and explained how this should be done. The chorus then describes the preparation for the sacrifice. Iphigeneia looks

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<sup>23</sup> Sommerstein (1980), p. 166.

<sup>24</sup> This might be because they feel they convince her by themselves, and that their case will be more successful with a divine advocate, who is also her twin, or since she is perceived as weak, they address her stronger "half".



beseechingly at the men who are about to sacrifice her. She knows them, since she often performed “duly and lovingly ... her father’s paian for good fortune” (243-247). This subtle and indirect mention of Apollo, since the Paian is closely associated with him,<sup>25</sup> is strengthened by the earlier reference to Apollo as Παιών (146) and stresses the difference between the god and his sister. While Artemis, in her insistence on Iphigeneia’s sacrifice, advances the ruin of Agamemnon and his family, it is Apollo, whom Iphigeneia and her father often praised, who will eventually purify Orestes and assist him in *Eumenides*, mending what his twin sister had caused. Artemis, therefore, helps neither heroes nor maidens, while Apollo, in the end, is her complete opposite.

## Suppliants

Another time in which Apollo and Artemis are mentioned together in Aeschylus’ plays is in *Suppliants*, when the chorus of Danaids prays for Argos and its people, invoking, among other deities, Artemis and Apollo. They pray that Artemis-Hekate will watch over the Argive women when they give birth (676-677), that Ares will not smite them and make them sick,<sup>26</sup> and that Apollo Λύκειος will be favorable to all of the Argive youths (686-687). Although the Danaids use of νεολαία may indicate that they mean to include both boys and girls, Johansen and Whittle interpret it as “the young generation of men.”<sup>27</sup> This is the earliest direct evidence of Hekate’s identification with Artemis. Sommerstein suggests that Artemis is identified here with Hekate due to the latter’s strong kourotrophic association, although Artemis too was well known to

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<sup>25</sup> McClure, L. *Spoken Like a Woman*, (Princeton, 1999), p. 53.

<sup>26</sup> Ares’ cult was highly important in Thebes. (Hall [2010], p. 209).

<sup>27</sup> H. Friis Johansen and E.W. Whittle, *Aeschylus: The Suppliants*. Vol. III. (Copenhagen, 1980), p. 50.

assist women during labor and birth.<sup>28</sup> Lembke argues that the combination of the two goddesses allows the Suppliants to bless both the women in labor and the infants, and Zeitlin sees it as an acknowledgment of Artemis' "role as one who watches over women in childbirth."<sup>29</sup> Hall takes this to the other direction, suggesting that the Danaids had possibly "pledged their virginity to Artemis."<sup>30</sup> Burian, however, interprets Ἐκάταν as an archery epithet, the far-shooter, although Mikalson claims that such an interpretation is allusive if not doubtful, and according to Smyth, it was not commonly applied to Artemis and the two goddesses were sometimes identified with one another in Athens at least from the fifth century BCE.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, Johansen and Whittle claim that using an archery epithet in this context would contradict what the Danaids are trying to convey,<sup>32</sup> and it is possible that Artemis' association with Hekate was meant to intensify or augment the former's responsibility for presiding over childbirth and easing it.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, Burian and Shapiro note that by invoking Artemis, "the Suppliants bless not only women in labor but also the infants that are struggling to be born.... [and in] light of the Suppliants' determination not to marry, the blessing is ironic."<sup>34</sup>

As for Apollo, it is generally accepted that Λύκειος relates to the wolf, and he is beseeched here not to be wolf-like towards the Argive youths.<sup>35</sup> Additionally, he is invoked either as a possible allusion to the sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios in Argos, which was said to have

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<sup>28</sup> P. Burian (ed.), *The Suppliants*, (Princeton, 1991), p. 58; Friis Johansen and Whittle (1980), Vol. III, p. 41; J. Lembke (ed.), *Suppliants*, (New York, 1975), p. 93; A.H. Sommerstein (ed.), *Aeschylus: Persians, Seven against Thebes, Suppliants, Prometheus Bound*, (Cambridge, MA, 2008), p. 377.

<sup>29</sup> Lembke (1975), p. 93; F.I. Zeitlin, *Playing the Other*, (Chicago, 1996), p. 149.

<sup>30</sup> E. Hall, *Greek Tragedy: Suffering under the Sun*, (Oxford, 2010), p. 209.

<sup>31</sup> Burian (1991), pp. 58-59; Mikalson (1989), p. 85n19; H.W. Smyth (ed.), *Aeschylus* vol. II, (Cambridge, MA, 1988), p. 69.

<sup>32</sup> "as Artemis shoots only women with her arrows... [their] prayer would be for the survival of the mothers only, whereas it is the welfare of the (male) children which is central to the prayer" (Friis Johansen and Whittle [1980], p. 42).

<sup>33</sup> Burian (1991), p. 58.

<sup>34</sup> P. Burian and A. Shapiro (eds.), *The Complete Aeschylus*, vol. II, (Oxford, 2009), p. 281.

<sup>35</sup> Burian (1991), p. 59; Burian and Shapiro (2009), p. 281; Lembke (1975), p. 93; Sommerstein 377

been founded by Danaos, or as the averter of evil, who, among other functions, protected the young.<sup>36</sup> It is important to note that Artemis is mentioned by the Danaids ahead of her brother and that Apollo is not hailed directly after her: Ares divides them. Although Artemis and Apollo are not depicted directly alongside each other, they are thematically united by the Danaids, who associate both of them with kourotrophic functions. Artemis is asked to watch over the women giving birth and the mothers, which probably implies she was expected to look after newborns as well, considering her kourotrophic functions, while Apollo is to protect the young Argives at the next stage of their lives. This is why Artemis is uncharacteristically mentioned before her brother, since they are addressed in the chronological order of the assistance required of them. Elsewhere in the play, Artemis and Apollo appear separately, perhaps exemplifying the different nature of the twins. The play opens with the *parodos*, in which the chorus prays to Zeus, Eraphos, and Io. They relate their story and misfortunes, address Artemis:

θέλουσα δ' αὖ θέλουσαν ἀγνά μ'  
 ἐπιδέτω Διὸς κόρα,  
 ἔχουσα σέμν' ἐνώπι' ἀσφαλῶς,  
 παντὶ δὲ σθένει  
 διωγμοῖς ἀσχαλῶσ'  
 ἀδμήτας ἀδμήτα  
 ῥύσιος γενέσθω,  
 σπέρμα σεμνᾶς μέγα ματρὸς  
 εὐνὰς ἀνδρῶν, ἔ ἔ,  
 ἄγαμον ἀδάματον ἐκφυγεῖν (144-153).

*And may Zeus' pure daughter, she who holds securely the sacred wall, willingly, meeting my will, look upon me; and, grieved at our pursuit, come with all her might, a virgin to a virgin's*

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<sup>36</sup> Burian (1991), p. 59; Smyth (1988), p. 71.

*aid, to deliver me— That the mighty race of our honorable mother may escape the embrace of man (ah me), unwedded, unvanquished* (trans. Smyth).

In the parodos, the chorus address the forefathers of their race (Zeus, Epaphos, and Io), to the land of Argos, which they hope will be the place of their salvation, and to Artemis. They hail the goddess since as an untamed virgin, she may assist them to remain untamed and virgins as well. If, however, Artemis and the other gods will not assist them, they are determined to kill themselves (154-161). Lembke interprets and Else notes that the “whole sequence vibrates with fear and foreboding... the initial prayers to the gods, is a ritual element that is intended to make us share in the chorus's feelings of uncertainty, apprehension, foreboding.”<sup>37</sup>

Later, when they approach the Argive altars of the gods, they address some of the gods. They begin with Zeus, and later Danaos and his daughters hail Apollo, hoping that the god, who was also once banished from heaven, will readily assist and defend them, and will be empathetic to their misfortunes (214-216). The Danaids separate between the twins, addressing each one on different grounds and acknowledging each twin is independent than the other.

Yet we find a different approach regarding Artemis and the Danaids, and this happens when the Danaids celebrate their temporary victory, with the sons of Aegyptus retreating. They praise Argos and its men and urge Artemis to have pity on them (1030-1032). Perhaps as the destructive element is already incorporated into the Danaids' nature, so does it exist in Artemis, whose wrath it is always advisable to avoid. Lembke, however, refers to this ode as well as a lamentation, in which “[t]houghts of death and marriage are intertwined and sang in grieving voices... the two occasions fuse. They sing their own bridal dirge, and Death is the husband they

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<sup>37</sup> G.F. Else, “Ritual and Drama in Aeschylean Tragedy,” in *Illinois Classical Studies*, vol. 2 (1977), pp. 81-82.

would embrace.”<sup>38</sup> Thus, Apollo is presented as a benevolent and helpful god, while Artemis is portrayed as a dangerous deity, of whom one must always be wary and pray for mercy.

## Seven against Thebes

Artemis’ close connection with military affairs is typically absent from the Athenian plays. *Seven against Thebes* is a notable exception, since Artemis is one of the deities asked by the chorus of Theban maidens to save the city. Zeus is hailed first, then Athena, Poseidon, Ares, and Aphrodite. Next the chorus implores Apollo, “καὶ σύ, Λύκει’ ἄναξ, Λύκειος γενοῦ στρατῶ δαΐω” (*and you, Lykian lord, become a wolf to the enemy army*) (145-146). This is followed by an address to Artemis, “σύ τ’, ὦ Λατογένεια κόυρα, τόξον εὐτυκάζου Ἄρτεμι φίλα” (*You too, maiden daughter of Leto, beloved Artemis, make ready your bow!*) (147-148), and finally, to Hera. Burian and Shapiro suggest that the chorus invokes the twins as hunters, wishing them to stop the “wild animal force” bent on destroying Thebes.<sup>39</sup> Interestingly, if Apollo is indeed asked to become a wolf against the enemy while Artemis is only called to make ready her bow, then he embodies under this manifestation a different, feral type of hunter. Perhaps the chorus is trying to diversify the assistance it procures for the city, or maybe they think they need a hunter whose ferociousness would better match that of their enemies - one that attacks its prey not from afar, as would Artemis the archer.

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<sup>38</sup> Lembke (1975), p. 95.

<sup>39</sup> Burian and Shapiro (2009), p. 181.

The list of the gods hailed by the chorus begins in a hierarchical manner, and then assumes a different pattern. They are portrayed haphazardly, neither in any order of importance regarding their specific aspects or relevance to war, nor in any way which reflects the major gods of the Theban pantheon, since Demeter and Dionysos, are missing from it.<sup>40</sup> Podlecki refers to the chorus' prayers as a "frantic invocation of seemingly any and every god,"<sup>41</sup> and perhaps their chaotic utterances are meant to reflect the emotional turmoil of the chorus and their increasing panic.

What is important for our purposes is that unlike the Homeric approach, which eliminated Artemis' connections with military matters, Aeschylus incorporated her into the prayer of the chorus and presents her as one of the deities protecting Thebes, although he still associated her with Apollo and places her after him. This deviation from the standard dramatic form may be another manifestation of Zeitlin's argument that "Thebes functions in the theater as an anti-Athens... a place where disruptive and perversions of social norms can be explored and simultaneously kept at a safe distance;"<sup>42</sup> and Kraus furthers this distinction, claiming Thebes was "the tragic city *par excellence*... an inverted version of Athens."<sup>43</sup> If Zeitlin is correct, the plays juxtapose the Theban gods against what the Athenians would have expected, and they are not an attempt to accurately describe the hierarchy of the Theban pantheon. According to Berman, this is more of a representation of a passive "Thebanity," while the "Athenianization" is more active. He argues that when Thebes is presented in the context of Athenian tragedy, there is no need for any "accurate specificity," even when the plays demonstrate particular knowledge of

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<sup>40</sup> S. Symeonoglou, *The Topography of Thebes from the Bronze Age to Modern Times*, (Princeton, 2014), p. 58.

<sup>41</sup> A.J. Podlecki, "Ajax's Gods and the Gods of Sophokles." in *L'Antiquité Classique*, 49 (1980), p. 52.

<sup>42</sup> F. Zeitlin, "Thebes: Theater of Self and Society in Athenian Drama." in J.J. Winkler, (ed.). *Nothing to Do with Dionysos?* (Princeton, 1990), p. 144.

<sup>43</sup> C. Kraus [et.al.] (eds.), *Visualizing the Tragic*, (Oxford, 2007), pp. 8-9.

the other polis, since the plays do not intend to reflect the Theban reality. Rather, it is a symptom to the Athenianization of the Theban space, since this Thebes is an “ideological construct and useful tool for working out particularly Athenian and cultural tensions.”<sup>44</sup> This, perhaps, is why Aeschylus incorporates Artemis into the military effort. It is because she is usually not depicted in this manner in Attic drama.<sup>45</sup> However, Artemis was well woven into the fabric of Athenian religious life, so presenting her as such would not have seemed odd to the audience when compared with the Thebes of drama.

After Hera, the chorus addresses some of the deities it previously hailed. Amid their cries of fear and angst, they describe the situation in the city and dread the future. First to be called is Ἄρτεμι φίλα (154), and then they invoke ὦ φίλ' Ἄπολλον (159). The chorus neither asks the twins for anything nor refers to them any further, but rather dreads the future and sings of the clashing of bronze shields and the shaking of spears. Perhaps the request of help is implied, but it is more reasonable that this is a further indication of their anxiety and the chaos in the city. Dawson claims that the frightened chorus summons Hera and Artemis as women and then, as citizens, they hail Apollo, either because of his almost automatic association with Artemis or since he was the guardian of the streets.<sup>46</sup> Dawson’s line of thought, which downplays Artemis’ importance in the public sphere, perhaps would have been correct in other literary sources, yet in *Seven against Thebes*, Artemis is fully integrated into the political and military realms.

Following their call for Apollo, the chorus hails Ares (161-162) and blessed mistress Onka, Athena’s Theban cult-title, asking to save her “seven-gated dwelling place” (165). Following this, the chorus calls on plural divinities *en masse*: gods, *daimones*, and their ilk, who

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<sup>44</sup> D.W. Berman, *Myth, Literature, and the Creation of the Topography of Thebes*, (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 107-108.

<sup>45</sup> A. Shabtai, *Seven Against Thebes*, (Tel Aviv, 2011), pp. 71-72.

<sup>46</sup> C.M. Dawson (ed.), *The Seven against Thebes*, (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1970), p. 45.

customarily protect Thebes (166-168, 174). Thus, the chorus' prayer, which began with Zeus as the head of the pantheon, ends with a new list in a reversed hierarchical order: first Artemis, then Apollo, then Ares, which is understandable, considering their circumstances and his great importance in Thebes,<sup>47</sup> and finally, Zeus' mightiest daughter is asked to save the city. This is followed by impersonal plural deities, perhaps to make sure no divine force is missing from their pleas.

Notwithstanding, this does not change the relationship between Apollo and Artemis as the hierarchy between them remains unchanged. Whether the deities are presented in an ascending or descending hierarchical order, the chorus is never too panic-stricken to forget to place Artemis lower than her brother. The hierarchy between them is also strengthened by the way in which Aeschylus chose to portray them, with the goddess presented as a *κούρα* who, as *Λατογένεια*, is also identified by her familial connection to her mother, while Apollo is hailed as *ἄναξ* and as *παῖ Διός*. Although both of them are hailed as "beloved," Apollo as *Λύκειος* is presented as more powerful and active than his archer twin sister, and thus as the one whose assistance was more valuable. As he is established as her superior, the hierarchy between the twins is clarified and reaffirmed. Much as in the Homeric Hymns, Artemis is anchored by her familial connections and is not presented as independent, especially since she is associated with her mother rather than with her almighty father.

Artemis is mentioned one additional time in the play, when Aeschylus describes the heroes defending the gates of Thebes, some of whom are coupled with a deity. At the Elektran

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<sup>47</sup> Hall (2010), p. 206.



Gate, second in number, stood Polyphontes,<sup>48</sup> who will defend the city “with the goodwill of Artemis προστατήρια (*the protector*) and the aid of the other gods”(448-449) and who probably carried Artemis’ image on his shield.<sup>49</sup> According to Sommerstein, Artemis Prostateria was worshipped in shrines close to gates or doors, and he assumes that she had a sanctuary outside of this gate.<sup>50</sup> Accordingly, at the gate of Athena Onka, Eteokles pairs its eponymous goddess with Zeus to assist Hyperbius (501-508), and at the Proetid Gate, after he decides to place Melanippus, he says “Ares will decide the issue with his dice” (412-414). At the sixth gate stood Amphiaraus, but Eteokles assumes he will not fight, due to a prophecy according to which he would die there, assuming Apollo spoke the truth in this regard (615-619). Yet although he is mentioned here, Apollo is not directly attached to this great Theban cause, nor to any other gate, perhaps because Eteokles is well aware that Apollo hates “πᾶν τὸ Λαῖου γένος” (*the entire family of Laios*) (691). Thus, while Artemis is among the gods who were enlisted to assist the Theban heroes and to repel the attack, Apollo is set against them, presumably acting out of his hatred of Laios and his kin.

Later on it is discovered that Eteokles’ apprehension from Apollo is justified, as a messenger announces that the city was saved and that six of its seven gates still stand. Apollo, “ὁ σεμνὸς ἑβδομαγέτης ἄναξ” (*the revered commander of seven*) has taken the seventh gate, fulfilling the fate of Oedipus’ family (800-802).<sup>51</sup> This could be seen as a sign of Apollo’s might, but also that he operates here mainly to fulfill his own prophecy to Laios. If that is so,

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<sup>48</sup> According to Dawson, one of the Scholiasts claims that Polyphontes was a priest of Artemis (70).

<sup>49</sup> J. Ferguson, *A Companion to Greek Tragedy*, (Austin, 1972), p. 56.

<sup>50</sup> A.H. Sommerstein (ed.), *Aeschylus: Persians, Seven against Thebes, Suppliants, Prometheus Bound*, (Cambridge, MA, 2008), p. 199n59.

<sup>51</sup> For the various interpretations of ἑβδομαγέτης see Dawson (1970), p. 101; Sommerstien (2008), 235n119; Ferguson (1972), p. 59.

then both twins have achieved their goals: Artemis uncharacteristically assists a hero to defend the Elektran Gate, while Apollo acts against Eteokles and Polyneikes and proves his oracle was true. Thus, it is possible to see him as the one presiding over the entire conflict, placing him once again above his sister and most of the other gods.

## 2.2 – Sophokles

Like Aeschylus, Sophokles depicts Apollo more often than Artemis, mentioning the god in six of his seven surviving plays (in three of which he is rather prominent – *Oedipus Tyrannos*, *Oedipus at Kolonos*, and *Elektra*),<sup>52</sup> while Artemis appears in five plays but in a much reduced presence, mostly in connection to her brother.<sup>53</sup> Unfortunately, only a few lines survived of Sophokles' *Niobe*, in which Artemis undoubtedly took a greater part and perhaps even appeared on stage.<sup>54</sup> Another similarity between the plays of Sophokles and Aeschylus is that both writers mainly mention Artemis and Apollo together in hymns sung by choruses of women, where they are accosted and praised, asked to defend and to assist. Artemis is therefore mostly confined to the realm of hymns, prayers, and invocations, appearing only once outside of this context, while Apollo appears in various capacities and can be depicted by himself. Artemis is typically insignificant within the narratives of the plays, but through these pleas we glimpse how Artemis may have been perceived in Athens.

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<sup>52</sup> In *Antigone*, Sophokles does not mention Apollo or Artemis, but he refers to the story of Niobe, thus indirectly alluding to them. (*Antigone*, 824-838 ).

<sup>53</sup> Artemis appears without Apollo only twice in Sophokles.

<sup>54</sup> S.L. Radt, "Sophokles in seinen Fragmenten," in A. Harder and H. Hofmann (eds.), *Fragmenta Dramatica*, (Göttingen, 1991), p. 99.

## Niobe

The only time in which Sophokles portrays Apollo and Artemis acting together comes in the fragments of *Niobe*, when the twins avenge their mother. As we have seen earlier, the Niobids' myth was already well-known in Homer's times. A fragment by Sappho states that Niobe and Leto were very good friends (142 LP), although most of the archaic sources mentioning this myth, which mainly survived in later authors such as Aelian and Aulus Gellius, were quoting them in debates regarding the number of Niobe's children which vary between five and twenty.<sup>55</sup> Aeschylus and Sophokles wrote plays, now mostly lost, on the subject and Euripides mentions Niobe in another play, *Kresphontes*. Unlike Sophokles' play, Aeschylus began his tragedy with the mourning Niobe, thus after Artemis and Apollo exacted their punishment.<sup>56</sup>

In the few lines which survived from Sophokles' play, we learn that Apollo is once again leading and Artemis is following him. The hierarchy between them is clear, as Apollo, who has already killed the boys, urges and encourages his sister to shoot an arrow at one of Niobe's daughters before she escapes, while asking, or perhaps even reprimanding, Artemis whether she does not see the girl (441a). In the play, Apollo kills Niobe's sons while they are hunting. Following this, Niobe's husband, Amphion, is killed after he confronts Apollo, and finally Artemis kills her daughters (with the possible exception of one) (441aa-441a).<sup>57</sup> It is unclear why the boys were killed first, perhaps due to their greater importance as future heirs and heroes, while the girls are less significant in this regard; or as Iphigeneia puts it in Euripides' *Iphigeneia*

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<sup>55</sup> For a full discussion of the Niobe's children in the various sources, see Gantz (1993), p. 537.

<sup>56</sup> For a discussion of Aeschylus fragments, see Gantz (1993), pp. 537-538.

<sup>57</sup> H. Lloyd-Jones (ed.), *Sophocles: Fragments*, (Cambridge, MA, 1996), p. 227; A.H. Sommerstein, "Fragments and Lost Tragedies," in A. Markantonatos (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Sophocles*, (Leiden, 2012), p. 201.

in *Tauris*, “when the house loses a male, his loss is felt, but a woman’s loss is of little effect” (1005-1006). Alternatively, the boys are killed first since Apollo, their killer, is usually depicted as leading the action while Artemis follows him. Regardless, it is evident that Artemis and Apollo were not acting in unison, and Artemis lags behind her brother and requires his guidance when shooting, since he cries at her while they are both standing on the roof:

ὄρ]ᾱς ἐκείνην τὴν φοβουμένην ἔσω,  
τ]ῆν ἐν πιθῶνι κάπι κυψέλαις κρυφῆ  
μό]νην καταπτήσουσας; οὐ τενεῖς ταχὺν  
ἰὸ]ν κατ’ αὐτὴν πρὶν κεκρυμμένην λαθεῖν; (441a)

*Do you see that frightened one inside, the one who is cowering alone, trying to hide, in the tun-  
store and by the bins? Will you not aim a swift arrow at her, before she can hide out of sight?*  
(trans. Lloyd-Jones)

## Oedipus at Kolonos

In *Oedipus at Kolonos*, Artemis and Apollo are hailed together by a chorus of elders of Kolonos. After praying for the help of Zeus and Athena, they pray:

καὶ τὸν ἀγρευτὰν Ἀπόλλω  
καὶ κασιγνήταν πυκνοστίκτων ὄπαδὸν  
ὠκυπόδων ἐλάφων στέργω διπλᾶς ἀρωγὰς  
μολεῖν γὰρ τᾶδε καὶ πολίταις. (1091-1094)

*and I entreat that Apollo the hunter, and his sister, who pursues the dappled, swift-footed deer,  
would come as a double help to this land and to its citizens* (trans. author).

Thus, we have another representation of the divine Homeric hierarchy. Zeus is placed first, and he is followed by Athena and Apollo, only this time, Artemis joins them as well.

Artemis' description is longer than Apollo's, but she is placed after Apollo and she is not identified by one of her common epithets. Moreover, the chorus does not utter her name, and rather presents her as Apollo's sister, (and not vice versa); therefore her identity derives from his. Although both twins are similarly invoked as hunters, there is a subtle difference in their hunting, since Apollo is referred to as ἀγρευτής, his epithet as the slayer of Python, while Artemis is only presented as hunting deer. Even when they are portrayed as participating in a similar activity, Apollo, as we have seen in *Niobe*, is allotted the more impressive prey, hence maintaining his superiority over his sister.

## **Trachiniai**

Sophokles maintains the gender-based division between the twins in other plays as well, presenting Apollo as worshipped by all, while Artemis is associated only with women and girls. One example comes from the *Women of Trachis*, where the chorus of local women rejoices in the news of Heracles' forthcoming return by singing a dithyrambic paian. According to Esposito,

“the chorus of young women sing a ritual ololuge (a prayer of thanksgiving) to Artemis, imagining that a chorus of young men inside the house will sing to Apollo the defender (207-8). ... The unusual reference to such a double chorus performing together and the uniqueness of the astrophic choreography add to the intensity of the chorus's bacchic ecstasy.”<sup>58</sup>

As they sing, the chorus allocates the praise singing, asking

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<sup>58</sup> S. Esposito, “The Changing Roles of the Sophoclean Chorus,” in *Arion*, vol. 4, no. 1, (1996), p. 92.

ἐν δὲ  
κοινὸς ἀρσένων ἴτω  
κλαγγὰ τὸν εὐφάρετραν  
Ἀπόλλω προστάταν: ὁμοῦ δὲ  
παιᾶνα παιᾶν' ἀνάγετ', ὧ παρθένοι,  
βοᾶτε τὰν ὁμόσπορον  
Ἄρτεμιν Ὀρτυγίαν  
ἐλαφαβόλον ἀμφίπτυρον,  
γείτονάς τε Νύμφας. (206-214)

*And let a common shout of the men go up together for Apollo of the beautiful quiver, our protector! And likewise, maidens, raise the paian, the paian, cry aloud to his sister, Artemis Ortygia, the deer-shooter with a torch in each hand, and her neighboring nymphs.* (trans. author)

Thus, while the men should address Apollo, the girls are instructed to cry the paian, and to honor Artemis and the neighboring nymphs. Then the girls are asked to shout in honor of Apollo's sister, as well as to her neighbors, the nymphs.<sup>59</sup> Following this, the chorus addresses Dionysos and Apollo again, hailing him as Paian, in an attempt to rejoice and uplift their mistress' spirit. McClure has demonstrated how various ritual speech genres can be divided into masculine and feminine ones (as well as into different ages and social roles). She gives examples from lyric poetry: first, a fragment of a poem by Sappho describing the wedding of Hektor and Andromache, in which groups of maidens, older women, and men sing different sacred songs, then a poem by Bacchylides, in which the feminine "celebratory *ololuge* is similarly juxtaposed with the masculine paean."<sup>60</sup> This is applied in *Trachiniai* as well, since in the chorus' tripartite

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<sup>59</sup> According to Larson, this indicates that their cult sites were spatially adjacent, but that they were worshipped separately. (J. Larson, "Handmaidens of Artemis?" in the *Classical Journal*, vol. 92, no. 3 [1997], pp. 250n4). For more on the connection between Artemis and the nymphs, see Larson (1997), pp. 249-257; J. Larson, *Greek Nymphs: Myth, Cult, Lore*, (Oxford, 2001), pp. 108-111.

<sup>60</sup> McClure (1999), pp. 52-53.

salutation to the gods, Artemis appears only once, is flanked by her brother, shares her section with other deities, and is addressed only by women, whereas Apollo appears twice and is hailed by all.

Therefore, despite the fact that both Apollo and Artemis are given here epithets which relate to masculine activities – Apollo has the quiver and Artemis is the deer-shooter – men and women alike take a direct part in the worship of Apollo (or in extolling him), while Artemis is worshipped only by women. The significance of Artemis’ epithet is hindered by the fact that she is carrying torches, since these were considered feminine objects,<sup>61</sup> while Apollo, in addition to his archery gear, is also the protector of Trachis. So it seems that the Sophoklean men, much like their Homeric counterparts, have less to do with Artemis, as they mainly hail her twin brother.

Artemis also appears by herself in *Trachiniai*, although here too, as in Aeschylus, Apollo is forever looming in the background. When the chorus describes the area surrounding Trachis, it refers to some people:

οἳ τε μέσσαν Μηλίδα παρ λίμναν  
χρυσалаκάτου τ’ ἀκτὰν κόρας,  
ἔνθ’ Ἑλλάνων ἀγοραὶ  
Πυλάτιδες κλέονται: (634-637)

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<sup>61</sup> See E. Parisinou, *The Light of the Gods*, (London, 2000), pp. 46-48, 54-57, for a discussion of the various feminine connotation of torches. However, she also notes that the torch may also be, in the hand of Artemis, a weapon and a symbol of destruction.

Hogan claims that the torches “are proper for her nocturnal alter egos, Hecate and the Moon (Selene)” (J.C. Hogan, *A Commentary on the Plays of Sophocles*, [Carbondale, IL, 1991], p. 235), yet Artemis was presented many times with torches, and

It is true that Artemis is not the only goddess depicted with feminine artifacts – Athena, for example, is sometimes associated with the loom; yet unlike Artemis, Athena had a strong connection with men and heroes, which was not impeded by her feminine side, and the loom merely denotes one of her aspects out of many, while not restricting her importance, as she remains relevant for men and women alike, while Artemis may carry bows and arrows galore, but she was still mostly portrayed and associated with women and the feminine in Athenian drama.

*you, who dwell in the middle of the Malian Bay, on the shore of the maiden with the golden arrow, where the assemblies of the Greeks are held, at the Gates.* (trans. author)

They are referring to the Amphictyonic Council, whose seat was transferred from around Thermopylae to Delphi in the seventh century BCE.<sup>62</sup> Its mention must have reminded the audience of Apollo, maintaining his presence and power even without naming him. It evokes his great Delphic temple, while Artemis is associated with a shrineless shore. Although the coast is sacred to her, it cannot be compared with the importance of Delphi.

## **Oedipus Tyrannos**

Artemis' and Apollo's relationship is sometimes further complicated when they are portrayed alongside Athena, their half-sister. In *Oedipus Tyrannos*, we see how the dynamic between the twins changes when Athena joins them. This happens during a prayer performed early in the play by a chorus of Theban elders, who seek the meaning of the words of the god and beseech some of the deities to assist Thebes and repel the pestilence. Hogan divides their prayer into four parts: wondering about the meaning of Apollo's oracle; asking Athena, Artemis, and Apollo to protect the city; recounting its afflictions; and asking Zeus, Apollo, Athena, Artemis, and Dionysos to drive off the plague.<sup>63</sup>

The choral ode begins with Apollo. The chorus asks for the meaning of oracle brought to Thebes from Delphi, hailing the god with “ἦ ἦ Δάλιε Παιάν,” i.e. invoking him with cries of ἦ

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<sup>62</sup> Hogan (1991), p. 250. The Amphictiony originally sat at a sanctuary of Demeter at the small town Anthele.

<sup>63</sup> Hogan (1991), p. 30.



and referring to him as Paian Delian Healer (154).<sup>64</sup> The chorus wonders what debt Thebes will have to pay. Then the chorus summons three gods to come and serve as Thebes' "threefold wards of death," to assist the city, and to repel the plague.

πρῶτα σὲ κεκλόμενος, θύγατερ Διός, ἄμβροτ' Ἀθάνα  
γαιάοχόν τ' ἀδελφεὰν  
Ἄρτεμιν, ἧ κυκλόεντ' ἀγορᾶς θρόνον εὐκλέα  
θάσσει,  
καὶ Φοῖβον ἑκαβόλον, ἰὼ  
τρισσοὶ ἀλεξίμοροι προφάνητέ μοι,  
εἴ ποτε καὶ προτέρας ἄτας ὑπερ ὀρνομένας πόλει  
ἠγύσατ' ἐκτοπίαν φλόγα πῆματος, ἔλθετε καὶ νῦν. (159-166)

*First I call upon you, daughter of Zeus, immortal Athena, and your sister Artemis, protector the land, who sits on her glorious round throne, above the market-place,<sup>65</sup> and Phoibos, the far-shooter; O, my threefold wards of death, shine forth for me, if in the past when destruction loomed over the city you drove the flames of ruin far away, come now also! (trans. author)*

Thus, first they hail Athena, referring to her as the divine daughter of Zeus. Next they summon Artemis, who is referred to as Athena's sister and as γαιήοχος, an epithet usually associated with Poseidon as the earth-shaker,<sup>66</sup> but it can also mean, as here, protector the land.<sup>67</sup> It seems that Sophokles attempts to emphasize Artemis' connection with Thebes and to indicate her importance there in the context of Athenian drama and beyond,<sup>68</sup> since Artemis is portrayed as sitting on her throne in the Theban agora and Manuwald suggests that Sophokles is referring

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<sup>64</sup> It is interesting that the chorus would choose to emphasize Apollo's Delian aspect, and not his Delphic aspect, since the latter is the one associated with prophecy. Hogan and Shabtai suggest that it refers to Apollo as the one who was born on Delos (Hogan [1991], p. 30; A. Shabtai, [ed.], *Oedipus the King*, [Tel Aviv, 1994], p. 103).

<sup>65</sup> Manuwald notes that since the Theban agora was not round, perhaps Artemis' round throne refers to the shape of her temple (tholos) or of the base of her statue (B. Manuwald [ed.], *Sophokles: König Ödipus*, [Berlin, 2012], p. 87).

<sup>66</sup> Hogan (1991), p. 30.

<sup>67</sup> Manuwald (2012), p. 87. e.g. "γαιάοχε παγκρατὲς Ζεῦ" (Aeschylus, *Suppliant Women*, 816).

<sup>68</sup> As we have seen in *Seven against Thebes* (160-161).

to the Boeotian cult of Artemis Eukleia, who had a temple in Thebes.<sup>69</sup> Finally, Apollo is hailed again, this time as ἔκηβόλος, thus he is the one associated with archery, rather than his twin sister.

Hogan claims that the chorus' "Language and phrasing give a strong Homeric cast to these lyrics."<sup>70</sup> However, the Iliadic negative attitude towards Artemis is not to be found here. Sophokles repeats the pattern we have seen in Aeschylus, in which a Theban chorus (men in this case; women in *Seven against Thebes*) addresses the gods and mentions some of them again. Manuwald suggests that Athena, Artemis, and Apollo are hailed as averters of death, and that this indicates the concern of the chorus,<sup>71</sup> yet both examples demonstrate Apollo is more important than his twin sister, since he is named first and is hailed more often than she. Apollo is more closely linked here with Athena, who is not only mentioned after him, but is presented as Zeus' daughter and as Artemis' sister, and this somewhat disassociates Artemis from her brother, not only within the lines of the poem, but also conceptually. And while Athena is presented as θύγατερ Διός (*daughter of Zeus*), and Apollo's close connection with his father, whose "sweet-speaking words" he interprets (151), is emphasized, Artemis is not directly associated with her father, mother, or brother. Her only association is with her half-sister.

After the chorus relates its misfortunes, it asserts that the prayers to the Healer god and the lamentations resound loudly, and asks Athena, the χρυσέα θύγατερ Διός (*golden daughter of Zeus*), to protect them, wishing savage Ares would hasten out of their land. Regardless, and perhaps unaware of that, the chorus prays for the help of Zeus and asks

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<sup>69</sup> Manuwald (2012), p. 87.

<sup>70</sup> Hogan (1991), p. 30.

<sup>71</sup> Manuwald (2012), p. 89.

Λύκει' ἄναξ, τά τε σὰ χρυ-  
σοστρόφων ἀπ' ἀγκυλᾶν  
βέλεα θέλοιμ' ἄν ἀδάματ' ἐνδατεῖσθαι  
ἄρωγὰ προσταθέντα, τάς τε πυρφόρους  
Ἀρτέμιδος αἴγλας, ξὺν αἷς  
Λύκι' ὄρεα διάσσει· (203-208)

*Lykian master, may you be willing to shower unconquered arrows with your bowstrings, bringing help and the fiery torches of Artemis, with which she rushes through the mountains of Lykia.* (trans. author)

Although the chorus wants Artemis' protection, it only directly addresses Apollo, repeating the pattern in which Apollo is responsible for his sister and her actions. Not only is Apollo the addressee of their request, but it seems he is also asked to bring Artemis' torches as well, presenting her as passive and focusing on her feminine weaponry rather than her martial prowess.

Hogan says that Sophokles “thinks of Lycean as derived from ‘light’,”<sup>72</sup> and that its relevance to Artemis' association with the Lykian hills “is hard to see.”<sup>73</sup> Manuwald, on the other hand, claims that a connection with Lykia in this context is possible,<sup>74</sup> and I agree with him, since if we assume that both “Λύκει' ἄναξ” and “Λύκι' ὄρεα” refer to the geographical area, then Sophokles has again expressed the hierarchy between the twins, according to which in the *Iliad*, Artemis nurses Aeneas at her brother's temple, and in the *Homeric Hymns* she comes

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<sup>72</sup> Hogan (1991), p. 279.

<sup>73</sup> *ibid.* p. 32.

<sup>74</sup> Manuwald (2012), p. 93.

to his temples. Thus, while Apollo is presented as the lord of Lycia, Artemis only roams its hills, within her brother's territory.<sup>75</sup>

As in *Seven against Thebes*, Apollo is the bane of Oedipus and his family. The king himself cries “Ἀπόλλων τάδ’ ἦν, Ἀπόλλων, φίλοι, ὁ κακὰ κακὰ τελῶν ἐμὰ τάδ’ ἐμὰ πάθεα”(it was Apollo, Apollo, my friends, who executed these horrible, horrible calamities of mine) (1329-1330), a statement which Mikalson considers “a powerful indictment of Apollo,” although he adds that it is inconsistent with the god's other presentations in Sophokles. In order “to develop an overall picture of Apollo in Sophokles,” writes Mikalson, “we must weigh the numerous goods that Apollo provides in Sophoklean plays against the one cry of Oedipus in *Oedipus Tyrannos* that Apollo has caused his evils.”<sup>76</sup> Apollo sets the action of *Oedipus Tyrannos* and drives it until he receives the outcome he predicted. Yet even though he is not portrayed as a benevolent and helpful god in this play, nonetheless no one can undermine or question his great power and importance, which is precisely what is missing from most of the descriptions of Artemis, who is not presented as powerful as Apollo, regardless of whether she is more or less benevolent than him.

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<sup>75</sup> Leto, Apollo, and Artemis were closely associated with Lycia, and were worshipped in the Letoon, which was, as could be inferred from its name, primarily associated with Leto. The sanctuary hosted three temples, the largest and most complex was the temple of Leto, Apollo's temple was slightly smaller and not as elaborate, and Artemis' temple was about a quarter of the size of Leto's temple and rather plain. For further information regarding the Letoon, see A. Balland, *Fouilles de Xanthos VII – Inscriptions d'époque impériale du Létoon*, (Paris, 1981); J. Des Courtils, *A Guide to Xanthos and Letoon*, (Istanbul, 2003).

<sup>76</sup> J.D. Mikalson, “Gods and Heroes in Sophocles,” in Markantonatos, A. (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Sophocles*, (Leiden, 2012), pp. 437, 440-441. Mikalson adds that in *Oedipus at Kolonos*, for example, no one, including Oedipus himself, “faults Apollo for his oracles or anything he has done” (438).

## Ajax

Another example of how Greek drama preserves Homeric perceptions regarding Artemis and Apollo can be seen in *Ajax*. After the hero's rampant rage, the chorus names two possible deities who may be responsible for his madness: Artemis and Enyalios, who may be an epithet of Ares or an independent deity.<sup>77</sup> Following this, the chorus prays to Zeus and Apollo, asking them to assist the hero. Athena, the true culprit, is not mentioned at all.

The possible reasons offered by the chorus are that Artemis Ταυροπόλα, daughter of Zeus,<sup>78</sup> was exacting retribution, “*or perhaps because of some victory which yielded her no offering, or she was cheated of glorious spoils or received no gift after shooting a deer?*” (172-178). The rendition of Ajax' story also replicates the Iliadic pattern, with Apollo perceived as a god who helps heroes, while vindictive Artemis hinders and harms them and Petrovich sees this as another example of Artemis' reputation for cruelty.<sup>79</sup> Thus Artemis is quickly named as a likely suspect in Ajax's misfortunes and marked as a vengeful deity, easily overlooked in worship.

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<sup>77</sup> In Homer, Enyalios is used both as an epithet of Ares as well as a personification of battle (Hogan [1991], p. 279, Kirk [1990], p. 96). According to Aristotle in the *Constitution of the Athenians*, one of the duties of the polemarchos was to offer sacrifices to Artemis Agrotera and to Enyalios (58), and it was suggested that they shared Although some have argued that this is not Ares, it seems more plausible, in this context, to have two vindictive Olympian gods, to counterbalance the two other benevolent Olympians, especially since it is common for deities to be referred to by their epithet alone.

According to Aristotle in the *Constitution of the Athenians*, one of the duties of the polemarchos was to offer sacrifices to Artemis Agrotera and to Enyalios (58) and Simon claims that Artemis Agrotera shared her temple on the Ilissos with Enyalios (Simon [1983], p. 82.).

Hall notes that choruses tend to blame Ares, whom she classifies as “the god of berserk behaviour on the battlefield,” as the culprit for various wartime catastrophes, and it is possible that this is also true in regards to Ajax' misfortunes. (Hall [2010], pp. 158-159).

<sup>78</sup> Tauropolos was the cult title given to Artemis at Halae Araphenides, on the southeast coast of Attica (J.C. Kamerbeek (ed.), *The Ajax*, [Leiden, 1963], p.). He also notes that the anachronism is suggested by his attack against the flocks (rather "herds of cattle"). Her cult seems to have been orgiastic, and the goddess was invoked as one inspiring madness, all to the point in this context.

<sup>79</sup> Petrovic (2010), p. 216.

As for the chorus's choice for Artemis' epithet, Kamerbeek asserts that Artemis Tauropolos was regularly invoked by Athenian women,<sup>80</sup> and Lloyd-Jones negates any connection between it and the slain cattle, suggesting it derived from the connection of Artemis Tauropolos with madness<sup>81</sup> and Davidson observes that this epithet "immediately creates an atmosphere of wildness and madness."<sup>82</sup> Cropp, too, notes the connections between Artemis Tauropolos and "imposing and curing madness."<sup>83</sup> Therefore, perhaps Sophokles' use of this epithet enhances the dangerous element of the goddess as well as the chorus' belief that she is responsible for Ajax's madness.

The list of Enyalios' reasons to hurt Ajax is shorter, namely that he might bear a grudge against him, after a joint exploit, following which the god tried to punish him accordingly (179-181), therefore Ares' motive is similar to the one suggested for Artemis. On the other hand, as the chorus fears what the rest of the Greeks will say, they also hope Apollo and Zeus will avert the defamations. Thus, Apollo is presented again as a kind and benevolent god, who would even help a Greek hero despite his support of the Trojans, while Artemis is portrayed in a negative light, as a potentially harmful deity.

*Ajax* utilizes the Homeric roles assigned to the twins: it continues the negative representations of Artemis and possibly Ares (or his ilk) from the *Iliad*, while extolling Homer's champions, Apollo and Zeus, as well as the blameworthy Athena, demonstrating Homer's continuing influence on shaping and portraying the gods in Athenian drama. The Homeric

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<sup>80</sup> Kamerbeek (1963), p. 54.

<sup>81</sup> H. Lloyd-Jones, "Artemis and Iphigeneia," in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 103 (1983), p. 97. He also suggests that originally, the cult of Artemis Taoropolus was an initiation rite for boys, just as girls were initiated in Brauron (pp. 97, 100).

<sup>82</sup> J.F. Davidson, "The Parodos of Sophocles' *Ajax*," in *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, No. 22 (1975), p. 170.

<sup>83</sup> Cropp (2000), p. 54.

Athena and Apollo were ideal candidates for the position of Ajax's defenders and would have provided a good and gendered counterbalance to Artemis and Ares/Enyalios. However, the narrative constraints prevented Athena's inclusion in this equation, and therefore Zeus took her place. Since Athena is the one behind the hero's downfall in *Ajax*, Sophokles perhaps thought it would be inappropriate or too absurd to have the chorus beseech her to help him, unlike the *Iliad*, where the Trojan women beseech Athena in vain (*Il.VI.269-310*).

## Elektra

In *Elektra*, Artemis has a more substantial presence than in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*. Sophokles places both twins at different ends of the saga of Agamemnon and his children, associating Artemis almost exclusively with the feminine, including Iphigeneia's sacrifice, while Apollo, who will preside over the end of their misfortunes, is associated with both the masculine and the feminine in this play and he is never depicted alongside his sister.

Sophokles' version of Iphigeneia's sacrifice is brought to the audience during an argument between Klytaimnestra and Elektra, in which the former claims that Agamemnon acted unjustly and deserved to be punished (526-533), while the latter dismisses this and makes Agamemnon, as Lefkowitz notes, less culpable by shifting the guilt from him to Artemis,<sup>84</sup> telling Klytaimnestra to ask Artemis *κυναγός* (*hound-leader, huntress*) why she stopped the winds in Aulis (563-564). However, Elektra quickly adds they may not learn the truth from the goddess, claiming that everything happened because Agamemnon accidentally startled and shot a deer in Artemis' grove and then happened to utter some boastful word out loud. This incurred the

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<sup>84</sup> Lefkowitz (2016), p. 247n70.

wrath of the goddess, who prevented the Greeks from leaving Aulis, either to Troy or back to Greece and therefore they had no other option but to sacrifice Iphigeneia as a compensation for the wild animal (571-572), meaning that Artemis' demand is assumed, but not directly mentioned. Elektra may question Artemis' harsh punishment, but she cannot present her father as innocent in this regard as we have seen in *Agamemnon*. Another similarity to the *Oresteia* is that Sophokles, too, does not present the lenient version, in which Iphigeneia is eventually saved by Artemis. Agamemnon offended Artemis, who had to be appeased by the sacrifice of Iphigeneia. This portrayal ignores her kourotrophic qualities, presenting Artemis as punishing the young and the innocent rather than protecting them.

Thus, despite her best efforts to place most of the blame on Artemis, Elektra presents us with two offences against the goddess. If Agamemnon, in his hubristic words, boasted that he is an equal or a better hunter than Artemis, then this is very different from his fault for accidentally shooting a deer that belonged to Artemis. Both action and speech are abhorred by the goddess, but disrespecting her with his words is much graver, especially since, if we are to believe Elektra, shooting the animal could have been done inadvertently. Whether this matters to the goddess or not is a question to which we have no answer. What remains is that here, as in the *Iliad*, Artemis is slighted by kings, and unlike Apollo and Athena, who are generally well-respected.

Later in the play, Artemis' name is invoked once by Klytaimnestra, who threatens that Elektra will pay for her insolence “μὰ τὴν δέσποιναν Ἄρτεμιν” (*by mistress Artemis*), after Aegisthus' return (626) and again by Elektra who, after reuniting with Orestes, swears “μὰ τὴν ἄδμητον αἰὲν Ἄρτεμιν” (*by Artemis who is forever unwedded*), that she will not fear the women



in the house any longer (1239-1241).<sup>85</sup> The fact that both mother and daughter invoke the goddess anchors Artemis' connection to the women of the house of Agamemnon, emphasizing her role in their story. However, while they swear by Artemis, they pray to Apollo, thus establishing a much more important relationship with him.

Orestes refers to Apollo when he tells how he asked in Delphi how to avenge his father, and the god told him to kill his father's murderers (32-71). Sophokles makes it clear that it was Orestes who wanted to avenge his father, and that Apollo's oracle was not thrust upon him. Later, the paidagogos stresses the importance of obeying Loxias and following his instructions before doing anything else (80-85). The main expression of Apollo's importance in this play, however, comes through the prayers of Klytaimnestra and Elektra in their contrasting prayers,<sup>86</sup> only one of which can be fulfilled. Both mother and daughter pray outside the palace gates, where "Apollo Lykeios is assimilated to the Apollo Agyteus/Alexikakos whose statue stood before the doors of many Greek houses."<sup>87</sup> Klytaimnestra, startled by her dream, brings Apollo offerings and prays that he would protect her, "ταῦτά μοι, Λύκει' ἄναξ, / εἰ μὲν πέφηνεν ἐσθλά, δὸς τελεσφόρα, / εἰ δ' ἐχθρά, τοῖς ἐχθροῖσιν ἔμπαλιν μέθεξ" (*if its appearance was to my good, grant, Lycean king, that it be fulfilled; but if to my harm, then hurl it back upon those who would harm me*). And if there is some plot against her, she asks him not to allow this treachery, but rather to protect her and her position on the throne (645-647). Later, Elektra prays to Apollo, while Orestes and his comrades enter the palace, asking lord Apollo to hear her prayer, reminding him of the gifts she brought him

νῦν δ', ὦ Λύκει' Ἀπολλων, ἐξ οἴων ἔχω

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<sup>85</sup> By using "γυναικῶν," Elektra may refer to Klytaimnestra and Chriothemis, but it may also include Aegisthus.

<sup>86</sup> Mikalson (2012), p. 440.

<sup>87</sup> *ibid.*

αἰτῶ, προπίτνω, λίσσομαι, γενοῦ πρόφρων  
ἡμῖν ἄρωγός τῶνδε τῶν βουλευμάτων,  
καὶ δεῖξον ἀνθρώποισι τὰπιτίμια  
τῆς δυσσεβείας οἷα δωροῦνται θεοί. (1379-1383)

*But now, Lycian Apollo, with the things I have, I ask, I fall before you, I implore, be an active helper in this plan and show mortals with what wages the gods reward impiety!* (trans. Lloyd-Jones)

Elektra may blame Artemis for what happened in the past, but now both mother and daughter are hoping Artemis' twin will save them, and their two prayers emphasize his significance (and great potential to help them). Apollo is asked to take action, to provide assistance, and to repel threats; his sister is not asked to do anything. Perhaps this was Sophokles' way of indicating that Apollo would eventually mend the damage caused by his vindictive sister's demand for Iphigeneia's life. It demonstrates that Artemis and Apollo work separately, as her active role in the lives of Agamemnon and his children ended before his began.

## 2.3 – Euripides

The larger number of surviving plays by Euripides allows easier exploration of his attitudes toward Artemis and Apollo. Did Euripides, who is considered by some to be more of a “feminist” tragedy writer, treat Leto's children differently?<sup>88</sup> While Apollo appears in seventeen plays (*Cyclops* being the one exception) and has an important part in eight of them,<sup>89</sup> actively

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<sup>88</sup> See Rabinowitz, *Anxiety Veiled*, (Ithaca, NY, 1993), pp. 12-14 for a further discussion of this subject. She accepts that Euripides “endows his female characters with great understanding and allows them to give voice to important ideas; nevertheless, their experience is shaped to the end of supporting male power” (14).

<sup>89</sup> *Alcestis, Andromache, Electra, Ion, Iphigenia in Tauris, Orestes, Phoenician Women, Trojan Women.*

participating in two,<sup>90</sup> Artemis is mentioned in eleven plays and she is prominently mentioned in three,<sup>91</sup> appearing on stage only in *Hippolytos*. Therefore Euripides, too, tends to focus more on Apollo, at least in his plays which have survived.

Artemis and Apollo are mentioned in the same context several times in the Euripidean corpus. Unlike the plays of Aeschylus and Sophokles, this usually does not happen within choral odes, since the hymns and prayers sung by the choruses tend to address only one of the twins, not two of them. Euripides refers to them together in other contexts. Also, as we shall see below, Artemis appears more by herself in the Euripidean plays, unattached and unassociated with her brother.

## Hekabe

There are, however, a few exceptions in which the twins are portrayed in the same context. One of these comes in *Hekabe*, when the chorus of captive Trojan women contemplates their future, imagining they will participate in the choral dances for Artemis on Delos:

ἔνθα πρωτόγονός τε φοῖ-  
νιξ δάφνα θ' ἱεροῦς ἀνέ-  
σχε πτόρθους Λατοῖ φίλα ὦ-  
δῖνος ἄγαλμα Δίας;  
σὺν Δηλιάσιν τε κού-  
ραισιν Ἀρτέμιδος θεᾶς  
χρυσέαν ἄμπυκα τόξα τ' εὐλογήσω; (458-465)

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<sup>90</sup> *Alcestis, Orestes*.

<sup>91</sup> *Hippolytos, Iphigenia in Aulis, Iphigenia in Tauris*.

*Where the first-created palm and the bay-tree put forth their sacred shoots for dear Leto, a memorial of her divine birth-pains. And there with the maids of Delos shall I hymn the golden head-band and bow of Artemis, their goddess?* (trans. Coleridge)

It seems odd that slave girls would participate in such activities. Scodel suggests they imagine themselves as the slaves of noble Greek maidens, who would participate in these activities.<sup>92</sup> Matheison interprets this as an understandable hope, since the slaves would be safe in the service of Artemis from being raped by their masters.<sup>93</sup> However, these are fantasies, since slave-girls will not be able to take part of such dances.<sup>94</sup> Another misconception of reality comes in how the chorus perceives Delos, associating it mainly with Artemis, as they not only imagine themselves dancing in her honor, but when they describe Leto, Euripides carefully uses general terms, which disassociate Leto's birth on Delos from being only relevant to Apollo. Considering this, perhaps mentioning the palm and the laurel was meant to represent each twin, thus giving Artemis an equal foothold on the island. Moreover, Gregory notes that the "members of the chorus manifest a distinctly feminine sensibility as they linger over Leto's childbearing (458-61) and the design of Athena's peplos (466-467). Characteristically, they think of dancing in honor of Artemis rather than her brother," in contrast with the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, in which the Delian maidens dance first to Apollo, then to his mother and only then, to his sister.<sup>95</sup>

However, it seems that the chorus is unfamiliar with Artemis' ways, since it later recalls that when Troy was attacked, they prayed in vain to Artemis, who did not save them or prevent the calamities they endured (934-936). In the *Iliad*, it is Athena who turns a deaf ear to the

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<sup>92</sup> R. Scodel, "The Captive's Dilemma: Sexual Acquiescence in Euripides *Hecuba* and *Troades*," in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, vol. 98 (1998), p. 145.

<sup>93</sup> K. Matthiessen (ed.), *Euripides' "Hekabe"* (Berlin, 2010), p. 314.

<sup>94</sup> Matthiessen (2010), p. 314; Scodel (1998), p. 145.

<sup>95</sup> Gregory, J. *Euripides: Hecuba*, (Atlanta, 1999), p. 101.

prayers of the Trojan women (*Il.VI.269-310*), yet in this play, presented in Athena's namesake city, she is kept beyond reproach. Artemis is a better candidate for casting the blame, and in the end, Euripides enhances her Homeric portrayal as the lioness among women, who helps neither heroes nor Trojans.

## Suppliants

In *Suppliants*, both Artemis and Apollo are briefly mentioned in the lamentations of the bereaved chorus, mothers of seven fallen Argive heroes. Mourning the death of their sons, they mention that “οὐδ’ Ἄρτεμις λοχία / προσφθέγγεται’ ἄν τὰς ἀτέκνους” (*Artemis Lokhia [of childbirth] would not utter a word to the childless*) (955-959). Morwood interprets this as a simile which indicates they are too old to bear new sons and that Artemis withdrew her favor from them.<sup>96</sup> Next, the chorus continues to lament their fate, expressing their misery and great sadness, saying that all that is left for them is tears. They mention the sad keepsakes left at their homes, such as the shorn hair of their dead sons, libations which were poured over their dead bodies and “ἄοιδαί θ’ ἄς χρυσοκόμας / Ἀπόλλων οὐκ ἐνδέχεται” (*songs which golden-haired Apollo does not accept*) (975-976). The songs to which they refer are funeral laments, thus juxtaposing them with Apollo's paian, customarily associated with healing, indicating that the “glorious sun god must avoid the pollution of death and mourning,”<sup>97</sup> as all gods were supposed to. The chorus uses the twins to emphasize its wretched state, presenting the twins in a familiar manner, according to which they are placed together on the two sides of the process in which a baby becomes a man – Artemis takes care of the mother in labor, and although unmentioned here, as a

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<sup>96</sup> J. Morwood, (ed.), *Euripides: Suppliant Women*, (Oxford, 2007), p. 218.

<sup>97</sup> *ibid.*

kourotropic deity she takes care of the child, and later on Apollo takes charge, turning the ephebe into a man.

## **Bakchai**

Another time in which Artemis and Apollo are clearly distinguished from one another comes in *Bakchai*. After the chorus leader praises Teiresias for honoring Dionysos without offending Apollo (328-329), Kadmos urges Pentheus to honor Dionysos, lest he end like his cousin, Aktaion, who was punished by Artemis for boasting he was a better hunter than she (330-342).<sup>98</sup> Euripides repeats the Homeric pattern, in which Apollo is presented as a revered god, honored by all, while Artemis is unflatteringly portrayed as vindictive. Moreover, unlike her depiction in *Seven against Thebes*, here she is the bane of the House of Kadmos, and the punishment she inflicted on Aktaion still lives in the memory of his family: when Agaue asks where Pentheus died, Kadmos tells her it is where the dogs tore Aktaion apart (1290-1291), indicating how the incident is present in their minds.<sup>99</sup>

## **Ion**

Artemis is mentioned only once in *Ion*, one of the plays most associated with Apollo, although she is not presented with him, but rather with Athena, the main goddess presiding over

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<sup>98</sup> For more on Aktaion, see J. Roux (ed.), *Euripide: les Bacchantes II*, (Paris, 1972), p. 361; R. Seaford (ed.), *Bacchae*, (Warminster, 1996), p. 179.

<sup>99</sup> Dodds notes that the reason for which "Actaeon crops up so often in the *Bacchae*" is that since his story foretells Pentheus' fate. There is no reason to assume that both observations are not true. Moreover, this includes a repeated presentation of Artemis's vindictiveness, whether she is mentioned directly or not. Dodds, E.R. (ed.). *Euripides: Bacchae*. (Oxford, 1944), p. 108.

this play. After the chorus of Athenian women summons Athena to Apollo's temple in Delphi, they hail her again "σὺ καὶ παῖς ἅ Λατογενής, / δύο θεαὶ δύο παρθένοι, / κασίγνηται σεμναὶ Φοίβου" (*You and the daughter of Leto, two goddesses, two virgins, revered sisters of Phoibos*) (466-468). Artemis and Athena are also the daughters of Zeus, yet with Artemis being hailed as the daughter of Leto, the emphasis here is not on their shared father, but rather on their connection to Apollo. This strengthens Artemis' connection with Apollo, and thus slightly distinguishes between her and Athena. However, it also pushes her further away from the close circle of Apollo, Athena, and their father (as in the Homeric invocation, previously discussed, p. 43), who are clearly presented as more significant deities. Furthermore, it also emphasizes Athena's advantage: since she has no mother, she is fully associated with Zeus. Thus she replaces Apollo, who is often presented as Zeus' son when he is portrayed with Artemis, who is mostly referred to as Leto's daughter.

In *Agamemnon*, Apollo was asked to control his twin-sister and prevent her from harming the Greeks. Here, the chorus asks the two half-sisters to influence their brother and to plead with him to provide a clear oracle, so that the house of Erechtheus will finally receive a rightful Erechtheid heir (465-471). This is the only time Artemis is mentioned in the play, and it seems that she is rather irrelevant to Apollo in this setting. The reason she is mentioned here is directly linked to the request made by the chorus. Both goddesses are hailed in an attempt to increase the chances of Kreusa and Xuthos to receive a favorable (and coherent) oracle, although each goddess may serve a different purpose. Athena is the goddess of the city of Kreusa and of Euripides' audience, and the preference for her is understandable, as is her significance in this play. Loraux claims that the chorus asks the goddesses to promote the fecundity of the house of

Erechtheus and to aid the “patrilinear filiation,”<sup>100</sup> noting that Athena, as a daughter of a father, is contrasted here with Artemis, as a daughter of a mother.<sup>101</sup> She also claims that both of them preside over adolescence, marriage, and maternity in Athens.<sup>102</sup> However, it seems more likely that it is Artemis, “the patroness of birth,”<sup>103</sup> who was also responsible for the death of women in childbirth, who is consequently hailed for that specific reason.<sup>104</sup>

The chorus hopes Artemis will exert her influence on Apollo and ensure the fulfillment of the marriage – a healthy baby and a living mother. Yet despite the fact she is asked to act on their behalf and attempt to exert her influence on Apollo, it is clear that once again, Artemis comes behind her brother and half-sister. Apollo is the master of Delphi, whose importance and power are hindered neither by his absence from the stage nor by his less than positive portrayal here. While his two sisters are asked to come to him as suppliants, the attention the chorus gives to Athena indicates she is considered more important than Artemis, who is here to procure an heir, while Athena is here for everything else, including the happy end.

Some scholars emphasize that Apollo is depicted in a negative manner in *Ion*. Hartigan, for example, writes that Euripides darkens the Delphic god of light and reason “and casts serious doubt on the validity of oracular consultation.”<sup>105</sup> Shapiro agrees, with some reservations, arguing:

“Euripides may have deliberately cast Apollo in an unflattering light, it is unlikely that the average Athenian male shared the eccentric views of the ‘protofeminist’

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<sup>100</sup> Loraux, N. *The Children of Athena*, (Princeton, 1993), pp. 211-212.

<sup>101</sup> Loraux continues to say that this is also true in regards to Apollo, who is constantly presented in *Ion* as Leto’s son. Loraux (1993), p. 219.

<sup>102</sup> *ibid.* p. 212.

<sup>103</sup> K.H. Lee (ed.), *Euripides: Ion*, (Warminster, 1997), p. 210.

<sup>104</sup> Parisinou (2000), p. 46.

<sup>105</sup> K. Hartigan, *Ambiguity and self-deception: the Apollo and Artemis plays of Euripides*, (Frankfurt, 1991), p. 16.



playwright. For many Athenians, what mattered most was the glory of claiming Apollo as an ancestor of their race.”<sup>106</sup>

The question of Apollo’s benevolence is raised in regards to other plays as well. Bierl considers Apollo as “an awful, horrible god who lacks all the measure generally attributed to his Delphic aspect” and that when he appears in the plays, he is “immoderate, one-sided, irritable, rough, and rude,” noting that many “interpreters discuss the tragedians' apparent hostility toward Apollo, especially in the case of Euripides.”<sup>107</sup> Ferguson adds that Euripides repeatedly attacks Apollo,<sup>108</sup> and that “in *Elektra*, Euripides is sweeping in his condemnation of Apollo's oracular command to kill Clytemnestra,”<sup>109</sup> and Cropp adds that in *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, Orestes forces the god to help him by blackmailing him.<sup>110</sup> However, as we can see from Athena’s behavior in *Ajax*, gods will be gods, and without that, tragedies will lose much of their effectiveness. However, Athena in *Ajax*, just as Apollo’s negative depiction, may be portrayed as vindictive and harmful, but they are presented as strong and powerful deities. At other times Apollo does help some heroes, i.e. Admetos and Orestes, yet the important point is that although he may be unjust and even cruel at times, he is not portrayed as weak or insignificant, unlike his twin-sister, who may be portrayed as unjust and weak. This is an important distinction between the representation of the twins - not whether they help or harm the protagonists, but whether they possess great divine powers or not.

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<sup>106</sup> H.A. Shapiro, “Fathers and Sons, Men and Boys,” in J. Neils and J.H. Oakley (eds.), *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*, (New Haven, 2003) p. 87.

<sup>107</sup> Bierl (1994), pp. 81-83.

<sup>108</sup> Ferguson (1972), p. 279.

<sup>109</sup> Ferguson (1972), p. 410.

<sup>110</sup> M.J. Cropp (ed.), *Euripides - Iphigenia in Tauris*, (Warminster, UK, 2000), p. 39.

## Hippolytos

The tendency to separate Apollo and Artemis is also manifested in *Hippolytos*, our only surviving play in which Artemis talks on stage.<sup>111</sup> Apollo is mentioned twice in this play; once in passing, when Delphi is referred to as his Pythian house (536), and once in the prologue, when Aphrodite declares she resents how Hippolytos honors "Φοίβου δ' ἀδελφὴν Ἄρτεμιν, Διὸς κόρην" (*Phoibos' sister, Artemis, daughter of Zeus*) (15-16). Therefore, at the beginning, Artemis is associated with her father, although within her relationship with Apollo, he is still the subject of their connection, as she is his sister.

On the surface, this twofold depiction of Artemis continues in the play, corresponding with the criteria set in the prologue. On the one hand, Artemis not only appears on stage, but she speaks; her cult and worship receive great attention, with impressive demonstrations of how Hippolytos, his companions, and Phaedra all worship, pray, and extol her; and the chorus presents her as the protector of women (a sharp difference from Homer), recalling instances in which she had answered their prayers. As Knox notes, although Artemis is the passive agent in the play while Aphrodite is the active one, their roles reverse, as she sets out to kill Aphrodite's favorite.<sup>112</sup> Dunn observes nonetheless, that Artemis finds in Theseus "a surrogate victim on stage," on whom she can exact her anger and wish for revenge (1290-1341), thus reverting back to her position as the punisher of heroes.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Apollo appears on stage in four plays (*Eumenides*, *Orestes*, *Alkestis*), to which we should add the *Niobe*. We cannot know whether Artemis spoke in the *Niobe*, or if, like in Euripides' *Elektra* or *Helen*, she appeared on stage while only her twin speaks. Additionally, it has been suggested that Artemis appeared at the end of *Iphigenia in Aulis*.

<sup>112</sup> B.M.W. Knox, "The *Hyppolytus* of Euripides," in E. Segal (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Greek Tragedy*, (Oxford, 1983), p. 327.

<sup>113</sup> Dunn (1996), p. 97.

There is no doubt that Artemis and Hippolytos had a very strong and unique connection. Kovacs even suggests that Hippolytos was Artemis' consort in all but the carnal aspect and emphasizes their "ties of mutual loyalty that place them almost on the same level."<sup>114</sup> Yet it was not enough for her to overcome her fear of Zeus and to save her most ardent follower. Cyrino claims it is bizarre how unmoved Artemis is by the imminent death of Hippolytos, noting she is more "perturbed by the fact that Aphrodite trumped her in this round of their rivalry."<sup>115</sup> This could simply be the usual aloofness of the blessed immortals, as it also manifests in Hera's willingness to allow Zeus to destroy her favorite cities, as long as Troy will be destroyed (*Il.IV.50-52*).

Mastronarde divides the gods appearing in tragedy – the "visible gods" – into three main categories: "those who punish, those who save, and those who inform."<sup>116</sup> The gods who punish usually appear in the prologue, while those who save arrive at the end of the play, from the machine. In this play, however, the descending Artemis does not save Hippolytos. Although Artemis is presented as a mighty goddess in this play, her *modus operandi* with heroes remains the same: she does not help Hippolytos and allows him to die, despite their close connection - her promise to avenge his death is as useful to him as were her teachings to Skamandrios in the Troy (*Il.V.49-54*). The cowardice she demonstrated in the *Iliad*, when she ran away from Hera, is repeated here, only now she admits that she is afraid of Zeus, who forbade the gods to interfere with the plans of other gods, thus excusing her refusal to save Hippolytos' life. While scenes of *dei ex machina* usually bring assistance and a resolution, it is not the case here, since Artemis

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<sup>114</sup> Kovacs (1987), pp. 33, 37.

<sup>115</sup> Cyrino, M.S. *Aphrodite*. (Abington, UK, 2010), p. 102.

<sup>116</sup> D. Mastronarde, "The Gods," in J. Gregory (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Tragedy*, (London, 2005), pp. 328-329.

does not stop Theseus from cursing his son, or the bull from killing him. Rather, she “coldly and insistently disassociate[s] herself from him.”<sup>117</sup>

Budin, focusing on Artemis’ function as a goddess of transitions, sees Hippolytos as refusing to undergo his well due transition, saying it is possible to “argue that not only did Hippolytos malign Aphrodite, but he also ultimately refused Artemis herself. It is in this light that one must see the death of Hippolytos and understand Artemis’ apparent lack of sympathy.”<sup>118</sup> Adams, on the other hand, sees Artemis in this play is full of pity, supporting and comforting Theseus and easing the pain of Hippolytos, before his honorable death.<sup>119</sup> Yet the fact remains, she was too fearful or powerless to save her most ardent follower.

Euripides utilizes a repeating theme here, according to which Artemis is likely to be forgotten during a sacrifice and angered by this. Although this theme predated Homer (e.g., the Kalydonian Boar myth), it was certainly canonized and circulated by him. In *Hippolytos*, when the chorus worries about Phaedra’s deteriorating condition, they ask her if she is possessed by a god. They provide her with a list of possible culprits: Pan, Hekate, the Korybantes, or Kybele. Next, they ask

†σὺ δ’† ἀμφὶ τὰν πολύθη-  
ρον Δίκτυναν ἀμπλακίαις  
ἀνίερος ἀθύτων πελάνων τρύχη;  
φοιτᾷ γὰρ καὶ διὰ λί-  
μνας χέρσον θ’ ὑπὲρ πελάγους  
δίλαις ἐν νοτίαις ἄλμας. (145-150)

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<sup>117</sup> Knox (1983), p. 331.

<sup>118</sup> S.L. Budin, *Artemis*, (London, 2015), pp. 45-46.

<sup>119</sup> S.M. Adams, “Two Plays of Euripides,” in *The Classical Review*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (1935). pp. 118-119.

*Are you being worn down for some fault against Dictynna, her of the wild beasts, and are you tainted with failure to offer the holy batter? For she also haunts the Lake and passes over the dry land that stands in the eddies of the surf* (trans. Kovacs).

This is similar to what we saw in *Ajax*, especially since in both cases, Artemis was wrongfully accused. The chorus does not name other deities whom Phaedra might have failed to honor, thus it may seem that Artemis' Iliadic characterization as a deity who is easily forgotten continues.

Still, Artemis seems to be well-honored in this play. Earlier in the play, Hippolytos and the chorus hail and extol her:

Ἴππολυτος

ἔπεσθ' ἄδοντες ἔπεσθε  
τὰν Διὸς οὐρανίαν  
Ἄρτεμιν, ἧ μελόμεσθα.

Ἴππολυτος καὶ Θεραποντες

πότνια πότνια σεμνοτάτα,  
Ζηνὸς γένεθλον,  
χαῖρε, χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ κόρα  
Λατοῦς Ἄρτεμι καὶ Διός,  
καλλίστα πολὺ παρθένων,  
ἃ μέγαν κατ' οὐρανὸν  
ναίεις εὐπατέρειαν ἀ-  
λάν, Ζηνὸς πολύχρυσον οἶκον.  
χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ καλλίστα  
καλλίστα τῶν κατ' Ὀλυμπον  
[παρθένων Ἄρτεμι] (62-72).

Hippolytos: *Come follow me and sing of Zeus's heavenly daughter Artemis, who cares for us!*

Hippolytos and chorus: *Lady, lady most revered, daughter of Zeus, my greeting, daughter of Leto and of Zeus, of maidens the fairest by far, who dwell in great heaven in the court of your good father, the gilded house of Zeus! My greeting to you, fairest of all who dwell in Olympus!* (trans. Kovacs)

Apart from the great accolades she receives here, it is important to note that her connection with her almighty father is repeatedly established here. Although Apollo is usually the one associated with Zeus in the dramatic corpus, while Artemis is connected with her brother or mother, in this Euripides chose to downplay Apollo's connection with her (with the exception in the prologue). Instead, he increased Zeus' presence in order to better associate Artemis with the divine authority deriving from her father and to prevent Apollo's presence from hindering this process. The emphasis on Zeus, the absence of Artemis' twin-brother, and the lesser part Leto plays here bring Artemis closer to Athena with a focus on her father and on her maidenhood.

This powerful portrayal of Artemis only happens when Apollo leaves the stage empty – literally and figuratively. Otherwise, as in other plays (or in the Homeric corpus), he overshadow and overpower his sister. Only when he is absent and Artemis faces Aphrodite, another goddess who was maltreated and diminished by Homer, can Artemis be portrayed as an important and powerful deity. This is not to say that Artemis and Aphrodite were insignificant in the cultic reality of Athens and Attica; rather against their cultic importance, their roles in the tragedies usually extrapolate on their Homeric images rather than on their prominence in Athenian life.

Despite the fact that Artemis' portrayal in this play breaks the Homeric perceptions of her (with some caveats), the dissonance between Hippolytos' worship of Artemis, whom he calls “Ἥρα

φιλτάτη μοι δαιμόνων” (*the most beloved to me of all the gods*) (1092), and her refusal to save her truest and most ardent follower actually reinforces the Homeric view that Artemis does not help heroes or her followers. It is in this scene that Artemis is not associated with her father, only with her mother, as Λητοῦς κόρη (1092), reverting to disassociating her from Zeus now that she is back to being the Homeric lioness to heroes. Thus, Artemis’ portrayal in this tragedy, although diverging from the Homeric tradition, still references her Iliadic perception. Her second promise to the hero, however, that maidens shall always sing of him and that the tale of Phaedra’s passion to him will never be silenced or forgotten, is fulfilled, although this is achieved by the play itself, therefore a self-actualizing promise.

## **Iphigeneia in Aulis**

Kyriakou refers to Artemis and Apollo as the divine patrons of Iphigeneia and Orestes respectively, who function as “the agents responsible for determining their fate for many years... [although they] seem to have little direct involvement in [the] events.”<sup>120</sup> While the divine twins preside over the lives and misfortunes of Agamemnon and his children, they do so separately, overseeing different episodes in their lives. Artemis opens the Agamemnonides saga with Iphigeneia’s sacrifice in Aulis, which leads to a chain of events that Apollo, with Athena’s help, brings to its end in *Iphigeneia in Tauris*. In *Iphigeneia in Aulis*, Euripides treats Artemis and Apollo as he does in *Hippolytos*, presenting Artemis as a powerful goddess, albeit with some provisions, while Apollo’s presence is considerably reduced. Apollo is mentioned twice in *Iphigeneia in Aulis*: once when it is said that Chiron is knowledgeable in Apollo’s art of

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<sup>120</sup> P. Kyriakou, *A Commentary on Euripides' Iphigeneia in Tauris*, (Berlin, 2006), p. 14.

prophecy (1063-1065), and once when it is said that the land of Troy is sacred to the god (755-756). Kyriakou also notes that despite Artemis' long-standing and close relationship with Iphigeneia, the play does not depict any special intimacy between them.<sup>121</sup> This may also be said of the goddess' treatment of Hippolytos and, to a lesser degree, of Apollo's behavior towards Ion or Orestes, with whom he mostly interacts from afar. On the other hand, the language in Hippolytos points to an intimacy between the hero and the goddess, at least to a certain point. Michelakis, however, notes it is surprising that the goddess "does not feature more prominently in the plot" of this play, and that her role in it is restricted, unlike previous versions of this myth.<sup>122</sup>

Euripides carefully crafts his words so as not to misrepresent Artemis as directly demanding Iphigeneia's sacrifice or as deliberately stopping the winds and Kyriako also assumes that Artemis did not send the winds.<sup>123</sup> According to Ferguson, it is the gods who hold up the fleet.<sup>124</sup> At the same time, Euripides does not present any transgression by Agamemnon that would have incurred her wrath, as it was in other sources. Rather, on two separate occasions, Kalchas says Iphigeneia should be sacrificed to Artemis, without a direct link between the goddess and the demand for the act: she is merely presented as its recipient, not as the one demanding it (87-97; 350-359). Hartigan refers to Kalchas' words as "dubious," claiming that Agamemnon persuaded himself and Iphigeneia that they were valid and therefore that her sacrifice is necessary for Greece,<sup>125</sup> while Willink simply puts it as "Calchas has spoken - that is

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<sup>121</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>122</sup> Michelakis, P. *Euripides: Iphigenia at Aulis*. (London, 2006), pp. 61-63.

<sup>123</sup> Kyriako (2006), p. 33.

<sup>124</sup> Ferguson (1972), p. 451.

<sup>125</sup> Hartigan (1991), p. 17.



all.”<sup>126</sup> Since the goddess did not instigate the human sacrifice, she is presented here in a more favorable light, which will increase even more at the end of the play, with Iphigeneia’s salvation. Menelaos refers to their predicament as ordained by the gods (351), further clearing Artemis from blame. Iphigeneia’s words, “εἰ βεβούληται δὲ σῶμα τοῦμὸν Ἄρτεμις λαβεῖν, / ἐμποδῶν γενήσομαι ἄνθρωπος οὐσα τῇ θεῷ; (*if Artemis wishes to take my body, will I, a mortal, oppose a goddess?*) (1395-1397) could be perceived as counterproof, yet she does not know the truth about the situation either, and like the rest of the Greeks, she mistakenly assumes that this is the wish of the goddess, despite the lack of definite proof both for her and for the audience. This is small comfort throughout most of the play, as the hints provided by Euripides are very subtle, while the focus is mainly on the anguish and distress of the characters, no doubt in order to intensify the catharsis at the end.

The blame for the horrid act is not placed on Artemis, and Euripides subtly directs the blame towards Agamemnon. According to Saïd, “Agamemnon pretends to be a mere victim of fate and complains that he has ‘fallen under the yoke of necessity’ (443).”<sup>127</sup> Furthermore, Klytaimnestra’s story about Agamemnon - that before he married her, he killed her first husband, snatched her baby from her arms and smashed him to the ground - does not occur in any other source. Hall argues its inclusion here is meant to present Agamemnon as “a self-serving warlord guilty of previous atrocity... [who is] capable of slaughtering innocents in his own self-interest,”<sup>128</sup> thus increasing his guilt and reducing that of Artemis.

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<sup>126</sup> Willink (1971), p. 348.

<sup>127</sup> S. Saïd, “Aeschylean Tragedy,” in J. Gregory (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Tragedy*, (Malden, MA, 2005), p. 226.

<sup>128</sup> Hall (2010), p. 288.

Artemis is presented as a powerful deity in this play, both due to the emphasis placed on her character and the need to placate her, as well as because the fear of the damage she may cause. At the same time, the lack of direct accusation against her and the mollification of her demand for the sacrifice of Iphigeneia expunge her vindictive side. Michelakis assumes she has a small and diminished role in the play, stating that her demand is conditional and that it is necessary only if the Greeks wish to sail to Troy.<sup>129</sup> Yet this is exactly her point of strength. Later in the play, Iphigeneia instructs the chorus to sing the paian and dance in honor of Artemis, directly tying the goddess to the future victory over the Trojans, referring to herself as “Ἰλίου καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐλέπτολιν” (*the destroyer of Troy and the Phrygians*) (1475-1476), in order to give meaning to her death. Before Iphigeneia is sacrificed, Achilles hails Artemis:

ἽΩ παῖ Ζηνός, ὦ θηροκτόνε,  
τὸ λαμπρὸν εἰλίσσουσ' ἐν εὐφρόνῃ φάος,  
δέξαι τὸ θῦμα τόδ' ὃ γέ σοι δωρούμεθα  
στρατός τ' Ἀχαιῶν † Ἀγαμέμνων ἄναξ θ' ὁμοῦ, †  
ἄχραντον αἶμα καλλιπαρθένου δέρης,  
καὶ δὸς γενέσθαι πλοῦν νεῶν ἀπήμονα  
Τροίας τε πέργαμ' ἐξελεῖν ἡμᾶς δορί. (1570-1575)

*Daughter of Zeus, slayer of beasts, who send your bright gleam on its circular path in the night, receive this sacrifice which we tender you, the Achaean army and lord Agamemnon, the pure blood from her lovely neck, and grant that our ships may have fair voyage and that our spears may destroy the towers of Troy!* (trans. Kovacs)

In this way, the hero unusually enunciates Artemis' military aspect, while stressing her connection with her mighty father. As long as the sacrifice is going ahead, the ambivalence of

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<sup>129</sup> Michelakis (2006), pp. 63-64.

the goddess' character remains, and it is well demonstrated in the end of the choral ode, when the chorus hails Artemis as θεῶν ἄνασσαν (*queen among the gods*), wishing that their luck will shine, referring to her as a goddess who delights in human sacrifices, and asking her to lead the Greek army to Troy (1521-1531). However, Artemis, “ὦ παῖ Ζηνός, ὃ θηροκτόνε” (Zeus' daughter, *slayer of wild beasts*) (1570), as Agamemnon called her earlier, appropriately switches Iphigeneia at the moment of the sacrifice, leaving in her stead a magnificent doe, since she did not want to defile her altar with noble blood. At the moment of truth, Artemis demonstrates that she is indeed a great and benevolent goddess, allowing the Greeks to sail toward their impending victory without paying the dear cost. Her current triumph is hindered by the audience's foreknowledge of what will come, including the earlier *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, in which Apollo plays a much greater role than his twin sister.

It is generally agreed that the ending of *Iphigeneia in Aulis*, starting with the appearance of the second messenger, is spurious. It was added at a later stage, perhaps by a theatrical company or by Euripides' son, who produced (and possibly finished) the play after his father's death.<sup>130</sup> One suggestion is that the play ended with the prayers of Iphigeneia and Agamemnon, although it is more likely it ended with Artemis descending from above and either saving or promising to save Iphigeneia.<sup>131</sup> Michelakis argues that if that were indeed the end, it would have counterbalanced Artemis' absence earlier.<sup>132</sup> Artemis' appearance would have made it clear that she is without any blame regarding Iphigeneia; otherwise, she would have chosen not to appear, much like Apollo's absence from *Ion*. Regardless of whether Artemis did appear at the end of the

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<sup>130</sup> Conacher, D.J., *Euripidean Drama*, (Toronto, 1967), p. 249; Hall (2010), p. 290; Lefkowitz (2016), p. 179.

<sup>131</sup> Hulton, A.O. “Euripides and the Iphigenia Legend.” in *Mnemosyne*, vol. 15, Fasc. 4 (1962), p. 367; Ferguson (1972), p. 462; Conacher (1967), p. 249; Kyriakou (2006), p. 21.

<sup>132</sup> Michelakis (2006), p. 66.

play, or whether Euripides finished it without providing his audience any hint of Iphigeneia's fate, the important thing is that throughout the play he consistently presented Artemis positively, associated her with the masculine sphere, and placed the blame for Iphigeneia's sacrifice on Agamemnon. In many ways, *Iphigeneia in Aulis* is the most positive depiction of Artemis in Athenian drama.

## **Iphigeneia in Tauris**

*Iphigeneia in Tauris* is the only Euripidean play in which Artemis and Apollo are both mentioned frequently, yet here too they are separated from one another, appearing in the same context only three times: twice in Orestes' speeches and once in Iphigeneia's prayer. From the beginning of the play, the power balance between the twins is made clear: early in the play, Orestes relates his story, saying that Apollo told him "ἐλθεῖν Ταυρικῆς μ' ὄρους χθονός, / ἔνθ' Ἄρτεμις σοι σύγγονος βωμοὺς ἔχει," (*to go to the land of the Taurians in which your sister Artemis has altars*) (85-86) and to take her statue back to Athens so that his misfortunes will end. This establishes the unequal position of Apollo and Artemis, setting the tone for Artemis' passivity throughout the play. It is understood that Artemis is displeased with the cult she receives in Tauris - Iphigeneia herself assumes so, saying that she believes no god is evil: "οὐδένα γὰρ... δαιμόνων εἶναι κακόν," and that the Taurians must have mistakenly assumed the goddess desired human sacrifices (389-391).<sup>133</sup> Later on Orestes deduces that Apollo would not

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<sup>133</sup> Most scholars assume this is a true manifestation negating Artemis' homicidal side (e.g. Hall [2010], p. 165; Lefkowitz [2016] p. 93; Sansone, D. "The Sacrifice-Motif in Euripides' *IT*." in *Transactions of the American Philological Association* (1974), Vol. 105 (1975), p. 291. Sourvinou-Inwood claims that although Iphigenia could have convinced the audience, they had no way of knowing if she is correct (Sourvinou-Inwood, C. *Tragedy and Athenian Religion*, [Lanham, MD, 2003], p. 34), while Kyriako, on the other hand, claims that this is uncorroborated

have ordered him to bring Artemis' cult-statue to Athens unless it was in accordance to her will (1012-1016). Despite the assumptions that Artemis deplores her "captivity" in Tauris, she does nothing to remove her statue, awaiting instead for her brother to send someone to her rescue. Nowhere does Artemis indicate that she wants this cult to stop or that she prefers her cult statue to be moved to Athens; neither does she request Apollo or Athena to act on her behalf in these matters, as Apollo instructs Hermes and Athena from afar in *Ion*. Kyriako and Hartigan have interpreted this as a possible sign that Artemis does not abhor her Tauric cult.<sup>134</sup> However, I argue that this situation is the result of the passivity attributed to her in the play. As in the *Oresteia*, Artemis initiates the problem, Apollo does his best to help, but in the end, it is Athena who has to come and solve everything. As in the Homeric corpus and in many other plays, Apollo and Athena play pivotal roles, in sharp contrast to Artemis, who needs, as Petrovich notes, "the agency of Athena and Apollo, who 'civilize' her."<sup>135</sup>

*Iphigeneia in Tauris* is placed on an axis between two horrible cultic possibilities, both involving human sacrifice. The first is Iphigeneia's intended sacrifice at Aulis, and unlike other playwrights, Euripides made an effort to mollify the horrendousness of the original blood sacrifice (at least in regards to the goddess) not only by clarifying that Iphigeneia was not sacrificed by Agamemnon, but also by presenting it as entirely Agamemnon's fault, since on the

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in the play or in other Greek poems, and even ventures to say that "it is implausible that she considered human sacrifices unacceptable." (Kyriako [2006], pp. 15-16). Kyriakou bases her interpretation on the fact that Artemis did not punish those who were involved in Iphigeneia's sacrifice and that she brought the girls to Tauris of all places, claiming that "The assumption that a goddess would hide her displeasure at the Aulis sacrifice and would tolerate for several years the polluting human sacrifices of the Taurians without manifesting her aversion or punishing the mortal perpetrators of the crimes is naively absurd and cannot be supported by any tenet or parallel in Greek religion."(p. 15). However, I disagree with Kyriakou on this regard, since the solution for this apparent dissonance can be easily dissolved when we take into consideration Artemis' passivity, which seems to be her hallmark in this play, and which will be discussed below. Artemis of this play is a powerless deity, who cannot change her status by herself and depends on the kindness of others to be rescued from Tauris, She must await for the right time, when all the terms will come through, so that her brother and half-sister can save her via Iphigeneia and Orestes.

<sup>134</sup> Hartigan (1991), p. 184.

<sup>135</sup> Petrovic (2010), 216.

year in which Iphigeneia was born, he foolishly vowed “ὅ τι γὰρ ἐνιαυτὸς τέκοι / κάλλιστον” (*the most beautiful thing brought forth that year*) to Artemis φωσφόρος (*torch-bearing*) (20-21). Sourvinou-Inwood interprets this scene as clearly indicating that “Artemis did not simply demand the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, in which case it could be argued that Agamemnon and the Greeks had a religious duty to obey; she simply prevented the Greeks from sailing to Troy. Agamemnon and the Greeks had a perfectly good choice open to them, abandon the expedition and not sacrifice Iphigeneia,”<sup>136</sup> although this would not have released him from his vow.

This version of the myth drastically shifts the blame from Artemis, who is no longer perceived as blood thirsty and vengeful (as in *Agamemnon* and Sophokles’ *Elektra*). The fact that she substituted Iphigeneia with a deer is understood as a divine intervention, meant to correct Agamemnon’s mistake. Not only is Artemis not angry at him, but she has no reason to resent him here. Rather, she saved the daughter he so thoughtlessly endangered, finally helping a hero in a narrative. The opening of *Iphigeneia in Tauris* articulates the fact that Artemis has no interest in human sacrifice. This could be an important support to Iphigeneia’s later complaint regarding the dissonance between a goddess who drives away from her altar impure or sacrificially-polluted people, while requiring human sacrifices (380-391). Iphigeneia refuses to believe this is true, concluding that

τοὺς δ’ ἐνθάδ’, αὐτοὺς ὄντας ἀνθρωποκτόνους,  
ἐς τὴν θεὸν τὸ φαῦλον ἀναφέρειν δοκῶ:  
οὐδένα γὰρ οἶμαι δαιμόνων εἶναι κακόν. (389-391)

*the people here in this case are themselves murderous, so I believe they ascribe their fault to the goddess. For I believe that no god is evil.* (trans. author)

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<sup>136</sup> C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Tragedy and Athenian Religion*, (Lanham, MD, 2003) p. 32.

In this manner, Iphigeneia solves the tension between the rehabilitated and benevolent persona of Artemis, who saved Iphigeneia in the past, and between the Taurian cult that is essential to this play.

Thus, on the surface, Artemis is presented well in this tragedy. The play begins with Euripides vindicating her from any blame regarding Iphigeneia's sacrifice, and later on we see various demonstrations of cultic acts in her honor, such as invocations and prayers, as well as the barbarian cult in Tauris and her future cults in Attica. When Iphigeneia hears that Kalchas has died, she rejoices – “ὦ πότνι', ὡς εὖ” - and later, when Pylades asks her by which god she would swear to save one of them, Iphigeneia answers “Artemis, in whose house I hold an office” (747-749). However, Iphigeneia's insistence on clarifying her connection to the goddess may have been her way to distance herself from the goddess, since earlier, she laments that she is

ἄγαμος ἄτεκνος ἄπολις ἄφιλος,  
οὐ τὰν Ἄργει μέλπουσ' Ἥραν  
οὐδ' ἰστοῖς ἐν καλλιφθόγγοις  
κερκίδι Παλλάδος Ἀθίδος εἰκῶ  
καὶ Τιτάνων ποικίλλουσ' (220-224)

*without marriage, without a child, without a city, without a friend, I do not sing in honor of Hera at Argos or weave with my shuttle upon the sounding loom the likeness of Athenian Pallas and the Titans in various colors* (trans. Kovacs, modified)

According to Sourvinou-Inwood, worshipping Hera “is the obvious cultic service for the daughter of the king of Argos,” and the embroidery reference is meant to illustrate “what would have been Iphigeneia's normal fate to the reality of the Athenian audience.”<sup>137</sup> Thus, Iphigeneia

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<sup>137</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood (2003), p. 307.

wishes to have worshipped Hera at Argos, perhaps instead of Artemis. This choice could also have derived from the fact that Hera is the tutelary goddess of Argos, therefore exemplifying Iphigeneia's wish to return home. Another possibility is that since Hera was the goddess of marriage, who oversaw the transition from maidenhood to marital life, this is a further indication that Iphigeneia does not want to remain in her ἄγαμος ἄτεκνος state. She swears by Artemis since she is her servant, but this was not a duty she chose to undertake: it was thrust upon her, while perhaps she would have preferred to worship Hera at Argos.

Iphigeneia communicates with Artemis directly only when she needs her assistance in escaping Tauris. She employs three arguments in her prayer in order to drive the goddess into action. First, she asks Artemis to save her life again, as she did in Aulis, when she rescued Iphigeneia from Agamemnon's "πατροκτόνου χερός" (*father's murdering hand*) (1083). Perhaps this is Iphigeneia's way to remind the goddess that she had been wasting away in this god(s)forsaken land and that it is time for her to return home. Yet there is a more important reason for which Artemis should help them: if she does help them, mankind will no longer believe that Apollo's prophecies are truthful (1084-1085). Finally, Iphigeneia urges the goddess to depart Tauris and go to Athens, a much more suitable dwelling-place for her. The chorus then declares it longs for the Greek market-places and for Artemis Lokhia (*of childbirth*) (1096-1097). Cropp suggests the choice of this epithet expresses their distress as unwed and childless women,<sup>138</sup> but it is also possible that Artemis Lokhia is mentioned here because she stands in contrast with the Taurian goddess of human sacrifices and of death.

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<sup>138</sup> Cropp (2000), p. 240.



Additionally, while Apollo is customarily presented as the master of Delos, here the chorus associates Artemis with the island, without her brother, since it further identifies Artemis Lokhia as the one who dwells on Mount Kynthos, naming three trees: a palm, a laurel tree, and an olive tree (1096-1105). According to Sourvinou-Inwood, the chorus' "longing for an Artemis firmly placed in the Delian cultic context... [as zooming] the world of the tragedy to the religious realities of the audience, to Artemis' Delian cult."<sup>139</sup> Shabtai argues that the olive tree is combined in the Apollonian-Artemisian landscape in order to express the Athenian control over Delos in connection to the Attic-Delian league.<sup>140</sup> Hall reads the insertion of the olive tree into this context as emphasizing Athens' connection with the important cultic site on Delos, which is also prominently presented in this play, and "although the connection is still not fully understood, Delos was clearly of great importance to Athenian self-promotion and imperial policy throughout the classical period."<sup>141</sup> It is possible that both the palm and the laurel tree are attributed to Apollo here. However' it is also possible that the laurel tree and olive tree associated with Apollo and Athena respectively, and the palm, which is more associated with the Delos itself, may be connected in this instance with Artemis. On the one hand, it gives her, at least in the eyes of the chorus, an equal claim to the island as her brother's, and when this is combined with the manner in which the chorus presents her, Artemis is portrayed as a great goddess, almost the ruler of Delos. However, this is only in the eyes of the chorus, and the way Artemis is presented in the rest of the play may indicate otherwise. Maybe the purpose of this is to placate the Taurian Artemis, to stress how differently she is perceived and treated in Greece and to convince her to help them all to escape.

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<sup>139</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood (2003), 307.

<sup>140</sup> Shabtai (2007), p. 103.

<sup>141</sup> Hall, E. *Adventures with Iphigenia in Tauris: A Cultural History of Euripides' Black Sea Tragedy*. (New York, 2013), pp. 55-56.

Already in the second strophe, when the chorus sings how Iphigeneia, Orestes, and Pylades will go back to Greece, they assume it will be Apollo who will lead them there, not Artemis or Athena. Thus, without knowing that it is Athena who will come to their rescue, they instinctively presuppose that Artemis will not be able, or perhaps will not wish, to help them, and therefore they would rather put their faith in her brother.

Hall describes the connection between Artemis, Apollo, and Athena in this play as a “mysterious alliance of divine interests” which rescued the Greeks from Tauris,<sup>142</sup> yet things are much more complicated than that. Iphigeneia prays to Artemis, begging the goddess to return her to Greece from the barbaric land, and to forgive the stealing of her statue. In her efforts to convince Artemis to assist them, she evokes Apollo’s relationship with her, telling Artemis “φιλεῖς δὲ καὶ σὺ σὸν κασίγνητον, θεά: / φιλεῖν δὲ καμὲ τοὺς ὀμαίμονας δόκει” (*for you, too, love your brother, goddess; believe that I too love mine*) (1401-1402). Now, that Iphigeneia is finally reunited with Orestes, she is ready to incorporate Apollo into her connection with Artemis, and the play allows Artemis to be reunited with her own brother, even if only in words, within a prayer and, not in person. Appropriately, this is followed by the sailors praying to Apollo by singing the paian. However, despite Apollo’s importance to the narrative as the one who sets the plot in motion, he does not appear in most of the play. Apart from the aforementioned connection, he leaves the stage for Athena.

The prayers of the Greeks to Artemis are futile since she helps neither heroes nor her followers. This draws from her Homeric portrayal, although it also derives, perhaps even more, from Artemis’ inherent weakness, since Apollo and Athena, Homer’s champions, constantly and

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<sup>142</sup> Hall (2013), p. 27.

on their own volition act on her behalf during this play. The favorable depiction of Artemis is counterbalanced by the fact that she is unable or unwilling to change her own cult, especially if Iphigeneia and Orestes are right in assuming it is odious to her. Rather, Artemis must await passively until her brother sends Orestes to save her and Iphigeneia.

Yet while both brothers actively assist their sister, and Iphigeneia, once she discovers Orestes' true identity, also strives with all her might to rescue them, Artemis is utterly passive. Moreover, the goddess is rendered powerless in regard to her cult even after she is freed from the Taurians, as it is Athena who dictates what will be done with her half-sister's cult-statue, chooses her cultic sites in Attica for her, establishes their customs, tames her wild aspects, and integrates her into the Attic cultic system. It is unsurprising that Artemis does not appear at the end of the play, as Michelini has observed, since it is unusual for a deity to "come on stage to face human protagonists whose lives he has affected."<sup>143</sup> Thus, it is customary for gods not to face the consequences of their actions. However, Artemis' complete and utter silence in the play is more unusual than that.

At the end of the play, when the stormy sea prevents the escape of the Greeks, Ἀγαμέμνωνος παῖς prays to Δητοῦς κόρη (1398). While Iphigeneia is only identified with her father and not with her murderous mother, Artemis, in counterbalance, is associated with her mother. However, when Orestes brought his sister and Artemis' statue on board earlier, Artemis is identified as τῆς Διὸς κόρης, which is the only time in the play, in which she is associated with her father (1384). Yet it is not Artemis who answers these prayers, not even Apollo, but Athena.

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<sup>143</sup> Michelini, A.N. *Euripides and the Tragic Tradition*, (Madison, WI, 1987), p. 316. The one exception to this is Apollo in *Orestes*.

According to Mastronarde, when Athena is the deity *ex machina* in plays located in Attica,<sup>144</sup> this emphasizes her patriotic function, claiming that in this play “her instructions complete the Attic appropriation of elements of the Orestes and Iphigeneia myths.”<sup>145</sup> Lefkowitz suggests that Athena descended *ex machina* since she needed “to instruct the mortal characters about the future because she is the goddess of Athens... [who] presides over the religious affairs of her country,”<sup>146</sup> and Sourvinou-Inwood claims that this symbolically anchors Artemis’ cults to Attica “by the authority of [its] poliadic deity.”<sup>147</sup> According to Calame, “Athena’s intervention at the end of the *Iphigeneia in Tauris* provides Artemis Brauronia with her heroic assistant, while at the same time giving a fringe local cult a place in the great Panhellenic saga of the Trojan War.”<sup>148</sup>

These suggestions may be true, yet the whole process was done in a very particular manner, excluding Artemis completely. Caldwell has noted the similarity between the transformation of the Aeschylean Erinyes and the Euripidean Artemis and Iphigeneia, who first sought to kill Orestes and then turned “into the benevolent partisans of his escape.”<sup>149</sup> Cropp has noted that Euripides is “reformulating the outcome of Aeschylus’ *Eumenides*... The taming of the Erinyes which Aeschylus invented is matched by Euripides’ invention of the taming of

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<sup>144</sup> Mastronarde also notes that she acts in favor of Athens in *Erechtheus*, where she ends Poseidon’s earthquake and intervenes in *Ion* not only to save “Apollo the embarrassment of appearing himself (while simultaneously bringing his failings into the open), but also lays claim to Apolline glory for Attic origins and supports Attic aspirations to hegemony.” Mastronarde (2005), p. 330.

<sup>145</sup> Mastronarde (2005), p. 330. Mastronarde also notes that she acts in favor of Athens in *Erechtheus*, where she ends Poseidon’s earthquake and intervenes in *Ion* not only to save “Apollo the embarrassment of appearing himself (while simultaneously bringing his failings into the open), but also lays claim to Apolline glory for Attic origins and supports Attic aspirations to hegemony” (Mastronarde [2005], p. 330).

<sup>146</sup> Lefkowitz (2016), p. 90.

<sup>147</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood (2003), p. 303.

<sup>148</sup> C. Calame, “Identities of Gods and Heroes: Athenian Garden Sanctuaries and Gendered Rites of Passage,” in J. Bremmer and A. Erskine (eds.), *The Gods of Ancient Greece*, (Edinburgh, 2010), p. 258.

<sup>149</sup> Caldwell, R. “Tragedy Romanticized: The Iphigenia Taurica.” in *the Classical Journal*, vol. 70, no. 2 (1975), pp. 29.

Artemis.”<sup>150</sup> Indeed, the Erinyes and Artemis receive new cults in Athens, yet there is a difference between how Athena treats Artemis and how she engages the Erinyes in *Eumenides* - trying to placate them, cajoling them, and asking them to agree to receive the cult in Athens (*Eumenides*, 804-891). Athena does not invite Artemis to Attica, nor does she offer her incentives to come or strives to convince her to do so. Rather, Artemis’ future cults are determined and established exclusively by her half-sister.

Athena does not say that she is acting on behalf of Artemis, as she does in *Ion*, when she informs Ion and Kreusa that she came as Apollo’s messenger, explaining his absence and motives (1553-1568). As Lefkowitz puts it, in *Ion*, Apollo’s “actions, past and present, determine the fates of the mortals involved in the drama.”<sup>151</sup> Apollo is behind the scenes, navigating this play, as well as Ion’s life, from the beginning. He asked Hermes to bring the baby to Delphi and, to make sure he will be treated there well, thus taking care of his son from afar,<sup>152</sup> providing the proper oracle to Xuthos, and sending his half-sister to make sure all will end well. This is precisely what is missing from *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, an indication that Apollo and Athena are acting on behalf of Artemis, and not just determining her fate for her. True, Apollo is Ion’s father, but Iphigeneia is Artemis’ protégée and priestess.

Judging by the criteria established in the introduction, *Iphigeneia in Tauris* should qualify as a play which presents Artemis well, especially since she receives public cult and private worship and is about to be installed in Attica. However, this is precisely the problem, since it is

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<sup>150</sup> Cropp (2000), p. 40.

<sup>151</sup> Lefkowitz (2016), p. 102.

<sup>152</sup> This seems to be his preferable action mode, directing the action offstage, both in *Ion* and *Iphigeneia in Tauris* as well as in two of Sophocles’ plays – *Elektra* and *Oedipus Tyrannos*. Lefkowitz claims that Apollo in the plays of Sophocles and Euripides “seems to want to keep his distance from the mortal characters and to enter their world only when it is absolutely necessary for him to do so.” (Lefkowitz [2016], p. 125).

done in a way which reiterates her passivity, indicating her weakness in accordance with her Homeric representations. Artemis, again, needs the assistance of her more powerful brother and half-sister. Her one action mentioned in the play is saving Iphigeneia before of the time-frame of this tragedy. It also connects her to the realm of maidens and pushes her further away from the sphere of men. For anything beyond maidens and their girlish concerns, she requires her siblings to act on her behalf.

Cropp notes that the play is about the incorporation of Artemis “into the Athenian cult-system and therefore works with some determination to relegate the negative aspects of this goddess to the realms of the past, the foreign, the mythical and the symbolic.”<sup>153</sup> However, this process also eliminates any powers she might have, rendering her utterly passive and indifferent. The only thing Artemis seems adamant about is her refusal to assist heroes, as well as her followers. The one positive addition Euripides incorporates into this play is associating Iphigeneia with the death of women. In doing so, he frees Artemis from the Homeric perception of her as a deity who readily kills women with her gentle arrows. Now, although Artemis is not presented as a kourotrophic deity, at least she is cleared in this regard.

Euripides compares the mortal pair of Iphigeneia and Orestes with the divine twins, pointing out the many similarities between them. Iphigeneia is the first to notice this, and when she tries to convince Artemis to assist them, she tells the goddess that she loves her brother as Artemis loves Apollo. According to Burnett, “each brother rescues his sister in a mirroring pair of actions that are simultaneous and interdependent. ... Apollo's rescue of Artemis is through the agency of the mortal Orestes ... Orestes' rescue of [the mortal] Iphigenia ... is achieved through

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<sup>153</sup> Cropp (2000), p. 39.

the agency of Artemis' cult statue."<sup>154</sup> Zeitlin notes that "Artemis shares significant traits with... both Iphigenia and Orestes. Iphigenia, for her part, is represented as a virtual doublet of the goddess; both arrived in the land of the Taurians by supernatural means," both are unwed virgins and "objects of theft and rescue."<sup>155</sup> Moreover, Zeitlin finds some similarities between Artemis and Orestes, namely that they are polluted with *miasma*, since "Orestes, as a matricide, did pollute the goddess and her sanctuary, but by reason of the unholy rites demanded by the goddess, she too requires the healing power of the sea."<sup>156</sup> Yet while Iphigeneia leaps into action the moment she has a chance to escape Tauris, first when she tries to inform her brother she is alive and then when she conceives and executes an elaborate ruse in order to allow her and her companions to escape, Artemis is strikingly passive. If Iphigeneia, Orestes, Apollo, and Athena are all correct in assuming that her stay in Tauris (as well as the human sacrifices lavished upon her) are displeasing her, than her inaction is even more striking. Instead of utilizing her powers to leave a place she presumably abhors, she remains there, inanimate, waiting to be rescued by her brother and half-sister, in contrast with Iphigeneia and Orestes, who are both active participants in their escape. When Iphigeneia begs Artemis to help them, one of her arguments is that people would not say Apollo's oracles are false (1082-1085). Yet even the need to protect her brother's authority and honor does not shake Artemis from her impassiveness. We do not learn where Artemis stands and what she wants. Her statue, says Zeitlin, "is the only tangible sign of her existence on stage."<sup>157</sup> It is usually agreed that Artemis does not want to stay in Tauris. However, her passivity makes it impossible to know what she really really wants. Perhaps Iphigeneia and

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<sup>154</sup> Burnett, A.P. *Catastrophe Survived*, (Oxford, 1971), p. 48.

<sup>155</sup> Zeitlin, F.I. "Sacrifices Holy and Unholy in Euripides' Iphigenia in Tauris." in Prescendi, F. and Volokhine, Y. (eds.). *Dans le laboratoire de l'historien des religions*. (Genève, 2011), p. 452.

<sup>156</sup> Zeitlin (2011), p. 452.

<sup>157</sup> Zeitlin (2011), p. 459.

Orestes are right. We have no way of knowing, since her voice and will are muffled by her two siblings, who decide for her and act on her behalf.

Yet Artemis is not the only one who ignores the prayers, as Apollo too does not help Orestes. Hartigan argues that Iphigeneia and Orestes, after their faith in Apollo and Artemis was restored, will soon understand that they were deceived and that the trust they placed in the twin gods was misplaced, since neither of them come to their aid - not Apollo who ordered Orestes to steal the statue and not Artemis who once rescued Iphigeneia. Athena is the only one who appears and as such, she established her position as the most powerful goddess of the three.<sup>158</sup>

On the surface, it seems that *Iphigeneia in Tauris* is focused on Artemis, if not dedicated to her, yet this is far from the truth. Artemis, despite her seemingly powerful position here, which derives from the centrality of her Taurian cult and the ferociousness of her worshippers there, is in fact absent from this play. She neither speaks in the prologue, nor does she descend from above at the end. Iphigeneia assumes that the Taurian custom of human sacrifices is considered an abomination by the goddess herself, yet Artemis does nothing to stop it, either by reforming the Taurian cult or by transforming her cult and cult-statue elsewhere. Instead, Artemis awaits passively for her brother to send Orestes to rescue her from the barbarians. She remains passive despite Iphigeneia's prayers and it is Athena who eventually helps Iphigeneia, Orestes and Pylades. Moreover, Artemis is not responsible for instituting her own cults in Attica – it is Athena who does that for her, emphasizing the complete passivity of her half-sister in this regard as well. Her voice and will are unheard and unknown. Her siblings decide for her.

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<sup>158</sup> Hartigan (1991), pp. 100, 103-104.



## 2.4 – Aristophanes

Unlike the Athenian tragedies, which strove for the sublime world of gods and heroes, the comedies of Aristophanes were mostly anchored in the reality of Athenian “contemporary everyday life, rather than a Bronze Age royal family,”<sup>159</sup> as Hall puts it, presenting less lofty themes and more realistic characters. Therefore, comedies provide valuable information regarding religious activities in Athens, including the role of religion in the daily life of the individual,<sup>160</sup> since according to Willi, “at least an approximative image of natural speech production... [gives us an] idea of what a real conversation in Athens must have sounded like.”<sup>161</sup> However, Aristophanes’ treatment of Artemis and Apollo is similar to what we have seen in the tragedies. Although Artemis is not portrayed in a belittling manner, she is not very present in his comedies either. While Apollo appears in all of Aristophanes’ surviving plays, his sister is mentioned only in five comedies and when she does appear, it is in a limited capacity, since she is associated almost exclusively with women (and women impersonators). Artemis and Apollo appear together in four of the comedies. First, two brief mentions in *Birds* and *Clouds*, followed by a few episodes in *Lysistrata* and *Thesmophoriazusae*, which is unsurprising, considering that they are two of Aristophanes’ female-dominated plays.

Apollo and Artemis do not play a significant role in any of the comedies: in most cases they are only mentioned either when someone invokes their name for protection as an exclamation, in prayers, or in hymns sung during the play. Yet while Aristophanes’ characters swear occasionally by the pairing of the Dioskouroi and oftentimes by Demeter and Kore,

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<sup>159</sup> Hall (2010), p. 278.

<sup>160</sup> Jameson (2014), p. 235.

<sup>161</sup> Willi, A. “The Language(s) of Comedy.” in Revermann, M. (ed.). *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Comedy*. (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 174-175.

Artemis and Apollo are never evoked together, as a pair. When they are mentioned in a prayer or hymn, it is always in hierarchical order, never concurrently (i.e. Leto's children or Zeus' twins). Furthermore, while Apollo is invoked at least once in all the comedies but *Wasps*, Artemis is called upon only in the three feminine plays. Within these, however, she is portrayed well, and her cult in Brauron is presented as one of the staples of Athenian girls' participation in polis religion and therefore – of assuring its prosperity and well-being.<sup>162</sup>

## Birds

In *Birds*, Artemis and Apollo are included in the ornithological list of rebranded Greek deities, Apollo as “καὶ κύκνω Πυθίῳ καὶ Δηλίῳ” (*the swan of Pytho and Delos*),” Leto as ὄρτυγομήτρα,<sup>163</sup> and Artemis as the goldfinch, replacing Artemis Colaenis, the goddess' cult title in the Myrrhinus deme (869-872). Thus, the balance between the twins is maintained with Apollo associated with two highly important Panhellenic centers, while Artemis is associated with only one of the Attic demes. It is true that Artemis is presented here in a positive manner, yet Apollo is portrayed as much more important than she, and the power dynamic between them remains as it is in the tragedies.

Moreover, while Artemis and Apollo were grouped together with their mother, as they often are, Leto's position separates the twins and serves as a barrier between them. The hierarchy

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<sup>162</sup> A fragment of Aristophanes' *Lemnian Women* also mentions maidens who served Artemis as bears in Brauron and Mounichia (386).

<sup>163</sup> Corncrake, a bird which migrates with quails, but as Dunbar notes, can be understood to mean quail-mother (ὄρτυξ =quail), although both he and Henderson (137) suggest this may also refer to Ortygia, the island on which, according to some sources, she gave birth to Artemis. (N. Dunbar [ed.], *Aristophanes: Birds*, [Oxford, 1995], p. 511; J. Henderson, *Aristophanes: Birds; Lysistrata; Women at the Thesmophoria*, [Cambridge, MA, 2000], p. 137). According to Farnell, the quail was consecrated to Artemis and Ortygia probably means “the place of the quail goddess” (Farnell [1977], vol.IV p. 433).

of the Delian Triad presented to us places Apollo first, as the most important triad member, then comes the mother who bore him, and then her other child, his twin. Aristophanes separates Apollo from his sister and by not presenting them one after the other, he somewhat blurs their twinhood and places the focus first and foremost on Apollo.

## Clouds

Another time in which Artemis and Apollo appear together is in *Clouds*, when the chorus addresses a few gods. Apollo is hailed first as “Φοῖβ’ ἄναξ / Δήλιε Κυνθίαν ἔχων / ὑψικέρατα πέτραν” (*lord, Delian Phoibos, who inhabits the high-peaked Kynthian rock*) (595-597).<sup>164</sup> Next comes Artemis, “ἦ τ’ Ἐφέσου μάκαιρα πάγχρυσον ἔχεις / οἶκον ἐν ᾧ κόραι σε Λυδῶν μεγάλως σέβουσιν” (*blessed one, you inhabit an all-golden house in Ephesos, in which Lydian maidens worship you greatly*) (599-600). This is followed by appeals to Athena, who is referred to as “ἐπιχώριος ἡμετέρα θεός” (*our national goddess*) and as “πολιοῦχος” (*guardian of the city*),<sup>165</sup> and finally there is Dionysos, who inhabits the Parnassian rock (595-606).

It seems that by being placed second, and especially since she is followed by important gods such as Athena and Dionysos, Artemis is elevated almost to Apollo’s level, although Aristophanes does not change the traditional hierarchical order between them, since Apollo appears first. However, this list of gods adheres to a different non-hierarchical order. Artemis is unusually not defined by her familial relations: she is not presented as Apollo’s sister or as Zeus’ or Leto’s daughter, but rather she stands by herself, accompanied by worshipers. Ephesos, one of

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<sup>164</sup> Mount Kynthos was the highest point Delos (A.H. Sommerstein [ed.], *Clouds*, [Warminster, 1982], p. 193).

<sup>165</sup> Sommerstein notes that in order to address the goddess as such, the chorus “must drop the role as cloud-goddesses and sing simply as a chorus of Athenian citizens.” (Sommerstein [1982], p. 193).

her most important cultic sites (and a significant Panhellenic sanctuary) is associated with her in poetry. This is rare, as Homer, the *Homeric Hymns*, and the tragedians usually do not mention her other cultic sites, with the notable exception of *Iphigeneia in Tauris* and *Lysistrata*. The choice of Ephesos was possibly meant to correspond with Delos, as two major Ionian sites were dedicated to each twin.

The lavish praise bestowed on Athena, as well as her position in Athens, should indicate that her placement in the third position should not be regarded as a sign of a lowered status, and that this list is not of a hierarchical nature. Sommerstein notes that this antistrophe presents “particular localities” associated with each god;<sup>166</sup> therefore, a different way to read these lines would be to interpret them as part of a geographical description of the Clouds’ itinerary, much like Artemis’ journey in *Homeric Hymn IX*, which starts with Apollo, who is connected to Delos and thus to Ionia, moving onwards to Ephesos, and by that path, associating Artemis with Asia Minor and Lydia. Athena naturally represents her namesake city, and she is followed by Dionysos, master of the Athenian theatrical festivals. Yet the emphasis here is not on Dionysos’ Attic aspects, but rather on his Delphic connection, since although the site was primarily associated with Apollo, when he left for his summer vacation up north, his half-brother came to Delphi in his stead.<sup>167</sup> Bierl claims that “Apollo and Dionysos are almost interchangeable,”<sup>168</sup> therefore Dionysos’ Delphic presence may recall Apollo’s importance in mainland Greece without mentioning him twice. Regardless, the Clouds’ journey begins and ends in locations strongly associated with Apollo, indicating his importance.

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<sup>166</sup> Sommerstein (1982), p. 193.

<sup>167</sup> For Dionysos in Delphi, see Shapiro (2009a), p. 269; E. Simon, “Apollon und Dionysos,” in G. Capecchi [et al.] (eds.), *In Memoria di Enrico Paribeni*, (Rome, 1998b), pp. 451-460.

<sup>168</sup> Bierl (1994), p. 82.

## Thesmophoriazusae

In *Thesmophoriazusae*, Artemis and Apollo are praised and hailed together on three different occasions. The first instance is when Agathon imitates the chorus of Trojan maidens celebrating the end of the Greek siege and singing in honor of Apollo, Artemis, and Leto (107-129). He opens with a call to the Muses to venerate Apollo “χρυσέων ῥύτορα τόξων” (*who draws the golden bow*), who had set up the vales of Troy, wishing that the god would rejoice in this loveliest song (108-111). Then he hails the maiden, Artemis Agrotera of the oak-bearing mountains, declaring that he, as the chorus, follows “σεμνὸν γόνον... Λατοῦς Ἄρτεμιν ἀπειρολεχῆ” (*the revered daughter of Leto... the unwedded Artemis*) (115-119). Two of her traits are repeated: first, her virginal status as a κόρη who is unwedded, and then her association with the wild as a huntress and as an archer. Both twins are associated with archery and the hunt. Agathon then sings of Leto and the stringed Asian melodies, perhaps alluding by this to her widespread cult in Asia Minor.<sup>169</sup> A little later, he sings that he venerates Leto and the lyre, thus associating her with her son’s instrument, possibly as an indirect connection between them. Neither Artemis nor Apollo are referred to as the other’s sibling. Each of them is associated with Leto separately: Artemis is called “γόνον [...] Λατοῦς” (*Leto’s child*) (118), and then Agathon urges all to glorify Lord Phoibos, whom the chorus calls “ὄλβιε παῖ Λατοῦς” (*blessed child of Leto*) (126-129). In this song, Apollo is mentioned first and last, and this signifies his greater importance within the Delian Triad. It is not surprising that the focus of the song, as well as its culmination, revolves around the god, considering his affiliation with music, the muses, and the

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<sup>169</sup> Austin and Olson, it should be “oak-engendering.” C. Austin and D. Olson (eds.), *Aristophanes: Thesmophoriazusae*, (Oxford, 2004), p. 94.

lyre. However, it provides another example, perhaps a textual depiction of the many scenes of the Delian Triad, in which Apollo is at the center.

Aristophanes presents Apollo as more autonomous by further distinguishing him from his sister and mother, as well as from Zeus, who is absent from this ode. The oddity of this was noted by Austin and Olson, who state that it is unclear why Apollo and Artemis are not associated here with their father.<sup>170</sup> Apollo's later association with his mother at the end of the song may derive from Aristophanes' wish to open and end it with Apollo, thus making the focus of this hymn, as well as its culmination, to revolve around him, presumably because of his close connection with music.

Later in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, Kritylla urges the chorus to pray to the gods. The chorus first hails Zeus Μεγαλώνυμος (*with a great name, giving glory*), and then three of his children who are not mentioned by name, although they are more important to “contemporary Athenian cult.”<sup>171</sup> Moreover, according to Rogers, this hymn “in all probability consists of the Gods really invoked at the opening of the Athenian ἐκκλησία.”<sup>172</sup>

χρυσολύρα τε  
Δῆλον ὃς ἔχεις ἱεράν,  
καὶ σὺ παγκρατὲς κόρα γλαυκῶπι  
χρυσόλογγε πόλιν οἰκοῦσα  
περιμάχητον, ἐλθὲ δεῦρο.  
καὶ πολυώνυμε θηροφόνη παῖ  
Λατοῦς χρυσώπιδος ἔρνος (315-319)

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<sup>170</sup> *ibid.* p. 92.

<sup>171</sup> Austin and Olson (2004), p. 156.

<sup>172</sup> B.B. Rogers, *The Thesmophoriazusae of Aristophanes*, (London, 1904), p. 36.

*The one with the golden lyre, you who dwell in sacred Delos, and you, all-powerful, grey-eyed maiden with a spear of gold who dwell in the city for which you competed, come here. And you, who are worshipped under many names, slayer of wild beasts, daughter of golden Leto. (trans. author)*

Poseidon, the Nereids, and the mountain nymphs are hailed next, and then the chorus alludes to Apollo, when it wishes to unite their voices with the sounds of the golden lyre, which is customarily associated with Apollo. (327-329).<sup>173</sup> This corresponds with Krytilla's earlier words, since at the end of her speech, which was followed by the choral ode discussed above, she utters "ἰὴ παιῶν ἰὴ παιῶν. Χαίρωμεν" (Ie paion, ie paion, rejoice) (311), the cry of joy, associated with Apollo. Thus, in addition to Apollo's important position in this hymn, he also frames this part of the chorus.<sup>174</sup> Apollo and Artemis are presented alongside other gods, separated spatially by their half-sister. Within the prayer itself, Apollo comes directly after Zeus, his father and the head of the pantheon. Next comes the favorite daughter, Athena, and then Artemis, twice removed from her father and once from her twin brother. After hailing Zeus and three of his children, the chorus addresses his brother and two groups of feminine deities from sea and land. Artemis' position within this list is good and it demonstrates her relative importance, since she does not appear at its end nor is she ignored. However, much as in the Homeric corpus, the Homeric Triad of "Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἄπολλον" remains strong, even though Athena is named after Apollo, whose proximity to Zeus strengthens their association and his position. Artemis, on the other hand, is referred to as παῖ Λατοῦς, furthering

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<sup>173</sup> Aristophanes writes φόρμιγξ, which is oftentimes interchanged with the lyra in poetry. And therefore there should be no doubt that this instrument should be associated with Apollo. (Austin and Olson [2004], p. 160; Rogers [1904], p.37).

<sup>174</sup> The prayer of the chorus is divided into two parts, 312-330 and 352-371, and I refer only to the first part' since the second part names only Zeus, with a reference to the gods in general.

her away from the power and authority of her divine father and associating her with her weaker and less significant mother.<sup>175</sup>

Finally, in a later choral ode, the chorus sings and dances in honor of the Olympian gods (954-1000). Aristophanes does not name any of the gods who are invoked, but rather, in what Austin and Olson call an “elegant *variation*,” he only uses their epithets, as he did earlier.<sup>176</sup> The first god addressed is Apollo and Artemis is hailed after him.

πρόβαινε ποσὶ τὸν εὐλύραν  
μέλπουσα καὶ τὴν τοξοφόρον  
Ἄρτεμιν ἄνασσαν ἀγνήν.  
χαῖρ' ὧ̃ ἐκάεργε,  
ᾧπαζε δὲ νίκην: (969-973)

*Step forward with your feet, celebrating in dance and song the god of the lyre and bow-bearing Artemis, the revered mistress. Hail the far-shooting deity, grant us the victory.* (trans. author)

Austin and Olson wonder why Artemis is invoked as a hunter rather than a dancer, concluding that perhaps the latter was implied in the former.<sup>177</sup> As for the chorus' use of ἐκάεργος is interesting, since it is unclear to which twin they are referring. It is an epithet customarily associated with Apollo, although Henderson understands it as referring to Artemis.<sup>178</sup> Austin and Olson, on the other hand, assume the chorus addresses Apollo as the leader of the dance, although they admit Artemis too may have that function. When we consider

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<sup>175</sup> Gilula asserts that if we deduct the comic and parodic elements, this hymn is much like the hymns sung in religious rituals in antiquity, and I agree with him (Z. Caspi [ed.], *Aristophanes: Thesmophoriazousae*, [Jerusalem, 1997], p. 110). For more on the similarities between this hymn and real prayers, see Austin and Olson (2004), p. 157.

<sup>176</sup> Austin and Olson (2004), p. 302.

Notably missing from this ode are Zeus, Athena, Demeter, and Persephone, although the three goddesses are evoked later on (1136-1159).

<sup>177</sup> Austin and Olson (2004), p. 303.

<sup>178</sup> Henderson (2000), p. 579n70.



the familiar pattern in which Apollo is presented before and after his sister, symbolically flanking her, this may serve as a further proof that ἐκάεργε refers to Apollo, who is first hailed as the one who plays the lyre well, and later as the shooter from afar, who is asked by the chorus to grant them victory. Apollo's superiority over his sister is expressed by his twofold appearance as well as his versatility and agency over victory.

## Lysistrata

Even though Artemis is better treated in the comedies, she is invoked relatively less in them. Not only her name is mostly evoked by women<sup>179</sup> (or by a man pretending to be a woman<sup>180</sup>), but it happens only in the feminine plays – *Ekklesiazousai*, *Lysistrata*, and *Thesmophoriazousai* – which present women from various layers of society. Foley has noted that the women in old Comedy “act and speak mainly in those plays which emanate fully from their own world of the household and polis religion.”<sup>181</sup> This strengthens Artemis' literary image as a feminine deity, even though Aristophanes acknowledges her military and political aspects. Most of these evocations are rather standard,<sup>182</sup> although a more complex example comes in *Lysistrata*, when Myrrhine is pretending to seduce her husband so that he would vote for peace. In the process, she evokes Artemis' name twice (“νή τήν Ἄρτεμιν,” 922, 949) and Apollo's –

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<sup>179</sup> *Ekklesiazousai*, 90, 136; *Lysistrata* 435, 447 (as τήν Ταυροπόλον – Artemis Tauropolos who was worshipped in Brauron), 738 (as τήν Φωσφόρον), 922, 949; *Thesmophoriazousai* 743.

<sup>180</sup> *Thesmophoriazousai*, 517, 569.

<sup>181</sup> H.P. Foley, “Performing gender in Greek Old and New Comedy,” in M. Revermann (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Comedy*, (Cambridge, 2014), p. 273.

<sup>182</sup> *Lysistrata* (435, 447, 738, 922, 949); *Thesmophoriazousai* (517, 569, 743); *Ekklesiazousai* (90, 136).

In *Frogs*, when Aeschylus mocks Euripides' style, he sings of someone who had a nightmare which is interpreted to mean that his rooster is being stolen, and he summons to his help the Cretans, Artemis, and Hekate. (*Frogs*, 1356-1363).

once (“μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω,” 917),<sup>183</sup> while Kinesias invokes Apollo twice (“μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω,” 938, 942). Additionally, Myrrhine invokes Aphrodite (939) and Zeus (927) once, while Kinesias swears by Zeus twice (909, 933, 940) and mentions Aphrodite once (898). Artemis and Apollo, a virgin-goddess and a god who is infamously unsuccessful in love, seem to be an odd choice for a seduction scene. Sommerstein suggests that the fact that Kinesias does not realize this means that he is not alert.<sup>184</sup> It is also possible that it was done as a parody or perhaps as an ominous hint, foretelling Kinesias’ unrequited lust and alluding to the end of this tryst.

Finally, Artemis and Apollo appear together in *Lysistrata*, during the celebrations at the end of the play (1248-1321). After singing of the glorious battles of Artemision and Thermopylae, the Spartan delegate befittingly summons Artemis Agrotera to join them at the celebrations of peace, asking her to ensure a long-lived unity, to secure a long and prosperous peace, and to stop the animosity between the two *poleis* (1262-1270).<sup>185</sup> This perception of the goddess does not only exist within the topsy-turvy world of this feminine play, since Artemis’ importance in Marathon demonstrates that she was regarded as a powerful and important deity within the political and public sphere, who, alongside her association with the feminine sphere and the wilderness, also had militaristic and political aspects, which are not revealed in other plays.

ἀγροτέρα σηροκτόνε  
μόλε δεῦρο παρσένε σιά  
ποττὰς σπονδάς,

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<sup>183</sup> Although it is usually men who swear by Apollo (Henderson [2000], p. 180; A.H. Sommerstein [ed.], *Lysistrata*, [Warminster, 1990], p. 202). Henderson also suggests that perhaps Myrrhina is inspired by Apollo’s shrine nearby.

<sup>184</sup> Sommerstein (1990), p. 203.

<sup>185</sup> Artemis Agrotera, who was worshipped both in Athens and Sparta with militaristic aspects, was a good candidate for this task, especially since the Athenians believed she helped them during the Battle of Marathon in 490 BCE (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 3.2.12; Xenophon, *Hell.* 4.2.20; Plutarch, *Moralia*, 862.a).

ὥς συνέχης πολὺν ἀμὲ χρόνον.  
νῦν δ' αὖ φιλία τ' αἰὲς εὖπορος εἴη  
ταῖς συνθήκαις,  
καὶ τᾶν αἰμυλᾶν ἀλωπέκων παυσαίμεθα.  
ὦ δεῦρ' ἴθι δεῦρ' ὦ  
κυναγὲ παρσένε. (1262-1270)

*Goddess of the Wilds, Beast Killer, come this way, maiden goddess, to join in the treaty, and keep us together for a long time. Now let friendship in abundance attend our agreement always, and let us ever abandon foxy stratagems. O come this way, this way, o Virgin Huntress!* (trans. Henderson)

Following the Spartan, the Athenian delegate wishes that friendship would be ever-presiding among the two *poleis* and suggests they dance in honor of the gods, summoning the chorus and ordering them to

πρόσαγε χορόν, ἔπαγε δὲ Χάριτας,  
ἐπὶ δὲ κάλεσον Ἄρτεμιν,  
ἐπὶ δὲ δίδυμον ἀγέχορον  
Ἴήιον  
εὖφρον' (1279-1283)

*bring on the dance, lead in the Graces, and then summon Artemis, and then her twin-brother, Apollo the chorus leader, the merry one who is invoked with cries of Ie* (trans. Author)

Next, the chorus hails Dionysos, Zeus, and Hera and invites the Daimones as witnesses to remember this peace, which was fashioned by Aphrodite. Although the Athenian delegate is much briefer in his description of Artemis, giving her no attributes or epithets, the fact that Apollo is uncharacteristically referred to as *her* twin-brother is unusual, an indication of the importance attributed to her here. This perhaps derives from her contribution to the Greek war-

effort during the Persian War, as well as from her importance in both poleis, and therefore it is a good and possibly authentic representation of how Artemis was perceived by the Athenians themselves. Most notably, the words of the two delegates place Artemis and Aphrodite, the two deities Homer explicitly presents as not belonging to the battlefield, in the political, military, and masculine sphere, even if, at least in Aphrodite's case, this was achieved by highly feminine means. Apollo is evoked two more times at the end of this scene: once, indirectly, with the chorus' paian-singing and cries of ἰῆ and εὐοῖ (1291-1294), and once by the Spartan delegate, who summons the Laconian muse to come and sing a hymn to τὸν Ἀμύκλαις (*the god of Amyklai*, i.e. Apollo), to Athena of the Bronze House, to the Dioskouroi, and to Helen, all deities worshipped in Sparta.<sup>186</sup>

At the very end of the play, we discover the one deity who is considered the most important for both sides, as well as for the peace treaty itself: Athena, as the Spartan delegate addresses the chorus, instructing them to sing for the mightiest goddess, who dwells in the house of bronze (1316-1321).<sup>187</sup> Unlike what we have seen so far, the hierarchical order of appearance in this scene is ascending, since Athena, who is portrayed as the most significant deity, is hailed last. In fact, what we have here from the beginning of the scene is a metaphorical road leading through three important goddesses, as befitting such a feminine play. First to be hailed is Artemis, who helped the Greek cause (and therefore both the Athenians and the Spartans) during the Persian War; then Aphrodite, who helped to establish and secure the peace in the current war; finally, rising above them all and presiding over both Athens and Sparta, is Athena.

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<sup>186</sup> Helen is also mentioned later, as the leader of a chorus of girls.

<sup>187</sup> Athena Khalkioikos was the Spartan equivalent of Athena Polias (Henderson [2000], p. 214).

In the spirit of peace and reconciliation, it is not one of the Athenian manifestations of Athena who plays such an important role in this play, but rather her Spartan counterpart, Athena Χαλκίουκος (*who dwells in a bronze house*), to whom the peace treaty is dedicated.<sup>188</sup> This may derive from Aristophanes' desire for symmetry, since in the hymn sung by the Spartan delegate, Amyklaian Apollo is celebrated alongside Athena Χαλκίουκος and other Spartan deities. This is possibly because Aristophanes wanted to demonstrate that Athena was highly venerated amongst the Spartans as well, much like Apollo, as his appearance in both the Athenian and the Spartan hymns demonstrates. In any case, this also allows Aristophanes to finish the play with a great evocation of Athena, enforcing her superiority and greatness, which correspond with the Athenians, who bear her name.

The portrayal of Artemis and Apollo in Athenian drama demonstrates that although the plays were influenced by Homer's attitudes towards the gods, they were also influenced by the cultic reality in Athens, in which Artemis was an important goddess. In Aeschylus, Sophokles, and Aristophanes, she is only allotted a small part, mostly in connection with Apollo, while in some of Euripides' plays, she is given a more substantial role. Artemis is generally presented in a positive light, but this is almost always relative and never absolute, since in most cases she is portrayed as being under the control of her brother or as weaker than he. Artemis' presence in plays associated with Apollo is very small, and she is either mentioned once or twice (e.g., *Oedipus Tyrannus*, *Agamemnon*, *Ion*) or is completely absent from them (e.g., *Eumenides*, *Orestes*, *Alcestis*). On the other hand, Apollo is hardly mentioned in *Hippolytus* and *Iphigenia in Aulis*, plays which not only depict Artemis prominently, but also portray her as a powerful goddess. It seems, then, that when Apollo is away and Artemis faces either mortals or another

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<sup>188</sup> Henderson (2000), p. 202.

customarily weak deity such as Aphrodite, she may be portrayed favorably, albeit to a certain point.

## Chapter 3 – Artemis and Apollo in Attic Vase Paintings

### 3.1 – Narrative Scenes

#### 3.1.1 – Myths of Artemis and Apollo

##### Niobids

The imagery of Artemis and Apollo killing the Niobids is one of the earliest depictions of the twins acting together on Attic vases. As we have seen earlier, the myth was already known during Homer's time. Representations of the Niobids, both literary and iconographical, tend to present both twins together, presumably due to the myths' gender division, since Artemis kills Niobe's daughters and Apollo – her sons. However, this myth was not very popular on Attic vases, and Shapiro assumes this subject was borrowed from earlier non attic iconography.<sup>1</sup> It was, however, quite popular in sculpture from around 450 BCE.<sup>2</sup>

There are eight vases depicting the myth of the Niobids (and another one which may portray Niobe's metamorphosis into stone). Only five of these present both Artemis and Apollo for certain. Of the remaining vases, one is a red-figure amphora portraying Artemis aiming her bow at Niobe, who runs away from her while holding one of her children. Cook notes the occasional difficulty in properly identifying the Niobids, since Artemis and Apollo have various other victims, yet he assumes that a young woman "who is sheltering a child is a likely candidate for Niobe," and this is the case with this vase.<sup>3</sup> Two other fragmentary vases portray Apollo and

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<sup>1</sup> Shapiro (1989), p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Cook (1964b), pp. 45-47; Gantz (1993), p. 538.

<sup>3</sup> Cook (1964b), p. 41.

a Niobid, although it is impossible to reconstruct the full image, or to know whether they incorporated Artemis as well.<sup>4</sup>

The earliest examples of the myth of the Niobids in Attic iconography appear on two Tyrrhenian amphorai, attributed to the Castellani Painter and dated to 570-560 BCE; one is located in Hamburg (**Cat. 1**) and the other, in fragmentary form, in Leipzig (**Cat. 2**). The former portrays four Niobids – two girls and two boys – running to the right, towards Artemis and away from Apollo, although their heads are turned backwards to look at Apollo, who wears a *nebris*, and at Artemis, who wears a high-crested helmet. The twins appear and act in a similar manner. They both have a quiver, which hangs at their side, and they seem to be running, either after or towards the Niobids, while raising their bows, about to shoot an arrow at one of the Niobids. Interestingly, Apollo is portrayed as a hunter and Artemis as a warrior, although in most of the black-figure scenes in which the twins fight together (such as in the Gigantomachy scenes discussed below), it is the other way around. Since Apollo is closest to one of the boys and Artemis – to one of the girls, it is likely that this was the painter's way of indicating that each god will kill those who are closer to him, maintaining the gender division between them. Furthermore, similarly to what we have seen in Sophokles, it seems that the time sequence depicted here indicates that Apollo interacted with the Niobids first, since they are running away from him towards Artemis and her bow. Thus, here too, Apollo is presented as the initiator of the action and Artemis as following him.

The Leipzig fragments portray a different composition, as Artemis and Apollo are depicted next to one another. Apollo stands in front of Artemis and both of them draw their bow

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<sup>4</sup> One is a red-figure krater fragment depicting the torso of an archer shooting at a falling youth (*BAPD* 17588), and the second is some fragments of a red-figure pyxis which depicts two headless male figures in the nude and a small part of a third figure, in the midst of a chase (*BAPD* 2095).



in a similar manner. The goddess seems shorter than her brother, although it is impossible to know whether this is because she stands on a lower ground, since her lower part and his legs are missing. As on the Hamburg amphora, Artemis wears a high-crested helmet and Apollo wears a *nebris* with a quiver at his side. On other fragments of this vase, three figures – two girls and a boy – run away to the right, presumably away from Artemis, Apollo, and their bows. Left of the running children (and therefore between them and the gods) stands a woman facing to the right, of whom we only see the skirt and feet. Perhaps she is Leto, watching her children defend her honor, although due to her location in the composition, she is more likely to be Niobe, looking at her children, who are about to be slaughtered by the gods. Since Apollo leads the action, this probably indicates that he had the primary position within this scene over Artemis, who is following him. Thus, in these two amphorai, the Castellani Painter has managed to depict the hierarchy between Artemis and Apollo in two different ways.

Another Tyrrhenian neck-amphora by the Fallow Deer Painter, dated to 550-530 BCE (**Cat. 3**), is assumed to represent the Niobids, although this identification is less secure. On the far left stands a woman, probably Leto, raising her veil and watching Apollo and Artemis run to the right. The twins wear high-crested helmets, a quiver is slung on each of their backs, and Apollo draws his bow. On the far right, two figures, a male and a female, run away from the gods while looking back at them and a veiled woman stands between the two pairs, gazing at the approaching Letoides. She raises her veil in a manner which suggests she is trying to protect or at least to hide her fleeing children. Torelli, however, suggests that the raised mantle over her head is a mourning gesture.<sup>5</sup> The inscriptions are nonsensical, and therefore do not provide us with the

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<sup>5</sup> M. Torelli, *Σημειωνειν - Significare: scritti vari di ermeneutica archeologica II*, (Pisa, 2012), pp. 369-370.

theme of this vase. Beazley and Iacopi have identified this scene as the myth of Tityos.<sup>6</sup> Torelli, on the other hand, claims this vase portrays the Niobids myth.<sup>7</sup> This is indeed a puzzling scene. Its composition is similar to the previous representations of the Niobids, albeit with only two Niobids, although this should not negate their identification. However, the fleeing male has a beard, thus he cannot be one of Niobe's sons, although Schefold has suggested that the painter is drawing the Niobid "schon erwachsen dar, denn nicht das Kindes- sondern das Jünglingsalter symbolisiert die ganze Schwere des Verlustes," thus explaining the beard.<sup>8</sup> Yet there is another problem if this vase depicts the Tityos myth, since in that case we have a superfluous female figure in the scene. The woman on the far left could be Leto, the one at the center could be Ge, trying to protect her son, but who is the female running alongside the giant? Therefore, the identification of Tityos is less likely. The problem of the bearded man can be solved, if we remember that vase-painters sometimes portrayed different stages of a myth in one image. Therefore, the man could be Amphion, Niobe's husband, who was also killed by Apollo, after he tried to attack the god for killing his sons, and the vase depicts the Niobids myth after the death of Niobe's sons, when Apollo killed Amphion and Artemis killed her daughters.

For about a century, there is no iconographical representation of the Niobids myth, and it resurfaces only around the middle of the fifth century BCE or a little earlier. Perhaps the tragedies of Aeschylus and Sophokles contributed to the renewed interest in this myth or maybe they were influenced by representations of this myth in other media such as sculpture or wall paintings. One of the best known examples is the exquisite namesake calyx-krater by the Niobid

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<sup>6</sup> ABV 97.32; G. Iacopi, CVA, Italia, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale 2, (Roma, 1956), [no page].

<sup>7</sup> Torelli (2012), p. 369.

<sup>8</sup> K. Schefold, *Götter- und Heldensagen der Griechen in der früh- und hocharchaischen Kunst*, (München, 1993), p. 203.

Painter, dated to 460-450 BCE (**Cat. 4**).<sup>9</sup> Although Webster claims that the side depicting the Niobids is composed less carefully than the reverse.<sup>10</sup> This is the first red-figure image of the Niobids, and perhaps the Niobid Painter's predilection for Artemis and Apollo brought him to revive this topic, in an effort to find a new narrative in which to paint them.

The mountainous terrain in which the scene takes place is clearly seen and the figures are placed on an uneven surface, indicating the locale - Mount Kithairon in Boeotia, which, according to Apollodoros, is where Apollo killed Niobe's sons (3.5.6)<sup>11</sup> and which was the location of many other tragedies of the house of Kadmos. Moreover, the unique aspect of this vase is that the characters are arranged on the uneven terrain, placed on multiple levels. This is considered the first time in which a vase-painter abandoned the rule of isokephalia.<sup>12</sup> It is generally agreed that this should be attributed to the influence of contemporary large-scale wall paintings, such as those of Polygnotos,<sup>13</sup> which depict the action on multiple levels. On the other hand, it was suggested that since there is no literary evidence of a mural of this subject, the influence they exerted on the Niobid Painter was perhaps on his technique and how he portrayed the various levels of the landscape, and not necessarily on the subject-matter.<sup>14</sup> However, as Denoyelle herself admits, when acknowledging the fact that there is no evidence of a sculpture group depicting this subject before the 430's BCE, "il n'est pas interdit de penser que de

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<sup>9</sup> Tiverios (1996), p. 315.

<sup>10</sup> T.B.L. Webster, *Der Niobidenmaler*, (Roma, 1968), p. 9.

<sup>11</sup> Tölle-Kastenbein (1980), p. 154.

<sup>12</sup> M. Denoyelle, *Le cratère des Niobides*, (Paris, 1997), p. 9.

<sup>13</sup> For more on the connection between this vase and wall-paintings, see Denoyelle (1997), pp. 16-17; H. Foley, "Mothers and Daughters," in J. Neils and J.H. Oakley (eds.), *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*, (New Haven, 2003) p. 117; Tiverios (1996), p. 316; Webster (1968), pp. 9, 14. Denoyelle also finds influences in this vase from sculptural models, pp. 13-16.

<sup>14</sup> Denoyelle (1997), p. 15; Tiverios (1996), p. 316.

semblables attitudes avaient déjà été tentées par les sculpteurs.”<sup>15</sup> Therefore, perhaps such a mural existed even though we have not heard of it. Indeed, Foley assumes this is possible, saying that if this is true, it indicates the importance of this myth in Classical Greece,<sup>16</sup> although the very few images of this subject in Athenian iconography perhaps indicate otherwise.

Returning to our vase, Apollo stands at the center of the image, half-striding to the right. His quiver hangs by his side and he aims his bow against one of Niobe’s sons, who runs away from him to the right, hit by an arrow. Apollo is somewhat larger than Artemis, who stands behind him, on a slightly higher ground. She aims her bow to the right while drawing an arrow out of her quiver. Four Niobids appear on this vase: the one mentioned earlier, another boy, and a girl, both of whom lie on the ground with an arrow protruding from each of their backs, and another boy who had fallen to his knees behind Artemis, an arrow sticking out of his side. Additionally, there is another arrow lying upon the ground, in the lower right corner. It could be an arrow which missed its target and is simply stuck in the ground, although if Robertson is right in claiming that “the divine marksmen cannot miss,” then it is protruding from another Niobid’s body, which lies hidden behind the fold of the hill.<sup>17</sup>

The fact that Artemis aims her bow against the running boy indicates that the artist had no qualms portraying her as killing (or at least trying to kill) a male. The Niobid Painter clearly does not adhere to the version according to which Apollo first killed all the boys in the forest while Artemis later killed the girls in the palace. Thus, assuming the twins shoot their arrows at

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<sup>15</sup> Denoyelle (1997), p. 15.

<sup>16</sup> Foley (2003), p. 117.

<sup>17</sup> Denoyelle (1997), p. 12; M. Robertson, *The Art of Vase-Painting in Classical Athens*, (Cambridge, 1992), p. 181. Denoyelle gives the example of an ekphrasis written by Zenobius of a mural on the Stoa Poikile by Mikon, which was contemporary with our krater, and in which a warrior was almost completely hidden by a mountain but his helmet, an eye, and an inscription identifying him as Butes. However, here the Niobid is completely hidden, and we see no tuft of hair and no one tiny toe, only the arrow.

the same rate, since Apollo is about to shoot the Niobid on the right side and Artemis, it seems, had just shot one, it is possible that she was the one who shot the Niobid who is collapsing behind her. Apart from the arrows in the hands of the gods, there are five more arrows in the picture – four had pierced each of the Niobids, and the one arrow which lies on the ground on the right. It is possible, then, following the previous postulation, that Artemis had shot three arrows and that Apollo is about to shoot his third, indicating she is quicker than him. It is unsurprising that the Niobid Painter portrays Artemis favorably, since she was one of his favorite subjects.

It is possible that the Niobid Painter maintains the gender hierarchy between the twins only in a more subtle way and that the viewers were meant to understand that Apollo shot the boys and Artemis shot the one girl. But if that is true, who is she about to shoot now? Moreover, even though Artemis still stands behind Apollo, unlike other scenes, here they are surrounded by the Niobids, standing at the center with each twin shooting (or attempting to shoot) the Niobids who were closer, therefore making this scene more egalitarian and the twins more similar.

Lastly, a kylix in London by the Phiale Painter, dated to 440-430 BCE, portrays the slaughter of the Niobids by separating Artemis from Apollo, as each twin is placed on a different side of the exterior (**Cat. 5**). On side A, Apollo with his quiver marches to the left near a palm tree, shooting an arrow at two Niobids, a girl and a boy, who are fleeing to the left, looking back at the god, each raising an arm. The girl, who is closer to Apollo, perhaps lifts her mantle behind her back, while the boy seems to be protecting his face. The boy's action is understandable, but his sister's pose is less so. Perhaps she is trying to imitate the gesture of lifting of the veil, even though she is not veiled, in order to accentuate her gender and to remind Apollo he is not supposed to kill her. To the right of the palm stands another woman, whom Raoul-Rochette

identified as Niobe, and she quickly moves away from the scene, looking backwards and extending her arms.<sup>18</sup>

On side B, Artemis with a quiver on her back strides to the right. She is about to shoot a girl who runs away from her while turning her head back and raising her hand to her head in a gesture of despair. The two are flanked by two males who run away from the scene, one of whom holds up his mantle as a shield, trying to protect himself. The one on the right raises his arm, perhaps calling for help, and the one on the left brandishes an object in his right hand, perhaps a rock, which he intends to hurl at the goddess. The Phiale Painter's choice to separate Artemis and Apollo on this vase allowed him to give each twin his full attention, and therefore no twin outshines the other. Moreover, the Niobids-mélange on both sides may hint that Artemis and Apollo are shooting at whoever they see, not maintaining the gender dichotomy in their killing, much to the chagrin of the girl on side A.

## Tityos

Another myth in which Artemis and Apollo are portrayed acting in unison is the myth of Leto's abduction by Tityos and her subsequent rescue by her children. This theme exhibits formal similarities to the Niobids' one, especially in the earlier Tyrrhenian amphorai.<sup>19</sup> Tityos is first mentioned in the *Odyssey*, when Odysseus describes his punishment for abducting Leto. However, neither Apollo nor Artemis is mentioned in this context (*Od.*XI.576-581).<sup>20</sup> According

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<sup>18</sup> D. Raoul-Rochette, *Monumens inédits d'antiquité figurée, grecque, étrusque et romaine, recueillis et publiés: Cycle héroïque* (Paris, 1833), p. 428.

<sup>19</sup> Schefold (1993), pp. 203-204.

<sup>20</sup> Tityos is also mentioned in Book VII, when Alkinoos tells Odysseus that the Phaeacians once took Rhadamanthys to see the giant (*Od.* VII. 323-324).

to Pherekydes, Apollo and Artemis killed Tityos together (3F56), while Pindar mentions only Artemis, saying the giant was hunted down by Artemis' swift arrow (*Py*.IV.90-92).<sup>21</sup>

The myth of Tityos recurs on a few vases, the earliest of which comes on a fragmented black-figure plate in Athens, dated to ca. 570 BCE (**Cat. 7**). Tityos is fleeing to the right, while Apollo and Artemis are chasing him as he grabs a woman, whom Callipolitis-Feytmans identifies as Ge, claiming that the giant is taking refuge behind his mother.<sup>22</sup> However, I agree with Schefold, who identifies her as Leto, with whom Tityos is fleeing.<sup>23</sup> Clearly, she is not Ge, standing between her son and those who attack him, as she does elsewhere, but Leto, whose assailant, who grabs her by the arm, forces her to run along with him, as the direction of her feet and her general movement indicates. Of the twins, the focus is on Apollo in this image, running while leaning forward, wearing a helmet and stretching his bow; a quiver hangs at his side. Artemis is a fragmentary figure, a white arm holding forward a bow. Judging by the position of the arm, Artemis was advancing behind Apollo, although she was located in the foreground, and unlike her brother, there is no indication she was stretching the bow, perhaps she was drawing an arrow from her quiver. This is a reasonable assumption, considering the position of her bow, although we cannot know for sure. Therefore we can only safely say that Apollo is about to shoot the giant, while Artemis' actions are uncertain.

There are two additional early depictions of this myth. The first comes on a Tyrrhenian neck-amphora, dated to 570-560 BCE (**Cat. 8**), on which Ge stands at the center, dividing the scene into two. On the left, a *nebris*-clad Apollo runs to the right while Artemis, also running,

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<sup>21</sup> For more on the myth of Tityos, see J. Fontenrose, *Python*, (Berkeley, 1959), pp. 22, 61; Gantz (1993), p. 39; Schefold (1992), pp. 68-69; Schefold (1993), pp. 203-204.

<sup>22</sup> D. Callipolitis-Feytmans, *Les Plats Attiques a Figures Noires*, (Paris, 1974), p. 301.

<sup>23</sup> Schefold (1993), p. 204.

follows him. Both twins are wearing high-crested helmets and aiming their bows, while the object of their pursuit flees away, towards Hermes, who is at the far right. There is an arrow protruding from Tityos' head, and Schefold observes that the giant pulls it in anguish after it had pierced his skull.<sup>24</sup> Schefold suggests that as "in so many other pictures, Hermes has shown the gods the way and accompanied them on their journey."<sup>25</sup> Therefore, almost a century before Pherekydes and Pindar, we see that Artemis was an integral part of this myth, and she is portrayed as active as Apollo. On the other hand, Apollo is still the head avenger, since he is leading the action, while Artemis is behind him.

The other early representation of this myth is seen on a black figure neck-amphora, dated to 575-525 BCE (**Cat. 9**). Here, Artemis and Apollo chase Tityos, who runs away from them towards the right. There are two additional female figures on this vase. One stands on the far right, fervently gesturing while Tityos seems to be running towards her and another cloaked figure stands in the middle and looks towards the twins. Gantz suggests that Leto is the gesturing figure and Ge is the one standing at the center, trying to protect her son and stop his assailants.<sup>26</sup> However, it is more likely that the figure in the middle is Leto, abandoned by Tityos, who in turn flees towards his mother, Ge, hoping she will help him. Here too, despite the similarity between the twins, their posture, and their level of action, Apollo is presented as leading the attack, while Artemis follows him.

Tityos is somewhat more popular on red-figure vases, although Artemis' presence decreases, since some vases present Apollo fighting the giant single-handedly.<sup>27</sup> Three more

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<sup>24</sup> *ibid.* p. 69.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> Gantz (1993), p. 39.

<sup>27</sup> *BAPD* 213437, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1032.54; *BAPD* 205657, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 504.1; *BAPD* 211566, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 879.2.



vases, however, incorporate her into the scene. First, an amphora by Phintias, dated to 510-500 BCE (**Cat. 10**), which depicts an earlier moment in the myth, before Tityos had escaped from the twins. The giant carries Leto while Artemis and Apollo approach them from two different directions. Apollo hurries from the right, his bow and quiver are behind him. Schefold interprets this scene as Apollo addressing them rather than attacking,<sup>28</sup> yet I agree with Foley, who reads this as Apollo trying to restrain the giant.<sup>29</sup> Apollo uses his bare hands to hold Leto's forearm and to grab Tityos by his elbow, rather than gesturing towards them. As for Artemis, she stands on the right, with a bow and an arrow in her left hand, gesturing with her other hand, perhaps encouraging her brother or maybe raising her right hand "aloft in an attitude of disapproval,"<sup>30</sup> or "in astonishment at the outrageous act."<sup>31</sup> According to Gantz, this scene demonstrates the "gentler touch" brought forth in the fifth century BCE, as Artemis and Apollo raise their hands in protest against Tityos, as he whisks Leto off the ground.<sup>32</sup> It is true that no one is being shoot here, but the looming bows and quivers maintain that option in the minds of viewers and participants alike. Lissarrague and Schefold, however, have noted the similarity between the depiction of Tityos, straining his muscles to lift Leto off the ground, holding her very tightly and images of wrestlers from the palaistra, and Lissarrague also refers to this as "violence of an athletic type which is practiced here, but in a mythological and erotic context."<sup>33</sup>

More importantly, on this vase, the pose of Apollo and Artemis is more distinguished - he is more active, striding and utilizing his hands to rescue his mother and to fight her assailant,

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<sup>28</sup> Schefold (1992), p. 71.

<sup>29</sup> Foley (2003), p. 117.

<sup>30</sup> J.C. Hoppin, *Euthymides and His Fellows*, (Cambridge, 1917), p. 123.

<sup>31</sup> Schefold (1992), p. 71.

<sup>32</sup> Gantz (1993), p. 39.

<sup>33</sup> F. Lissarrague, *Greek Vases: The Athenians and their Images*, (New York, 2001), p. 67; Schefold (1992), p. 71.

while Artemis' stride is considerably smaller, indicating she is not rushing to the scene like her brother. Moreover, although she is depicted with her weapon, she does not use it and neither does she do anything to stop or chase the giant. Rather, she merely gestures with her hands. Therefore she takes a smaller part in the action and is depicted more as an observer or as encouraging Apollo, as she similarly does on the many vases depicting her brother struggling with Herakles over the Tripod.

The second example comes on a calyx-krater in New York, attributed to the Nekyia Painter and dated to 450-440 BCE (**Cat. 12**). It presents Tityos, on the right, collapsing upon the ground with an arrow protruding from his chest. Leto is rushing away from the giant, but she turns her head backwards to gaze at him. Her arms, according to Richter, are extended in a gesture of horror.<sup>34</sup> Apollo stands next to her, his bow is drawn against Tityos, and his quiver hangs at his side. Artemis is behind him, and again she is the farthest away from the giant. She holds out a bow in her left arm, yet she has neither arrows nor a quiver. Instead, she is brandishing a spear. Although Artemis' empty bow might suggest that she was the one who shot the giant, the lack of quiver and of a free hand to draw the bow makes it more likely that it was Apollo, as Richter also suggests,<sup>35</sup> and the painter chose to depict him a few moments after shooting and after he was able to replenish his arrow.

Finally, a column-krater in Munich, dated to 475-425 BCE (**Cat. 11**) repeats the same order of the previous vase, but with some changes in the characters' portrayal. Artemis stands on the left, holding her bow, while her quiver is slung on her back. Apollo stands in front of her, vigorously striding to the right and aiming his bow against Tityos, who has fallen down and is

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<sup>34</sup> Richter (1936), p. 170.

<sup>35</sup> Richter (1936), p. 170.

raising his hand, perhaps in fear, perhaps to beg for mercy. Leto holds a scepter and stands near the fallen giant, facing the approaching Apollo. This vase repeats the familiar patterns from the previous vases, in which Apollo has a much bigger role in Leto's rescue, unlike the black-figure images we have seen, which, despite giving the leadership to Apollo, nonetheless portrayed Artemis as actively chasing the giant. Fontenrose, for example, generally likens Artemis' position in the images of the Tityos myth to that of Athena in depictions of Herakles fighting against Kyknos, who is supported by Ares, thus emphasizing Apollo's centrality as well as Artemis' supportive role.<sup>36</sup>

## Gigantomachies

The Gigantomachy was a very popular subject in antiquity.<sup>37</sup> The majority of the literary evidence regarding this battle between the gods and giants is later than the iconographical evidence, although the giants are already mentioned in Homer and Hesiod, and it is assumed that an epic poem about this battle had once existed and influenced its other representations.<sup>38</sup> The giants are not mentioned in the *Iliad*, but they recur a few times in the *Odyssey*. First, it is said that Eurymedon, who once ruled over the “ὑπερθύμοισι Γιγάντεσσιν (*insolent Giants*),” brought destruction upon them and himself, and perhaps this alludes to their defeat by the gods (*Od.VII.59-60*). It is also said that the Kyklopes are related to the “ἄγρια φύλα Γιγάντων” (*tribes of the savage giants*) (*Od.VII.206*), and finally, when referring to the Laistrygonians, they are said not to be like humans, but rather are likened to giants (*Od.X.119-120*).

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<sup>36</sup> Fontenrose (1959), p. 64.

<sup>37</sup> M.B. Moore, “Poseidon in the Gigantomachy,” in G. Kopcke and M.B. Moore (eds.), *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology*, (Locust Valley, NJ, 1979), p. 23.

<sup>38</sup> Schefold (1992), pp. 55-56.

In Hesiod's *Theogony*, there is a brief mention of “γένος κρατερῶν τε Γιγάντων” (*the race of the mighty giants*) (50) and their birth, when from the blood drops of Ouranos which fell on the ground were born “κρατερὰς μεγάλους τε Γίγαντας, τεύχεσι λαμπομένους,” (*the great/big and mighty giants with shining/gleaming armour*) is also addressed (185-186). Moreover, in the *Catalogue of Women* (fr.43a.65 MW), it is specified that Herakles slew the overbearing Giants at Phlegra. Later, Pindar's *Nemean I* mentions that Herakles will take part “ὅταν θεοὶ ἐν πεδίῳ Φλέγρας Γιγάντεσσιν μάχην ἀντιάζωσιν” (*when the gods in the plain of Phlegra met face to face with the giants at battle*) (67-69), and in his *Pythian VIII*, he writes that Apollo overcame Porphyryon, king of the giants, with his bow.<sup>39</sup>

As for drama, Euripides refers to the Gigantomachy several times. For example in *Ion*, the chorus describes the Gigantomachy sculpted on the west pediment of Apollo's temple, namely Athena, Zeus, and Dionysos attacking the giants (206-218). Additionally, Carpenter claims that Aristophanes had the gigantomachy in mind when he wrote the conflict in his *Birds*.<sup>40</sup> The most complete narrative we have comes in Apollodoros, who mentions that Apollo killed the giant Ephialtes by shooting an arrow to his left eye while Herakles shot the giant in his right eye, and that Artemis slew the giant Geration (I.6.1-2).<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Additionally, in *Nemean VII*, Herakles is referred to as the slayer of giants (90).

<sup>40</sup> Carpenter (1986), p. 60.

<sup>41</sup> For a fuller discussion of the literary and iconographical evidence, see K.W. Arafat, *Classical Zeus: A Study in Art and Literature*, (Oxford, 1990), pp. 9-29; T.H. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art*, (Oxford, 1986), pp. 55-61; Gantz (1993), pp. 445-454; R. Hard, *Routledge Handbook of Greek Mythology*, (London, 2004), pp. 86-92; F. Hildebrandt, “The Gigantomachy in Attic and Apulian Vase-painting,” in J.H. Oakley (ed.), *Athenian Potters and Painters III*, (Oxford, 2014), pp. 72-73; S. Muth, *Gewalt im Bild: das Phänomen der medialen Gewalt im Athen des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, (Berlin, 2008), pp. 268-328; Schefold (1992), pp. 55-67; Schefold (1993), pp. 91-116; E. Stafford, *Herakles*, (Abingdon, 2012), p. 63; U. Vedder, “Die Gigantenkampfschale,” in B. Fellmann, B. Kaeser und K. Vierneisel (eds.), *Kunst der Schale, Kultur des Trinkens*, (München, 1992), pp. 121-125; F. Vian, *Répertoire des Gigantomachies*, (Paris, 1951); F. Vian, *La Guerre des Géants*, (Paris, 1952); F. Vian and M.B. Moore, *LIMC IV*, s.v. Gigantes, (Zürich, 1988) pp. 191-269.

Although Zeus, Athena, and Herakles are at the heart of the myth,<sup>42</sup> often other deities are also incorporated into the battle scenes. One of the most spectacular examples is the northern frieze of the Siphnian Treasury in Delphi, dated to ca. 525 BCE, as well as on the west pediment of Apollo's temple at Delphi (end of the sixth century BCE). In Athens, however, the gigantomachy was a popular theme decades earlier, with vases portraying this battle around 560-550 BCE. The gigantomachy was also depicted on monumental sculpture in Athens, such as the east pediment of the archaic Parthenon (ca. 520 BCE), and on the metopes of the east side of the classical Parthenon as well as on the interior of Athena Parthenos' shield.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, scenes from the gigantomachy were also embroidered on Athena's peplos, which was carried in the Panathenaic procession.<sup>44</sup>

Generally speaking, the myth of the gigantomachy represented the triumph of cosmic order over chaos. Moore describes it as a battle for the supremacy of the cosmos and Stafford assumes this was one of the reasons for its popularity outside of Athens.<sup>45</sup> Prange, for example, suggests it was perceived "als eine Transponierung der menschlichen Kriege in die göttliche Ebene verstanden."<sup>46</sup> However, according to Carpenter, this myth always had a meaning which was broader or deeper than merely a battle between gods and giants.<sup>47</sup> Schefold argues that the gods' victory over the giants "became the principal symbol of the divine guidance of Athens' fortunes" from 566 BCE onwards, after "the renewal of the Panathenaic festival...[which] was

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<sup>42</sup> J.H. Oakley, *The Greek Vase: Art of the Storyteller*, (London, 2013), p. 53.

<sup>43</sup> Hildebrandt (2014), p. 75; Schefold (1992), p. 59.

<sup>44</sup> Carpenter (1986), p. 55; Carpenter (1997), p. 172; Hildebrandt (2014), p. 74; Stafford (2012), p. 64.

<sup>45</sup> Moore (1979), p. 23; Stafford (2012), p. 64.

<sup>46</sup> M. Prange, *Der Niobidenmaler und seine Werkstatt*, (Frankfurt am Main, 1989), p. 93.

<sup>47</sup> T.H. Carpenter, "Harmodios and Apollo in Fifth-Century Athens: What's in a Pose?" in J.H. Oakley, W.D.E. Coulson, and O. Palagia, (eds.), *Athenian Potters and Painters*, (Oxford, 1997), p. 172.

conceived as a celebration of the victory over the Giants, but it also marked Athena's birthday.”<sup>48</sup> Hildebrandt, too, connects the appearance of the early gigantomachy scenes with Peisistratos' reorganization of the Greater Panathenaia in 566 BCE.<sup>49</sup> Later, the gigantomachy will represent the Greek struggle against a real lawless enemy, the Persians, thus symbolizing the triumph of “civilization over barbarity.”<sup>50</sup>

Our earliest depiction of Artemis and Apollo in the Gigantomachy appear on six fragmentary vases, dated to around 560-550 BCE, depicting Artemis and Apollo. The first, and possibly the earliest, example of a gigantomachy including the twins appears on fragments of a dinos painted by Lydos and dated to ca. 560 BCE (**Cat. 13**). Although most characters are named by inscription, the two figures assumed to be Apollo and Artemis are not, or at least the relevant inscriptions did not survive. They march to the right, with Apollo in the lead, and since Artemis is not paired with a giant of her own, she is probably assisting her brother, or perhaps she is about to shoot another giant in the distance. Artemis is drawing her bow while her quiver lies on her back and she wears a lion-skin around her shoulders and on her head.<sup>51</sup> Although the lion-skin is customarily associated with Herakles, Artemis is occasionally presented wearing a similar garb,<sup>52</sup> which Moore judges as suitable for the occasion and according to Schefold, the “suppleness and skill of the young huntress match the sleekness of the lion-skin.”<sup>53</sup> Carpenter interprets her lion-skin as part of Eastern influences.<sup>54</sup> Artemis appears with it on another

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<sup>48</sup> Schefold (1992), p. 55.

<sup>49</sup> Hildebrandt (2014), pp. 74, 77.

<sup>50</sup> Oakley (2013), p. 49; Stafford (2012), p. 64.

<sup>51</sup> For Artemis wearing lion-skin, see pp. 281-282.

<sup>52</sup> Cat. 13, Cat. 17, Cat. 25, Cat. 199, Cat. 123.

Although it was suggested this figure is in fact Omphale, this is generally rejected.

<sup>53</sup> M.B. Moore, “Lydos and the Gigantomachy,” in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 83, no. 1 (1979), p. 79; Schefold (1992), p. 58. For a further discussion of Artemis wearing a lion skin, see Carpenter (1986), pp. 58, 65.

<sup>54</sup> Carpenter (1994), p. 76.

unattributed gigantomachy (Cat. 17), on a fragment by the Heidelberg Painter (Cat. 25), and one two additional scenes, one the struggle for the Kerynian Hind (Cat. 123), and the other, a non-narrative scene of the Delian Triad (Cat. 199), to be discussed below. However, as Carpenter notes, this “image did not catch on and become a common attribute for Artemis. Like many other intriguing archaic attributes, it vanished.”<sup>55</sup>

As for Apollo, what is left of him are his buttocks, upper thighs and lower back. However, this is enough to demonstrate that the god was wearing a *nebris* and had a sword, since the end of his sheath can be seen. Here, too, it is generally agreed that he is Apollo, and Moore’s reconstruction even suggests that he was slaying a giant with a spear. She admits it is impossible to know for certain if he wore a helmet, even though she provided him with one.<sup>56</sup> Apollo’s identification should not raise any particular objections, since many artistic representations (albeit of a later date) depict Leto’s twins in a similar manner. Assuming this is correct, this is an early example of how firmly established the order of importance between the twins is. Schefold, for example, claims that “Apollo stands out more strongly in the foreground yet he is still closely linked with Artemis, as if she were his shadow.”<sup>57</sup> On the other hand, the fact that Apollo leads the action is counterbalanced by Artemis’ regal lion-skin which puts Apollo’s *nebris* in the shade. According to Widdows “the skins of animals that were considered more masculine and aggressive than other animals are worn by figures who are dominant within a scene” and no animal is more masculine and aggressive than the lion.<sup>58</sup> Carpenter goes even further, to argue that in the gigantomachy scenes where Artemis wears the lion skin the painters have “chosen to

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<sup>55</sup> Carpenter (1994), p. 76.

<sup>56</sup> Moore (1979), p. 92.

<sup>57</sup> Schefold (1992), p. 58.

<sup>58</sup> D.L. Widdows, *Removing the Body: Representations of Animal Skins on Greek Vases*, (University of Southern California, 2006 [dissertation]), p. 165.

highlight Artemis by giving her distinctive attributes while including Apollo as only one of many warrior gods,” emphasizing their status as public dedications on the Akropolis, therefore asserting that it is unlikely “that this unusual iconography for Artemis was a whimsical or careless addition by a painter, and it is likely that it would have made sense to Athenians viewing it.”<sup>59</sup> As for their role in this particular scene, Moore interprets the twins’ position, claiming that Apollo’s opponent was falling or already had fallen, and that the god was about to spear him. She assumes the giant was begging for his life, while Artemis was about to shoot an arrow at the giant who threatened Poseidon, since Apollo’s giant would be located too low for the angle of her bow.<sup>60</sup>

A similar rendering is seen on a kylix fragment found on the north slope of the Acropolis, dated to 560-550 BCE (**Cat. 17**), upon which only Dionysos and Artemis can be identified without a doubt. Artemis faces to the right, with her back to Dionysos. She wears the lion-skin on her head and shoulders, its paws tied on her chest as she draws her bow. A male figure in front of her, brandishing a spear, was identified as Apollo by Roebuck, given his long hair and proximity to Artemis, and Vian and Moore accept this identification.<sup>61</sup> Artemis also appears with a lion-skin on kantharos fragments excavated in Gravisca, which preserve Artemis almost completely (**Cat. 18**). Her face and arm are missing, but we can see she had a quiver on her back and that she was readying her bow. We can also see the quiver hanging on her back. Of Apollo only one leg and part of his spear have survived, and he can be identified only since he stood in

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<sup>59</sup> Carpenter (1994), p. 72.

<sup>60</sup> Moore (1979), p. 93.

<sup>61</sup> Moore (1979), p. 24; C. Roebuck, “Pottery from the North Slope of the Acropolis, 1937-1938,” in *Hesperia*, vol. 9, no. 2 (1940), p. 200; F. Vian, *Répertoire des Gigantomachies*, (Paris, 1951), no. 144; F. Vian, *La Guerre des Géants*, (Paris, 1952), p. 80.



front of Artemis, as they repeatedly appear in these scenes.<sup>62</sup> We do not know who the twins' opponent was.

Thus, again we have Artemis the huntress, wearing royal regalia, who nonetheless is placed behind her brother. When discussing the Lydos dinos, Schefold notes, and this applies to our kylix as well, how different the Attic images are from the frieze of the Siphnian Treasury. Likewise, the Acropolis kylix also depicts Apollo fighting in front of his sister. According to Schefold, "the close brother-sister bond is demonstrated even more clearly, and their calm confidence marks them out from the wildness all around them... [the] menacing group of three Giants opposing them give the pair more weight than their own Olympian presence."<sup>63</sup>

Fragments of a dinos in Malibu, dated to 575-550 BCE (**Cat. 14**) provide us with even less information. Very little remains of Apollo and Artemis, mainly the crests of their helmets. Moore has identified them based on their opponent, who is clearly labeled "Ephialtes," whom Artemis and Apollo were known to fight, as well as since they are "the only Olympians who fight as a closely knit pair." An additional fragment preserves Apollo's booted calf, and this has been sufficient for Moore to present a full reconstruction of the scene. Apollo is presented wearing winged boots elsewhere and Artemis is generally depicted wearing a long skirt.<sup>64</sup> If Moore is correct, then Artemis is unusually placed in front of her brother, aiming her bow against the giant while Apollo is about to throw a spear at him. He would be slightly in back of his sister, a sequence paralleled on a slightly later cup found on the Athenian Akropolis.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Torelli (2012), pp. 379-383.

<sup>63</sup> Schefold (1992), pp. 62-63.

<sup>64</sup> Moore (1985), pp. 27, 34.

<sup>65</sup> *ibid.* p. 34.

Another similar arrangement, for which we have even fewer details, appears on several fragments of a kantharos, dated to 560-550 BCE (**Cat. 16**). An inscription identifies Artemis, who stands to the right, and in front of her, crouching to the left, is a giant labeled ΕΦ[ΙΑΛΤ]ΕΣ. Vian suggests that Apollo stands towards the right, after Ephialtes, and this is a reasonable assumption, considering the patterns in which Artemis and Apollo appear, although there is no definite proof.<sup>66</sup>

The black-figure Gigantomachies continued until the first decades of the fifth century BC. Hildebrandt notes that this theme was taken up very rarely in early red-figure iconography, and Schefold attributes this to the fact that “with its huge cast of characters... [it] was not suited to the new style, which focused attention on large individual figures.”<sup>67</sup> However, red-figure gigantomachies eventually begin to appear, and although some of them depict fewer participants, a few examples exhibit many participants.

A volute-krater by the Altamura Painter, dated to 480-470 BCE (**Cat. 19**), depicts six pairs of gods and giants in combat. According to Arafat, the emphasis of this vase “is rather on Athena whose duel occupies the centre” of the obverse,<sup>68</sup> although Apollo maintains a similar position on the reverse, where he stands to the right, in front of Hera and a fallen giant. He strides to the right, holding a bow in his left hand and brandishing a sword in his other hand, with which he is about to strike his adversary, who is falling to the ground. The next pair of figures is mostly missing, and all that remains is a hand holding a bow and a right foot with drapery, therefore it is assumed that this is Artemis. Interestingly, here the order between the twins is reversed, and it is Artemis who is placed in front of her brother. However, this was probably

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<sup>66</sup> Vian (1951), p. 39.

<sup>67</sup> Hildebrandt (2014), p. 74; Schefold (1992), p. 67.

<sup>68</sup> Arafat (1990), p. 19.

because of the internal construction of the image, which depicted all the gods facing to the right. Since the painter wanted to place Athena and Apollo at the center of each side, he had to place the other gods between them in a coherent order. Thus, the obverse begins with Dionysos, Athena is at the center and then Zeus, while on the reverse, Zeus' consort, Hera, is placed close to him, then Apollo at the center and then – Artemis.

On a calyx-krater by the Niobid Painter, dated to 460-440, (**Cat. 20**), Artemis and Apollo fight together the same giant. The giant moves towards the right, but he turns around towards Apollo who is about to attack him. The god holds a barely noticeable laurel branch in his extended left arm while clasping a sword in his right hand, which he is about to use and a quiver hangs on his back. Artemis stands behind Apollo, also striding to the right, but her step is smaller, perhaps hinting at why she is behind him. She stretches out her left arm, in which she holds her bow. With her right hand she could be drawing an arrow from her quiver, or she may have been brandishing a spear. The posture of Apollo and the giant is very similar, especially of their torsos and legs, although the giant is somewhat cowering. It is evident that the twins do not act in unison here. Neer, when discussing the gigantomachy on the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, writes that only “Apollo and Artemis, divine twins, are side by side; all the other gods are loners.”<sup>69</sup> Yet the Niobid Painter is clearly not attempting to exhibit a similar sentiment, since Apollo is the one slaying the giant and Artemis only helps him from behind. Moreover, she is further away from the giant and it is Apollo who has is interlocked in the dual, while Artemis is using her weapon from a distance.

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<sup>69</sup> Neer (2001), p. 303.

Artemis and Apollo are not the only ones who fight together against one giant, and some other figures cooperate against the giants, in what Muth refers to as “überraschende Unterschiede zu den gleichzeitigen Hoplitenkämpfen.”<sup>70</sup> Behind the twins, a giant kneels while Dionysos is about to thrust his spear into him. Here, too, the focus is on the two combatants, who seem to be at the center of this mini-scene, while a maenad, who follows Dionysos and comes to his aid with her torches, is less vital to the struggle, as is Artemis. In front of Artemis and Apollo, Herakles assists Athena to fight one giant. The goddess is closer to the giant, and is about to spear him, while Herakles stands behind her, about to shoot him with his bow. Thus, Artemis is on par not with the rest of the gods on this vase, who each fight a giant by themselves, but rather with one of Dionysos’ female followers. On the other hand, she assumes a similar position to that of Herakles, who was essential to the gods’ victory.

Another calyx-krater by the Niobid Painter, dated to ca. 450 BCE (**Cat. 21**), also presents a gigantomachy on the upper register with multiple participants, including eight gods, Herakles, and a satyr. Artemis draws an arrow from her quiver in order to shoot the crouching giant in front of her. She is placed at the center of the obverse side, striding to the right. Apollo and his opponent stand on the far right, therefore he is placed again ahead of his sister, although her closer proximity to Athena, who is at the center of the obverse, could mean that she is given a greater importance. Apollo is also striding, although his hands are much fuller than his sister’s - in his right hand he clasps a lowered sword and in his left hand he carries a bow, an arrow, and a laurel branch, and a quiver lies on his back. In front of him stands another crouching giant, who raises his hand, perhaps in a gesture of fear. Both gods are depicted in a similar level of activity,

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<sup>70</sup> Muth (2008), p. 317. Muth also claims that “es hier nicht so sehr um eine normale, nach den Regeln des Hoplitenkampfes geführte Schlacht, Mann gegen Mann, geht, sondern um einen außergewöhnliche Kampf, in dem die siegreiche Partei in Überzahl kämpft (p. 317).

approaching a giant, about to attack, but perhaps this is not very surprising when we remember the Niobid's Painter fondness for the goddess.

A pelike by the Pronomos Painter, dated to 420-400 BCE, (**Cat. 22**)<sup>71</sup> presents a gigantomachy scene on both sides. On the lower level of the obverse, Zeus, Athena, and another god, perhaps Ares, fight the giants. On the lower level, Artemis and Apollo do the same; each one is paired with one giant. On the bottom left of the pelike, Apollo vigorously strides to the left, towards a giant, in the aforementioned Tyrranicide pose. In his right hand he brandishes a sword, about to strike down the giant, while in his left hand he carries a laurel branch. Artemis, who wears a leopard skin, is placed on the bottom right of the image, attacking a giant with two torches. Each twin faces away from the other, and they are separated by another giant who stands between them, against whom Zeus is fighting from above. According to Nikolaidou-Patera, Apollo is presented here as the god of light and peace, while Artemis, with her torches and animal skin, is presented as Hekate.<sup>72</sup> Thus, the painter opted to present the twins in a rather similar manner, with both fighting the giants and with no apparent hierarchical order between them, since none of them follows the other.

Artemis and Apollo are not always presented as fighting the giants in the vicinity of each other, as a kylix by Aristophanes, dated to 410-400 BCE (**Cat. 23**), demonstrates. The twins are present, with one on each side of the cup. On side A, Artemis and Athena flank their father. Athena, who is on the right, wears her full military regalia - a helmet, an aegis, and a spear, while Artemis, on the left, is fighting with torches, bludgeoning a crouching giant. Her quiver is on her

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<sup>71</sup> Nikolaidou-Patera suggests it was painted by one of the painters in his workshop. M. Nikolaidou-Patera, "Αττική ερυθρόμορφη πελίκη από την Τράγιλο," in Σ. Πινηγάτογλου και Θ. Στεφανίδου-Τιβερίου, *Νάματα: Τιμητικός Τόμος για τον Καθηγητή Δημήτριο Παντερμαλή*, (Θεσσαλονίκη, 2011), p. 310.

<sup>72</sup> Nikolaidou-Patera (2011), p. 310.

back, but her bow is not portrayed. On the reverse Apollo is at the center of the image while Hera and Ares fight on his sides. All deities are named, so their identification is secure. There should be no doubt that Artemis is presented here as an important deity, positioned similarly to Athena, fighting at her father's side. However, as we have seen before, Apollo's central position, which echoes Zeus' position on the obverse, portrays him as somewhat more important than his twin-sister.

According to Burn, Aristophanes, "found traditional heroism peculiarly attractive," and she refers to this vase as one of his masterpieces, arguing it has an "archaic feel" to it.<sup>73</sup> Aristophanes would be soon followed by painters such as the Pronomos and Suessula Painters who would produce a new style of gigantomachy, arranging the combatants up and down the vase at various levels, with the fighting "carried on in the vertical dimension with the gods attacking from above," since the shapes of these vases will allow them to do so, unlike our kylix and its restricted space, a typical arrangement whose "gigantomachy is faithful to the older tradition, in which gods and giants are set in horizontal pairs."<sup>74</sup>

Another highly elaborate gigantomachy that includes Artemis and Apollo appears on a neck-amphora by the Suessula Painter, dated to 410-390 BCE (**Cat. 24**). When discussing this vase, Denoyelle refers to it as "[u]n nouveau sensible des compositions de grand genre, qui sera malheureusement de courte durée," claiming it offers "un vocabulaire d'audaces et de nouveautés graphiques qui révèlent une source commune, probablement le programme sculpté du Parthénon et en particulier, le décor du bouclier de la statue d'Athéna, exécuté par Phidias."<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> L. Burn, *The Meidias Painter*, (Oxford, 1987), p. 45.

<sup>74</sup> *ibid.* p. 45.

<sup>75</sup> M. Denoyelle, *Chefs-d'œuvre de la céramique grecque*, (Paris, 1995), p. 154.

Sixteen deities and heroes participate in this battle, and the scene is compact with action and giants. Apollo stands on a higher register, with his back towards the viewers, in profile with his head to the left. He draws his bow against the giant Ephialtes, who holds a burning torch while breathing fire at the god. Artemis' identification is less clear. Some scholars, such as Vian and Muth, assume she is the figure almost directly below Apollo, fighting with a torch while holding a bow and depicted as if they are fighting back to back on a hill.<sup>76</sup> Others, such as Denoyelle,<sup>77</sup> believe she stands far away from Apollo, on the upper register, more to the right, about to shoot an arrow at a giant.<sup>78</sup> Although the bow and arrow are usually Artemis' symbols, we have already seen that she sometimes fights with torches, and the proximity to Apollo should indicate that Artemis is the goddess fighting below him, as we have seen elsewhere. Thus, although the order of appearance of the various gods may change on the vases with the gigantomachy, the position and relative directionality of Artemis and Apollo are typically similar; Artemis is almost always behind her brother, and therefore, I agree with Vian and Muth in this case.

In the red-figure Gigantomachies, the twins' portrayal as fighters of giants has changed. Artemis has lost her early lion-skin and sometimes she wields torches, while Apollo has gained a new weapon, a single-edged slashing sword that was introduced into the gigantomachy scenes at the end of the sixth century BCE. Following this, Apollo, is portrayed in a new slashing pose, as the sword becomes his weapon of choice on most red-figure vases,<sup>79</sup> while Artemis keeps her

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<sup>76</sup> Muth (2008), p. 323; Vian (1951), p. 86.

<sup>77</sup> Denoyelle (1995), p. 154.

<sup>78</sup> *ibid.* p. 154.

<sup>79</sup> According to Carpenter, Apollo is depicted fighting with a sword only against giants in Attic imagery, and this includes Tityos. ([1997], pp. 172, 178).

bow or uses torches.<sup>80</sup> Carpenter suggests “that Apollo, without his bow, having perhaps been surprised by the attack of the giants, has picked up one of the enemies' weapons and uses it against them,”<sup>81</sup> claiming that “this matches the pattern of Theseus using the devices of his opponents to defeat them.”<sup>82</sup> However, of the six images examined here, in which Apollo wields a sword, he also carries a bow and a quiver twice, has only a quiver once, and on one fragmentary vase, it is impossible to tell whether he was holding anything else. On one vase, he only has his sword, and once he brandished his sword while also carrying a laurel branch. Although it is possible that Apollo has picked up his enemy's weapon, this should not be regarded as the only explanation. Moreover, Carpenter identifies the unique pose of Apollo in these cases, known as “the Harmodios pose” since it was well known from Tyrannicides statues by Antenor, Kritios, and Nesiotes dated to 477/476 BCE, with the sword wielding arm raised and bent behind his head, ready to strike down his opponent. However, Carpenter explains its sudden appearance by the fact that this pose was first associated with Apollo on Athena's Panathenaic peplos, and later it was adopted for the Tyrannicides statues.<sup>83</sup> Considering that all but one of our vases in which Apollo fights with a sword are dated after 477/476 BCE, it stands to reason that their style may have been influenced by Antenor, Kritios and Nesiotes' statues. On four of our vases Apollo appears in the “Harmodios pose,” yet in the other two vases in which he is depicted with his sword, both attributed to the Niobid Painter, he holds his sword lowered down in his right hand, and Shear associates this with the pose of Aristogeiton in the Tyrannicide statues, and

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<sup>80</sup> Carpenter (1997), p. 172.

<sup>81</sup> *ibid.* p. 174.

<sup>82</sup> *ibid.* p. 178.

<sup>83</sup> *ibid.* p. 175.

For more on the connection between the Tyrannicide and the Gigantomachy, see J.L. Shear, “The Tyrannicides, Their Cult and the Panathenaia: A Note,” in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 132 (2012), pp. 113-115.



this is especially true regarding **Cat. 21**, in which Apollo extends forward his left hand, which is covered with a mantle.<sup>84</sup>

## Trojan War

Perhaps as a reflection of her relative absence from the *Iliad*, Artemis is usually not depicted in scenes of the Trojan War in vase painting. A kylix in Paris, painted by Douris and dated to 490-480 BCE (**Cat. 6**), depicts two scenes of a heroic duel flanked by two deities, one on each side of the exterior. On one side, Ajax is about to kill Hektor, and each hero is supported by his patron deity, as Athena and Apollo stand behind their favorite hero. On the other side, Menelaos chases Paris, yet the scene is flanked by Artemis and another goddess, who is generally identified as Aphrodite.<sup>85</sup> If this is correct, then this scene portrays two goddesses who are associated with the Trojans, unlike the obverse.

When discussing this kylix, Denoyelle writes that the two scenes on its exterior “composées toutes deux selon un schéma identique, appartiennent au même répertoire thématique.”<sup>86</sup> However, although the composition here is indeed pared down, Denoyelle acknowledges that Apollo and Athena support Hektor and Ajax respectively, while she refers to the scene on the reverse, in which Menelaos pursues Paris, as simply taking place “entre Aphrodite et Artémis.”<sup>87</sup> The gods on both sides are portrayed in a very similar manner, yet Apollo and Athena are more active – their stride is larger, they lean a little towards the center,

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<sup>84</sup> Shear (2012), p. 114.

<sup>85</sup> e.g. T.H. Carpenter, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece: A Handbook*, (London, 1991), no. 305; Denoyelle (1995), p. 126.

<sup>86</sup> Denoyelle (1995), p. 126.

<sup>87</sup> *ibid.* p. 126.

perhaps indicating a larger involvement in the events, and they extend their arms towards the heroes, either providing moral support or perhaps attempting to give a more substantial aid. Artemis and the other goddess, on the other hand, stand in a calmer fashion. Artemis seems to be standing rather than advancing, and the other goddess' stride is small. They do not lean towards the center, thus they are less involved in what takes place, and their hand gestures also indicate a smaller involvement in what is happening.

Artemis and Apollo are both located on the far right on each of their respective sides. Their posture and clothes are similar, and they both carry a bow and a quiver. Apollo is present in the more important scene, since the battle between Ajax and Hektor is one of the most significant events of the *Iliad*. Artemis' presence here is surprising in lieu of how she functions in the poem. Perhaps since she did not assist any hero in the battlefield, she is usually not portrayed in iconographical scenes of the Trojan War, and as far as I am able to determine, this is the only vase portraying both twins within this context.

Denoyelle explains Aphrodite's presence in this scene as foreshadowing another battle, in which the goddess will save Paris.<sup>88</sup> If the second goddess is indeed Aphrodite, then it is interesting that Douris had opted to place both Aphrodite and Artemis in the same scene, since we would have expected a similar balance as on side A, with Aphrodite supporting Paris and one of the gods who supported the Greeks on Meneleos' side. However, Douris chose to portray Paris fleeing from Menelaos to the right, towards Artemis, while Aphrodite assumingly stands by the Greek hero's side, at least spatially. Since it is unlikely for the painter to make such a deviation from the well-known myth, it is possible that both Artemis and Aphrodite, the two

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<sup>88</sup> J. Latacz [et al.] (eds.), *Homer: der Mythos von Troia in Dichtung und Kunst*, (München, 2008), pp. 366-367.

goddesses who were identified by Zeus and Homer as not belonging to the battlefield, are trying to assist the most effeminate and weak Homeric hero. Either the viewers are to understand that both goddesses equal either Apollo or Athena, or that Menelaos does not need any divine support facing such a feeble foe, while Paris needs all the help he can get. Hektor and Ajax, on the other hand, were more equal in their powers, and therefore each of them needed some divine assistance. Paris was not even remotely a match to Menelaos, who required no help in confronting his wife's lover.

However, I am not convinced that the goddess on the left is indeed Aphrodite. She is the only one who is unidentified by an inscription, and has no conclusive attributes. It is also possible that she is in fact Hera, supporting the Greek hero against the Trojan one. This would render the images on the two sides of the kylix as more symmetrical, even though placing a male god, Poseidon for example, to support Menelaos would have been even more balanced.

### **3.1.2 – Myths of Apollo**

#### **Orestes**

Although Aeschylus' *Eumenides* does not mention Artemis, some vase painters have nonetheless incorporated her into this myth, either since they drew from other sources or perhaps it better suited their needs, be that thematic or artistic. There are six Attic vases depicting the purification or trial of Orestes, and according to Kefalidou, they "form a closely connected

iconographical group.”<sup>89</sup> The similarities of these vases were explained as either deriving from the influence of an Athenian wall-painting or Aeschylus’ *Oresteia*, which predates them, although, as mentioned, Artemis is conspicuously missing from most of the trilogy.<sup>90</sup>

Artemis appears on three of these vases. They are all dated to 450-440 BCE, therefore after the production of *Eumenides* in 458 BCE. These vases serve as a good example of how differently the literary and iconographical media portray the twins. While the tragedians exclude Artemis from the narrative of Orestes’ travails and focus on Athena and her relationship with the hero, several vase-painters readily included Artemis in scenes depicting this myth, while omitting Athena, who appears only on one Attic vase portraying Orestes, a column krater in Paris by the Duomo Painter, dated to 440-430 BCE.<sup>91</sup> On this vase, a crouching Orestes is placed between Athena on the left and Apollo on his right, while all three of them are looking to the right, towards an approaching Erinyes. The fact that the hero is placed between the two gods may indicate their great (and perhaps similar) importance in his life, especially since on the three vases which incorporate Artemis into this scene, as we shall see below, the goddess is always removed from a direct proximity to Orestes, who is presented twice between Apollo and the Erinyes and on another vase, he is arriving from the far left, close only to Apollo. Thus, by replacing Athena in these three images, the portrayal of Artemis maintains the focus on Orestes’ relationship with Apollo without challenging the role of the god in the hero’s life. It also hinders any allusion to the end of the myth, in which Athena proves as his true protector, perhaps even reclaiming Apollo’s position as Orestes’ guardian.

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<sup>89</sup> E. Kefalidou, “The Iconography of Madness in Attic Vase-Painting,” in J.H. Oakley and O. Palagia (eds.), *Athenian Potters and Painters Vol. II*, (Oxford, 2009), p. 96.

<sup>90</sup> Kefalidou (2009), p. 97; T. Mannack, *The Late Mannerists in Athenian Vase-Painting*, (Oxford, 2001), pp. 89-90; A.J.N.W. Prag, *The Oresteia: Iconographic and Narrative Tradition*, (Warminster, 1985), p. 50.

<sup>91</sup> *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1117.7, *BAPD* 214783.

Additionally, although Orestes' purification is said to have occurred in Delphi, none of these images (including the krater with Athena) depicts the omphalos, a proper altar, or even a tripod. Rather, Orestes is portrayed kneeling at what seems to be a low pile of unworked stones. While Manack interprets Apollo's presence in these scenes as indicating they take place in Delphi,<sup>92</sup> Prag suggests they are located in Athens, on the Areopagus Hill, where Orestes' trial was held.<sup>93</sup> Knoepfler accepts this, and when discussing the Paris krater, he claims that these rocks indicate that the scene takes place on the rocky Areopagos in Athens, arguing that this specific locale, in which Orestes' trial was held in *Eumenides*, provides a further reason for Athena's presence there, as Orestes' advocate.<sup>94</sup> When addressing a similar pile of rocks on a column-krater in San Antonio by the Naples Painter, dated to 450-440 BCE (**Cat. 27**), Shapiro acknowledges that the location of the scene is ambiguous, given the lack of a Delphic altar. He furthers Prag's suggestion and argues that the scene takes place at the Athenian sanctuary of the Eumenides, where Orestes' trial will take place, arguing this vase conflates "three distinct aspects of the myth: Orestes' pursuit by the Furies of his mother, his purification at Delphi, and his trial before a jury in Athens."<sup>95</sup>

On two of the vases depicting Orestes, the San Antonio krater and a hydria in Berlin, dated to ca. 450 BCE (**Cat. 26**), Orestes, alongside Apollo, is understandably placed at the center, thus allotting the marginal area to Artemis and the Erinyes, who frame the god and the hero. A distinction regarding the figures on these vases can be made, as Shapiro notes the sharp

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<sup>92</sup> Mannack (2001), p. 90.

<sup>93</sup> A.J.N.W. Prag, *Oresteia: Iconographic and Narrative Tradition*, (Chicago, 1985), p. 49.

<sup>94</sup> D. Knoepfler, *Les imagiers de l'Orestie*, (Zurich, 1993), p. 80.

<sup>95</sup> H.A. Shapiro [et al.] (eds.), *Greek Vases in the San Antonio Museum of Art*, (San Antonio, 1995), p. 176.

contrast between the left side of the image and its right side, noting that “[e]xcitement and peril are balanced by the stately, divine calm of the left half of the scene.”<sup>96</sup>

On the Berlin hydria, Orestes kneels on an altar of stones with his face towards the viewer, expressing his great emotional anguish. He is at the center of the image, and by spreading his limbs and lifting his mantle; he occupies a larger portion of the space. He is flanked by two figures on each side. From the right, two Erinyes rush towards him, brandishing snakes in their hands, while on the left stand Orestes’ two protecting deities.<sup>97</sup> Closer to him is Apollo, who stands facing right, raising his hands. He holds a laurel branch in one hand, which could be used during the purification process.<sup>98</sup> Artemis sits behind him, holding an oddly shaped bow, since its curvature resembles the snakes of the Erinyes. Although she has raised the bow, she does not aim it against the Erinyes, nor does she have any arrows for that purpose. All four deities look at Orestes, whose flinging mantle makes his figure look bigger than all the others, and this emphasizes his centrality in this scene. Both twins, as Shapiro notes, look serene – a stark contrast to the crazed Erinyes.<sup>99</sup> Orestes, in effect, divides the scene between the chthonic forces bent on harming him and the Olympian deities who support him. In addition, the presence of the two Erinyes mirrors and balances the presence of the Letoides. Therefore, Artemis here, unlike her Homeric counterpart, stands by her brother when he assists heroes. However, while the Erinyes are similar in appearance and actions, Apollo’s connection with Orestes is exemplified here by their proximity. Therefore, at the moment portrayed on the vase, Artemis mainly supports her brother and counterbalances the second Erinyes, so that Orestes will

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<sup>96</sup> Shapiro (1995), p. 174.

<sup>97</sup> Knoepfler (1993), p. 81.

<sup>98</sup> Shapiro (1994), p. 144; Shapiro (1995), p. 174.

<sup>99</sup> Shapiro (1994), pp. 144-145.

be flanked by two figures on each side, maintaining his position at the center of the scene. It is also possible that Artemis' presence was meant to remind the viewers of the beginning of Orestes' woes, with her demand for the sacrifice of Iphigeneia. Perhaps it may have also been a hint to the future, in which Orestes will be finally released from the Erinyes and retrieve Artemis' cult image and his own sister, from Tauris at Apollo's bidding.

The column-krater in San Antonio presents a similar setting, although this time only one Erinys is present, flanking together with a veiled female, who holds only a torch, the central scene which depicts Apollo and Orestes. Knoepfler does not believe that this veiled figure is Artemis, suggesting she is either Demeter, whose Athenian sanctuaries were nearby,<sup>100</sup> or a mortal woman holding a torch.<sup>101</sup> However, Artemis is often portrayed with a torch, and it is more than reasonable to assume that she will be at her brother's side, especially since Demeter seems to be less relevant to this myth. Artemis' torch could be an implement of purification, and this may better incorporate her into the scene.<sup>102</sup> Moreover, Artemis' proximity to her brother, as we shall see, is sometimes all the attributes she receives, and therefore I agree with Shapiro, who identifies her as Artemis, noting that Orestes seeks refuge and the protection of Apollo and Artemis.<sup>103</sup> However, here too, there should be no doubt that Apollo's proximity to the hero indicates that the god is his chief protector, and although Artemis will help during the purification, as with Aeneas in the *Iliad*, she is doing her brother's bidding.

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<sup>100</sup> The Elesusion and the Thesmophorion.

<sup>101</sup> Knoepfler (1993), p. 82.

<sup>102</sup> Prag (1985), p. 50.

<sup>103</sup> Shapiro (1995), p. 174.

As on the previous vase, the scene is divided “by Apollo’s branch, between the frantic chase at the right and the placid divinities at the left.”<sup>104</sup> However, here the direction of everyone’s gaze is turned towards the right and the approaching winged Erinys, who has snakes coiled around her arms. Apollo holds a laurel branch in his left hand, which will be used to purify Orestes. With his right hand he “gestures his protection of Orestes from the Fury’s onslaught.”<sup>105</sup> Artemis’ torch is another possible purification instrument, since it “contains the Delphic fire known for its purificatory powers.”<sup>106</sup> Thus, unlike the Berlin hydria, Artemis not only supports her brother silently in this image, counterbalancing the Erinyes, or perhaps embodying the past and the future of Orestes’ family, but she assists him and partakes in the actual act of purification. Both Artemis and Apollo face the Erinys peacefully as she violently approaches, while Orestes’ body position indicates movement and perhaps surprise and fear.

The focus on Orestes and his reaction to the Erinyes, however, changes in our third and final vase, a column-krater by the Painter of Brussels R330, dated to ca. 440 BCE (**Cat. 28**). On this krater, Apollo and Artemis are placed at the center, flanked by Orestes and Pylades. Apollo and Artemis once again hold possible instruments of purification – a laurel branch and a torch, although Apollo carries a lyre as well. He sits on a higher level, and this indicates his elevated status in the scene. Orestes and Pylades look alike, yet the youth on the left side is probably Orestes, since he holds out his hand in a gesture that could indicate he is appealing to Apollo, and more importantly, because all the other figures look at him.<sup>107</sup> Moreover, he is closer to

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<sup>104</sup> Shapiro (1994), p. 145.

<sup>105</sup> Shapiro (1994), p. 144; Shapiro (1995), p. 174.

<sup>106</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> Prag (1985), p. 51.



Apollo, and this emphasizes their connection. Without the presence of the Erinyes and the anxiety that they induce, this scene is calmer than the previous ones.

Therefore, in two of the vases depicting Artemis in Orestes' purification or trial, she is most likely there to help Apollo in the purification process. However, her presence in all three vases may also be interpreted as alluding to the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, which brought Orestes to commit the murder for which he will later be purified, as well as hint at his future, since, as we see in Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, he will find final peace only after he rescues both the cult statue of the goddess and his own sister from the Barbarian land.

## **Marpessa**

The myth of Marpessa, the Aetolian princess, who chose the mortal Idas over Apollo, was not very popular in Attic iconography, and only three vases depicting the story have survived. Two of them present a minor scene, with only Marpessa and her two suitors, but the third one, a psykter by the Pan Painter, dated to 480-470 BCE (**Cat. 29**),<sup>108</sup> depicts a much larger scene. Tiverios considers it as one of the most prominent early works of the Pan Painter<sup>109</sup> and according to Smith, the composition shows “all the jauntiness, coherent composition, and confident outline characteristic of the best work of the Archaic period.”<sup>110</sup> Apollo and Artemis stand on the right, Marpessa and Idas stand on the left, and a draped man, who is usually

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<sup>108</sup> A.C. Smith, “The Evolution of the Pan Painter's Artistic Style,” in *Hesperia*, vol. 75, no. 4 (2006), p. 440; L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, “Le psykter de Marpessa à Munich,” in *Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de Antieke Beschaving*, XLIV, (1969), p. 124.

<sup>109</sup> M.A. Tiverios, *Ελληνική Τεχνη: Αρχαία Αγγεία*, (Αθήνα, 1996), p. 311.

<sup>110</sup> Smith (2006), p. 439; Tiverios (1996), p. 311.

identified as Euenos, is placed between them.<sup>111</sup> Presumably he had stopped the fight between the god and the hero and soon Marpessa will choose Idas. Also in the scene are Hermes, a female figure (who could be Leto or Hera), and another male figure holding a scepter, who is probably Zeus.<sup>112</sup> Tiverios suggests that the image on the reverse is Leto arriving to ask for Zeus' help, since she fears Idas, who was known to be an archer who never misses, and that Zeus sends Hermes to mediate between Apollo and the hero. This is an interesting interpretation, although it is unclear why the Archer god should fear any mortal archer, regardless of his abilities.<sup>113</sup> Tölle-Kastenbein, on the other hand, understands it to represent an earlier moment in the myth, in which Hermes arrives to inform Zeus and Leto about Idas' arrogance and defiance against Apollo.<sup>114</sup>

Apollo and Idas embody the action on this vase – they march towards the other in a similar stride. They are both mostly nude, with only a mantle wrapped around their backs and on their arms. They have quivers on their backs and they draw their bows against each other. Idas seems even faster than Apollo, since his arrow is already placed in his bow, and this could be a reference to Homer, who describes how Idas “took his bow against lord Phoibos Apollo on account of the fair-ankled maiden” (*Il.IX.559-561*).

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<sup>111</sup> Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford (1969), p. 127; L. Braccisi, [et al.], *Veder greco: le necropoli di Agrigento*, (Roma, 1988), p. 122. Tiverios, however, suggests this is King Aphareus, Idas' father [(1996), p. 311].

<sup>112</sup> Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford (1969), pp. 124, 131; Braccisi (1988), p. 122.

It is also possible that Zeus is the one standing between Artemis and Marpessa while Euenos is placed between Leto and Hermes. Although it is very reasonable that Zeus, who has settled the quarrel will be placed at the center, it is less obvious why Euenos should be placed between Leto and Hermes.

<sup>113</sup> Tiverios (1996), pp. 311-312.

<sup>114</sup> Tölle-Kastenbein (1980), p. 156.

Artemis and Marpessa also stand in a similar posture, holding their skirts with their left hand and raising their right hand.<sup>115</sup> Artemis also wears a *nebris*, and her quiver hangs on her back, although she has no bow. While their male counterparts mirror each other, Artemis and Marpessa stand facing the left while their heads are turned backwards – Artemis is looking at Euenos (and possibly at Marpessa and Idas who are behind him) and Marpessa looks at Idas and beyond him. If we focus on the twins, between whom stands a deer, this could be a replication of their familiar representations from non-narrative scenes, with two notable exceptions. First, Apollo draws his bow as if he were about to shoot Artemis, but, more importantly, Artemis is uncharacteristically looking away from her brother, towards the woman who rejected him, her father, and her suiter, indicating that the focus of this scene is not on Apollo, who loses here both the girl and the general attention of the figures on the vase, especially since Marpessa too looks at Idas.

Artemis has no clear function in this scene, and it seems she was added in order to counterbalance Marpessa, and thus to present two male figures contending with each other, each one presented alongside a female figure. Had this been only a scene with Apollo, Idas, and Marpessa, perhaps Artemis' presence would not have been required, but since the painter decided to place Euenos at the center, Artemis' presence was needed in order to maintain the balance, and she is comfortably placed into the role of passively supporting her brother in his various endeavors, as we shall see below.

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<sup>115</sup> For the gesture of raising the edge of the skirt, see S. Blundell, "Clutching at clothes," in L. Llewellyn Jones (ed.), *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, (London, 2002), pp. 152-156. According to Blundell, in the context of our image, this gesture should be understood as drawing attention to the femininity of Artemis and Marpessa. She discusses an image in which Athena, armed with helmet, aegis and spear, holds up her skirt "in a gesture whose delicacy is highlighted by the contrast with the military items displayed in her upper half... image of a feminine not to say sexy, Athena," and this could be also said in regards to Artemis in our vase, who is presented as a huntress, with a quiver and a *nebris*.

## Marsyas

The myth of Marsyas has two stages. The first involves Athena, who invents the aulos and discards it. Following this, the satyr Marsyas finds the aulos and masters it, and this leads to the second stage, in which the satyr challenges Apollo to a musical contest, ending with the god's victory and the flaying of Marsyas. Two sources date the early stage of the Marsyas' myth to around the middle of the fifth century BCE, the first is a mostly lost dithyramb, *Marsyas*, by Melanippides of Melos (758 *PMG*), in which Athena's "forfeiture of a possible musical career,"<sup>116</sup> occurred when she did not like how playing it puffed her cheeks. The second source is a now-lost bronze statue group by Myron, which was placed on the Akropolis (*HN* 34.57, Pausanias 1.24.1), and captured the moment when the goddess threw away the flute and the satyr picked it up.<sup>117</sup> It is possible that Melanippides mentioned Apollo in his dithyramb, although the god is securely associated with Marsyas only later, on red-figure vases. Herodotos claims that the wine-skin made out of Marsyas was hung by Apollo in the Phrygian city of Kelainai in southern Phrygia (VII.26).

The myth became popular in vase-painting around 525 BCE, first depicting the earlier stage of Athena and Marsyas' encounter. However, the focus eventually shifted to the competition between Marsyas and Apollo, and vase-painters became more interested in this later phase of the myth.<sup>118</sup> It has been suggested that Apollo and his stringed instrument represent Athens, while Marsyas and his wind instrument represent Boeotia, and that the enmity between

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<sup>116</sup> Gantz (1993), p. 86.

<sup>117</sup> Gantz (1993), p. 86; J. Boardman, "Some Attic Fragments: Pot, Plaque, and Dithyramb," in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 76 (1956), p. 18.

For more on Marsyas, see LIMC; F. Lissarrague, *La cité des satyres*, (Paris, 2013), pp. 159-164.

<sup>118</sup> Boardman (1956), p. 18; L. Seemann, "Zur Interpretation der Athena-Marsyas-Gruppe des Myron," in *Boreas*, 32, (2009), p. 15.

these two polies increased the popularity of the Marsyas myth, since it represents the Athenian victory over the Boeotians. Another suggestion was that it is “a metaphor for the intellectual and philosophical debate regarding the ethical value of the aulos vis-a-vis the lyre or the cultural opposition of Greek vs. barbarian.”<sup>119</sup> Boardman understands his presence in this competition to be that of a “champion of the traditional dithyramb... his participation in a contest which indirectly involves fundamental details of its composition is quite easy to understand” and that Marsyas could represent an oriental being licked by an Athenian, therefore referring to the Persian Wars.<sup>120</sup> Bundrick, rejecting these political explanations, suggests the myth could reflect the popularity musical competitions in Athens during the classical period.<sup>121</sup>

Although the literary sources do not place Artemis in the myth of Apollo’s musical competition with Marsyas, about a third of the vases depicting this myth incorporate her into it.<sup>122</sup> However, had it not been for the Kadmos Painter, who included Artemis in this context six times (on five vases), the number would have been considerably lower. Moreover, since he is also the earliest to incorporate Artemis into this scene, it is possible that the other painters followed him, thus including the goddess in a scene from which she is usually absent.

On a volute-krater in Ruvo (**Cat. 32**), the Kadmos Painter depicted two stages of the myth of Marsyas. The focus of the scene on the body is on the satyr and Athena, who are placed

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<sup>119</sup> S.D. Bundrick, *Expressions of Harmony: Representations of Female Musicians in Fifth-Century Athenian Vase Painting*, (Unpublished doctoral thesis), Emory University, (Atlanta, 1998), p. 150.

<sup>120</sup> Boardman (1956), p. 19.

<sup>121</sup> Bundrick (1998), p. 150.

<sup>122</sup> Ten out of thirty-three, all exclusively red-figure vases. One of these, a hydria in Boston by the Modica Painter, dated to the end of the fifth century BCE, is too fragmentary; therefore I have opted not to include it in my analysis and catalogue, even though it is clear that it incorporates Artemis into the depiction of the Marsyas myth. *ARI*<sup>2</sup> 1340.2, *BAPD* 217534.

Out of forty-one images of Marsyas, Apollo appears on thirty-three. On eleven of these Artemis also appears. Athena appears alongside Apollo and Artemis on seven vases, together with Apollo on six vases and without Apollo, on four more vases.

at the center. Marsyas plays the kithara, sitting across from a standing Athena. Behind her, and on a lower level, sits Apollo while Artemis, who stands behind him, leans on his shoulder, indicating they are closely associated here, as they look at Marsyas. Apollo holds a laurel branch while Artemis carries a torch and a quiver is slung on her back. Isler-Kerényi notes that “there is no indication whatsoever of the further tragic developments. Rather, the atmosphere is one of peace and relaxation.”<sup>123</sup> Alternatively, Apollo’s somewhat lax posture could indicate that he has no doubts as to the results of the contest. He and Artemis are closely associated here; their body language reveals a close intimacy as they watch together as the plot unfolds and Marsyas digs his own metaphorical grave.

It is possible that the body of this vase depicts the competition itself, perhaps a different version in which Marsyas tried to prove he plays the kithara as well as Apollo, and Athena’s prominent role here may suggest that she is the arbitrator of the competition.<sup>124</sup> Boardman suggests (and Sarti concurs) that this was because vase painters were familiar with another version of the story, the aforementioned dithyramb by Melanippides, in which the satyr also plays Apollo’s lyre or kithara.<sup>125</sup> Another possible explanation may be that this has been the artist’s way of conveying the satyr’s great hubris. By playing Apollo’s instrument in front of him, Marsyas’ insolence is acerbated since, as the palm tree in the background probably indicates, this took place at Apollo’s sanctuary. Therefore, this could be a visual expression of the satyr’s arrogance in challenging Apollo’s musical prowess, a motif that repeats on another vase of the Kadmos Painter (**Cat. 30**).

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<sup>123</sup> C. Isler-Kerényi, *Dionysos in Classical Athens: An Understanding through Images*, (Leiden, 2015), p. 192.

<sup>124</sup> Lissarrague suggests she is the mediator. (F. Lissarrague, *La cité des satyres*, [Paris, 2013], p. 162).

<sup>125</sup> Boardman (1956), pp. 18-19; S. Sarti, “Gli Strumenti Musicali Di Apollo,” in *Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica*, 14, (1992), pp. 96-103. For more on kithara laying satyrs, see Boardman (1956), p. 19n23.

The convivial arrangement on the body of the vase transforms in the scene on the neck, which is less complex and features fewer participants, providing a different rendition of the competition, one which better accords with the Marsyas myth as we know it, although, as Lissarrague notes, the lyre is conspicuously missing.<sup>126</sup> Apollo is at the center, holding a laurel branch. He is flanked by two figures on each side; closer to him are two satyrs and further away, two deities. Marsyas sits in front of Apollo, playing the aulos. Behind the god we see another satyr, gesturing fervently, perhaps warning Marsyas against his folly. Hermes is placed on the far right side, while Artemis, who carries a torch, stands on the far left side, behind Marsyas. It was suggested she is a maenad, although it is more likely that she is Artemis, since as we have seen, the goddess is often depicted with only a torch or two, so the lack of attributes is inconsequential. Moreover, considering the predilection of the Kadmos Painter's towards Artemis, it is more than likely that he depicted her here as well. The intimate connection between the twins recedes in view of the pictorial narrative and the artistic vision of the painter. This is Apollo's great moment, and Artemis and his half-brother are here to support him, as the other satyr possibly supports Marsyas. Having the image framed by two deities can also provide a hint to the consequences of the competition, as the Olympian forces close on the two satyrs.

On his other vases, the Kadmos Painter does not replicate these scenes, but rather explores other moments and possibilities regarding this myth. For example, the balance of power is altered on a calyx-krater (**Cat. 30**) in which Apollo and Athena are facing each other. Apollo sits, holding a laurel branch, while Athena stands in front of him, grasping a spear that intersects his branch, which, according to Lissarrague, signals the exchange between them, although there

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<sup>126</sup> Lissarrague (2013), p. 161.

is also a tension between these two gods.<sup>127</sup> Marsyas, playing the kithara, sits behind Athena, mirroring Apollo's position. The addition of Artemis to this scene seems to serve the painter's desire not to place Athena at the center of the image, but rather to give a more even distribution of attentions to the figures on the vase. Despite the fact that the scene is divided spatially, Athena may appear to be the one who is at the center of the scene conceptually, flanked by the two sitting males. Artemis is added for balance, paired with Marsyas, rather than with her soon-to-be victorious brother. Yet Artemis, Marsyas, and Athena all gaze at Apollo, as if waiting for him to act, so he may be the true focal point of the scene, and Artemis was mainly added to balance the figure of Athena and to prevent the scene from having more than one clear focal point.

A more minimalistic approach was taken by the Kadmos Painter on a bell-krater, dated to 435-420 BCE (**Cat. 31**). Marsyas sits at the center and plays the aulos. Apollo stands to the right, leaning on a laurel branch and looking at him. Between them stands a tripod on a column and this may indicate that the scene takes place at Delphi, but it also alludes to Apollo's victory, as tripods were given as prizes in competitions.<sup>128</sup> Artemis stands on the other side, holding a torch and looking at Marsyas. Her function here is to counterbalance Apollo's presence and to flank Marsyas, thus indicating that the focus here is on Marsyas' participation in the contest. Athena's absence may indicate that the painter wished to focus not on the earlier stage of the myth but solely on its second part. Thus, Artemis, who has no direct connection to the myth but who is closely associated with Apollo, is a logical and undistracting choice for inclusion.

A vase in Bochum, dated to 410-400 BCE (**Cat. 34**) brings another variation of the myth by the Kadmos Painter. Apollo sits at the center, dividing the scene into two parts. On the right

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<sup>127</sup> Lissarrague (2013), p. 162.

<sup>128</sup> Stafford (2012), p. 167.



half of the composition, are the main participants of this myth: Athena is on the far right, watching a seated Marsyas playing the aulos while Apollo, facing to the right, plays the lyre. Perhaps she is here merely as a spectator, but we should not dismiss the option that she still functions as the judge in the contest. Nike descends from above, about to place a victory wreath on Apollo's head. On the left side, Artemis stands, holding a bow and a torch, facing to the left, towards Hermes, with her back to Apollo, meaning that the twins are facing away from one another. This may be an indication that Artemis is not as important to the story of Marsyas, while her presence on the vase, and so closely to Apollo, may still serve to strengthen the connection between the twins, only outside of the context of this competition.

Finally, a calyx-krater in Bologna, dated to ca. 420 BCE (**Cat. 33**) depicts another rendition of the Marsyas myth by the Kadmos Painter. It includes Marsyas playing the aulos and Apollo holding a lyre. They are flanked by Hermes on the right and by another figure, who is mostly lost, on the left. What remains of this figure is the top of a head and a hand clasping a torch. Considering the predilections of the Kadmos Painter, who oftentimes incorporates Artemis into his depictions of this myth, and always portrays her with a torch, it is very likely that this figure is indeed Artemis, providing the frame in which the contest between her brother and Marsyas takes place once again.

Apart from the vases of the Kadmos Painter, only five additional images incorporate Artemis into scenes of the competition between Apollo and Marsyas, and all are later than his work.<sup>129</sup> One such example comes on a column-krater by the Suessula Painter (**Cat. 35**). The composition here is simple. Athena and Marsyas are at the center, flanked by Artemis and

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<sup>129</sup> This includes the aforementioned hydria in Boston, which will not be discussed here.

Apollo. The god stands on the far right, holding a laurel branch and raising his right arm while holding out his forefinger, perhaps addressing Marsyas. It is possible that Apollo is confronting the satyr, but his facial expression (as well as his relaxed body language) seems too calm, so perhaps he is only admonishing Marsyas. Athena stands next to him, and it seems she is rushing away from Apollo towards the elderly-looking Marsyas, who sits on an amphora and plays the aulos. On the far left, Artemis sits on a higher ground, holding a burning torch. Although Athena and Marsyas are placed at the center of the picture, their attention, as well as Artemis', is focused on Apollo. Artemis here serves again as a balance, preventing a three-figure composition that will focus the viewer's attention on the figure in the middle. Moreover, her inclusion allows three characters to look at Apollo, making their mutual gaze more powerful than had it been only Athena and Marsyas.

The central position of Athena and Marsyas, together with the fact that Apollo does not hold any musical instruments, may indicate that the main story on this vase is the earlier myth of Athena and Marsyas. It is also possible that Athena's complex pose of looking at Apollo while moving towards Marsyas, indicates that she serves as the judge of their competition, her attention given to both participants, even though only one of them is playing at the moment. On the other hand, since all the participants look at Apollo, this perhaps reflects a transition from the first part of the myth, in which Marsyas takes the aulos discarded by Athena, and its second part, in which he competes with Apollo.

A seemingly similar arrangement appears on a bell-krater by the Semele Painter (**Cat. 36**), in which the former four characters appear with an addition of a small Nike, hovering between Marsyas and Athena and holding out a fillet. Presumably it is intended for Apollo,

foreshadowing his future victory, even though it seems she is handing it to Athena. There are a few more changes, although the basic outline is the same. Apollo stands on the far right; a more static Athena is half-sitting next to him. Marsyas sits by her side on a tree stump, playing the aulos, and an amphora lies on the ground near him. Artemis stands behind the satyr, holding a burning torch, a quiver on her back, and she leans on the tree in a familiar pose, similar to how she sometimes leans on Apollo. Each pair faces the other, and therefore the division between them is clear. Both twins are flanking the scene, and Artemis' presence allows the painter to depict two pairs, despite the fact that the myth involves only three of the participants. The major difference is that the focus here is not on Apollo, but rather on Marsyas and especially on Athena, who is about to be crowned by Nike. Seemann understands Nike's presence as proof that Athena serves as the judge in the contest, although her decision will award Nike's victory-fillet to Apollo, even though he is depicted without his musical instrument. Nonetheless, he claims that Nike is about to give Apollo the fillet, even though she seems to be approaching Athena.<sup>130</sup>

A different moment in the competition is found on a Kerch pelike in St. Petersburg (**Cat. 37**). Here, the Marsyas Painter portrays a later moment: Apollo playing while Marsyas watches him, his aulos leaning on the rock upon which he sits. The focus has moved to Apollo's music and away from Marsyas, unlike what we have seen so far. The results of the competition are alluded as a small Nike is about to crown Apollo. Artemis sits to Apollo's left, above Marsyas, holding two burning torches. On the other side, on the lower level, there is a slouching youth, who was identified as Olympus,<sup>131</sup> and on the higher register, we see a woman with a scepter and a diadem, who is probably Leto. Athena's absence, as well as the possible presence of Leto,

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<sup>130</sup> Seemann (2009), p. 15.

<sup>131</sup> L. Barkova und J. Kalasnik (eds.), *Das Gold der Skythen und Griechen*, (Bonn, 1997), p. 174.

makes indicates that the focus here is on Apollo and on his forthcoming victory, while disregarding the first part of the myth and Athena's part in it, as the lower position of the pipes may also demonstrate. Since this vase celebrates Apollo and his divine music, incorporating Athena into the narrative would have perhaps distracted from that. Artemis and Leto function here as they do on vases with the Delian Triad – as the entourage of Apollo, supporting him without threatening to outshine him. Artemis is indeed much larger than him, although this is counterbalanced by his central position and I do not believe this was meant to indicate her greater importance. Rather, it should be understood as the painter's miscalculating his space.

A Kerch calyx-krater in Oxford (**Cat. 38**) depicts another scene with multiple participants, in what Arafat calls a “family gathering.”<sup>132</sup> Beazley identified the figure in the middle, of whom almost nothing survives, as Apollo, holding a laurel branch and possibly a lyre, since the “rectangular bit on the right... below Athena's armpit, must be, as Ashmole suggested to me, the end of the outer horn of his lyre.”<sup>133</sup> Above Apollo hovers a small Nike and to his left are Athena, another Nike, Hermes, and Hera. To Apollo's right, is Artemis, with a bow and a quiver at her shoulder. Marsyas, with his hands bound behind his back at her feet, sits at her feet. To her right, are Zeus, another satyr, and a maenad.<sup>134</sup> Five tripods are scattered around the scene indicating that it takes place in Delphi.<sup>135</sup>

If this is true, then Apollo is at the center of the image, with Athena and Artemis flanking him and Marsyas crouching not very far from his feet. This may well represent the moments after Apollo's victory and before Marsyas' impending punishment. Artemis' inclusion and

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<sup>132</sup> Arafat (1990), p. 146.

<sup>133</sup> J.D. Beazley, “Excavations at Al Mina, Suedia (Continued),” in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 59, Part 1 (1939), p. 42.

<sup>134</sup> Beazley (1939), pp. 39-40.

<sup>135</sup> *ibid.* p. 41.

proximity to her brother could have derived from the painter's decision to place Apollo as the victor between his sister and half-sister, although the former is not associated with the myth, since portraying him only alongside Athena could have implied a similar position for both of them. The other figures on the vase, apart from Nike, also have no direct relevance to the myth, and they are possibly here as Apollo's family or are associated with Marsyas.

### **The Struggle for the Tripod**

The myth of Apollo and Herakles' struggle for the tripod was one of the most popular of the hero's exploits.<sup>136</sup> Its origins derive from Herakles' search for prophecy or purification after murdering either Iphitos or his own children. The literary sources are scarce and later than the images depicting this myth. Pindar might have referred to this myth in one of his odes (*Ol.* IX.32-33), although it is uncertain whether he refers to one occasion in which Herakles fought against Apollo, Poseidon, and Hades together, or to three separate incidents, which would infer the struggle for the tripod. The first certain literary allusions to the Struggle for the Tripod come much later, in Cicero, (*ND* 3.16.42), Hyginus (*Fab* 32),<sup>137</sup> and Apollodoros, who is the earliest account of a struggle during Herakles' visit to Delphi. Apollodoros wrote that since the Pythia did not answer the hero's questions, he began to despoil Apollo's temple and to seize its treasures, including the tripod, intending to establish his own oracular shrine. Apollo arrived to stop him and eventually Zeus had to intervene and separate them until a compromise is achieved.

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<sup>136</sup> H.W. Parke and J. Boardman, "The Struggle for the Tripod and the First Sacred War," in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 77, Part 2 (1957), p. 278.

<sup>137</sup> Gantz (1993), p. 438.

Apollo keeps his tripod and provides Herakles with a prophecy, according to which he had to be sold and serve as a slave for three years and to pay compensation to Iphitos' father (2.6.2).<sup>138</sup>

Unlike the scarce literary evidence, the artistic representations of the Struggle for the Tripod are early and abundant.<sup>139</sup> In Attic iconography, this myth first appears around the middle of the sixth century BCE.

Our earliest example of the Struggle myth appears on a pyxis in Boston dated to ca. 550 BCE (**Cat. 87**). Its painter has omitted Athena and possibly even Artemis, while presenting a large “*ungewöhnlichen Götteransammlung*.”<sup>140</sup> Schefold divides the images of the Struggle for the Tripod into two iconographical types; the earliest presents Apollo and Herakles facing each other while the tripod stands on the ground and the later one “in which Herakles runs off clutching the tripod, with Apollo in hot pursuit.”<sup>141</sup> Sakowski mentions three categories: the first and oldest one presents Apollo and Herakles standing statically around the tripod, which is placed on the ground between them; second, the tripod is held by the opponents; third, Heracles flees with the tripod and Apollo pursues him.<sup>142</sup> Most of our vases appear to be an amalgamation of Sakowski's last two categories, therefore conferring with Schefold's second type, since Apollo is usually both chasing Herakles and trying to snatch the tripod from the hero's hands. In any case, according to both of them, our pyxis belongs to the first category, and Sakowski notes that this “*Wie deutlich geworden ist, wirkt das erste Schema zumeist sehr statisch und geradezu*

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<sup>138</sup> For a fuller discussion of the literary evidence, see Luce (1930), pp. 314-316; Gantz (1993), pp. 437-439; Parke and Boardman (1957), pp. 277-282; Shapiro (1995), p. 120.

<sup>139</sup> For the earliest representations of this theme, see Gantz (1993), p. 438; Parke and Boardman, pp. 278-279.

<sup>140</sup> Sakowski (1997), p. 117.

<sup>141</sup> Schefold (1992), p. 154.

<sup>142</sup> Sakowski (1997), p. 116.

demonstrativ heraldisch” scheme appears on Attic vases only rarely, suggesting it was imported to Attica, perhaps influenced by sculpture from the Peloponnesos.<sup>143</sup>

At the center of the pyxis, a large tripod is placed between Herakles on the right, holding his club, and Apollo, who is possibly holding a bow, on its left. They face each other, each one seizing one of the tripod’s handles. Behind Herakles stand three male figures, one who might be Zeus, Hermes with his customary attributes, and another male, holding two wreathes. Behind Apollo, we see three more males: Poseidon, possibly Nereus, and Dionysos, as well as one female figure, who has no attributes, and who has a mantle wrapped around her back and arms, which covers the back of her head. Bothmer and Sakowski only refer to her as a goddess,<sup>144</sup> although her location, on Apollo’s side of the scene, may indicate that she is Artemis, even if the distance between them makes this less certain. Perhaps she is Leto, who is more likely to be shown veiled, although Artemis too is sometimes portrayed with a mantle covering her head. It is worth noting that she was added without another female counterpart on Herakles’ side, so perhaps her addition was an afterthought, when the painter finished drawing all the gods and realized he has additional space. Alternatively, the painter could have planned to paint Athena as well, but misjudged the space and therefore could not have incorporated her into the scene. In any case, the painter here has distanced this goddess, if she is indeed Artemis, from Apollo as much as possible.

The myth of the Struggle for the Tripod became very popular around 520 BCE and this is attributed to the influence of the east pediment of the Siphnian treasury in Delphi, dated to ca.

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<sup>143</sup> *ibid.* p. 118.

<sup>144</sup> Bothmer, “The Struggle for the Tripod,” p. 52; Sakowski (1997), p. 117.

525 BCE.<sup>145</sup> Shapiro refers to the east pediment as the ultimate source for the tripod scenes in Athens, although he acknowledges that “most of the vases which depict this myth show some degree of dependence on the sculptural model,” since Zeus is rarely incorporated into this scene.<sup>146</sup> On the pediment, Apollo and Herakles are both grabbing the tripod, behind which stands Zeus, trying to separate his two quarreling sons. Behind Apollo stands Artemis, supporting her brother by putting her hand on his arm, perhaps trying to help him pull the tripod away. As for the other figures on the relief, Neer suggests that Leto is placed behind Artemis, and that behind Herakles we see Athena, Iolaos, and another figure, perhaps Hermes.<sup>147</sup> Interestingly, with the exception of Zeus, Apollo, Artemis and Herakles, all the other figures are smaller and they face away from the main scene. The reduced size is required, of course, due to the limitation of the triangular pediment, but it is interesting that the sculptor opted to incorporate Artemis into the main scene, presenting her as actually helping her brother rather than passively supporting him. As we shall see below, this is quite rare in the Athenian depiction of this myth. Another notable difference is that only two Athenian vases have incorporated Zeus into this scene and placed him in a central position, as most of the Attic vases tend to present this myth with fewer participants than the frieze, mainly Apollo, Herakles, Artemis, and Athena.

The Struggle for the Tripod is oftentimes explained on political terms. One theory suggests it was an allegorical reference to the First Sacred War, in which Krisa attempted to take over Delphi from the Delphic Amphictyony, in which Athens was a member.<sup>148</sup> A second theory

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<sup>145</sup> Parke and Boardman (1957), p. 279; E. Stafford, *Herakles*, (Abingdon, 2012), p. 166; von Bothmer, *Greek Vase Painting: An Introduction*, (New York, 1972), (no page numbers).

<sup>146</sup> Shapiro (1995), p. 120.

<sup>147</sup> J.-F. Bommelaer et D. Laroche, *Guide de Delphes: le Site* (Paris 1991); Neer (2001), p. 292.

<sup>148</sup> Parke and Boardman (1957), pp. 276-277; K. Schefold, *Gods and Heroes in Late Archaic Greek Art*, (Cambridge, 1992), p. 153; Stafford (2012), pp. 166-167.



claims that this myth represents the contemporary rivalry between Peisistratos and Delphi, used for propaganda purposes.<sup>149</sup> Since the myth legitimizes Delphi's authority, it is hard to see why it would have been so popular in Athens, although Watrous suggests that perhaps the Attic vases refer to an unknown Athenian version of this myth.<sup>150</sup>

Neer argues that there is a methodological flaw in these accounts, since none “of these allegorizing interpretations actually addresses the sculptures themselves... Although some such information is indispensable, ‘symbolic’ readings typically overestimate its role,”<sup>151</sup> claiming that such political symbolism is irrelevant, since “the pediment depicts the same thing: Herakles and Apollo fighting over a tripod... [not] Peisistratos or the Sacred War... [but] the mediation of a quarrel over a precious object—a tripod—before an assembled community of gods and men. And that is really all there is to it. The scene does not require further decipherment by trained cryptographers.”<sup>152</sup> Stafford, on the other hand, suggests that such a scene, especially considering its public location and its positive conclusion, “offers a model of civilized conflict resolution, while emphasizing Delphi's openness to all comers, the tripod standing both for the oracle and for the Panhellenic Pythian Games (in which tripods were a traditional prize).”<sup>153</sup> On the other hand, she notes that this does not apply to the viewers of this scene on Attic vases, who “might

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<sup>149</sup> Boardman 1978: 231. L. Watrous, “The Sculptural Program of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi,” in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, 86, (1982) pp. 167-168.

For a further discussion of the various opinions of the meaning of the scene, see Shapiro 1989: 61–64, Neer (2001), pp. 292-293. Watrous and Ridgway assume that the iconography of the Siphnian treasury was decided by the religious authorities in Delphi, who “suggested sculptural programs and authorized proposed messages” (Ridgway [1999], pp. 204–205; Watrous (1982), p. 172). Neer, however, does not concur, arguing that this seems extreme, arbitrary, unlikely, and unsubstantiated and that the polies did in fact have influence on the decoration of their treasuries “which they built at their own cost for their own people” (p.293n94).

<sup>150</sup> Watrous (1982), p. 168.

<sup>151</sup> Neer (2001), p. 293.

<sup>152</sup> *ibid.* p. 294.

<sup>153</sup> Stafford (2012), p. 167.

not have read so many layers of meaning into the image, but simply have enjoyed the idea of the popular hero's challenge to divine authority.”<sup>154</sup>

More than two hundred images depict Apollo and Herakles struggling for the tripod, many of which incorporated into the scene Artemis and Athena, who support Apollo and Herakles respectively. It is generally agreed that the representation of this myth with these “familiar foursome”<sup>155</sup> is the canonical type of the Struggle for the Tripod images, due to its regularity and great number.<sup>156</sup> However, the transition to red-figure vases demonstrates a sharp decline in Artemis’ presence, with sixty-six black-figure vases incorporating her into this scene compared with only ten red-figure ones.

However, at its core, this myth is about the altercation between Apollo and Herakles, and therefore Artemis, as well as Athena, only plays a secondary role in it. Accordingly, most of the vases depicting this theme portray it within a symmetrical composition: Apollo and Herakles holding onto the tripod, which is placed between them. Sometimes the tripod is lifted in the air in an upright position, but in most cases it is on its side. When Artemis and Athena join the scene, they are placed behind Apollo and Herakles respectively, mostly supporting them morally rather than physically. The goddesses may gasp and run and gesture fervently, but they hardly ever touch the tripod. Thus, the imagery of this myth repeatedly presents Artemis in a secondary role, passively supporting her brother, and so does Athena, while the action is shared by Apollo and Herakles.

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<sup>154</sup> *ibid.* p. 167.

<sup>155</sup> Bothmer (1977), p. 63.

<sup>156</sup> Shapiro (1995), p. 120; Bothmer (1977), p. 55; Parke and Boardman (1957), p. 279.

Scenes of the Struggle for the Tripod were very popular in black-figure paintings during the second half of the sixth century BCE, but they were less common after 480 BCE. This is predominantly a black-figure theme, as the red-figure paintings consist of about a fifth of the total Attic images.<sup>157</sup> One of the earliest examples is a red-figure amphora by the Andokides Painter and dated to 530-520 BCE, about the same time as the Siphnian Treasury (**Cat. 110**) and Bothmer claims that some of the details of the vase can be traced directly to the Siphnian sculptures.<sup>158</sup> This vase is also one of the earliest examples of the tripod scene to include Artemis, with a handful of black-figure vases which are roughly dated to the same time and one much earlier pyxis discussed above. Tiverios asserts that despite its elegance, the painter did not fully utilize the possibilities offered by the new technique.<sup>159</sup> Schefold, on the other hand, sings its praise, claiming it demonstrates the superiority of the red-figure technique, saying:

“The ability to characterise individuals which was such an admirable feature of the work of the Amasis Painter is now given full rein: Herakles, whose powerful stride is further emphasised by his movement to the left; the light-footed Apollo, who need only reach out for the tripod to guarantee his victory; Athena, a threatening presence with snakes and gorgoneion; and Artemis, flowers in her hands, radiating Olympian glory. Their gazes cross and re-cross, locked in a never-ending and inexhaustible interplay: Herakles' eye, to express his defiance, is open wider than Apollo's, who needs only to command; the goddesses stare at the scene in awe. The severity of the compositional axes has begun to relax as

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<sup>157</sup> D.C. Kurtz (ed.), *Greek Vases: Lectures by J.D. Beazley*, (Oxford, 1989), p. 69; A. Sakowski, *Darstellungen von Dreifußkesseln in der griechischen Kunst bis zum Beginn der Klassischen Zeit*, (Frankfurt am Main, 1997), p. 115.

<sup>158</sup> Bothmer (1972) (no page numbers).

<sup>159</sup> Tiverios (1996), p. 285.

the figures and the layout become more elastic; the dramatic intensity of the older pictures has given way to a subtle psychological discourse.”<sup>160</sup>

However, despite its many possible similarities to the Siphnian relief, this amphora demonstrates a few great changes. Zeus is absent, but more relevant to our case, the central position of Artemis, who was confronting Herakles alongside her brother on the pediment, has considerably shifted. Now, instead of helping Apollo to pull away the tripod, she is smelling a flower. This also juxtaposes her with Athena, who was not directly helping Herakles on the frieze. Now she does not help him directly either, but her full military garb – helmet, aegis, spear, and a round shield, is indeed “a threatening presence,” making her ready for battle, unlike Artemis, who is equipped only with some interesting flora. Yet the attire of the goddesses and the objects they carry are less important than their posture and clear remoteness from the action and this is probably what led Bothmer to describe both goddesses as mere onlookers.<sup>161</sup> Another amphora in New York, by the same painter (**Cat. 111**), presents a similar composition, only Apollo seems more relaxed and Athena is no longer armed to the teeth, as she only wears her helmet and aegis, but has no spear or shield.

## **Bows and Arrows and Quivers**

Despite the great similarity between the Tripod scenes involving Artemis, they present some differences. One such element is the weaponry which is carried (or is not) by Artemis and

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<sup>160</sup> Schefold (1992), pp. 156-157.

<sup>161</sup> Bothmer (1977), p. 54.

Apollo. Unlike the scenes of the Delian triad, Artemis and Apollo are now presented with their bow, arrows, or quiver more often, presumably since in a scene of a struggle, a bow is not only a hypothetical attribute, but quite a necessity, even if its owner never uses it. In black-figure images, both Artemis and Apollo carry at least one archery item a total of eighteen times, and three more images present Apollo as archer while Artemis carries a spear. Apollo is presented as the only armed twin on nineteen black-figure vases, and on two of these Artemis carries a scepter, which echoes, according to Shapiro, Athena's spear.<sup>162</sup> On two images Apollo has no weapon while Artemis is armed with a spear and seven times he is unarmed while she has some archery gear. The twins are presented with no weaponry on twenty-one black-figure vases. As for red-figure vases, both twins are presented as archers three times, and Apollo is depicted with archery gear while Artemis is unarmed seven times.

Despite the recurring presence of weapons in these scenes, Artemis and Apollo never use their weapon against Herakles, even though he often raises his club against Apollo (e.g. **Cat. 89**, where the club is about to hit Apollo's chin). Since Apollo grabs the tripod, this leaves him very little option to attack the hero, especially with a bow. Artemis' apparent pacifism probably symbolizes her secondary role in these scenes. She is there for moral support and for counterbalancing Athena's presence, not to fight her brother's fights. A few rare examples show one of the twins raising the bow, yet they are clearly not drawing it.

An important difference between Artemis and Apollo in these scenes, which emphasizes how Artemis is considered a mere supportive character here, is the fact that while Apollo constantly touches or grabs the tripod and "Athena may actually join in the tug-of-war, helping

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<sup>162</sup> Shapiro (1995), p. 120.

Herakles to pull the tripod away from Apollo,”<sup>163</sup> Artemis, on the other side, may hold or even brandish her weapon. But she almost never touches the tripod. The one exception is a neck-amphora in Boston, dated to 525-500 BCE (**Cat. 39**), on which Artemis grabs the tripod’s upper leg.<sup>164</sup> Other than this, Artemis stretches her hands forward or raises them in gestures of frustration, agitation, support or perhaps she even tries to signal Herakles to stop. But this encompasses her contribution to gain back the Tripod, which seems to be only Apollo’s responsibility. Thus, although she is a recurring participant in this scene, she is there as a supporter of Apollo and as a spectator of the real action, unlike her brother, who is actively pursuing Herakles.

## Hands and Feet

The scenes of the Struggle for the Tripod present a similar composition in most cases – Apollo is chasing Herakles while clasping parts of the Tripod and trying to pull it out of the hero’s hands. Apollo predominantly strides vigorously or runs, and on one vase, the aforementioned pyxis, he is standing (**Cat. 87**). Artemis, however, has a wider range of movements. She mostly strides behind her brother, as we may see on a neck-amphora by the Rycroft Painter, dated to 510-500 BCE (**Cat. 61**). Apollo’s step is usually larger than hers, but nonetheless, she follows him and advances behind him. This indicates that she is part of the chase and the action, which she shares with her brother as well as with Herakles and sometimes with Athena, who may be rushing towards them from the opposite direction. On one vase, a hydria, also by the Rycroft Painter, dated to 525-500 BCE (**Cat. 63**), she and Apollo run

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<sup>163</sup> Watrous (1982), p. 168.

<sup>164</sup> H. Hoffmann, *CVA, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts I*, (Boston, 1973), p. 31; Sakowski (1997), p. 115.

alongside each other, although he is slightly ahead of her and his stride is bigger. On another vase she is sitting and watching the brawl (**Cat. 97**).<sup>165</sup> Other vases portray both Artemis and Athena standing, framing with their static position the masculine action which takes place at the center. This is a further indication that this image focuses on Apollo and Herakles, and that any additional characters may add some color and variation, but they are not essential to it. Moreover, neither Artemis nor Athena really intervenes in the struggle nor do they help Apollo or Herakles, since although they may brandish weapons, they never aim them. This is a duel and the goddesses are spectators and supporters. In the very few instances in which someone is trying to calm things down it is Zeus, Hermes, or even Iolaos, portrayed between Apollo and Herakles who attempt to stop them from fighting, as we see on the Siphnian Treasury.<sup>166</sup>

Athena is the most recurring participant in this scene, although sometimes Hermes, Zeus, and even Iolaos make an appearance. However, the additions and alterations do not change the basic meaning of this scene and the emphasis remains on the combatant sons of Zeus. Two additional depictions of this scene omit Athena as well, only they maintain the balance of four participants by adding a male figure. First is a neck-amphora in Oxford, dated to ca. 510 BCE, on which Hermes, wielding a kerykeion, sits on the far right, near Herakles (**Cat. 68**). Secondly, a lekythos by the Gela Painter, dated to the early fifth century BCE (**Cat. 69**), on which we see a male figure with no attributes, suggested as Iolaos by de la Genière and Tusa, stands in front of Herakles.<sup>167</sup> Another unique aspect of this vase is that the painter has endowed Apollo with three

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<sup>165</sup> On two of these vases, an amphora in Boston by the Rycroft Painter from ca. 520 BCE (**Cat. 91**) and a neck-amphora in Baltimore by the Antimenes Painter, dated to 550-500 BCE (**Cat. 49**), Artemis stands in a small straddle, unlike the rest of the bases in which her feet are overlapping each other. However, it is too small for her to actually make a step, so I am treating them alongside the other standing images of her.

<sup>166</sup> For more on this, see Shapiro (1995), pp. 120-121.

<sup>167</sup> J. de la Genière, CVA, Italia, Palermo, Collezione Mormino, Banco di Sicilia 1, (Roma, 1971), p. 7; F. Giudice, S. Tusa, and V. Tusa, *La Collezione Archeologica del Banco di Sicilia*, (Palermo, 1992), p. 92.

arms, all of which clasp at the tripod. Tusa suggests this was done by accident;<sup>168</sup> although an oinochoe in Berlin, which depicts a three-armed Odysseus trying to untie himself from the mast in the presence of the Sirens, could hint that there was no mistake in our vase.<sup>169</sup> Rather, it is possible that this was the painter's way of showing rapid movement and Apollo's fervent attempts to pull away the tripod. In both cases, Artemis stands behind Apollo, and that is also true regarding other vases depicting larger scenes, with five or more participants. In some of the images Hermes and Zeus are added to the scene, but they never stand between Artemis and Apollo (or between Herakles and Athena in the images examined here). Hermes sometimes stands behind Artemis, between Apollo and Herakles, or behind Athena in the background, and Zeus is depicted behind Athena or between Apollo and Herakles. This demonstrates the strong connection between each pair. The primary scene consists of the two pairs against each other, which is why it is possible to place a deity between Apollo and Herakles, since it does not break the connection of each pair, but rather serves to divide the two pairs. It also shows that Artemis' status in these images, in relation to her association with Apollo, is as strong as that of Athena and Herakles'.

The basic outline of the black-figure vases is kept throughout most of the ten red-figure vases. The two earliest vases by the Andokides Painter discussed above present an image that is very close to the black-figure images, with its typical rigidity of composition, especially in the figures of Artemis and Athena (**Cat. 110-111**).<sup>170</sup> This is unsurprising, since the Andokides

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<sup>168</sup> V. Tusa [et al.], *Odeon: ed altri "monumenti" archeologici*, (Palermo, 1971), p. 29; Giudice, Tusa, and Tusa (1992), p. 92.

<sup>169</sup> *BAPD* 9404. A. Albersmeier (ed.), *Heroes: Mortals and Myths in Ancient Greece*, (Baltimore, 2009), p. 198.

<sup>170</sup> Bothmer (1977), p. 54.



Painter was “prone” to translate black-figure scenes into red-figure ones.<sup>171</sup> Yet even in the later examples, there are no important changes. Eight vases portray the familiar scene – Apollo and Herakles at the center, grabbing the tripod and pulling it away, while Artemis and Athena stand behind (or near) them, without interfering or touching the tripod. Artemis stands three or four times and strides in the remaining images, while Apollo is always striding. Six times Apollo is the only one with archery equipment, and on three vases both gods carry a weapon. Moreover, on an amphora by the Dikaios Painter, dated to 510-500 BCE, both twins seem to be pulling an arrow out of their quiver, and this possibly indicates that Artemis is about to take a bigger part in the scene and provide her brother with more than just moral support (**Cat. 107**). Athena, on the other hand, stands calmly.

One red-figure vase omits Athena from the scene. This is a neck-amphora by the Berlin Painter, dated to ca. 480 BCE (**Cat. 115**). On the obverse, Apollo chases Herakles. The god holds a bow in one hand and grabs the tripod in the other. On the reverse, a maiden is rushing forward. She has no attributes. If we would look at the image in a linear fashion, she would arrive at the scene running from the other side, closer to Herakles. Bothmer considers this as the wrong way, doubting whether she is indeed Artemis.<sup>172</sup> However, although generally speaking, the two sides of a vase are not always connected thematically; the urgent movement of the maiden, which is unexplained by anything on side B, must indicate that there is a reason behind her hurrying, and it is to be found on side A. The lack of attributes suggests that she is Artemis and not Athena, who is rarely portrayed without at least one of her attributes. We may compare the images on this amphora to a vase depicting the same participants in the myth of the Kerynian

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<sup>171</sup> Bothmer (1972), (no page numbers).

<sup>172</sup> Bothmer (1977), p. 54.

Hind to be discussed below (**Cat. 124**), in which Herakles stands in the middle, with the twins running towards him from each side. This format is partially replicated here, albeit with a clearer hierarchy, since there is no doubt that the main event is the struggle between Apollo and Herakles.

Lastly, a bell-krater in London by the Painter of London F 64, dated to 390-380 BCE (**Cat. 116**), depicts the reconciliation of Apollo and Herakles,<sup>173</sup> who are shaking hands with the tripod standing between them in the background. Apollo is seated, facing to the left, identified mainly by the long laurel branch which rests on his shoulder. A beardless Herakles, identified only by his club, which is similarly resting on his shoulder, stands in front of the god. Artemis is behind Apollo, leaning over with her arm on his shoulder and holding a lowered down torch. Behind her, on a slightly upper level, sits a veiled woman with a scepter. Both goddesses look to the left, towards the scene. On the other half of the vase, behind Herakles, we see another veiled goddess with a scepter, facing away from the main scene, looking at Hermes, who arrives from the far left. Beazley has identified the goddess on the far right as Leto, referring to the other veiled figure merely as a “goddess.” He has suggested that this vase presents the reconciliation between Apollo and Herakles after the Tripod stealing episode.<sup>174</sup> Vollkommer offers a different reading, according to which this image presents the deified Herakles in the presence of his half-brothers, Apollo and Hermes, his half-sister, Artemis, his wife, Hebe, and his mother-in-law, Hera.<sup>175</sup> However, both versions should not necessarily contradict one another. Apollo and Herakles may well be reconciling after the deification of the hero. As for the identity of the two veiled goddesses, the one on the right is more likely to be Leto, considering her proximity to

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<sup>173</sup> *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1420.6.

<sup>174</sup> *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1420.6; *Addenda*<sup>2</sup> 375.

<sup>175</sup> Vollkommer (1988), p. 52.

Artemis and the fact that she is on Apollo's side of the image. As for the other veiled goddess, Hebe perhaps would have looked at her new husband, and not turn away her head from him, so perhaps this is Herakles' mother-in-law, who is oftentimes presented with a veil and a scepter, and considering their past animosity, it is understandable why she would prefer not to look at him. Her presence here might symbolize Herakles' future marriage to her daughter, which will take place after his deification and reconciliation with Apollo. Therefore, this is clearly a myth of Apollo and Herakles, in which all the other figures are guests. Artemis close intimacy with her brother, although it replicates the many scenes in which she stood by his side as he tried to wrestle the tripod (or the Kerynian Hind) from the hero's hands, maintains the usual hierarchy between the twins.

### 3.1.3 – Myths of Artemis

#### Kerynian Hind

The myth of the golden-horned Kerynian Hind is the only myth associated with Artemis in which Apollo regularly appears in its iconography, although in most of our literary sources, the deer is associated only with Artemis.<sup>176</sup> According to Pindar's *Olympian III*, one of Herakles' Labors was to find the hind, which was dedicated to Artemis Orthosia by Taugete, a daughter of Atlas, and the hero pursued the animal from Arkadia to the land of the Hyperboreans (25-32). In

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<sup>176</sup> For a more detailed account of the relevant sources and myths associated with the hind, see Gantz (1993) pp. 386-389; Stafford (2012), p. 35. For more on the iconography of the Kerynian Hind, see F. Brommer, *Heracles: The Twelve Labors of the Hero in Ancient Art and Literature*, (New Rochelle, NY, 1986), pp. 21-25; Schefold and Jung (1988), pp. 148-50, and figs. 187-89; Lezzi-Hafter (1988), pl. 183, e and g.

Euripides' *Herakles*, the hind is presented as a menace, plundering the fields until the hero slaughtered and dedicated it to Artemis (375-379) and Gantz suggests the dedication may have been Euripides' invention.<sup>177</sup> Brommer, however, stresses that it is not specifically indicated that this was the Kerynian Hind.<sup>178</sup> In Kallimachos' *Hymn to Artemis*, the goddess finds five golden-horned hinds in Arkadia, four of which she harnesses to her chariot, while Hera makes sure the fifth one escapes, so that it could be a part of Herakles' tasks (III.98-109). Here, too, Gantz says the story may have been completely invented by Kallimachos.<sup>179</sup>

Diodoros presented the labor as a test of Herakles' wisdom rather than his strength, since the hero had to devise a cunning plan to capture the hind without killing it. Neither Artemis nor Apollo are mentioned in his version (4.13.1). It is only in Apollodoros, whose version is more commonly known, that Apollo is incorporated into this myth. In his version, since the hind was sacred to Artemis, Herakles wished to capture it alive, and therefore he pursued it for a year. After the hero caught the hind, he was met by Artemis, who was accompanied by Apollo. Uncharacteristically, the god plays here only a minor role of providing moral and silent support. This is evident first of all from the way the twins are introduced, “μετ' Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ Ἄρτεμις,” with Artemis presented in the nominative case, as the subject of the sentence, while Apollo accompanies her in the genitive. Moreover, it is Artemis who addresses the hero, reprimanding him for trying to kill a sacred animal. Herakles explains that he had no choice in the matter, blames Eurystheus, and eventually manages to appease the wrath of Artemis and is allowed to take the hind away (II.5.3).

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<sup>177</sup> Gantz (1993), p. 387.

<sup>178</sup> Brommer (1986), p. 21.

<sup>179</sup> Gantz (1993), p. 387.

Unlike most of the labors of Herakles, the timid doe seems an unusual artistic choice, especially when considering the various other monsters the hero vanquishes during his escapades. Stafford assumes this “accounts for the paucity of representations in the visual arts, even in the archaic period... [since] the animal in question is hardly monstrous and no killing is involved (usually).”<sup>180</sup> The same, however, can be said regarding the Struggle for the Tripod, which presents an unfortunate dearth of monsters but was extremely popular in antiquity. Burkert claims that the hero’s victory over Artemis’ hind was not meant to demonstrate his strength, but “un accord entre la vie sauvage et l’ordre civilisateur,”<sup>181</sup> and Schefold simply assumes that “the theme of the capture itself maintained its popularity, for it gave late archaic artists a chance to depict the hero’s skill and the beauty of the animal.”<sup>182</sup>

Although images of the Kerynian Hind precede the images of the tripod by a decade or two, only later representations, from around 530-520 BCE, begin to utilize the iconography of the Struggle for the Tripod. Therefore it is possible that the hind scenes that emulate the Tripod scenes were simply an artistic variant to the Tripod imagery. Additionally, it could offer the hero a rare opportunity to showcase his cunningness, since this mission demanded him not to use his brute force.

While most of the literary evidence associates the hind with Artemis and only Apollodoros mentions Apollo in this context, the iconographical evidence is quite different: there, the hind and Herakles are depicted in varying company with nine times in which both twins appear in this scene. Artemis appears in a depiction of this myth without Apollo only once, on a neck-amphora dated to 540-530 BCE, where Herakles breaks one of the animal’s antlers

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<sup>180</sup> Stafford (2012), p. 35.

<sup>181</sup> Burkert (1998: 15).

<sup>182</sup> Schefold (1992), p. 107.

while Artemis and Athena flank him.<sup>183</sup> A few times only the hero and the animal are portrayed and at other times Herakles and the hind are accompanied by Apollo, Athena, or the both of them.<sup>184</sup>

On our vases, Apollo sometimes fights the hero for the animal and these scenes have led scholars to assume that there was another deer-related myth which incorporated both Herakles and Apollo, therefore distinguishing it from the Kerynian hind myth.<sup>185</sup> Boardman, for example, suggests that the Struggle for the Hind and the Herakles' capture of the Kerynian "deer," as he refers to it, are two different myths, which are wrongfully conflated together. He bases his analysis on the fact that since the "[Kerynian] deer is Artemis' animal, not Apollo's, it is only Artemis who is involved in the action in the scant literary records,"<sup>186</sup> therefore assuming the scenes depicting Apollo wrestling a hind out of Herakles' hands should be read as a different, unknown, myth, in which Herakles covets another one of Apollo's attributes, this time the hind rather than the tripod. However, we have already seen how iconography presents themes and myths differently than literature, and the example of Tityos readily comes to mind, so there should be no qualm about Apollo incorporated into the myth of the hind and becoming a key figure in it. Furthermore, considering the tendencies of Attic painters to focus on Apollo, it is more likely that they simply opted to stress Apollo's part and either to disassociate Artemis from it or, as we shall see, to present him as confronting Herakles even when Artemis is present,

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<sup>183</sup> *ABV* 139.10, *BAPD* 310342.

For an iconographic discussion on the peculiarity of antlers on a doe, see Burkert (1998), 14-15; Schefold (1992), pp. 106-107; Stafford (2012) pp. 35-36.

<sup>184</sup> For more on images of the hind without Artemis, see H. Kenner, "Amphorareste im Stil des Oltos," in *Jahreshefte des Osterreichischen Archaischen Instituts in Wien*, 28, (1933), pp. 47-48.

e.g. Herakles and Apollo: *BAPD* 212347, *ARI*<sup>2</sup> 341.89; *BAPD* 764; *BAPD* 302395 *ABV* 383.2; *BAPD* 307013, *ABV* 716; *BAPD* 352365, *PARA* 314.

<sup>185</sup> i.e. Brommer (1986), p. 23.

<sup>186</sup> Parke and Boardman (1957), p. 281.

perhaps because the painters were mainly interested in stressing the connection between Apollo and Herakles, and in this myth they have found a welcomed narrative variation to the Struggle for the Tripod. Kenner assumes that the reason there are more tripod scenes than scenes of the hind indicates its greater importance, and suggests that the latter expresses a contrast between the cult of Artemis and the cult of Herakles, mainly because he believes such a contrast existed between the cults of Apollo and Herakles. However, it is possible that the iconography of the Struggle for the Hind does not reflect a similar cultic tension, but only a similar artistic expression of the theme of Herakles trying to carry off things that are not his.<sup>187</sup>

According to Gantz, the addition of Artemis and Athena mirrors “the composition of the argument over the Keryneian Hind.”<sup>188</sup> Since the images of the struggle for the tripod began to appear from 550 BCE onward,<sup>189</sup> while the few images of the Kerynian hind, had begun to appear earlier, around 575-560 BCE, it is a reasonable assumption, although while the deer scenes lack in quantity, the tripod scenes were highly popular.

The earliest depiction of the myth of the hind, which presents a somewhat different arrangement of the characters and more puzzling portrayal than the later and more standard renditions, appears on a plate in Oxford by Lydos, dated to ca. 560 BCE (**Cat. 117**). An exceptionally large hind is placed at the center, running away in panic. Behind it, in the background, stands a large female figure. Goddess and beast are flanked by two archers wearing panther skins,<sup>190</sup> each one drawing his bow against the other.<sup>191</sup> Schefold does not identify the female figure as Artemis, referring to her only as a goddess, who hurries to pacify the two

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<sup>187</sup> Kenner (1933), p. 48.

<sup>188</sup> Gantz (1993), p. 438.

<sup>189</sup> *ibid.* p. 438.

<sup>190</sup> According to Widdows, Herakles is wearing a lion skin. (Widdows [2006], p. 170).

<sup>191</sup> As we have seen in the Gigantomachy scenes, Apollo wears sometimes an animal skin.

opponents, while d'Agostino believes she is more likely to be Athena.<sup>192</sup> However, despite the few attributes and the plethora of *nebrides*, it is most likely that this scene portrays Apollo and Herakles fighting over the hind, while Artemis watches them, as Callipolitis-Feytmans has argued.<sup>193</sup> According to Brommer, Artemis is attempting to mediate and negotiate between Apollo and Herakles,<sup>194</sup> and Vickers suggests she is attempting to separate them.<sup>195</sup> In any case, the focus of the struggle on this plate is the competition between Apollo and Herakles over the hind. The direction from which the hind escapes allows us to identify the figure on the left as Herakles, who has a quiver on his back and possibly a sheath, and therefore Apollo stands on the right. Artemis is looking at Herakles, fervently gesturing with both arms. She is considerably taller than the other two, and she does not carry any weapon. Normally, her size would indicate greater importance, although she is only the spectator within this scene and her size is probably due to the curvature of the plate and so that she will not be hidden behind the hind. According to Widdows, Herakles' forthcoming triumph in this quarrel is foretold by the god's "bent and therefore less dominant" posture and because the lesser quality, size, and position of the *nebris* Apollo wears, make him "less masculine in comparison to Herakles and effeminized by his inevitable loss."<sup>196</sup> Perhaps the fact that Artemis does not wear an animal skin indicates that she is removed from this struggle. The emphasis given by Lydos to the struggle between Apollo and Herakles over the hind recurs on several other vases.

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<sup>192</sup> B. d'Agostino, "Iconografia e contesto. Qualche annotazione sul Santuario di Portonaccio," in I. Berlingo [et al.] (eds.), *Damarato: Studi di Antichità Classica Offerti a Paola Pelagatti*, (Milano, 2000), p. 100; Schefold (1992), p. 106.

<sup>193</sup> Callipolitis-Feytmans (1974), p. 319.

<sup>194</sup> Brommer (1986), p. 23.

<sup>195</sup> M. Vickers, *Greek Vases*, (Oxford, 1978).

<sup>196</sup> Widdows (2006), pp. 170, 170n8, 180.



Another early representation of the Hind myth comes on a neck-amphora, dated to 560-550 BCE (**Cat. 118**), which has extended the number of participants in this scene. On the right, we see Ares on horseback, Hermes, and an enthroned Aphrodite. At the center, Herakles runs to the left alongside the hind, grabbing it and attempting to subdue it. His left arm is around the animal's neck and he grasps its antler in his right hand. Behind him stand Artemis and Apollo. Artemis is drawing her bow, while Apollo does not.<sup>197</sup> On the far right sits Leto. The figures can be identified by inscriptions, even the hind, marked as ἔλαφος. There are many differences between the depiction of this myth on the Oxford plate and on this vase. Aside from the increase in the number of figures and Herakles tackling the animal, now Artemis is not a spectator or a mediator, but as we have seen in some of the Gigantomachy scenes, she is active in her attempt to stop Herakles, even more than her brother. She also stands in front of Apollo, spearheading the action while he follows and supports her. Such a composition, however, is rare, and it is usually Apollo who leads the action.

A similar example appears on a neck-amphora by the Guglielmi Painter, dated to 575-525 BCE (**Cat. 119**), which presents a more action-packed scene. Athena stands on the far left, raising a spear. A large hind stands at the center, lifting its head, perhaps in fear, perhaps in alertness. Herakles is behind the animal, cowering. He either attempts to grab and whisk it away, or he is about to fend off Apollo and Artemis who hurry toward him with drawn bows from the right. The twins' pose is similar and so are their accessories: their quivers hang from their shoulders at their sides, and both wear a high-crested helmet and winged boots, although it seems the painter forgot to add the wings to one of Artemis' boots. Unlike what we have seen in some

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<sup>197</sup> K. Schauenburg, "Herakles und Bellerophon auf einer Ranschale in Kiel," in *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome*, (1979), XLI - Nova Series 6. p. 10.

of the Gigantomachy scenes (and similarly to the Oxford plate discussed above), Artemis does not wear a *nebris*, while Apollo does. Maybe the god's outfit merely mirrors Herakles' lion-skin, or perhaps it is an indication that Apollo is the one who is more associated here with the realm of hunting, and therefore it is he who will confront Herakles, while Artemis, as Athena, is here to help, but not to lead the action. However, according to Widdows, Apollo's deer skin, which represents a considerably less masculine and aggressive animal than Herakles' mighty lion, designates the god as lesser than the hero and foretelling the latter's victory.<sup>198</sup>

Most of the remaining vases depicting the myth of the Kerynian Hind abandon the theme of the hot pursuit in favor of reusing the convention of the Struggle for the Tripod, in which the animal replaces the inanimate object, and therefore further reducing Artemis to a supportive role and entailing a more substantial part for Apollo, since the action centers around his struggle with the hind.<sup>199</sup> Perhaps presenting Artemis as fighting with Herakles, while Apollo supports her, was considered less symmetrical, or maybe Apollo was deemed more fit to wrestle the hind from the hero. The more likely scenario, as I have argued above, is that the painters used this as a variation of the all-too-common Struggle for the Tripod scenes, portraying the same figures in a slightly different context, which provided them with some respite from depicting the tripod by swapping it out with an animal.

There are three black-figure amphorai depicting the myth of the hind by using the artistic conventions of the Struggle for the Tripod. One in Paris, dated to 530-520 BCE (**Cat. 120**), another in Würzburg, dated to 530-510 BCE (**Cat. 121**) and the last one in the Vatican, dated to 510-500 BCE (**Cat. 123**). Although they vary in some details, the basic scheme is the same. The

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<sup>198</sup> Widdows (2006), p. 165.

<sup>199</sup> For more on the similarities between the depictions of both myths, see Parke and Boardman (1957), pp. 280-281.

animal is held in mid-air and upside down by Herakles, who waves a club in his left hand while grabbing the hind with his right hand, and by Apollo, who grasps it with both hands. The intense action level of the god and the hero is counterbalanced by the less combatant goddesses who stand by them in a largely supportive role. On the Paris amphora, Herakles wears his lion-skin while Apollo wears a *nebris* and his quiver lies on his back, and both of them seem to be pacing quickly, if not running. Athena wears her helmet and aegis, but Artemis, who wears a polos, has no weapon and she does not wear an animal skin. Both goddesses stand calmly and watch the struggle. On the Würzburg amphora, none of the participants wears an animal skin. Artemis wears a polos and her quiver hangs at her side, and so does Apollo's quiver, and he also holds a bow. Herakles wears armor and has a sword, although he does not use it. Athena appears with her traditional high-crested helmet and aegis, and also holds a lowered spear. The hind is unusually depicted with large antlers, which corresponds with the literary evidence. Finally, the Vatican amphora presents a bearded Apollo without an animal skin but with a quiver and a sword, while both Herakles and Artemis wear a lion-skin and Carpenter suggests that Apollo's beard and Artemis' lion skin were "deliberate references to an archaic form."<sup>200</sup> Herakles also has a sword and Artemis holds a bow. Another sign of the greater militaristic atmosphere on this vase can be seen in Athena, who is raising her spear. Carpenter notes that unlike the hero, who wears the lion's head as a helmet, "Artemis' lion helmet, however, has slipped off the top of her head, and the painter, a sloppy one, has only started to indicate the knot at her throat."<sup>201</sup> Therefore, Herakles' better and more impressive lion-skin demonstrates his superiority over Artemis as well as over Apollo, who has no animal skin at all. Wearing the lion-skin gives

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<sup>200</sup> Carpenter (1994), p. 76.

<sup>201</sup> *ibid.* p. 73.

Artemis similar connotations of aggressiveness and distances her from her previous impassiveness. Perhaps this was the vase painter's way of presenting both twins in corresponding levels of action and importance: Apollo attempts to wrestle the hind from Herakles, while Artemis wears the awe-inspiring lion-skin. The twins share Herakles' traits between them, including their activity and strength, and this indicates that none of them is equal to Herakles prowess, at least in this situation, and perhaps hinting at the hero's future victory. At the same time, Artemis' garb could be understood as emphasizing that the myth of the hind belongs to the Mistress of Animals, even if her brother is fighting here her fight.

The myth of the Kerynian Hind is less popular on red-figure vases. Fragments of a red-figure amphora in Vienna, dated to ca. 510 BCE, (**Cat. 122**), present another replication of the Struggle for the Tripod, and we may attribute this to the vase's relative early date, at the very end of the sixth century BCE, the same period when we see similar black-figure images of this myth in this manner. The one notable change on this amphora is that now Apollo and Artemis are depicted on the right side, unlike the last three amphorai we examined. The activity level between the female and the male figures is quite different. Herakles is advancing to the left, carrying the hind and about to thrust his club against Apollo, who follows him quickly, grabbing with one hand the animal's legs and holding forward, perhaps menacingly, his bow in his other hand. Artemis and Athena stand serenely; the former holds a lowered down bow in one hand and smells a flower held in her other hand, and perhaps she also had a quiver on her back, while the latter holds an upright spear and her helmet. Neither acts in a combatant manner.

The second red-figure image of this myth is almost a century older than the Vienna amphora, and presents a considerably less schematic image. It appears on an oinochoe in

Agrigento, dated to 435-420 BCE (**Cat. 124**). As before, Herakles and the hind are placed at the center, and the hero restrains the animal with his knee and left arm, about to strike it with his club. Artemis and Apollo are rushing towards Herakles and the hind; each arrives from a different direction, deeply disturbed by the capture of the sacred animal.<sup>202</sup> Apollo's mantle and the edges of Artemis' skirt are flapping in the air, indicating the rapid movement forward of their wearers. Each twin stretches out one arm, as if to stop the hero or at least to admonish him. They both hold a bow, although only Artemis draws hers, albeit without an arrow, even though the quiver on her back suggests she is able to replenish it, if she wishes to, unlike Apollo, who has no quiver or arrows. On the other hand, the god is slightly closer to Herakles, and perhaps he is about to grab him without a weapon in order to stop him. Thus, on this vase, Artemis and Apollo are presented on very similar terms, both active and ready to confront Herakles and stop him.

Another possible representation of this myth comes on a calyx-krater by the Kadmos Painter, dated to ca. 420 BCE (**Cat. 125**). The scene probably takes place at one of Apollo's sanctuaries, and it includes a tripod, an altar, a building, and a palm (which, as we have seen earlier, may simply indicate an Apollonian connection, and is not solely restricted to representations of Delos).<sup>203</sup> Apollo is running from the right, on a somewhat higher register, above the altar, while holding a laurel branch. Artemis stands to the right, holding a large torch. Near the altar stands a young man, without any attributes. He is about to slaughter a deer or a hind, holding it down with his knee. Behind him, on the same level with Apollo, stands an armed figure, which could be either Athena or a warrior.

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<sup>202</sup> B. Cohen, "Man-killers and Their Victims: Inversions of the Heroic Ideal in Classical Art," in B. Cohen (ed.), *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*, (Leiden, 2000), p. 129.

<sup>203</sup> Boardman suggests this takes place in Delphi (J. Boardman [et al.], *LIMC V, s.v. Herakles*, [Zurich and Munich, 1990], p. 50).

Although it was suggested that the youth is Theseus, about to sacrifice a deer at Delphi, perhaps since this hero appears on the other side of the vase, meeting Poseidon, his divine father; this figure is mostly understood as Herakles, struggling with the Kerynian Hind.<sup>204</sup> The proximity of the youth to the altar could suggest that he is about to sacrifice the animal, yet if this was Theseus about to sacrifice to Apollo, why is the god hurrying to his direction rather than solemnly stand and await his bloody offering? Moreover, the object held by the youth does not look like a knife or a sword. It may be too slender to be a club, but since it has no hilt or a cross guard, it is better understood as an oddly shaped club than a hilt-less sword. Lacy, for example, argues that “Herakles' hunt [of the Hind] is in fact a prelude to ritual slaughter, and he kills the legendary doe for Artemis in a temple sanctuary.”<sup>205</sup> Furthermore, although this scene is unique in many ways, when considering the predilection of the Kadmos Painter to Artemis, I believe it is more likely to present a less traditional rendering of the Hind myth than a myth of Theseus, and Artemis' stillness is simply a different manifestation of the vase-painters' inclination to allow Apollo to deal with Herakles in this myth.

## Orion

Another myth which the literary evidence associates with Artemis, while the iconography incorporates Apollo into it, is the myth of Orion's death. In the *Odyssey*, as we have seen, it is said that Artemis killed the giant on Ortygia (V.121-124), while Apollodoros suggests this was

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<sup>204</sup> e.g. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1184.6; Boardman [et al.] (1990), p. 50; G. Pellegrini, *Catalogo dei Vasi Greci Dipinti delle Necropoli Felsinee*, (Bologna, 1912), p. 147; Robertson (1992), p. 249; K. Schefold und F. Jung, *Die Urkönige, Perseus, Bellerophon, Herakles und Theseus in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst*, (München, 1988), p. 149; R. Vollkommer, *Herakles in the Art of Classical Greece*, (Oxford, 1988), pp. 6-7.

<sup>205</sup> L.R. Lacy, “Aktaion and a Lost 'Bath of Artemis',” in *the Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 110 (1990), p. 38.

done on Delos (I.4.3-5). Apollo is not associated with Orion's death in the literary sources, with one later exception – Istros, who claims it was the god who killed the giant (334F 64).

Orion as an artistic subject is very rare. The one vase, which is generally considered to portray his death,<sup>206</sup> is a now lost amphora by the Syriskos Painter, dated to 470-460 BCE (**Cat. 128**). Orion stands on the right, in the nude, wearing a *pilos* (felt-cap) on his head while an animal-skin is tied around his neck and wrapped around his left arm. He is falling to the ground while brandishing his club towards Apollo, who is using a palm tree to attack him. On the reverse, Artemis approaches while aiming her bow and taking an arrow out of her quiver, as she readies herself to shoot Orion. Yet Apollo's proximity to the hunter, and the fact that he has already engaged with him, as well as since only the two of them are placed on the obverse, indicates that he is the one who is about to kill Orion, while Artemis is rushing towards them mostly to support her brother, following Apollo rather than leading the action herself. Moreover, had this been one continuous image, she would have arrived behind Apollo, not attacking the giant from the other side, as she does on a previously discussed vase, when both twins rush to confront Herakles as he subdues the Kerynian Hind (**Cat. 124**). According to Neer, this amphora adapts the iconography of the death of Tityos,<sup>207</sup> although it is similar to some of the Gigantomachies, especially since in some of them the giants use rocks and tree trunks rather than more conventional weapons, and perhaps that was what inspired the Syriskos Painter to give Apollo his unusual weapon. Thus, unlike the literary sources, the painter not only opted to incorporate Apollo into this scene, but gave him a prominent role in Orion's death, presenting

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<sup>206</sup> Two other images had been suggested as possible depictions of the death of Orion. Neer interprets the west frieze of the Siphnian treasury as depicting Artemis about to kill Orion with an arrow and Griffiths suggests that a cup by Sotades portrays Orion's death by a giant snake. Neither of them suggests the presence of Apollo.

<sup>207</sup> Neer (2001), p. 321.

the god as the chief punisher and avenger, and further reducing Artemis' role here. The use of the palm tree also indicates the location of this scene, which most of the literary sources identify as Delos or its surroundings, but the fact that the palm is used as a weapon surely exemplifies Apollo's position as the island's master.

## **Aktaion**

As we have seen, even when artists depict the myths in which Artemis plays a major role, they tend to not only incorporate Apollo into the imagery, but to also give him a prominent role. The one main exception for this is the myth of Aktaion, which was quite popular in antiquity, perhaps since its visuality was too tempting for painters to ignore. Perhaps it was also inspired by lost plays that dealt with this myth such as Aeschylus' *Toxitides* or Phrynichos and Kleophon, who both wrote a tragedy titled *Aktaion*.<sup>208</sup> Of the fourteen vases portraying Aktaion and Artemis together, only one vase also depicts Apollo, a volute-krater by the Painter of Woolly Satyrs, dated to 460-440 BCE (**Cat. 127**) and unlike Apollo's leading role in representations of the Kerynian Hind myth, here he is presented as passively watching the action instigated and choreographed by his sister.

The reasons for Aktaion's punishment vary and change with time. The earliest version, given by Hesiod and Stesichoros (according to Pausanias, IX.2.3), claims that Aktaion tried to seduce Semele, and this angered Zeus, who asked Artemis to kill him. In Euripides' *Bakchai*, Aktaion boasted he is a better hunter than Artemis and was punished accordingly (337-340), and

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<sup>208</sup> For more on the myth of Aktaion and its iconography, see Arafat (1990), pp. 143-145; Barringer (2001), pp. 128-138; Cohen (2000), pp. 115-123; Gantz (1993), pp.478-481; Lacy (1990), pp. 26-42; Lissarrague (2001), pp. 94-95; E.D. Reeder, *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece*, (Baltimore, 1996), pp. 314-315.



finally, according to Kallimachos, Aktaion's crime was that he saw Artemis while she was bathing (V.131-140), and Reeder suggests the latter version was also known to Aeschylus.<sup>209</sup> Some versions claim Artemis turned the hero into a deer and others say that she made his hounds mad or threw a deerskin on his head, but the result is the same – Aktaion finds his death at the paws of his own hounds, which mistakenly attack their master as prey. Our krater could be an example to the latter, since, as Lissarrague notes, Aktaion's metamorphosis into a deer here happens only in the eyes of the dogs.<sup>210</sup>

Lissarrague reads this myth as attesting how “Artemis the huntress, the ferocious virgin goddess and mistress of animals, does not allow an easy approach... [to the dangerous] distant, mountainous and wooded places where the hunter must track his game.”<sup>211</sup> Robertson interprets the popularity of this myth in Athens in 500-450 BCE (thus in the time period during which this vase was produced) as “stories of the wanton unreliability of the gods towards mortals... [which were] in the front of people's minds” after the Persian War.<sup>212</sup> According to Cohen, Aktaion's “unusually close pairing with the virgin huntress Artemis in the dominant visual tradition suggests that in the underlying version of the myth Aktaion's guilt for some misogynistic transgression must have inspired the goddess's wrath.”<sup>213</sup>

Our krater depicts Aktaion lying on the ground, attacked by his hounds. To his right, a young man runs away towards Aktaion's parents, informing them of their son's fate. To Aktaion's left, Artemis arrives in a deer-driven chariot, looking at him. Next to her, we see an omphalos with two birds perched on it and a tree grows out of it, and on the extreme left stands a

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<sup>209</sup> Reeder (1996), p.314.

<sup>210</sup> Lissarrague (2001), p. 95.

<sup>211</sup> *ibid.* p. 94.

<sup>212</sup> Robertson (1992), p. 145.

<sup>213</sup> Cohen (2000), p. 115.

young man, mostly in the nude, a wreath on his head and a mantle wrapped around his right forearm, covering his back. He wears boots and holds a bow and arrows, standing slightly higher than the ground level and looking down. Perhaps he is contemplating about Aktaion's outrageous fortune, or maybe he is looking at the omphalos and the birds. Although Beazley identified the youth on the far left as merely another hunter, other scholars have claimed he is Apollo and I agree with them.<sup>214</sup> His distance, emotional detachment from Aktaion's misfortunes, and the presence of the omphalos are enough to securely identify him. The fact that Apollo is not mentioned in the literary evidence regarding this myth should not hinder the identification, since as Barringer observes, "iconography depicts many times myths differently than how they are depicted in the literature."<sup>215</sup>

However, if he is indeed Apollo, then the painter deliberately removed his Apollonian attributes, only allowing him to wear a laurel wreath, which is not exclusively worn by him. This stripping of attributes occurs many times in depictions of Artemis when she is portrayed in her brother's myths, but it is rare in regards to Apollo. Unlike the scenes discussed above, Apollo does not take over his sister's myth. Rather, he adheres to the position of silently supporting his sister from a certain distance and not taking the focus from her by punishing Aktaion by himself.

The presence of the omphalos could indicate that the scene takes place in Delphi and not near Thebes. However, as we shall see below (p. 307), the omphalos should be regarded as an Apollonian symbol and not necessarily as an indicator of a specific territory. This could be true,

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<sup>214</sup> e.g. L.R. Lacy, *The Myth of Aktaion: Literary and Iconographic Studies*, (Unpublished doctoral thesis), Bryn Mawr College, (Bryn Mawr, PA, 1986), pp. 215-216; Lambrinudakis (1984), p. 293; Lissarrague (2001), p. 94. Beazley also claimed the tree is an olive tree, although Lacy reads it as a laurel tree (1986, p. 216). In any case, with the exception of the distinguishable palm tree, such tree taxonomy which is based on such images is suspicious at best.

<sup>215</sup> Barringer (2001), p. 146.

but since Apollo plays a minor role in this scene, perhaps the omphalos was meant to compensate Apollo for his passivity due to Artemis' central position here, demarcating the scene within the god's absolute territory. Lacy suggests that the presence of Delphic Apollo in this scene comes due to his "traditional role as monitor of the limitations placed upon human behavior with respect to the gods," since Aktaion has violated these limitations.<sup>216</sup> The god's presence could also be explained by his connection with hunting (as emphasized by his boots and weaponry), which stands at the heart of this myth, or perhaps because he is Aktaion's grandfather through Kyrene. This may all be true, but these suggestions did not prompt any of the other painters who depict this myth to incorporate Apollo into their painting, and it is possible that Apollo simply visits Artemis here as she attends many of his scenes. It is also possible that most of the painters did not want to associate Apollo with this myth, which revolves around intense emotions and harming a hero. That is usually Artemis' sphere, and the simplest reason the Woolly Satyrs Painter chose to add him was to balance the emotional mortal activity on the right side with the solemnity of Apollo.

## **Kallisto**

Another myth associated with Artemis, which rarely receives iconographical representation, is the myth of the nymph Kallisto, the follower of Artemis with whom Zeus begot Arkas, who was turned into a bear and according to some versions, was killed by Artemis, either deliberately or due to Hera's scheming.<sup>217</sup> Of the two vases depicting Kallisto, Artemis appears

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<sup>216</sup> Lacy (1986), pp. 216-217.

<sup>217</sup> For the myth of Kallisto, see Carpenter (1946) 120; Gantz (1993) pp. 98, 725-728; Reeder (1996), pp. 327-328; A.D. Trendall, "Callisto in Apulian Vase-Painting," *Antike Kunst* 20 (1977), pp. 99-101.

only on one, a fragmented red-figure krater, found in Brauron, dated to 430-420 BCE (**Cat. 126**).<sup>218</sup> The obverse uncharacteristically portrays Artemis at the center, between her brother and mother. Her quiver is on her back, and she draws her bow while hurrying to the right. Apollo stands in front of her, nude, wearing a laurel wreath, his head turned towards her while his body is almost frontal. He holds an elongated piece of fabric in his right hand; presumably it went behind his back and was also held in his now lost left hand. Reeder identifies this as a sash, but perhaps it is some sort of a narrow mantle.<sup>219</sup> Behind Artemis, stands a female figure, raising her veil, who is probably Leto. On the reverse, there are two figures, a seated nude male and a female, who may be rushing away to the right, both with ursine heads. The male figure is frontal, although his head is turned to the left, as if waiting for Artemis to appear running from the other side.<sup>220</sup> The female figure looks away to the other side, gesturing with her hand. Three deer can be seen in the background of both sides, galloping to the right, and Kahil notes that this establishes continuity between the obverse and the reverse, also suggesting Artemis is shooting one of them.<sup>221</sup>

Kahil interpreted the imagery on this vase as representative of a cultic scene taking place in Brauron, presumably during the Arkteia. She sees the figures on the reverse as a priestess and a priest, who wear bear masks, thus connecting this scene to the ritualistic act of playing the bear. This rite is performed in “the presence of the Holy Triad, invisible yet visible to the eyes of the

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<sup>218</sup> The other representation of Kallisto comes on a fragmentary red-figure calyx krater in Florence, dated to 475-450 BCE (*BAPD* 28139), which possibly portray Kallisto and Arkas, but no Artemis.

LIMC, Supplementum 1, pl.41, Arkas add.2; J.H. Oakley (et al.) (eds.), *Athenian Potters and Painters* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 502-505.

<sup>219</sup> Reeder (1996), p. 327.

<sup>220</sup> Barringer (2001), p. 143.

<sup>221</sup> Kahil (1983), p. 238.

believers.”<sup>222</sup> Nielsen and Perlman agrees with Kahil, and the latter suggests that “disguised as bears, the priest and priestess celebrated a Hieros Gamos... the first act of the ritual drama which transformed the ἄρκτοι from maidens to mothers.”<sup>223</sup> Bevan goes further, suggesting perhaps the reverse presents a recreation of a mock-sacrificial victim of the running girl to the bear.<sup>224</sup>

However, the scene on the obverse differs from the many Triad scenes by presenting rapid action, not to mention Artemis’ unusual position at the center, and other scholars have argued that the characters on the reverse are in fact Kallisto and Arkas, about to be hunted down by Artemis, and this interpretation seems much more accurate.<sup>225</sup> Simon negates the notion that the running figure is also praying,<sup>226</sup> therefore she refuses to identify the female on the reverse as a priestess. Rather, she offers a different interpretation, arguing that this krater depicts the myth of Kallisto, and the ursine heads signify the transformation of Kallisto and Arkas into bears. This also better explains Kallisto’s posture, her “raised arms combined with running away expresses fright and consternation.”<sup>227</sup> Moreover, this changes the meaning of the obverse, and Simon convincingly claims that Artemis is shooting Kallisto rather than a fawn.<sup>228</sup> Therefore, Artemis on the obverse is running with a drawn bow towards Kallisto, intending to kill her, while the nymph, amidst her metamorphosis, attempts to run away in fear, looking backwards, either at her son or at her assailant.

Barringer agrees with Simon, writing that her interpretation “is more convincing in light of the absence of young girls on the vase, whose presence is a regular feature of other krateriskoi

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<sup>222</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>223</sup> Nielsen (2009), p. 94; Perlman (1989), p. 126n65.

<sup>224</sup> Bevan (1987), p. 19.

<sup>225</sup> Reeder (1996), p. 328.

<sup>226</sup> Simon (1983), p. 87.

<sup>227</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>228</sup> *ibid.* pp. 87-88.

from Brauron.”<sup>229</sup> Perlman, as we have seen, adheres to Kahil’s reading, claiming against Simon that Arkas’ transformation into a bear is not attested in our literary or iconographic sources.<sup>230</sup> However, as Simon notes, the “mythical theme... is apparently an exception among the krateriskoi; but equally exceptional is the quality of the vase itself,”<sup>231</sup> and according to Barringer, “the rarity of the representations of Kallisto in art should prevent us from determining anything conclusive about how she was perceived.”<sup>232</sup>

In this light, Reeder interprets the prancing deer very differently than Kahil, arguing they allude to another side of Artemis, “this complex goddess, who displayed compassion as easily as she did ruthlessness. ... the deer escapes while Kallisto dies; as with the fate of Aktaeon, Artemis is never accommodating when the rules of the hunt are breached.” Moreover, she interprets Arkas’ gaze as looking “back to Artemis, fully conscious of what will be his mother’s fate,” claiming that the “happy family gathering” of the members of the Delian Triad “forms a somber contrast to the less fortunate, ursine mother and son.”<sup>233</sup> Therefore, this vase is not only unique in that it places Artemis between Apollo and Leto, but in that that it portrays them as supporting her in her own myth, standing calmly while she hurries to exact retribution.

## **Agamemnon**

Despite the literary emphasis that is placed on the twins’ connection to Iphigeneia’s sacrifice and to Orestes’ life and purification, the iconographical evidence of this is rather small.

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<sup>229</sup> Barringer (2001), p. 146; Reeder (1996), p. 328.

<sup>230</sup> Perlman (1989), pp. 126-127n65.

<sup>231</sup> Simon (1983), p. 88.

<sup>232</sup> Barringer (2001), p. 146.

<sup>233</sup> Reeder (1996), p. 328.

While Artemis, as we have seen, appears on three vases depicting Apollo and Orestes, she (or her statue) is depicted three times with Iphigeneia without Apollo,<sup>234</sup> and another vase, a red-figure hydria in Sofia,<sup>235</sup> presents Iphigeneia in Tauris, in the presence of a statue of Artemis, while Apollo is present in the flesh. The one possible image which perhaps depicts a scenes of Iphigeneia's life in which both twins appear in full capacity comes on fragments of a lekane lid by the Meidias Painter, dated to 425-400 BCE (**Cat. 129**). On it, a brooding Agamemnon sits on a rock towards the right, holding a striped scepter and resting his chin on his hand. Beazley has described his attitude as pensive,<sup>236</sup> yet although his facial expression seems calm, his face is almost fully frontal, and this perhaps indicates an emotional distress. I agree with Burn, who asserts that Agamemnon's attitude here "indicates mental turmoil and doubt... having to make a difficult decision."<sup>237</sup> In front of him, stands a youth with a staff or a spear. Apollo and Artemis are placed behind Agamemnon, facing to the other direction, i.e. to the left. We only see part of Apollo's head and one of his shoulders, on which Artemis, who is fully preserved, is leaning. Apollo wears a laurel wreath and Artemis's quiver lies on her back. Inscriptions securely identify the participants except for the youth, whose identity must have been written on the lost part of this lid. Perhaps he is Achilles, whose name was used by Agamemnon to bring Iphigeneia to Aulis and to her impending doom.<sup>238</sup> While the gods and the youth look expectantly to the left, Agamemnon is slightly looking to the right, "meditating the dreadful decision to sacrifice his

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<sup>234</sup> *BAPD* 31639; *BAPD* 205315, *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 446.266; *BAPD* 218096, *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 1440.1.

<sup>235</sup> *BAPD* 9024182.

<sup>236</sup> *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 1326,7.

<sup>237</sup> Burn (1987), p. 60.

<sup>238</sup> Burn assumes the Meidias Painter was aware of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis*, although she admits his influence was probably indirect ([1987], pp. 61-62). Robertson too associates the image of this vase with the contemporary tragic conventions of the time (Robertson [1992], p. 241). If this is correct, this should support the claim that Achilles, who had an important part, was displayed on this vase. On the other hand, Apollo is barely mentioned in the play, so evidently the painter was not bound by the Euripidian narrative.

daughter.”<sup>239</sup> As for the other figures, Burn assumes, and Robertson concurs, that they must be watching Iphigeneia’s sacrifice or the moments preceding it.<sup>240</sup>

Although Apollo and Artemis heavily influenced the fates of Agamemnon and his family, literary sources mostly assign them different and separate parts of these myths. Artemis is associated with the beginning of Agamemnon’s calamities, while Apollo is indirectly connected with his death, through his connection with Kassandra. The god is more prominent in the later stages of Orestes’ revenge, purification, and acquittal. Only the myth of Iphigeneia’s rescue from Tauris incorporates both deities into the story. In iconography, however, as we shall see below, this changes and Artemis is more readily incorporated into scenes of her brother, as we see on our lid. Our image demonstrates the closeness between the twins, yet if it indeed depicts Iphigeneia’s sacrifice, it also takes away Artemis’ primary position in this myth, since she not only stands behind Apollo and leans on him, a position which indicates dependence and reliance, but her stature is lowered, causing Apollo to appear taller. This is an important distinction – the artist did not paint her as shorter than her brother, but as lowering herself in front of him. As we have seen before, Apollo is readily incorporated into scenes depicting myths of Artemis, and many times he is presented as the one in charge.

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<sup>239</sup> Robertson (1992), p. 241.

<sup>240</sup> Burn (1987), p. 60; Robertson (1992), p. 241. See Burn (1987) pp. 60-61 for a discussion of the two other representations of Iphigenia’s sacrifice.



### 3.1.4 – Myths of Others

Artemis and Apollo occasionally appear in scenes depicting myths belonging to other deities. For example, they appear in several representations of the birth of Athena. First is a pyxis by the Painter of the Nicosia Olpe, dated to ca. 540 BCE (**Cat. 131**), which depicts Zeus sitting on his throne, holding his thunderbolt and his scepter, surrounded by other deities. The presence of Hephaistos provides the key to decipher this scene –the moments before the birth of Athena. Bothmer identified the figures facing Zeus as Ares, Aphrodite, Hermes, Poseidon, and Amphinrite, all of whom are “ready for the big event but will be of no help.”<sup>241</sup> Assistance will instead come from the figures behind Zeus – Apollo, Artemis, and Hephaistos. Both twins carry a bow in their right hand and an arrow in their left hand. Apollo’s stride is larger than his sister’s and he is closer to their father, even though he is not associated with matters of birth (then again, neither is Hephaistos). Perhaps he is accompanying his sister, or maybe he is there as Zeus’ favorite son, as a witness of the birth of the favorite daughter.

Another representation of this myth, which incorporates both Artemis and Apollo, appears on an amphora by the Princeton Painter, dated to 540-530 BCE (**Cat. 130**). Hephaistos is missing, yet Zeus, seating and facing to the right, is flanked by two Eileithyiai, while a minuscule Athena leaps out of his head. Dionysos is also present, standing behind the Eileithyia on the right, who faces Zeus. Behind the other Eileithyia, Artemis and Apollo are leaving the scene, rather indifferent to the awe-inspiring event.<sup>242</sup> Alternatively, perhaps they are leaving their father’s side, a place which will be now occupied by their new sister. Their pose is very

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<sup>241</sup> D. von Bothmer (ed.), *Glories of the Past: Ancient Art from the Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection*, (New York, 1990), p. 138.

<sup>242</sup> P.C. Bonet (ed.), *La colección Várez Fisa en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional*, (Madrid, 2003), p. 161.

similar and they both hold up their bows and arrows. Olmos claims that regardless of the situation, their archery gear indicates that they are gods of the outside and of the hunt, which takes place outside of the city.<sup>243</sup> Perhaps this is true, although the bows and arrows function here first as simple attributes, allowing the painter to identify the departing deities, rather than emphasizing their aspect as hunters. Artemis is placed slightly ahead of Apollo, but this is counterbalanced by the fact that he is covering most of her figure, since he is placed in the foreground.

Moving on the red-figure vases, another vase that includes Artemis and Apollo in a narrative dominated by another myth is the Pella hydria by the Pronomos Painter, dated to ca. 400 BCE (**Cat. 134**). The scene, which reflects the theme of the west pediment of the Parthenon, depicts the competition between Athena and Poseidon for supremacy in Athens, attended by many other deities. The twins are rather removed from the center of the action, placed at its fringe as spectators alongside Hermes, or as Drougou puts it, in “the upper part of the representation, three gods play a different role in the events. They are neither winners nor losers... [they] observe calmly the development of events.”<sup>244</sup> Apollo stands, his body slightly turned to the right while his head is in profile to the left. He holds a laurel branch in his left hand and wears an animal skin over his decorated short chiton. He has no weapons, yet makes an odd gesture with his right hand, clasping the edge of his mantle close to his face, which usually indicates modesty in female figures. Since Apollo is neither a blushing bride nor a respectable matron, a possible solution is that the artist intended to depict Apollo as drawing an arrow from his quiver, regretted this decision only after painting the hand, and had to find another item for

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<sup>243</sup> Bonet (2003), p. 161.

<sup>244</sup> Drougou (2004), pp. 25, 27.

him to clasp with his raised hand. To Apollo's right sits a goddess, whom Drougou claims is Eirene, since this fits her efforts to connect the iconography of this vase to the theme of peace and reconciliation.<sup>245</sup> However, I agree with Tiverios and Neils, who have identified her with Artemis.<sup>246</sup> She holds a torch, and as her brother, she also wears an animal skin over a chiton and her body is turned to the right while she looks to the left. Although a seated position usually indicates a higher hierarchy, here, since Artemis is placed behind Apollo and more on the periphery of the image, this should not be so.

Tiverios and Drougou link the images on this vase with its themes of divine peace and reconciliation, to the Athenian political climate of that time, in which the oligarchy and the democrats were reconciled and the peace treaty between Athens and Sparta was signed in 403 BCE.<sup>247</sup> Neils, however, argues that both the torch and the animal skin are especially associated with Artemis in Gigantomachy scenes, and therefore "would have recalled depictions of the Gigantomachy and battle in general, not peace."<sup>248</sup> This corresponds with Neils' interpretation of the vase, since she claims it depicts "three levels of combat: divine, legendary, and historical... [t]he contest between Athena and Poseidon is an obvious forerunner of the battle between Erechtheus and Eumolpos, and these in turn relate to the more recent historical war between Greece and Persia,"<sup>249</sup> since at

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<sup>245</sup> *ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>246</sup> J. Neils, "Salpinx, Snake, and Salamis: The Political Geography of the Pella Hydria," in *Hesperia*, vol. 82, no. 4 (2013), p. 602; M. Tiverios, "Der Streit um das attische Land: Götter, Heroen und die historische Wirklichkeit," in V.M. Strocka (ed.), *Meisterwerke: Internationales Symposium anlässlich des 150. Geburtstages von Adolf Furtwängler*, (Munich, 2005) p. 304.

<sup>247</sup> Drougou (2004); Tiverios (2005), p. 312; M. Tiverios, "Bild und Geschichte," in D. Yatromanolakis (ed.), *An Archaeology of Representations*, (Athens, 2009), pp. 162-163.

<sup>248</sup> Neils (2013), p. 609.

<sup>249</sup> *ibid.*

“the end of the disastrous Peloponnesian War in 404 b.c., the Athenians may well have needed to look back to their early victories to assure themselves of their identity and prowess in battle... The Pella hydria also harks back to the glory days of Periclean Athens when the Parthenon was built and the strife of Athena and Poseidon was highlighted in the temple’s west pediment. Just as the Parthenon was a thank-offering to Athena for Athenian victories against the Persians on land and sea, so the Pella vase celebrates the many battles, legendary and historical, fought on behalf of freedom and autonomy.”<sup>250</sup>

Whether this hydria represents war or peace, the lack of a quiver or a bow should not be perceived as hindering Artemis’ identification. The fact that she was often depicted holding only a torch further strengthening her identification, as are the animal skin she wears and her proximity to Apollo. Additionally, Artemis’ right hand overlaps with Apollo’s laurel branch, perhaps even holding it, in a gesture that might indicate greater intimacy between the two figures. Placing Artemis and Apollo as onlookers in a scene which does not involve either of them presents the twins in a relatively equal manner. None of them has weapons, although Neils asserts that their “animal skins... reinforce their role as fighters and hunters.”<sup>251</sup> Both twins look at another event and not at each other. Moreover, they are not the object of the gaze of others. On the other side, Apollo is closer to the main event, and this maintains, even in a lesser degree, the hierarchy between them.

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<sup>250</sup> *ibid.* p. 610.

<sup>251</sup> Neils (2013), p. 602.

A pyxis in Heidelberg, dated to the end of the fifth century BCE (**Cat. 136**), presents an interesting conflation of myths. Most of the space is dedicated to a Bacchic scene, with six maenads, representing the various activities traditionally associated with the followers of Dionysos – one plays the tympanon, one carries a thyrsus, and another carries a torch, possibly indicating the scene takes place during the night, and two maenads are performing a *sparagmos*. Left of this group we see a young man, identified as Pentheus,<sup>252</sup> holding two spears in one hand, and perhaps a hunting net as well,<sup>253</sup> and gesturing with his other hand. On the left, two columns indicate a building, which Coche de la Ferté has identified as the palace of Kadmos.<sup>254</sup> Two deities are seated there, one carrying a lyre, identified as Apollo, and the other, a goddess, who puts her hand on Apollo's shoulder, is surely Artemis. March suggests that Pentheus sets out from the palace in order to hunt down the maenads, yet when looking at the image, the prince seems to be doing the exact opposite – he is running away from the maenads towards his palace, gesturing in fear with his free hand.

Although the vase is roughly contemporary with Euripides' *Bakchai*, and perhaps was inspired by its theme, it is interesting that the painter chose not to depict Pentheus and the maenads with Dionysos, but rather replaced him with his half-brother and half-sister. According to Moret,

“Apollon défend ici, contre Penthée, les prérogatives d'un frère bafoué.

Habituellement, dans l'imagerie, on assiste à la mise à mort de Penthée, et c'est

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<sup>252</sup> É. Coche de la Ferté, “Penthée et Dionysos: nouvel essai d'interprétation des ‘Bacchantes’ d'Euripide,” in R. Bloch (ed.), *Recherches sur les Religions de L'antiquité Classique*, (Geneva, 1980), pp. 224-225; J.R. March, “Euripides' *Bakchai*: A Reconsideration in the Light of Vase-Paintings,” in *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, No. 36 (1989), p. 36; Moret (1982), pp. 117-118.

<sup>253</sup> March (1989), p. 36.

<sup>254</sup> Coche de la Ferté (1980), pp. 224-225.

Dionysos qui dirige personnellement l'attaque. Apollon se distancie de l'action, sur le plan spatial et sur le plan temporel; il laisse seulement pressentir le drame qui se prépare. Isolé dans un Olympe abstrait que la compagnie d'Artémis suffit à évoquer, il joue de la lyre. Cette superbe indifférence rappelle la plainte douloureuse de Créüse: σὸ δὲ κιθάρα κλάζεις (*Ion*, 905).<sup>255</sup>

Another possible option, however, is that the painter chose to present this myth within a larger context, which places Pentheus' pride and punishment as only a part of a long list of woes which befell the house of Kadmos, beginning with Apollo and Laios and his descendants. Artemis could be here to support her brother, or to allude to another Kadmean tragedy; the death of Aktaion, which Euripides also mentions in his play.

A lost pyxis with an uncertain subject presents us with another guest appearance by Artemis and Apollo. This vessel, dated to 450-400 BCE (**Cat. 132**), portrays a chariot, unusually headed to the left, with a youth and a woman riding it. It is assumed this is an abduction scene, but perhaps it is not so. Behind the chariot stands Athena and in front there are five figures. Three of them have only partially survived - a running male, of whom one leg and perhaps the other foot have survived, and two female figures, one of whom holds a torch - and Furtwängler suggested they are Hermes, Demeter, and Persephone. As for the identity of the mounted pair, he only says they are neither Kore and Hades nor one of the Leukippides and her abductor.<sup>256</sup> Finally, closing the scene and facing the chariot, are Apollo, in the nude, probably holding a laurel branch, whose head and parts of his torso are missing, and Artemis, fully preserved,

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<sup>255</sup> Moret (1982), pp. 117-118. "but you are playing the kithara."

<sup>256</sup> A. Furtwängler, "Erwerbungen der Antikensammlungen in Deutschland. Berlin," in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, vol.15, (1895), p. 39.

carrying a quiver on her back. Both twins function solely as spectators, gazing inactively as the plot foils. Without knowing the identity of the couple on the chariot, we cannot know why Artemis and Apollo are presented here. We can, however, note that they are represented in the familiar manner, placing Apollo in front of his sister, closer to center or to the action.

Another connection between the House of Kadmos and Artemis and Apollo appears on a Hydria in Berlin by the Kadmos Painter, dated to 420-410 BCE (**Cat. 133**), which portrays Kadmos struggling with the dragon. Athena is placed at the center of this image, overseeing the affair and predicting its result, since she extends a victory wreath towards the hero. Various other gods and mythological figures are placed around the surface of the vase, sitting or standing, all watching the struggle. Apart from Artemis and Apollo, we also see Poseidon, Hera, Demeter, Persephone, Hermes, Nike, Harmonia, and Eros, as well as a youth and the nymph Thebe (most are named by inscription, including Artemis and Apollo). All are connected in some way to Thebes; or as Schefold puts it, “Die ehrwürdigen Gottheiten Thebens sind um Kadmos und Athena vereint.”<sup>257</sup> Artemis is on the reverse, further away from the action, and Apollo, who sits above the handle, holding a laurel branch, is not much closer to it than her. She carries two torches in her unusually large hands,<sup>258</sup> facing to the left. Apollo, although he turns towards his sister with his body, turns his head to the left, towards the main scene. Although the twins are close to each other, they are not portrayed as intimate as they are on some other vases we have seen earlier. However, the standard hierarchy between them is maintained, as Artemis is on the reverse, near the back handle of the hydria, meaning she is the furthest away from the center of the image, along with Hermes, who stands at the other side of the back handle. Apollo, on the

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<sup>257</sup> Schefold und Jung (1988), p. 36.

<sup>258</sup> Böhr, E. *CVA: Deutschland, Berlin, Antikensammlung 9*, (München, 2002), p. 62.

other hand, is placed at the liminal space above the regular handle, closer to the center, although he is not a part of it. This could be explained by Apollo's closer association with the famous descendants of Kadmos and with the city he is about to found both on the mythological level, as well as in real life.<sup>259</sup>

Another vessel which incorporates the twins into another mythological subject comes on a calyx-krater by the Kekrops Painter, dated to ca. 400 BCE (**Cat. 135**), which presents Theseus sacrificing the Marathonian bull on the Acropolis.<sup>260</sup> Here too, Athena is placed at the center, dividing the image into two. She is surrounded by many other figures, including deities on the right and mortals on the left. Apollo, who holds a laurel branch, inhabits the lower right corner, not at the center of the action and focus, but not very far from it. His body slightly turns to the left, towards the center of the image, while his head is turned backwards, away from what is happening. Artemis is sitting on a higher register, to his right, holding a torch and a lyre. Her body is turned to the right, although she looks to the center. She is flanked by Poseidon and Hermes, who are placed on the highest register, and near Apollo, on his other side, sits another goddess. Brommer has identified the figure with the lyre and the torch as Persephone, yet I agree with Beazley and Shapiro, who argue she is Artemis, holding one of her known (albeit non-exclusive) attributes in this period, as well as her brother's lyre, which she will surely hand over to him later on, as we have seen her do before.<sup>261</sup> Also in their group are Hermes, Poseidon, and a goddess, who was identified as Hera, Demeter, or Amphitrite, and Shapiro suggests she is

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<sup>259</sup> Schefold und Jung (1988), p. 36.

<sup>260</sup> Neils (2013), p. 596; H.A. Shapiro, "Topographies of Cult and Athenian Civic Identity on Two Masterpieces of Attic Red-Figure," in J.H. Oakley and O. Palagia (eds.), *Athenian Potters and Painters, II* (Oxford, 2009b), p. 265.

<sup>261</sup> J.D. Beazley, "Review: *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Germany fasc. II, Schloss Fasanerie (Adolphseck) fasc. I* by Frank Brommer," in *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 61, no. 1 (1957), pp. 110-111; F. Brommer, *CVA Germany 11, Schloss Fasanerie (Adolphseck.) I*, (München, 1956), p. 37; Shapiro (2009b), p. 263.



Aphrodite, since she, together with Artemis, Apollo, and Poseidon, were closely associated with Theseus.<sup>262</sup> Moreover, building on Simon, who recognized Artemis, Apollo, Poseidon, and Aphrodite as Theseus' tutelary deities,<sup>263</sup> he writes that each of these gods had sanctuaries on the Akropolis or around its slopes: Artemis Brauronia on the Akropolis to the southwest of the Parthenon, Apollo and Aphrodite on the North Slope, and Hermes and Poseidon in the Erechtheion.<sup>264</sup>

Another depiction of the twins in which Apollo is seated while Artemis stands appears on a pelike in by the Kadmos Painter, dated to 450-425 BCE (**Cat. 137**). Artemis is presented with a torch, a phiale, an oinochoe, and perhaps a quiver. Apollo is seated on a throne, which is placed on a higher base.<sup>265</sup> The twins occupy the lower left corner of the image. In the lower right corner sits another male figure on a rock, facing a female figure, who stands at the center. On the upper left corner stands a youth, holding spears, counterbalanced by a female figure in the upper right corner, as both seem to be looking at each other. Two Erotes are also present, but they do not seem to be interacting with either Artemis or Apollo. Schefold has suggested that this scene is the marriage of Elektra and Pylades in Delphi,<sup>266</sup> although Smith has argued that "the inexorably plain characterization" of the figures negates this interpretation.<sup>267</sup> Instead, Smith suggests that the four figures on the lower register are Artemis, Apollo, Aphrodite accompanied by her Erotes, and Hermes, holding his kerykeion. He identifies the two additional figures as

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<sup>262</sup> Shapiro disregards the presence of Hermes "for the moment, since he is a ubiquitous figure in gatherings of the gods" (Shapiro [2009b], p. 263).

<sup>263</sup> E. Simon, "Theseus and Athenian Festivals." in J. Neils (ed.), *Worshipping Athena*, (Madison, WI, 1996), p. 22.

<sup>264</sup> Shapiro (2009b), p. 264; For the locations of these various sanctuaries see Travlos (1971), pp. 91-92, 124-125, 218; R. Rosenzweig, *Worshipping Aphrodite* (Ann Arbor, 2004), pp. 35-38.

<sup>265</sup> Smith (1943), p. 42.

<sup>266</sup> K. Schefold, "Statuen auf Vasenbildern," in *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 52 (1937), pp. 64-66.

<sup>267</sup> Smith (1943), p. 41.

Kephalos with either his mother, Herse, or his wife, Prokris,<sup>268</sup> and Burn agrees with him, only she opts to identify the woman as Prokris.<sup>269</sup> However, regardless of the identity of the figures in the upper register, the Kadmos Painter has recreated the familiar scene in which the twins face each other closely; they gaze into each other's eyes, and this emphasizes their close relationship, while Apollo's seated position provides a further indication of his greater importance.

### 3.1.5 – Chariot Scenes

Another theme, which is much frequented by Artemis and Apollo, is the chariot scenes. Mertens defines them as “one of the most long-lived subjects in Greek art and one of the most conspicuous in Attic vase-painting,”<sup>270</sup> and during the sixth century they “became essentially a mythological subject readily combined with others, mythological or not.”<sup>271</sup> The earliest examples of chariot scenes, from around 580-575 BCE, depict a grand mythological wedding, and many of the vases that follow also portrayed wedding scenes, which became very popular between the late sixth and early fifth century.<sup>272</sup> Carpenter, however, claims that there is no “direct iconographic connection between these new chariot scenes and the earlier ones.”<sup>273</sup> However, some ideas in the later vases seem to be influenced by the tendencies of the earlier wedding vases, and Williams, when discussing the Sophilos dinos, notes that the vessels’

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<sup>268</sup> *ibid.* p. 42.

<sup>269</sup> Burn (1987), p. 74.

<sup>270</sup> J.R. Mertens, “Chariots in Black-figure Attic Vase-painting: Antecedents and Ramifications,” in J.H. Oakley, (ed.), *Athenian Potters and Painters III*, (Oxford, 2014), p. 134.

<sup>271</sup> Mertens (2014), p. 134.

<sup>272</sup> Carpenter (1986), p. 106; L. Godart and S. De Caro (eds.), *Nostoi: Capolavori Ritrovati*, (Rome, 2007), p. 62.

<sup>273</sup> Carpenter (1986), p. 106.

“substitution of deities for the bride's proper parents and family continued on later black figure representations of heroic and ‘heroised’ wedding processions, in which immortals also assume the roles of other mortal celebrants, notably Hermes as προηγητής and Apollo as musical accompanist to the marriage hymn.”<sup>274</sup>

Yet the new vases did bring changes with them, and from about 540 BCE, “new chariot scenes begin to appear... [t]he focus of these scenes is an identifiable deity or hero mounting or riding in a single chariot. At the same time, divine spectators begin to appear in these new scenes, and they also appear in wedding scenes.”<sup>275</sup> Later on, from about 525 BCE, more deities are depicted as mounting chariots, such as Herakles, Athena, Dionysos, Artemis, Apollo, Leto, and various other gods.<sup>276</sup> Additionally, other deities accompany the chariot by foot. Hermes, Apollo Kitharoidos, and Dionysos are the most common, but as we shall see, Artemis was also depicted in such scenes alongside her brother.<sup>277</sup> According to Carpenter, “after about 530, the chariot seems to become simply a convention for depicting deities in non-narrative scenes. Apollo, Dionysos, and Hermes appear as bystanders so often, in such a wide variety of chariot scenes, that they must be seen as conventional, probably indicating that the setting is Olympos,”<sup>278</sup> and to this we could surely add Artemis, who joins her brother many times in these scenes.

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<sup>274</sup> D. Williams, “Sophilos in the British Museum,” in *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, vol. 1, (1983), p. 29.

<sup>275</sup> Carpenter (1986), p. 106.

<sup>276</sup> *ibid.* p. 107.

<sup>277</sup> *ibid.* p. 107.

<sup>278</sup> *ibid.* p. 109.

## Carriages and Marriages

The earliest definite representation of Apollo and Artemis within the same context in Attic iconography comes on a dinos by Sophilos, dated to 580-570 BCE (**Cat. 138**), which depicts on its upper register the marriage of Thetis and Peleus with an illustrious procession of chariots, which carry the main deities of the Greek pantheon.<sup>279</sup> However, although the twins attend the same event, they are spatially separated, since, as Carpenter notes, “Sophilos makes no effort to link the twins together in any way.”<sup>280</sup> Rather, each twin is teamed with another deity. Apollo, holding his Kithara and perhaps singing,<sup>281</sup> stands in a chariot driven by Hermes and accompanied by three Muses, who walk beside them. Artemis stands on the following chariot, clasping her bow, while an attributeless Athena drives it,<sup>282</sup> escorted by the three Moirai. The twins’ names are inscribed, as were the name of most of the figures on this vase. Thus, Sophilos opted to portray the children of Zeus in gender-based pairs, rather than conveying the closer connection between Artemis and Apollo.<sup>283</sup> More importantly, if Tiverios is right in emphasizing the hierarchical order of the deities on the chariots, which opens with Zeus and Hera, then

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<sup>279</sup> Another early vase which depicts the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (and much more), is the François Vase, dated to ca. 570 BCE (*BAPD* 300000, *ABV* 76.1, 682). There is enough resemblance between the two images to assume they depended on a similar model, with some alterations (Carpenter [1994], p. 63). Apollo cannot be securely identified on the frieze portraying the wedding, and Hermes is paired with his mother, Maia. Athena’s companion has no attributes and the inscription identifying her is lost. She could be Artemis, and Apollo perhaps appeared on another chariot (J.D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure*, [Berkeley, 1986], p. 27; Carpenter [1994], p. 63). The twins are identified elsewhere on this vase, on separate scenes: Artemis on the handles in her Potnia Theron guise, and Apollo in a scene in which Achilles is about to kill Troilos. However, since neither of them can be securely identified in the wedding procession, I have chosen not to address the François Vase. Also see Beazley (1986), pp. 27-33; Shapiro (1989), pp. 52-53.

<sup>280</sup> Carpenter (1994), p. 63.

<sup>281</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>282</sup> Williams notes it is “strange to find Athena driving the chariot from the left-hand side” and refers to it as an oddity, adding that in later black-figure images, she stands on the right when she drives Herakles ([1983], p. 29).

<sup>283</sup> Interestingly, on the second chariot stand Leto and Chariklo, the wife of Cheiron the centaur, whom Williams defines as Achilles’ future foster-mother ([1983], p. 31). Perhaps Sophilos deliberately chose to place her on one chariot with the mother of the god who will bring, either directly or indirectly, the death of Achilles, both attending the wedding of the hero’s true mother.

Poseidon and Amphitrite, Ares with Aphrodite, Apollo with Hermes, and Artemis with Athena, then this dinos is also the earliest example of the hierarchy between Apollo and Artemis.<sup>284</sup> Although Athena's low position in this procession may hint that there were other considerations for the appearance order here, nonetheless, Artemis is placed behind her brother, as we see her on many other vases.

Carpenter proposes that Apollo's kithara symbolizes the music which accompanied similar wedding processions in antiquity.<sup>285</sup> Moreover, Apollo's open mouth indicates that he is not merely playing music, but that he is singing as well while strumming the kithara, and Williams suggests he is singing the *gamelios hymnos*, or wedding hymn.<sup>286</sup> According to Moore, "the juxtaposition of Hermes, Apollo and the Muses may seem odd, but there is a common denominator: music... Hermes invented the lyre and Apollo the kithara."<sup>287</sup> One of the muses is playing the syrinx, and Williams suggests the other two muses perhaps join in the singing,<sup>288</sup> although Kilmer and Develin note that since their mouths are closed, the muses might only be humming.<sup>289</sup>

As for the pairing of Artemis and Athena, the two virgin daughters of Zeus, there is less confidence in the reasons for which Artemis is presented with a bow or alongside Athena. Williams simply states that both goddesses are virgins.<sup>290</sup> Carpenter has no clear answer as to why Artemis carries a bow, claiming that since Cheiron and Okeanos are bringing meat and fish,

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<sup>284</sup> Tiverios (1996), p. 249.

<sup>285</sup> Carpenter (1994), p. 63.

<sup>286</sup> Williams (1983), p. 31.

<sup>287</sup> M.B. Moore, "Apollo Arrives at Samothrace," in O. Palagia and B.D. Wescoat (eds.), *Samothracian Connections*, (Oxford, 2010), p. 52.

<sup>288</sup> Williams (1983), p. 31.

<sup>289</sup> M.F. Kilmer and R. Develin, "Sophilos' Vase Inscriptions and Cultural Literacy in Archaic Athens," in *Phoenix*, vol. 55, no. 1/2 (2001), p. 28.

<sup>290</sup> Williams (1983), p. 31.

it cannot symbolize the meat that will be consumed at the wedding, nor does he believe the bow is meant to be a gift.<sup>291</sup> Artemis' bow is probably unrelated to the wedding and it simply functions as a signifier of her identity – the basic purpose of attributes, since it is irrelevant to the function Artemis, as well as Apollo without his kithara were expected to perform within the marriage of Thetis and Peleus, or any other marriage for that matter. The many black-figure vases depicting wedding processions in which Artemis and Apollo accompany the wedded couple reveal that they had an important part in the iconographical construction of the act of marriage. Carpenter suggests that Artemis' placement near the Moirai and Eileithyia, who follows her, should be understood with her role in childbirth,<sup>292</sup> and according to Neils,

“Apollo's music, a traditional accompaniment to divine wedding processions, helps send the bride on her way, and Artemis is here as a goddess of transitions, who protects young girls as they grow to maturity and embark upon marriage.”<sup>293</sup>

Yet this is only part of the answer and it is also possible that both twins were present in the wedding scenes due to their connection with the element that is of fundamental importance to marriage: providing lawful (and living) heirs. Thus, their presence in such wedding scenes, such as on this vase, was meant to symbolize a hope not only for fertility but that the union's fruits would survive and flourish under their kourotrophic capacities. The bow Artemis carries is meant to be an attribute, especially since on this dinos, unlike most of the other vases depicting weddings, she is not portrayed alongside Apollo, who serves as the sole signifier of her identity in many wedding processions. Thus, the twins' presence here may foreshadow the birth of

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<sup>291</sup> Carpenter (1994), p. 63.

<sup>292</sup> *ibid.* p. 78. For more on the connection between Artemis and childbirth, see Foukara (2014), pp. 19-20n56.

<sup>293</sup> Neils (2004), p. 80.

Achilles, which is not only the highlight of the union between Thetis and Peleus, but its sole purpose.

However, there is one possible explanation according to which Artemis' bow is a hint to the function she and her brother are expected to fulfill within the marriage of Thetis and Peleus, or in fact, within any marriage, since the twins accompany wedded couples in similar scenes many times. In Athens, Artemis was served by young girls before they were married, and they needed to placate her "so that she is not forced to take her revenge by killing those under her tutelage."<sup>294</sup> Thus, alongside her kourotrophic aspect, she remained a dangerous deity, and perhaps her depiction with the bow acknowledges this side of her. Burkert has noted that "there is no wedding without Artemis; hers is the power to send and ward off dangers before and after this decisive turning point in a girl's life."<sup>295</sup> According to Budin, "even the liminal bride was involved in rites to Artemis mainly so that, when the moment of childbirth grew near, the goddess was more likely to serve as midwife than huntress."<sup>296</sup> However, there was always the chance Artemis would harm a mother-to-be during labor. Thus, considering that the main goal of marriage is the production of children, and in lieu of Artemis' kourotrophic qualities, as well as her responsibility for killing women, including during birth, it is possible that the bow is an apotropaic device, attributed to the goddess to show her power while hoping she will not use it.

During the sixth century, wedding scenes became popular on black-figure vases in Athens, and almost all of them depict a procession in which the bride leaves her father's house

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<sup>294</sup> A.M. Bowie, "Religion and Politics in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*," in M. Lloyd (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies: Aeschylus*, (Oxford, 2007), p. 340.

<sup>295</sup> Burkert (1985), p. 151.

<sup>296</sup> S.L. Budin, *Artemis*, (London, 2015), pp. 92-93.

and goes to her groom's home, which was a key moment of transition for the bride.<sup>297</sup> Most of the images opt to present this procession with a chariot, although Oakley notes that chariots were probably not used in most of the real-true weddings, but only carts.<sup>298</sup> Lissarrague suggests that the incorporation of the chariot in these scenes was meant to ennoble the scene, and to apply mythological models such as the one we see on the Sophilos dinos.<sup>299</sup>

Following the earlier examples of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, we see many other matrimonial scenes in Attic iconography, in which a newly-wed couple rides a chariot, accompanied by a throng of deities. There are twenty-nine black-figure vases depicting such mounted marital processions in which both Artemis and Apollo take part, all black-figure vases (not including the Sophilos dinos, where the guests are on the chariot) and one additional black-figure and four red-figure vases portray a wedding procession without a chariot. These scenes usually celebrate the marriage of Peleus and Thetis or Admetos and Alkestis.<sup>300</sup>

Apollo is easily recognizable in these scenes, as he carries his kithara in almost all of them. It is harder to securely identify Artemis, since unlike what we saw on the unique Sophilos dinos, she never carries her customary attributes in these wedding processions. On eight black-figure wedding vases she holds one or two nuptial torches, on one vase she grasps either an elongated flower or a rather short torch, and four times she wears a polos. Of the few red figure vases, she sometimes holds torches. However, her proximity to Apollo, as well as her cultic

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<sup>297</sup> J.H. Oakley, "Nuptial Nuances Wedding Images in Non-Wedding Scenes of Myth," in E.D. Reeder, *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece*, (Baltimore, 1996), p. 63.

<sup>298</sup> Oakley (1996), p. 63.

<sup>299</sup> Lissarrague (2001), p. 124.

<sup>300</sup> For the marriage of Admetos and Alkestis, see M. Kyrkou, "Réalité Iconographique et Tradition Littéraire: Noces d'Admète et d'Alceste," in P.L. de Bellefonds [et.al.] (eds.), *Ἀγαθός Δαίμων: Mythes et Cultes*, (Athènes, 2000), pp. 287-297.



importance in this particular context, should be enough to support her identification despite of the lack of attributes, as long as there is no contradictory evidence.

One of the earlier examples of a small scale wedding procession comes on a neck-amphora dated to 540-530 BCE and painted by Exekias, who was one of the first pioneers to paint such chariot scenes (**Cat. 161**).<sup>301</sup> On this vase, a man and a woman stand on a chariot, while the woman holds the reins. In front of them stands a larger female figure, and behind her, facing the other direction, stands a male figure playing the kithara. A small figure stands near the heads of the horses, perhaps leading them. According to Bothmer, “The exact meaning of the subjects eludes us, because the figures are not identified by inscribed names or attributes,”<sup>302</sup> and Picón and Carpenter agree that the meaning of this scene is unclear, with the latter even writing that this is one of the “ambiguous scenes in which it is not entirely clear whether the participants are mortal or divine.”<sup>303</sup> Beazley and Picón do not offer any identification, while other scholars have suggested that the figure playing the kithara is Apollo, although they say nothing regarding a possible presence of Artemis.<sup>304</sup> However, Bothmer also suggests that since the female figure on the chariot holds the reins, this reduces her companion to a mere passenger, noting that the scene resembles the representations of the apotheosis of Herakles, when Athena leads the hero to Mount Olympos.<sup>305</sup> However, since the couple on the chariot exhibit none of the very common attributes of Athena or Herakles, it is more likely that this scene presents a wedding. Since the woman holds the reins, this indicates her higher status, and therefore it is likely that she is the

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<sup>301</sup> Carpenter (1986), p. 106.

<sup>302</sup> Bothmer (1972), (no page numbers).

<sup>303</sup> Carpenter (1986), pp. 106-107; C.A. Picón [et al.], *Art of the Classical World in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, (New York, 2007), p. 420.

<sup>304</sup> *ABV* 144.3; Bothmer (1972), (no page numbers); Carpenter (1986), p. 106; M.B. Moore, “Amasis and Exekias,” in A.P.A. Belloli (ed.), *Papers on the Amasis Painter and His World*, (Malibu, 1987), pp. 162-163; Picón (2007), p. 420.

<sup>305</sup> Bothmer (1972), (no page numbers).

goddess Thetis, about to be married to the mortal Peleus. As for the standing female figure, it is very possible she is Artemis, especially due to her proximity to Apollo. True, she is usually not depicted with her back to her brother, but this could be part of the elusiveness of Exekias' characterization. Moreover, Artemis, as I have discussed above, is highly suitable for such a scene due to her kourotrophic qualities, hinting at the forthcoming birth of Achilles.

A similar scene appears on a column-krater by the Amasis Painter, dated to 540-510 BCE (**Cat. 142**). Another wedded couple stands on a chariot, but this time the groom is bearded. Here too Dionysos is placed behind the chariot and Hermes is leading the horses. Two female figures stand between Hermes and the horses. Apollo Kitharoidos stands in front of the couple, to the right, and facing him is a goddess with a polos and flower, whom Baldoni identifies as Artemis.<sup>306</sup> Poseidon is placed between Artemis and the horses' heads, yet since he is facing to the right, with his back towards her, this indicates that he is not part of the thematic inner unit comprised of Apollo and Artemis, who are facing each other. In fact, with the exception of Dionysos, the Amasis Painter opted to depict the deities on this vase in pairs, with each pair facing each other while turning their backs to the others.

Another, somewhat later, example comes on a hydria by the Antimenes Painter, dated to 520-510 BCE (**Cat. 150**). A wedded couple stands on a chariot; the groom holds the reins and a goad. Behind the chariot stands Dionysos, while Hermes is placed near the heads of the horses, leading the procession. In front of the couple there are three figures. Apollo is at the center, playing a large kithara, and he is flanked by two facing female figures who do not hold attributes. It is assumed that they are Artemis and Leto, replicating their familiar representation

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<sup>306</sup> V. Baldoni, *La Ceramica Attica Dagli Scavi Ottocenteschi di Marzabotto*, (Bologna, 2009), p. 59.

as the Delian Triad, and this “peaceful group in the background marks the solemnity of the procession.”<sup>307</sup> We have no indication of the identity of the happy couple, although the divine retinue should suffice to conclude they are a mythological couple, probably either Peleus and Thetis or Admetos and Alkestis.

The identity of the married couple is not always unknown, and at times the painters provide the viewers with the appropriate information. A neck-amphora in Rome, dated to ca. 530 BCE (**Cat. 141**) depicts a similar scene to those we have discussed, only this time inscriptions identify the participants - Admetos and Alkestis, although the celebratory tone is perhaps marred by the viewers’ foreknowledge of events to come. The happy couple stands on the chariot while Apollo, who prophesied the fate of Admetos and assisted him to marry Alkestis, plays the kithara and faces a peplos-wearing Artemis, who holds up her hand up near her face in a gesture of greeting.<sup>308</sup> Also in the image are Dionysos and a youthful attendant, two female figures in the front who are holding torches and may be Demeter and Persephone or Aphrodite and Semele,<sup>309</sup> and another goddess in the back, whom Harris thinks might be Peitho.<sup>310</sup>

Only one vase presents Artemis and Apollo in a black-figure wedding scene which does not include a chariot. This takes place on a neck-amphora in London, dated 500-450 BCE (**Cat. 168**), depicting a small wedding procession on foot. Apollo leads while playing the lyre, and a deer walks alongside him, while Artemis follows, holding a flower in her raised hand, and the couple walk behind her. This scene, portraying a minimal wedding procession, perhaps presents

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<sup>307</sup> Shapiro [et al.] (1995), p. 108.

<sup>308</sup> J. Harris, *A Passion for Antiquities: Ancient Art from the Collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman*, (Malibu, 1994), pp. 83-84; C. Pastena, [et al.], *L'Arma per l'Arte*, (Palermo, 2010), p. 32.

<sup>309</sup> Harris (1994), p. 84; Pastena (2010), p. 32.

<sup>310</sup> Harris (1994), p. 83.

us with the bare essentials of a wedding – a man, a woman, and a hope for healthy, living children.

The twins' participation in wedding scenes is generally understood as being part of the functions they fulfill within the ceremony. Apollo is in charge of providing the music, while Artemis is present due to her role as the one who watches over transitions, such as the one about to be made by the bride, from a παρθένος to a γυνή. Additionally, Kyrkou claims that as the “protectrice du mariage,” Artemis is almost an essential character in such scenes.<sup>311</sup> Moreover, Kyrkou writes that the presence of the gods transforms the real wedding ritual into the mythic plain, hence the inclusion of the chariot, which elevates the commonplace procession to a divine (or at least heroic) level.<sup>312</sup> Yet it is very likely that Artemis frequents these scenes also (and perhaps mainly) because of her responsibility for the survival of children, as I have already discussed above. Plutarch, for example, mentions in *Quaestiones Romanae* the five deities associated with married couples, namely “Διὸς τελείου καὶ Ἥρας τελείας καὶ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Πειθοῦς, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δ' Ἀρτέμιδος, ἣν ταῖς λοχεῖαις καὶ ταῖς ὠδῖσιν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐπικαλοῦνται” (*Zeus Teleios [of marriage], Hera Teleia, Aphrodite, Peitho, and above all the others Artemis, whom women invoke during child-birth and labor pains*) (II 264b).

Additionally, since Apollo and Artemis were associated with the myth of Admetos, the former as his friend, and the latter as the one who punished him after he forgot to honor her in the prenuptial sacrifices (Apollodoros I.9.15), this could also be the reason why they appear on some of these vases, and this elevates their generic attendance on the other vases as they are part

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<sup>311</sup> Kyrkou (2000), p. 293.

<sup>312</sup> *ibid.* p. 290.

of this myth, their presence hinting at the future.<sup>313</sup> In the same manner, it is also possible to say that Apollo's presence in the wedding of Peleus and Thetis foreshadows the death of the outcome of their union, since according to some versions it is Apollo who killed Achilles, either directly or by assisting Paris. This, perhaps, provides a darker tone than intended by the vase-painters, and we may well see the twins' presence in these scenes as a current reminder of music and forthcoming babies.

Most of these wedding vases, unlike the lavish scene of the Sophilos Dinos, have a more limited number of participants, usually consisting of Artemis, Apollo, and one or more additional figures, in addition to the wedded couple.<sup>314</sup> Hermes is the most popular guest, appearing twenty-three times, then Dionysos, appearing thirteen times Poseidon appears twice and nine vases depict one or more unidentified goddesses. Once the twins escort such a chariot by themselves and they appear with someone who is clearly not a god twice – once with a boy who stands in front of the horses, perhaps attending to them, and on another vase, an old man stands behind the young couple.

Apollo always faces to the right, and as we shall see when discussing the Delian Triad images, this is probably because this allows the painters to better exhibit his kithara. In all but one image, he stands ahead of the wedded couple, with his back to them, and Artemis usually stands facing him (as well as the couple behind him), and she is never presented with her attributes. Five or six times she stands at the head of the procession, near the horses. Three times another goddess is placed behind Apollo, in what may recreate the scenes of the Triad, if the additional goddess is indeed Leto.

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<sup>313</sup> Another attendant in this procession is Peitho. For more on her presence here, see Kyrkou (2000) pp. 291-294; H.A. Shapiro, *Personifications in Greek Art*, (Kilchberg, 1993), p. 187.

<sup>314</sup> It is important to note that not all wedding scenes include Artemis and/or Apollo.

Some vases present a larger retinue with a few goddesses, and this may complicate the identification of Artemis. On a calyx-krater in Brussels by the Antimenes Painter, dated to 525-500 BCE (**Cat. 153**), at least five goddesses participate in the procession. Apollo stands to the right, with his back to the couple. He is flanked by two female figures, both facing to the left - one who is facing him and the couple and the other faces only the couple, since she stands back to back with Apollo. The former goddess wears a polos and holds a flower, while the latter raises two torches. Another goddess stands by the head of the horses and two additional goddesses, one of whom also holds torches, stand behind the couple. Although Artemis is presented many times with torches, it is more reasonable that she is the goddess facing Apollo, but since this is a very familiar pose for the twins, and because the polos and the flower are also commonly associated with her in black-figure iconography, and that since others have torches, it would be more likely that Artemis would be distinguished than the others in such a scene. Next is a hydria in Bryn Mawr (**Cat. 162**). On it, one goddess stands alongside Dionysos, in front of Apollo, while another goddess waves the nuptial torches while standing near the head of the horses. Swindler identifies the latter as Artemis and suggests the former may be Aphrodite.<sup>315</sup> I agree, at least in regard to her identification of Artemis, since the female figure in the center is closer to Dionysos than to Apollo, and therefore it is not very likely that she is Artemis. A further support for this may be found by the torches of the goddess on the far right, which point out she is more likely to be Artemis than the other goddess, who has no identifying attributes or objects. Finally, an amphora in Paris, also by the Antimenes Painter (**Cat. 146**) presents one polos-wearing goddess standing behind Apollo, facing to the right, and away from the wedded pair. Another one stands

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<sup>315</sup> M. Hamilton Swindler, "The Bryn Mawr Collection of Greek Vases," in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 20, no. 3 (1916), p. 311.

in front of him, raising a wreath and also wearing a polos, and a third goddess on the far right near Hermes and the horses. Artemis is probably the figure standing in front of Apollo. These vases, depicting other goddesses, may make it harder to identify Artemis, and therefore the lack of attributes forces us to identify her mainly according to her proximity or at least association with Apollo.

The number of red-figure marital scenes which include Artemis and Apollo is considerably lower – only four vases, three of which portray a wedding processions by foot, with no chariot. Moreover, now the vases add details which indicate the homes of the groom, the bride, or both of them – a column, a door, and even a bridal chamber. Instead of standing side by side on a chariot, the groom now leads his bride, clasping her wrist in the *χείρ ἐπὶ καρπῶ* gesture.

The one vase which does portray a chariot is a fragmentary loutrophoros in Athens by the Methyse Painter, dated to ca. 450 BCE (**Cat. 172**). It displays the wedding of Alkestis and Admetos in the presence of Artemis, Apollo Kitharoidos, Peitho, and Hermes. The happy couple is mostly lost, as is most of Apollo and Hermes. It seems that Apollo was the closest to the chariot, Hermes stood near him, and then Artemis, whom Kyrkou identifies as Artemis ἀμφίπυρος (*with fire in each hand* i.e. torches), who acts here as νυμφεύτρια (*escorting the bride*).<sup>316</sup> Peitho leads the procession, and at the rear is an unidentified female figure who stands near a door; perhaps she is Admetos' mother or any other divine replacement. Although Artemis and Apollo take part in the wedding procession, they are separated from each other, as Hermes stands between them. This perhaps emphasizes that Artemis' presence here is not dependent of

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<sup>316</sup> Kyrkou (2000), p. 290.

Apollo's presence i.e. that even if Apollo were absent, she would have been still portrayed here. Alternatively, when considering the role each of the twins played in the myth of Admetos and in his wedding, perhaps the painter chose to separate the twins as an indication of their different treatment of Admetos in the near future.

A pyxis in Athens, dated to 475-425 BCE and attributed to the Wedding Painter (**Cat. 171**), is assumed to portray the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. The lack of inscriptions, however, may hinder a secure identification. Brulé, for example, only refers to this couple as a “nymphé” and “her husband.”<sup>317</sup> Regardless, Artemis and Apollo, both appearing with their attributes, divide the scene into two sections. They stand in a frontal position, with their heads turned to the left, towards the approaching couple. Peleus is leading Thetis, while another woman behind her holds or organizes the drapery of Thetis' mantle. All three are facing (and in Peleus' case – also striding), to the right, towards Artemis and Apollo. On the other side of the pyxis, we see a woman gesturing in front of a man, who stands outside of a door. Apollo holds a lush laurel staff, but his kithara is noticeably absent. Unlike most of her black-figure representations, Artemis holds a bow and her quiver lies on her back. Perhaps the tendency to portray her with her weapon on red-figure non-narrative scenes, as we shall see below, has influenced her depiction in other scenes as well. By their static position, it looks as if the twins await Peleus and Thetis.

A neck-amphora by the Copenhagen Painter, dated to ca. 470 BCE (**Cat. 170**), provides a similar procession, only this time we have further indication of the identity of the bride and groom, both by inscriptions identifying all the figures as well as by the presence of one unusual guest. The painter opted to depict the nuptial chamber, and a woman sits on its bed, holding

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<sup>317</sup> P. Brulé, *Women of Ancient Greece*, (Edinburgh, 2008), p. 63.



torches. She is labeled as Philyra, the mother of Cheiron, and therefore she is the foster grandmother of Achilles. Her son stands in front of the chamber, in all his semi-equine glory, also holding torches, welcoming Peleus and Thetis. The former holds his bride by her wrist, and the latter hold up her garment, as a gesture of modesty or feminine guile. Next in the procession are Artemis, with no attributes but with two torches, Apollo with his kithara, looking backward at Leto, and then Semele, Dionysos, and then a female figure labeled Hopla, a name which is unattested elsewhere,<sup>318</sup> and Tiverios suggests she might be a Nymph.<sup>319</sup> Aside from the family-oriented atmosphere, and the presentation of divine parents, parents to be, and children, it is interesting to note that Artemis is placed ahead of Apollo in this image.

According to Reeder, the Copenhagen Painter toyed with some conventions on this vase, including replacing the mother of the bride, who traditionally follows the bridal procession while holding two torches, with Artemis, and the mother of the groom, who awaits to greet the couple at the door of the bride's new home, by Cheiron and his mother. Reeder believes this alludes to the myth in which Peleus brought Thetis to Cheiron's home on Mount Pelion.<sup>320</sup> Therefore, we may assume that Artemis is placed ahead of Apollo here because of her function in the scene, as the mother of the bride, which is considered more important than Apollo's. Moreover, here too it is clear that her presence in the scene is independent of Apollo's.

Finally, a bell-Krater in Reading, dated to 500-450 BCE (**Cat. 169**), presents a wedding procession with Dionysos and Ariadne as the newlyweds. A goddess with torches, possibly Semele,<sup>321</sup> welcomes them and they are escorted by Poseidon and another goddess. These five

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<sup>318</sup> Bothmer (1990), p. 169.

<sup>319</sup> Tiverios (1996), p. 299.

<sup>320</sup> Reeder (1996), p. 374.

<sup>321</sup> *ibid.* p. 65.

deities are flanked by two Erotes, placed under the handles. Behind them, there is another goddess, holding a phiale and walking to the right while turning her head backwards. Apollo Kitharoidos is behind her, and the two are separated by a column. He advances and looks backwards, holding out his phiale towards Artemis, who is carrying a torch and an oinochoe. Behind Artemis stands an unidentified female figure, holding a scepter. Artemis and Apollo interact with each other, establishing their close connection, as well as recreating their signature pose from the many red-figure libation scenes discussed below. The other goddess holding a phiale could be Leto, although this is uncertain, especially considering the column which separates her from the twins. Their placement on the reverse indicates that they are less significant to the narrative, and we may assume that they appear here from the regular reasons they appear in wedding scenes, which I have already discussed above, only that this time, perhaps because of their remoteness from the main event, the painter chose to utilize their libation iconography, and to incorporate it into the wedding scene.

### **Athena on the Chariot and Herakles' Ascent to Heaven**

Another myth in which Artemis and Apollo appear in a chariot scene is the apotheosis of Herakles, when Athena mounts or stands in a chariot and the hero is either by her side or close by. This scene appears on eleven black-figure and two red-figure vases, to which we should add three more depicting the hero's apotheosis without a chariot, two black-figure images and one red-figure vase. Another variant of this theme is scenes in which Athena is presented on a chariot while Herakles is missing from the picture, which occurs on ten black-figure images. Although the hero's absence changes the subject of these vases, the depiction patterns of Artemis and

Apollo in them remain the same, and therefore I address them together. Apollo is always facing to the right while strumming his kithara, and Artemis is not portrayed with any of her attributes. Sixteen times Artemis faces Apollo as he stands in his chariot. Once she stands behind him, facing Athena and Herakles, with neither twin is facing each other; another time she stands at her brother's side, both facing to the right; and on four other vases Artemis stands on the extreme right, near the heads of the horses. Thus, despite the presence of other deities in these scenes, the connection of Artemis and Apollo is repeatedly emphasized. On the other hand, Artemis' lack of attributes maintains the focus on Apollo, at least in relation to the two of them, and, as in the Triad images, renders her identity as dependent on his presence. Apollo is closely associated with Herakles in the iconography of the Struggle for the Tripod, and with both twins in depictions of the Kerynian Hind. Although Athena is their half-sister, the three siblings are usually not depicted together. Therefore, it is possible that Artemis and Apollo appear on these vases because they were commonly associated with chariot scenes.

A calyx-krater by Exekias, dated to 540-530 BCE (**Cat. 173**), portrays Herakles' introduction into Olympos. Athena and Herakles are on a chariot, facing to the right. Apollo stands in front of them, facing to the right and playing his kithara. A polos-wearing Artemis faces him, and so does Poseidon, who stands behind her. The last two gods stand behind the horses in the background, and another goddess, perhaps Aphrodite or Amphitrite,<sup>322</sup> stands closer to the horses' heads, with Hermes placed in front of them. Pala refers to this vase as "l'opera più prestigiosa del Pittore tra quelle provenienti dalla rocca ateniese"<sup>323</sup> and Schefold states that "the

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<sup>322</sup> E. Pala, *Acropoli Di Atene: Un Microcosmo Della Produzione E Distribuzione Della Ceramica Attica*, (Roma, 2012), p. 200.

<sup>323</sup> Pala (2012), p. 200.

whole composition is held together by the pictorial splendour.”<sup>324</sup> More importantly for our purposes, is that regardless of the situation, the participants, and the aforementioned splendor, Artemis and Apollo maintain the inner coherence that characterizes their depiction on the non-narrative images. Artemis has no defined purpose here, unlike her brother who supplies the music. Perhaps she is depicted here (and in the other similar images) due to her connection with Herakles, but it is more likely due to her connection with Apollo, filling in a vacant spot, a useful remnant from other scenes in which she fulfilled some purpose.

The earlier of the two red-figure vases which depict this myth, a calyx-krater by the Troilos Painter, dated to ca. 470 BCE (**Cat. 184**), does not vary significantly from its black-figure representations, albeit it has a freer, and more exuberant, style. Athena is mounting a chariot, and Herakles stands in front of her, gesturing excitedly. Artemis and Apollo are shown as we have seen them many times before, Apollo kitharoidos stands before the hero, facing to the right, while an attributeless Artemis faces him, gesturing with her hand. Hermes is by the horses’ heads, leading the jubilant procession, since every figure on this vase is smiling.

The second red-figure vase, however, presents a somewhat unusual rendition of the Athena and chariot theme, with a less rigid schema than its black-figure counterparts. It is a volute-krater by Polion, dated to 420-410 BCE (**Cat. 185**). It portrays a procession of many gods in a circular depiction. Athena stands in the background behind the horses, while Artemis, who carries a quiver and a bow on her back, stands in the chariot, holding the reins while a small Nike hovers near her, carrying a wreath. Unlike almost all of the vases discussed here, this chariot is

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<sup>324</sup> Schefold (1992), p. 40.

headed to the left.<sup>325</sup> Behind Artemis stands Leto and Apollo is at her other side, under the handle, facing the left and playing his kithara. Therefore the twins are not placed directly at each other's sides, but rather they are separated by their mother. Apollo's head is lost, but as Robertson notes, he was surely the object of the others' gaze.<sup>326</sup> This indicates Polion did not adopt the standard Triad iconography, but opted to present Leto and her twins in a different way, probably since he wanted to indicate a dichotomy between the directionality of the procession and the gazes of most of its participants. Thus, we have an axis which moves between Athena and Apollo, playing with our notion of what is more important – a central position or everyone's attention.

Robertson also suggests that Nike was making her way to crown Apollo and not Artemis, even though Nike was closer to Artemis.<sup>327</sup> The question is what trumps what – proximity or directionality of gazes. As we have seen in the Marsyas sub-chapter, Nike is not always depicted directly near the person she is about to crown, so it is possible (although not certain) that Robertson is right. However, in the Marsyas myth, the result of Apollo's victory was well-known and undisputed, so regardless of where Nike would be placed, the viewers had to know where she is going with the wreath. If Robertson is right, then this vase presents a wider dispersion of focal points – Athena is at the center of the obverse, and due to the horses and the chariot, she occupies most of it by herself, since Artemis is on the edge of the image and Apollo is beneath the handle, which somewhat counterbalance the fact that he is the object of the gaze of his mother, sister, and half-sister.

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<sup>325</sup> This also happens on a red-figure hydria in the Vatican by the Leningrad Painter, 206579.

<sup>326</sup> Robertson (1992), p. 245.

<sup>327</sup> *ibid.*

Lastly, three vases depict Herakles' apotheosis by foot. A black-figure pyxis in Samos, dated to 550-522 BCE and attributed to the Taleides Painter (**Cat. 197**). This pyxis represents Herakles' marriage to Hebe after his apotheosis, whereupon the hero "proposes the nuptial wreath to Hebe who welcomes him as his bride with the characteristic gesture of unveiling."<sup>328</sup> Hebe stands on the right, facing Herakles, who is on the left. Behind her strides a line of gods, all facing away from her, so her position should be understood as signaling the beginning of the scene. The Olympian gods are all present here, in addition to Leto, Eilithiya, and an unidentified male figure, and almost all of the figures are named. Behind Herakles stands Leto, who faces the anonymous god, and then we see Artemis and Apollo, marching towards the opposite direction of the other gods, as if going away from Herakles rather than approaching him. Apollo is first, holding what remains of his kithara, and Artemis follows him, without any attribute.

Another possible representation of the marriage of Herakles and Hebe in the presence of Artemis and Apollo can be seen on a stamnos in Trieste, dated to 470-460 BCE (**Cat. 198**). This scene incorporates fewer participants, eight Olympian gods as well as the happy couple-to-be. Athena seems to be leading Herakles by the hand, in a reversal of the *χείρ ἐπί καρπῶ* gesture, towards a young woman who was identified as Hebe.<sup>329</sup> Apollo, holding his lyre, approaches behind the hero. Although the god advances to the left, towards Herakles, he is turning his head to the right, to look at Artemis, who stands almost frontally, although she too turns her head to look at her brother. She carries an oinochoe; perhaps she will take part in the libations. The twins are separated by the handle, although they seem to overcome it and to communicate nonetheless. Considering the positions and directionality of the other figures, it seems that the scene should

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<sup>328</sup> K. Tsakos and M. Viglaki-Sofianu, *Samos - The Archaeological Museums*, (Athens, 2012), p. 165.

<sup>329</sup> *CVA Trieste, Museo Civico I*, III.I.4, pl.(1915) 3.1-4.

begin with Apollo who moves towards Herakles, and end with Artemis, who stands *en face*, while the other gods behind her are moving to the wedding from the other direction. However, the twins are clearly interacting, thus they manage to bridge not only the handle, but also the time and space limitations of the scene depicted on this vase.

## Others Riding Chariots

Finally, five black-figure vessels and one red-figure krater depict a similar scene in which other figures mount a chariot in the presence of Artemis and Apollo, who mostly assume their customary positions, and sometimes they are accompanied by an additional deity. The figure on the chariot in these scenes is mostly unidentified, as is the case with a column-krater dated to 525-475 BCE (**Cat. 493**), in which a smaller figure stands in the chariot, while Apollo plays his kithara close by, Hermes is behind the horses in the background and Artemis is near the horses' heads, smelling a flower and easily identified by a deer which stands at her side. The rider's smaller size perhaps indicates that he is human, but we have no other indications of his identity. Similarly, a lost column-krater and a lekythos, both by the Gela Painter, dated to 520-475 BCE (**Cat. 494-495**), each display a figure standing in a chariot, with Apollo playing his kithara in front of the car and Artemis standing in front of him, facing him while smelling a flower. On the column-krater she wears a polos, while on the lekythos, a deer stands by the heads of the horses. A fourth figure appears on the column-krater, behind the chariot, yet he too is without any indication of his identity. The lack of attributes or inscriptions to identify the passenger and his mate on these vases places the focus on Artemis and Apollo (and once on Hermes as well), who can be securely identified. Perhaps we have here a generic chariot scene, decorated by the

familiar presence of some deities, whose recurring presence near carriages has become something of a standard convention, and this is why they were portrayed here as well.

Another more elaborate depiction, in which Artemis and Apollo accompany a deity riding a chariot, appears on a hydria by the Antimenes Painter, dated to ca. 520 BCE (**Cat. 492**). Here, however, a sole inscription identifies this figure as Demeter, who is mounting the chariot. Shapiro suggests that apart from the inscription, “she would be difficult to recognize without attributes and that her identification is the key to understanding an otherwise very rare subject.”<sup>330</sup> Also on the vase, Apollo plays the kithara in front of Demeter, facing to the right, while Artemis stands in front of him, smelling a flower and wearing a polos. The twins assume their standard position, facing each other. Hermes and another female figure are near the horses’ heads, and soon they will lead the procession. Simon has interpreted this scene as Demeter’s return to Olympos, after her reconciliation, meaning that the third goddess is Persephone, who was led by Hermes from the Underworld.<sup>331</sup> According to Simon, Demeter and her daughter are on their way back to Olympos, “dessen Nähe das Kitharaspieldes Apollon andeutet.”<sup>332</sup> She reads the entire vase as representing different stages of the myth of Demeter and Persephone, suggesting that the shape of the vase stood behind the thematic choice, since in the Homeric Hymn to the Demeter, when the goddess meets the princesses, they carry water in similar hydriai and moreover, that purifying water played an important part in the Eleusinian Mysteries.<sup>333</sup> Shapiro concurs with Reeder’s interpretation, noting that even though Artemis and Apollo are not associated with this scene in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, Apollo frequents such festive

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<sup>330</sup> Shapiro (1989), p. 80.

<sup>331</sup> E. Simon, *Führer durch die Antikenabteilung des Martin von Wagner Museums der Universität Würzburg*, (Mainz, 1975), p. 115; E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen*, (München, 1985), pp. 110-112.

<sup>332</sup> Simon (1975), p. 115.

<sup>333</sup> Simon (1975), p. 115.



occasions as provider of divine, and that Artemis is presented many times with him, “almost as an ‘attribute’ of her brother.”<sup>334</sup> Schefold acknowledges that this vase may depict Demeter as either returning to Olympos or travelling to Eleusis, he argues that Artemis’ presence probably supports the latter option, since Artemis Propylaia was worshipped in Eleusis and it is generally agreed that this vase depicts an Eleusinian scene.<sup>335</sup>

Regardless of the true meaning behind this vase and the presence of Artemis and Apollo, it continues to present the twins in their customary depiction, simply incorporating them into a scene with new meaning without changing anything in the dynamics between them. It is also possible that Apollo and Artemis were incorporated into this scene simply because many chariot scenes depict them, which made them somewhat stock-images for such scenes. In any case, regardless of the reason they are there, it is evident that nothing has changed in their representation, which remains as it was, regardless of the different circumstances.

Our last vase portraying a goddess riding in the presence of Artemis and Apollo is the namesake column-krater by the Cleveland Painter, dated to 470-460 BCE (**Cat. 503**). A young woman is mounting a chariot while holding the reins, and another goddess, wearing a dentated crown and holding a scepter, raises a phiale towards her. Apollo stands behind the horses, holding a lyre, facing another female figure who smells a flower bud. Some scholars have

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<sup>334</sup> Shapiro (1989), p. 80.

<sup>335</sup> Pausanias, I.38.6; Schefold (1992), p. 48; Shapiro (1989), p. 110; Simon (1975), p. 111n158; M.-C. Villanueva Puig, “A propos des lécythes attiques à figures noires en provenance de la Péninsule Ibérique. Quelques remarques d’iconographie dionysiaque,” in *Revue Des Études Anciennes*, 88, (1986), p. 364.

Tiverios goes further to include this vase in his argument that according to a myth that was preserved in Eleusis, Artemis was the daughter of Demeter and Dionysos (M. Tiverios, “Artemis, Dionysos und Eleusinische Gottheiten” in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Athenische Abteilung*, bd. 119, [2004] pp. 147-162; M. Tiverios, “Αρτεμις, Διονυσος και Ελευσινιακες θεοτητες,” εν *Ιερα και Λατρειες της Δημητρας στον Αρχαιο Ελληνικο Κοσμο*, [Βόλος, 2010], pp. 17-41).

suggested that the mounted figure is possibly Artemis,<sup>336</sup> probably due to the many other scenes in which Artemis is mounting or riding a chariot in the presence of her brother. They have also identified the goddess in front of Apollo as Leto, and the third goddess, with her “regal accouterments,”<sup>337</sup> was easily recognized as Hera.<sup>338</sup> However, in most of the instances in which Artemis rides a chariot in the presence of her brother, he is facing her, either with his entire body or just by turning his head towards her. Moreover, according to Foley and Neils, there are more reasons to assume that Artemis is not the charioteer on this vase, and they have offered a different interpretation, which better explains Hera’s presence in this scene and her close relationship with the mounting goddess. Therefore, they argue Hebe is the one mounting the chariot, on her way to marry Herakles.<sup>339</sup> Hebe’s mother is performing a libation to insure an auspicious departure,<sup>340</sup> while Artemis and Apollo appear here as they do on so many other marital processions, the former watches over the bride’s transition and hints at the outcome of most marriages, while the latter accompanies the departure with his divine music.<sup>341</sup>

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<sup>336</sup> *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 516.1; C.G. Boulter, *CVA, USA, Cleveland, Museum of Art 1*, (Princeton, 1971), p. 16; W.G. Moon, *Greek Vase-Painting in Midwestern Collections*, (Chicago, 1979), pp. 188-189.

<sup>337</sup> J. Neils, “Hera, Paestum, and the Cleveland Painter,” in C. Marconi (ed.), *Greek Vases: Images, Contexts and Controversies*, (Leiden, 2004), p. 75.

<sup>338</sup> *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 516.1; Boulter (1971), p. 16; Moon (1979), p. 174.

<sup>339</sup> Foley (2003), p. 128; Neils (2004), pp. 75-80.

<sup>340</sup> Neils (2004), p. 76.

<sup>341</sup> Foley (2003), p. 128; Neils (2004), p. 80.

## 3.2 – Non-Narrative Scenes

### 3.2.1 – Black Figure Non-Narrative Scenes

Not all of the images of Artemis and Apollo were depicting mythological narratives, and a great number of vases portray them in non-narrative scenes. These could range from images of the twins by themselves, to images of the Delian Triad, where they are standing with their mother, to images which incorporated additional deities into each of these categories. The most common composition of non-narrative scenes with Artemis and Apollo is that of the Delian Triad, depicting the twins and their mother, which began to appear on Attic vases from around 540 BCE (and perhaps a few years earlier), gaining prominence during its last quarter.<sup>342</sup> The popularity of the black-figure Triad scenes is generally attributed to Peisistratos, who promoted Apollo's cult in the second half of the sixth century BCE intending "to project Athens' claim to being... the 'oldest city of Ionia'."<sup>343</sup> The images of the Delian Triad survived the transition to red-figure technique, and gained a renewed popularity around 475-450 BCE, as they were associated with the foundation of the Delian League in 478/7 BCE under Athens' leadership, since Apollo was its patron and Delos was the seat of its treasury.<sup>344</sup> After the treasury moved to Athens in 454 BCE, we see a decline in the number and the quality of the images of the Triad.<sup>345</sup>

Some painters favored the topic of Apollo and Artemis or of the Triad, and repeated it many times, mainly the Niobid Painter, his associates, and their workshops and according to Prange, the most beautiful examples were created by the Niobid Painter and the Villa Giulia

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<sup>342</sup> Foukara (2014), p. 17; Shapiro (1989), pp. 57-58; Shapiro (1996), p. 104; Shapiro (2009a), p. 267.

<sup>343</sup> Lambrinudakis (1984), pp. 261-265; Shapiro (1989), pp. 56-58; Shapiro (1996), p. 104; Shapiro (2009a), p. 266.

<sup>344</sup> Shapiro (1996), 101-113; Shapiro (2009a), p. 266; Tiverios (1986), pp. 600-602; Tiverios (1996), p. 299.

<sup>345</sup> Shapiro (1996), p. 104; Tiverios (1986), p. 604.

Painter.<sup>346</sup> Perhaps this is because, as Caskey and Beazley note, Apollo was a favorite theme with the Niobid Painter, the Altamura Painter, and their followers,<sup>347</sup> although it is also possible to say that they favored the theme of the Delian Triad as a whole. Frel gives the example of two remarkably similar pelikai by the Villa Giulia Painter (**Cat. 372-373**), assuming, due to the lesser quality of one of them, that the painter worked on them on the same day and got bored by the time he started working on the second vase, and therefore his work suffered. These images are also repeated on two additional vases by this painter (**Cat. 359, Cat. 370**) and Frel assumed that he, much as other painters, was following an “established workshop model.”<sup>348</sup>

The scenes of the Delian Triad may take place on the island itself, as the occasional presence of the Delian palm tree, which Leto clasped as she gave birth on the island, may indicate.<sup>349</sup> Miller notes that the palm is an attribute of Apollo and does not indicate a specific location.<sup>350</sup> Therefore, the palm could be integrated as a general attribute of Apollo in scenes which are more likely to take place in Delphi, for example, or scenes which do not have a specific locale.<sup>351</sup> According to Shapiro, the Triad of Apollo, his twin-sister, and his mother, “had been a popular image of family devotion, with a special resonance for Athens.”<sup>352</sup> Other scholars place the emphasis on the growing importance of Delos and Apollo’s temple and cult there, and possibly the growing importance of the Delian festival, first perhaps due to Peisistratos’ wish to control the island, and later, as one of the consequences of the foundation of

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<sup>346</sup> Prange (1989), p. 71; Shapiro (1996), p. 104.

<sup>347</sup> D. Caskey and J.D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, (London, 1954), p. 82.

<sup>348</sup> J. Frel, *Painting on Vases in Ancient Greece*, (Los Angeles, 1979), [no pages].

<sup>349</sup> Shapiro (1989), pp. 57-58.

<sup>350</sup> H. F. Miller, *The Iconography of the Palm in Greek Art: Significance and Symbolism*, (Ann Arbor, 1983), pp. 7-9. For the motif of the palm-tree and altar referring to the cult of Artemis, see Ch. Sourvinou-Inwood, “Altars with Palm-Trees, Palm-Trees and Parthenoi,” in *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 32, (1985), pp. 125-146.

<sup>351</sup> Shapiro (2009a), p. 269.

<sup>352</sup> Shapiro (1989), pp. 56-58; H.A. Shapiro, “Fathers and Sons, Men and Boys.” in J. Neils and J.H. Oakley (eds.), *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece*, (New Haven, 2003), p. 87.

the Delian League.<sup>353</sup> There are three more variants on this theme. First, additional deities join the Triad, although they almost never break the sequence between the original cast; second, Leto is removed, and Apollo and Artemis face each other alone; and finally, other gods are incorporated into scenes of the twins. I examine each category separately, but beforehand I address some common elements which are relevant to all categories. In addition to the images of the Triad and its variants, two more categories belong to the non-narrative section: images of the twins in chariot scenes and in divine assemblies, and these will be discussed independently.

### 3.2.1.1 - Attributes and Identification

Apollo's attributes are simple and consistent – he holds, and presumably plays, a musical instrument; mostly a kithara, but sometimes he carries a lyre, mainly on the lower quality vases of the Haimon Painter and his group, perhaps since the simpler instrument better suited their cruder outlines. Apollo is almost always at the center, facing to the right, since this allows the painters to portray his kithara in a frontal position. The kithara had an central part in the Triad images, appearing on 125 vases (out of 159) and anchoring around it the rest of the popular scene. Jurriaans-Helle claims that the kithara endows the scene with a “divine Olympic atmosphere” and that it is the key to identify the other figures, male or female, as deities, since they are usually not presented with any attributes.<sup>354</sup> This is only partially true, since in non-narrative scenes in which other male deities, such as Hermes, Dionysos, and Poseidon, join

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<sup>353</sup> Bonet (2003), p. 304; H. Jackson, and P. Connor, *A Catalogue of Greek Vases on the Collection of the University of Melbourne*, (Melbourne, 2000), p. 96; L.I. Marangou [et al.], *Ancient Greek Art from the Collection of Stavros S. Niarchos*, (Athens, 1995), p. 152; Pala (2012), p. 140; Shapiro (1996), p. 101-104.

<sup>354</sup> Jurriaans-Helle (1986), p. 111. For more on Apollo's connection with the kithara, see A. Bellia, *Gli Strumenti Musicali Nei Reperti del Museo Archeologico Regionale "Antonino Salinas" di Palermo*, (Roma, 2009), pp. 13-15;

Apollo and Artemis, they do carry or wear their attributes. It is only the goddesses who lose their attributes in these scenes. There is no clear narratorial meaning to the image, as the gods simply stand together.

Apart from the kithara or the lyre, Apollo is almost never depicted with any of his other attributes. The one exception for this is a lost amphora on which he carried a bow (**Cat. 234**), thus it seems that he appears with his weapon only when the context demands it, i.e. in battle or retribution scenes.<sup>355</sup> The laurel branch, a prevalent attribute of Apollo in red-figure images, is missing entirely from our black-figure vases, although a palm appears on sixteen non-narrative black-figure images.<sup>356</sup>

Apollo is flanked by Artemis and Leto, yet while his identity is firmly secured, Artemis is rarely seen with her customary attributes, the bow and the quiver, in these scenes with one exception - the occasional presence of a deer, to be discussed below. She is portrayed with her archery gear only twelve times in the non-narrative scenes, meaning that the Archer goddess is presented with her best known attributes on 7.5% of the vases. One of these rare occasions occurs on a kylix in London, dated to 520-500 BCE (**Cat. 202**), which portrays Artemis with a bow and a quiver. This vessel presents an almost identical imagery on both sides, so Artemis and her archery paraphernalia are depicted on it twice. Another vessel, an amphora in Karlsruhe, dated to the beginning of the fifth century BCE (**Cat. 206**), has Artemis, as well as Leto, holding a spear, a weapon with which she is usually not associated. A lekythos in Morlanwelz, dated to

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<sup>355</sup> Such as the Gigantomachy, where he may also be depicted with a sword (including black figure?), his fight over the tripod, killing the Niobids, or chasing Tityos.

<sup>356</sup> For the laurel tree and its importance in Apollo's worship, see P. Amandry, *La Mantique Apollinienne à Delphes: Essai sur le fonctionnement de l' Oracle*, (Paris, 1950), pp. 126-128; M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen*, (Berlin, 1982), pp. 216-246; Ch. Sourvinou-Inwood, "The Myth of the First Temples at Delphi," in *Classical Quarterly*, vol. 29, (1979), pp. 233-234.

500-475 BCE (**Cat. 228**), depicts Artemis holding a raised torch and an oinochoe, which will be her vessel of choice in the red-figure representations of the Delian Triad, while Apollo carries an object that might be a phiale, another rarity, since the twins are usually not given these libation vessels on black-figure vases.

Leto is also seldom seen with her attributes, the scepter and the veil, meaning that Apollo is mostly accompanied by two nondescript and undistinguishable goddesses, without any attributes, special objects, or inscriptions. Although this happens on red-figure vases as well, Moore notes that it is particularly true in black-figure iconography.<sup>357</sup> Thus, on most of our vases, Artemis and Leto are undistinguishable (not including the presence of the deer). Furthermore, this lack of attributes sometimes causes scholars to hesitate to identify them as Artemis and Leto. Some are careful to offer a tentative identification but restrict it with “probably” or “possibly,”<sup>358</sup> while others simply refer to them as “goddesses,” “Muses,” and “female figures.”<sup>359</sup> Hoffmann, when discussing a red-figure calyx-krater depicting the Triad on which Artemis and Leto have no attributes (**Cat. 367**), explains this by arguing that the Triad of Apollo, Artemis, and Leto was a well known motif, and therefore the attributes were not necessary and we may also extend this to black-figure images of the Triad.<sup>360</sup>

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<sup>357</sup> Moore (2010) p. 54.

<sup>358</sup> e.g. J.H. Oakley (ed.), *Athenian Potters and Painters: Catalogue of the Exhibit*, (Princeton, 1994), p. 36; L.M. Saracino (ed.), *Scritti di Archeologia di Giuliana Riccioni*, (Bologna, 2000), p. 19; T.J. Smith, “Black-Figure Vases in the Collection of the British School at Athens,” in *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, vol. 98 (2003), p. 361.

<sup>359</sup> e.g. R. Equizzi, *Palermo: San Martino Delle Scale La - Collezione Archeologica*, (Roma, 2006), p. 418; G. Giudice and F. Muscolino, *Vasi Attici Corinzi Apuli a Cipro*, (Catania, 2012), p. 62; D. Nati, *Ceramica Attica A Figure Nere Nel Museo Archeologico Nazionale Di Tarquinia*, (Roma, 2012), pp. 128-129.

However, as Foukara rightfully notes, Muses are usually depicted in larger groups and they hold musical instruments (Foukara [2014], p. 39).

<sup>360</sup> H. Hoffmann, “Erwerbungen der Antikenabteilung in den Jahren 1950-1960,” in *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen*, Band 6, (1961), p. 254.

Another important aspect regarding the portrayal of Apollo and Artemis in these images is that since Apollo is not merely carrying the kithara but rather playing it, he is presented as active, while Artemis is depicted as passive, as she only holds her attributes (when she has them), gestures with her hands, or simply stands, static and calm.

However, other vases which do depict some of the goddesses' attributes or include inscriptions with their names allow us to safely identify Artemis and Leto on the other vases, and their presence in this specific context alongside Apollo should suffice to identify them, as long as there is no contradictory evidence. There is, of course, the question of who is who. Jurriaans-Helle argues that even when Artemis and Leto have none of their attributes, we may still assume that the goddess facing Apollo in these scenes, "must be Artemis, for the one important identifying element has been retained: the figure of Apollo...Artemis is always seen standing on the right opposite Apollo, namely in the same position as on the vases without Leto."<sup>361</sup> She is mostly right, although occasionally the figure facing Apollo is Leto, but this is explicitly indicated by the painter, by providing her (or her daughter's) attributes or by adding inscriptions. Thus, in a sense, Apollo becomes the attribute of his sister and mother, since it is mainly his undisputed presence that enables us to identify them. Yet this also means that he is the focus of the scene, and its other participants are not as important as to have attributes.

One vase that does have inscribed names, an amphora in Würzburg, dated to 520-510 BCE (**Cat. 261**), fortunately presents this very scene – Apollo Kitharoidos with two indistinguishable goddesses, apart from the inscriptions, which allow us to securely identify Apollo's companions as Artemis, who is facing her brother, and Leto, who stands behind him.

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<sup>361</sup> Jurriaans-Helle (1986), p. 114.



Other vases present a similar scheme with attributes (as we shall see next) or additional vases with inscriptions, and I would argue, therefore, that since the Delian Triad was a highly popular theme, when we have images of Apollo accompanied by two female figures, unless there is clear evidence to the contrary, they should be identified as Artemis and Leto, and when Apollo is in the company of one female figure, she is most likely to be Artemis.

Other than that, Artemis is presented twenty-seven times with a polos, although it is not exclusively associated with her, since other goddesses were also depicted with this headgear in Attic iconography.<sup>362</sup> For example, an amphora in Munich, dated to 520-510 BCE (**Cat. 236**), portrays Apollo flanked by two goddesses and the one facing him wears a polos. It is more likely that she is Artemis, who usually faces her brother. Leto is also sometimes depicted with a polos, as we may see on an amphora in Naples (**Cat. 239**), which portrays both goddesses wearing this headgear. Some vases indicate that Artemis is the one wearing the polos, either by portraying her with a bow and a quiver, as she does on the previously discussed kylix (**Cat. 202**) or by placing a deer near her, as on an amphora in Paris, dated to 550-525 BCE (**Cat. 207**). Another possible example is an amphora in Rome, dated to 550-500 BCE (**Cat. 231**) in which the goddess on the right wears a polos, while a panther which stands near Apollo, faces her. This probably indicates that she is Artemis, since although it is more commonly associated with Dionysos, the panther may also appear alongside Artemis, and Hoppin is right to suggest it emphasizes her connection to the hunt.<sup>363</sup> However, an olpe in Brussels, dated to 525-475 BCE (**Cat. 225**), shows a deer standing in front of the goddess to the right while the goddess behind Apollo wears a polos, thus

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<sup>362</sup> Jurriaans-Helle (1986), p. 113; B.S. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*, (Chicago, 1993); For the polos as an indication of divine status, see Ridgway (1993), 148; P.G. Themelis, "The Cult Scene of the Polos of the Siphnian Karyatid at Delphi," in Hägg, R. (ed.), *The Iconography of Greek cult in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, (Athens, 1992), p. 53.

<sup>363</sup> Hoppin (1917), p. 52.

clearly dividing these two attributes between Artemis and Leto. Since the deer is more commonly associated with Artemis than the headgear, and more importantly, since the goddess with the deer is facing Apollo, she must be Artemis, and Leto is the one who wears the polos. Therefore, the polos is used to add some diversity to the two similar figures of Apollo's sister and mother, to somewhat distinguish them apart by giving them a decorative item rather than their powerful attributes.

### 3.2.1.2 - Deer in Black-Figure Vases

One recurring element in the non-narrative scenes is the presence of the deer, which is one of Artemis' attributes, associated with her aspects as a huntress and as Potnia Theron.<sup>364</sup> However, the deer is also associated with Apollo, sometimes appearing at his side in the scenes to be discussed below, and on other occasions standing by the god even when Artemis is absent. Some scholars therefore claim that the deer was Apollo's sacred animal as well,<sup>365</sup> although Klinger asserts that "even when it stands near the god, with or without Artemis, the deer belongs to her,"<sup>366</sup> noting that the goddess' special connection with the deer may be also deduced from dedications depicting Artemis with the deer at her sanctuaries from the Archaic period onwards,

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<sup>364</sup> The deer may appear in narrative scenes as well, but I shall only discuss its appearance in the non-narrative scenes as a possible (and problematic) attribute of Artemis in these scenes, in which she rarely appears with her other attributes. For Artemis and the deer, see E. Bevan, *Representations of Animals in Sanctuaries of Artemis and other Olympian Deities*, (Oxford, 1986), pp. 100-114; F. Brein, *Der Hirsch in der griechischen Frühzeit*, (Vienna, 1969), pp. 42-53; L. Bodson, *Ἴερα ζώια: Contribution à l'étude de la place de l'animal dans la religion grecque ancienne*, (Brussels, 1978), pp. 127-128; Kahil (1983), p. 239; Burkert (1985), pp. 149-152.; Y. Morizot, "Autour d'un char d'Artemis," in P.L. de Bellefonds [et.al.] (eds.), *Ἀγαθός Δαίμων: Mythes et Cultes*, (Athènes, 2000), pp. 384-386.

<sup>365</sup> D. Birge, "Sacred Groves and the Nature of Apollo," in J. Solomon (ed.), *Apollo - Origins and Influences*, (Tucson, 1994), p. 17; Brein (1969), pp. 54-57; Burkert (1985), p. 145; Jurriaans-Helle (1986), pp. 116-118; Shapiro (1989), p. 57.

<sup>366</sup> S. Klinger, "A Terracotta Statuette of Artemis with a Deer at the Israel Museum," in *Israel Exploration Journal*, vol. 51, no. 2 (2001), p. 208.

even suggesting that perhaps live deer were kept in them.<sup>367</sup> The fact that Apollo has no deer-related epithet while Artemis has epithets which specifically associate her with the deer and not only with the hunt such as ἐλαφηβόλος (*deer-Shooting*), ἐλαφοκτόνος (*deer-killing*), and ἐλαφιαία (*of the deer*) should also support this view. However, as we can see on our vases, sometimes Apollo appropriates his sister's deer, and the animal may even be associated with Leto, so we may assume that while it originally belonged to Artemis, now it is shared by the other Triad members or alternately, it functions as an ornamental element, with the painters placing it according to their artistic considerations.

A deer appears on sixty-seven non-narrative black-figure images and on two of these there are two deer. There are three main categories for the appearance of the deer.<sup>368</sup> In the **first** category, the animal is closer to Artemis or interacts with her. There are fourteen images in this category,<sup>369</sup> the earliest of which is an olpe in Paris, dated to 540 BCE (**Cat. 335**). In one image, she grabs the animal by its neck, in a manner reminiscent of her depictions as Potnia Theron (**Cat. 313**). Artemis is also portrayed as petting the animal, or alternately, the deer sometimes jumps at her, as if it was a dog begging for its mistress' attention or affection. Apollo, on the other hand, never engages with the animal. In these images, the deer is associated with the goddess on the right, and I have argued earlier that without evidence for the contrary, she is more likely to be Artemis, facing her brother. Four additional images, however, associate the deer with

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<sup>367</sup> S. Klinger, "Two Attic Lekythoi in the Israel Museum Depicting Animals," in *Israel Exploration Journal*, vol. 48, no. 3/4 (1998), p. 218n56; Klinger (2001), p. 214.

Klinger also finds a connection between the deer and Artemis' role in young women's lives and their sexual maturation, assuming this is the reason why many vases with images of women with deer were found in sites associated with Artemis and with initiation rites and weddings. S. Klinger, "Women and Deer: from Athens to Corinth and Back," in J.H. Oakley and O. Palagia (eds.), *Athenian Potters and Painters II*, (Oxford, 2009), p. 100.

<sup>368</sup> I examine here only representations of the deer in scenes of the Triad and its three variants, and exclude other scenes, such as non-narrative chariot scenes or assemblies of the gods.

<sup>369</sup> Two of which present two deer and another presents a deer near Artemis and panther near Poseidon, not to one of the Triad, and therefore I have included this vase in this category.

the goddess on the left, i.e. behind Apollo, while the goddess on the right has no attributes or any other distinguishing feature, so either the deer migrated to Leto's side, or Artemis was uncharacteristically placed behind her brother. Jurriaans-Helle claims that the deer's position near the goddess on the left does not mean that she is Artemis, unless she has the goddess' specific attributes.<sup>370</sup> Laurinsich and Achille, however, disagree, identifying the goddess on the left as Artemis,<sup>371</sup> and this could be true in regards to the other images in which the deer is associated with the goddess on the left. The question is what trumps what – her position facing Apollo or her proximity to the deer, and unfortunately we cannot know for certain.

A few times Leto is placed on the right side. Two such examples present her sitting by a palm tree. The seated position indicates importance and reverence, which are more likely to be given to the mother rather than to the daughter in this context, and the presence of the palm may allude to the similar tree which she clasped when giving birth to Apollo. The deer is once placed at Apollo's side, looking at Leto, and once it stands between the mother and her son, also looking at her. So Artemis can be placed behind her brother, and this can happen even when the goddess on the right has no clear attributes or signs as to her identity. Another example in which Leto is placed on the right side comes on a lost amphora, to be discussed below.

The second category, with seventeen images, is when the deer is closer to Apollo, usually standing by his side in the background, but there is no interaction between the two, apart from the deer occasionally looking at the god. In every time but one, the deer is facing towards the direction of Artemis, usually looking at her, apart from a few times in which it lowers its head, probably grazing.

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<sup>370</sup> Jurriaans-Helle (1986), p. 114.

<sup>371</sup> L. Laurinsich, *CVA, Italia, Bologna, Museo Civico 2*, (Milano, 1932), p. 6; A. Achille, *CVA, Italia, Napoli, Museo Nazionale 1*, (Roma, 1950), p. 18.

The third category presents the deer as standing between Artemis and Apollo. It faces Artemis twelve times and Apollo - nine times, and here too, there is no interaction between him and the animal. Also in this category are images in which one deer (or two) is associated with both gods in a similar fashion, taking place ten times. The oldest vase of this category is perhaps a lekythos by the Amasis Painter, dated to 550-530 BCE, in which the animal faces Artemis, who is unusually equipped with a bow, arrows, and a quiver (**Cat. 312**), or an oinochoe by the same painter, dated to 575-525 BCE (**Cat. 353**), from the left, we see a maiden, a small deer, and a lyre player, all facing a seated male figure, with another youth standing behind him. The identity of the figures on this vase is contested by some scholars. Beazley suggested the scene portrays a musician and a judge, interpreting the fawn as a mere pet;<sup>372</sup> Karouzou agrees with him, identifying the figures as a father, his two sons, and his wife or daughter, interpreting the ivy branches as alluding to a musical contest, probably the Great Dionysia, in which the lyre-player had won;<sup>373</sup> and Carpenter uses this vase to support his claim that the Amasis Painter “is determined to make us think of mythical characters even though we know the figures are mortal.”<sup>374</sup> On the other hand, Bothmer argues that these are the divine twins, utilizing the similarities between this vase and **Cat. 353** to support his claim<sup>375</sup> and Shapiro, too, identifies Artemis, Apollo, and their father on this vase, suggesting the fourth figure could be Ares.<sup>376</sup> This vase is unique, and if indeed it presents a mythological scene, Artemis and Apollo would be the most likely identification. Apollo is closest to Zeus, and he holds his lyre. Behind Apollo stand a small deer and Artemis. The three of them are looking at Zeus. If this is not a mythological

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<sup>372</sup> J.D. Beazley, “Amasea,” in *the Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 51, no. 2 (1931), p. 264.

<sup>373</sup> S. Karouzou, *The Amasis Painter*, (Oxford, 1956), pp. 24, 34.

<sup>374</sup> Carpenter (1986), p. 44.

<sup>375</sup> D. von Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and His World*, (Malibu, 1985), p. 166.

<sup>376</sup> Shapiro (1989), 57n79.

scene, then, as Bothmer says, the Amasis Painter must have had Artemis, Apollo, and Zeus in mind when he painted this vase.<sup>377</sup>

Since it is a non-exclusive attribute, later on it was associated with the scene itself, occasionally migrating to Apollo's side and on rare occasions, even standing near Leto. Moreover, although the deer is an ancient and well-known attribute of Artemis, and the only one of her attributes to regularly appear in the non-narrative black-figure scenes, it has left her side and began to be associated with Apollo as well, appearing more times alongside the god than with Artemis. We can see this as part of the tendency to take away Artemis' attributes and to make her identification as closely associated with Apollo, whether it is just by his presence in the scene with her, or by portraying her deer next to Apollo.

Aside from the deer, a few vases incorporate other animals into scenes of Artemis and Apollo. A lost amphora (**Cat. 234**) portrays Apollo at the center, holding up a bow and facing a veiled Leto, while a deer stands between them, looking at Leto, behind whom there is also a bird. Artemis stands behind her brother, and a large lion stands by her side, making her identification clear and undisputed, despite her position. On a neck-amphora dated to 550-500 BCE (**Cat. 231**) a panther stands by Apollo's side in the background and on another neck-amphora dated to 510-500 BCE (**Cat. 232**) there is an animal behind Apollo, whose head is missing. Its body does not seem to be cervine, and Mommsen, who suggested it could be a panther, may be right.<sup>378</sup> An alabastron by the Diosphos Painter, dated to 500-475 BCE (**Cat. 347**), depicts a procession of gods. Dionysos is leading, and he is followed by Artemis, Apollo, who holds a kithara and a

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<sup>377</sup> Bothmer (1986), p. 44.

<sup>378</sup> H. Mommsen, *CVA Deutschland, Berlin, Antikensammlung 14*, (München, 2013), p. 88.

phiale, and Hermes. A panther stands between Dionysos and Artemis,<sup>379</sup> a deer is placed between Apollo and his sister, and a goat stands near Hermes. Finally, a neck-amphora by the Ready Painter, dated to 575-525 BCE (**Cat. 233**) portrays a small Apollo seated on a tall tripod, flanked by Artemis and Leto, next to each of them swims a small dolphin. Dolphins are well associated with Apollo already in his Homeric Hymn (III.400), where he transformed himself into one, although on this vase they are not only presented as his animals, but also as indicators that he is crossing the sea on his tripod, especially since, as Beazley notes, the tripod's legs do not touch the ground, meaning he is travelling over the sea.<sup>380</sup> Kurtz also suggests that Apollo is travelling from Delos to Delphi, not "on a periodic journey to Delphi, but on his prime and original journey, at the behest of his father Zeus, to settle in Delphi and to institute his own worship."<sup>381</sup>

### 3.2.1.3 - Delian Triad

The great number of vases portraying the Delian Triad (see fig. 1) demonstrates its importance and popularity in ancient Athens, which made it one of the most beloved themes in Attic iconography.<sup>382</sup> Apollo's centrality in the images of the Triad is clear, since he is, literally, at the center of the scene, attracting the attention of the viewers, while Artemis and Leto, important as they were, are his companions, their identity defined by his presence. This scheme was not due to their gender, placing the one male god between the two goddesses, since similar

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<sup>379</sup> The panther is associated with Dionysos, but also with Artemis, mainly in her role as Potnia Theron.

<sup>380</sup> J.D. Beazley, *The Berlin Painter*, (London, 1964), p. 10; Kurtz (1989), p. 73; Sakowski (1997), pp. 163-164.

<sup>381</sup> Kurtz (1989), p. 74.

<sup>382</sup> Marangou (1995), p. 103.

images in which Leto is replaced by Dionysos or Hermes maintain Apollo's centrality. Moreover, the fact that Artemis is mostly denied her symbols of power and Leto is not presented with her common attribute, the scepter - another emblem of power, is a further proof of Apollo's great importance in these images, which should not be surpassed by that of his sister and mother.

A unique image of the Triad appears on fragments of a neck-amphora in Malibu, dated to ca. 540 BCE (**Cat. 199**). A standing male figure, who held a kithara, is flanked by two seated females, the one on the left wears a lion skin and holds a bow and an arrow. Brommer has identified her as Omphale, the Lydian queen who enslaved Herakles as a punishment.<sup>383</sup> Shapiro and Tiverios, however, argue against this identification, since Herakles is absent from the scene.<sup>384</sup> Brommer addressed this issue, suggesting the hero either appeared behind Omphale or that he was the one playing the kithara, even though he acknowledges that when Herakles is depicted with the queen, he is wearing women's clothing and is not portrayed with a kithara.<sup>385</sup> Another problem is that the myth of Omphale appears in our literary sources only in the fifth century BCE, and in iconography from the fourth century BCE. Instead, Shapiro and Tiverios rightfully regard this scene as the Delian Triad,<sup>386</sup> although Carpenter notes that despite the popularity of the Delian Triad, it was never portrayed this way.<sup>387</sup> The peculiarities of this image, Artemis' weaponry and regal lion skin, which she wears in early gigantomachy scenes, as well as the fact that Artemis and Leto are sitting, are attributed by Shapiro to the early date of the vase, and to the influence of earlier images from before the canonization of the Delian Triad

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<sup>383</sup> F. Brommer, "Herakles und Theseus auf Vasen in Malibu," in *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, 2 (1985), p. 210.

<sup>384</sup> H.A. Shapiro, "Artemis oder Omphale?" in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, Heft 4, (1987), p. 623; M.A. Tiverios, "Ομφαλή ή Αρτεμής;" in *Αμνητος: Τιμητικός Τομος Για τον Καθηγητη Μανολη Ανδρονικο, II*, (Θεσσαλονικη, 1987), p. 874.

<sup>385</sup> Brommer (1985), p. 211.

<sup>386</sup> Shapiro (1987), p. 626; Tiverios (1987), pp. 874-880.

<sup>387</sup> Carpenter (1994), p. 73.



iconography.<sup>388</sup> Carpenter focuses on the different representation of the twins, with Artemis presented as an enthroned huntress, perhaps the Homeric Artemis of the golden throne, and Apollo as musician in a scene which has no clear narrative meaning, assuming the painter wished to emphasize the difference between the twins, rather than the similarities.<sup>389</sup>

Early black-figure vases sometimes present Artemis wearing a lion-skin. We have seen it in three early gigantomachies scenes (**Cat. 13**, **Cat. 17-18**), in a representation of the Kerynian hind myth (**Cat. 123**) and on a few kantharos fragments, attributed to the Heidelberg Painter and dated to ca. 560 BCE (**Cat. 25**). One of the kantharos fragments depicts Apollo marching to the left. Not much has remained of the god, but he had a helmet on his head, a quiver on his back, and a bow was clasped in his hand. Artemis marches behind him, raising a bow and an arrow in front of her. It was suggested that it belonged to a scene depicting the apotheosis of Herakles,<sup>390</sup> although in his later article Carpenter referred to it as a procession.<sup>391</sup>

Having accepted that the Malibu vase depicts the Delian Triad theme, I would like to examine it as such. Apollo is still at the center; his head and upper body are missing. He faces a goddess to his right, who is most likely Leto.<sup>392</sup> Presumably he held a kithara in his left hand, since his right hand, in which he holds a plektron, has survived. Behind Apollo, Artemis sits on a throne, holding up a bow and an arrow. She wears an impressive lion-skin, its paws tied at her neck and its head functions as a helmet. Therefore, the quiet balance of the triad scenes has been considerably changed here or as Carpenter puts it, these “three are often shown together on

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<sup>388</sup> Shapiro (1987), pp. 627-628.

<sup>389</sup> Carpenter (1994), p. 78.

<sup>390</sup> Carpenter (1986), p. 65; Shapiro (1987), p. 624.

<sup>391</sup> Carpenter (1994), p. 71.

<sup>392</sup> *ibid.* p. 73.

black-figure vases... but never in this guise.”<sup>393</sup> On the one hand, Apollo maintains his spatial centrality, yet Artemis’ portrayal detracts from his overall importance considerably. Perhaps this is why Apollo is presented with his back to his sister, in order to level out their depiction, since had he and Leto both been gazing at Artemis, she would have been without a doubt the most significant deity present, but this way both twins are presented as important, each in her or his unique way.

### 3.2.1.4 - Triad with Other Deities

In addition to the many vases depicting the Delian Triad, some painters have portrayed Apollo, Artemis, and Leto alongside other deities. Thirty-three additional black-figure vases extend the composition discussed above, repeating the familiar image of the Delian Triad and adding to it one or more deities, who are positioned on the far left or the far right, so that they will flank the members of the original Triad and will not break its sequence. There are only two examples in which this sequence is broken. The first, an alabastron by the Diosphos Painter, dated to ca. 500 BCE (**Cat. 285**), depicts Hermes standing between Apollo and Leto. However, Hermes, who faces to the right while turning his head backwards, towards Leto, changes the meaning of the scene, since now we have three deities facing to the right, where Artemis stands, holding torches and watching them. This layout creates, in fact, the appearance of a procession.

Valavanis, however, interprets this scene differently. First he gives the conventional explanation of such scenes – the Triad with Hermes, only he claims that the torch-wielding

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<sup>393</sup> *ibid.*

goddess on the right is Leto, and Artemis is the one behind Hermes, mainly basing himself on their outfits. Next he offers a new and advanced interpretation, asserting this is a marital procession, in which perhaps Alkestis, Thetis, or Harmonia is being escorted by Apollo and Hermes towards Artemis, who awaits her with the nuptial torches.<sup>394</sup> However, I do not accept his interpretation. First, a marital procession should have a groom, who is missing here. Furthermore, if the figure on the right can be Artemis in a nuptial scene, she might as well be Artemis in the non-matrimonial scenario. As we have seen, Leto may be occasionally placed on the right side, facing Apollo, but this is usually Artemis' place. Moreover, considering the presence of the deer between Apollo and the goddess on the right, and the lack of any indication of Leto's presence (e.g. a veil or a sceptre), the simpler explanation of this scene – Artemis on the right, looking at her brother, her half-brother, and her mother approaching towards her – seems much more appealing.

The other time in which the sequence of the Triad is broken comes on a neck-amphora, dated to 510 BCE (**Cat. 304**), in which Apollo stands at the center, flanked by two divine pairs – Artemis and Poseidon on the right, Leto and Hermes on the left. Artemis is closer to Apollo than her partner, yet Leto, although she is in the foreground, stands behind Hermes, therefore he is closer to Apollo. However, this seems to be mainly an artistic decision and not from an attempt to distance Leto from her son.

It is generally assumed that the gods visiting the Triad scenes are those who have a close relationship, mythological or religious, with either Apollo or with both twins, so that their

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<sup>394</sup> P. Valavanis, *CVA Ελλάς, Μαραθώνας, Μουσείο Μαραθωνος*, (Αθήνα, 2001), pp. 73-74.

combination would not seem odd to the Athenian viewers.<sup>395</sup> Sometimes the presence of the additional gods is explained by their individual qualities, with or without a direct connection to Apollo, Artemis, or the scene. The identity of the additional deities in images of the Triad is mostly limited to Hermes, who appears on thirty-one vases (on one vase he appears twice – **Cat. 289** - and on another, discussed below, his identification is uncertain), Poseidon, who appears on fifteen vases, and Dionysos, appearing nine times. The few exceptions are a winged male figure who was identified either as a wind god<sup>396</sup> or as a winged Hermes<sup>397</sup> (**Cat. 296**), a Satyr (**Cat. 295**), and an unidentified and attributeless male figure (**Cat. 309**). A neck-amphora dated to 575-525 BCE (**Cat. 295**), is the only one depicting the Triad with three additional characters, portraying a Satyr, Dionysos, and Hermes. However, regardless of the identity of the guest deities, the dynamics and hierarchy between Apollo and his sister remain unchanged almost every time.<sup>398</sup>

As for Poseidon, Zanker, basing himself on later sources, suggested that the god is present in these scenes since he assisted Leto to find refuge on Delos, understanding his presence as an indication the scene takes place on the island.<sup>399</sup> Jackson and Connor assume Poseidon's presence in these scenes could evoke the nautical journey to Delos, also assuming it could be the site of their meeting,<sup>400</sup> and Shapiro stresses "the affinity of Apollo and Poseidon as the Ionian gods *par excellence*."<sup>401</sup> Morard assumes this is because Poseidon's Delian cult and his common history with Apollo, when together they built the walls of Troy and served the Trojan king,

<sup>395</sup> Jurriaans-Helle (1986), p. 119; Marangou (1995), p. 103.

<sup>396</sup> Siebert (1990), no. 708; H.B. Walters, *CVA, Great Britain, London, British Museum 4*, (London, 1929), p. 4.

<sup>397</sup> *ABV* 297.1.

<sup>398</sup> For the connections between Apollo and Artemis and these other deities, see Jurriaans-Helle (1986), p. 116.

<sup>399</sup> P. Zanker, *Wandel der Hermesgestalt in der attischen Vasenmalerei*, (Bonn, 1965), pp. 72-73. See also J. Burow, *Der Antimenesmaler*, (Mainz am Rhein, 1989), p. 58.

<sup>400</sup> Jackson and Connor (2000), p. 98.

<sup>401</sup> Shapiro (1989), p. 104.

Laomedon, or due to their association on the Parthenon frieze,<sup>402</sup> to which we could also add their behavior in the Theomachy scene in the *Iliad*, which indicated they respect each other (*Il.XXI.435-469*).

Dionysos' presence in these scenes could derive from his close connection with Apollo in Delphi, as we have seen above, from his increasing popularity in Attic imagery from the sixth century BCE onwards and in Athenian cult,<sup>403</sup> perhaps due to the connection between the plays written for his festivals in which Apollo's music was performed. Foukara assumes Dionysos is present in these scenes because of his connection to the symposion, as part of her effort to establish that the images of the Triad had a strong sympotic meaning,<sup>404</sup> yet this is not necessarily so, since Dionysos mostly appears on vessels which are not specifically associated with the banquet.<sup>405</sup> Hermes, as the messenger of the gods, appears in many scenes to which he does not necessarily belong, although his presence on our vases could be due to his close association with Apollo, as we may see from the Homeric Hymn to Hermes (IV).

No additional goddesses appear on these vases, perhaps since the painters preferred to maintain a specific gender symmetry on their vases. The basic unit of the Triad can be extended by one god, which will bring an even symmetry of two god/goddess pairs, or an uneven symmetry, with two pairs of a god and a goddess flanking Apollo, who maintains his central position. Perhaps the determination to uphold Apollo's position is what lies behind the fact that only eleven vases portray the Triad with one additional deity while two gods are added in

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<sup>402</sup> T. Morard, *Horizontalité et Verticalité: Le bandeau humain et le bandeau divin chez le Peintre de Darius*, (Mainz am Rhein, 2009), p. 17.

<sup>403</sup> Morard (2009), p. 17.

<sup>404</sup> Foukara (2014), p. 113.

<sup>405</sup> Dionysos appears with Artemis and Apollo sixteen times on non-narrative black figure vases: eight times on amphorai, three lekythoi, three hydriai, one oinochoe, and one alabastron.

twenty-one images. Moreover, the attempt to keep Apollo's centrality on these vases must be what lies behind the conspicuous absence of Zeus (or Athena, as a matter of fact) from these scenes. The members of the Delian Triad are first and foremost a family together, and it would have been reasonable to include the *pater familias* with them as well. Foukara suggests that Zeus' absence from these scenes is understandable, "since the god is hardly attested in scenes that show members of Zeus' family (child/children with its/their mother), such as for example scenes of Demeter and Kore."<sup>406</sup> This could be true, although Apollo's connection with his father is considerably stronger than his connection with Persephone and we do see Zeus on vases with Athena (e.g. **Cat. 130-131**). Another explanation could be that adding the head of the Greek pantheon (or Athena, considering her importance in her namesake city) to these images would have surely detracted from Apollo's significance and centrality in this scene. Poseidon, Hermes, and Dionysos, all of whom are also related to Apollo, despite their importance, do not constitute such a threat, thus the painters readily incorporated them into the scene with adding more figures to it without subtracting from Apollo's glory.

Jurriaans-Helle suggests that the painters were reluctant to place Athena in these scenes since she had no religious connection with Apollo.<sup>407</sup> She also tries to explain Athena's absence by claiming that these static scenes with Apollo Kitharoidos were perhaps taken from another, larger composition in which Apollo plays the kithara and in which Athena fills another function, from which she cannot be taken away, suggesting either Athena's birth or Herakles' apotheosis.<sup>408</sup> Adhering to this interpretation means that non-narrative scenes of Apollo Kitharoidos in fact belong to another narrative, and without a definite proof of the connection,

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<sup>406</sup> Foukara (2014), pp. 32-33.

<sup>407</sup> Jurriaans-Helle (1986), pp. 119-120.

<sup>408</sup> *ibid.* p. 118.

this is an unreasonable assumption. Moreover, as we shall see below, Athena appears four times in non-narrative scenes with Artemis and Apollo, and perhaps Athena does not appear in scenes of the Triad with additional figures since Artemis and Leto provided all the feminine company needed for these images. It is also possible that depicting Apollo with more than two goddesses would have been understood by the viewers as representing Muses, who tend to appear in larger numbers in their scenes with Apollo.<sup>409</sup>

### 3.2.1.5 - Artemis and Apollo Alone

Another popular theme, albeit not as popular as the Delian Triad, was representations of Artemis and Apollo by themselves. These include twenty-five images, which mostly depict the twins in a similar manner to their representation on the Triad vases. Apollo still stands, facing the right and playing his kithara, while Artemis faces him, although one or two of them are portrayed sitting sometimes. However, even though these scenes replicate the images of the Triad, there is one major difference between them. With Leto's absence, Apollo can no longer occupy the coveted central position, and this renders the depiction of the twins as more equal, since they face each other - no one stands in the center and no one is being the object of the gaze of all the other participants. Perhaps this is why we have relatively fewer images in this category, if indeed the images of the Delian Triad were meant first and foremost to celebrate Apollo's importance.

Some vases take the familiar image of the twins standing in front of each other and spruce it up. For example, a neck-amphora by the Antimenes Painter, dated to 550-500 BCE

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<sup>409</sup> e.g. *BAPD* 14648.

(**Cat. 314**), plants the image of Artemis with a polos and Apollo with his kithara in a scene with a view, as the two gods stand between two palm trees, possibly indicating that the scene takes place on Delos, giving it a geographical and a religious context. Moreover, in the sky above, between the trees, flies a bird. Beazley claims it is a swan,<sup>410</sup> one of Apollo's birds, yet the absence of large webbed feet may indicate it is a crane, and this may allude to the *γερανός*, the Crane Dance, which was performed by Theseus and the Athenian youths upon their arrival to Delos, providing another indication for the setting of the scene.<sup>411</sup> Behind each palm, in the background, stands an antlered deer, one near Artemis and the other on the far left, turning its back to Apollo. Since it seems the painter made an effort to disassociate the animals from Apollo, perhaps they should be understood as belonging to Artemis, their presence meant to match Apollo's palm, thus dividing the fauna and flora of the scenery between the twins. Therefore, although the Antimenes Painter replicates the common image of Artemis and Apollo, the additional details he provides enhance it.

A few vases portray the twins not in the rigid manner of the black-figure Delian Triad images, but rather in an in-between way, moving away from that familiar image in some ways and incorporating new elements into this scene. A black-figure lekythos by the Amasis Painter, dated to 550-530 BCE (**Cat. 312**) presents Apollo and Artemis facing each other, yet they are unusually distanced from one another, since not only a palm tree, but a deer and a stool stand between them. Each twin waves his or hers instrument – Apollo the lyre and Artemis the bow – towards the other, creating even more space between them. Artemis also holds an arrow and a

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<sup>410</sup> *ABV*, 271.72.

<sup>411</sup> For the Crane Dance, see J.N. Coldstream, "The Geometric Style: Birth of a Picture," in T. Rasmussen and N. Spivey (eds.), *Looking at Greek Vases*, (Cambridge, 1999), p. 54; G. Hedreen, "Bild, Mythos, and Ritual: Choral Dance in Theseus's Cretan Adventure on the François Vase," in *Hesperia* 80 (2011), p. 493; Lissarrague (2001), p. 19.



quiver hangs from her shoulder, adding to the uniqueness of her portrayal here, since she rarely appears with her archery gear in the black-figure non-narrative scenes. Apollo is not playing the lyre, therefore the twins are presented with the same level of activity, differing only by their attributes and apparel. Moreover, Apollo is not presented as the master of Delos, but rather, both twins seem to be connected to the island similarly, especially if we accept the claim that the lyre is associated with Delphi, while the kithara is connected with Delos.<sup>412</sup>

Another variation of this theme comes on an amphora by the Rycroft Painter, dated to 520-510 BCE (**Cat. 317**). On it, Apollo and Artemis stand per usual, a big palm tree towers between them and a large deer stands in front of it, in the foreground, facing Apollo. The god plays the lyre, while Artemis holds a wreath in her outstretched hand. The centrality and size of the palm and the deer places the focus on these two emblems of Delian Apollo and of Artemis, combining them together. Apollo's importance is somewhat accentuated, since he is slightly more active than his sister. A similar scene occurs on an oinochoe in Rhodes (**Cat. 315**), which also presents the twins standing with a palm tree and a deer in their midst. The animal, which is much smaller than on the previous vase, stands behind the tree in the background and looks at Apollo. The god is holding – but not playing – a lyre. Since in these two vases the animal looks at Apollo and is not closer to Artemis, this may be a subtle indication of Apollo's position as the master of Delos, even if he does not stand at the center of the image, since the attention (and the gaze) of the other figures is placed on him.

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<sup>412</sup> Kaltsas and Shapiro (2008), p. 224; A. Kostoglou-Despini, “Η ερμηνεία των αναγλύφων της Διόδου των Θεωρών της Θάσου,” in *Αρχαιολογικών Δελτίων*, 31, (1976), pp. 175-176; Tiverios (1986), p. 600.

### 3.2.1.6 - Artemis and Apollo with Other Deities

Of the four categories of non-narrative black-figure vases examined here, the smallest, with only eighteen vases, is the one in which other deities join Artemis and Apollo. These vases are mostly dated to the second half of the sixth century, with one alabastron dated to 500-475 BCE (**Cat. 347**) and one oinochoe dated to 525-475 BCE (**Cat. 351**).

One of the earliest vases, the aforementioned olpe, dated to ca. 540 BCE (**Cat. 335**), depicts Apollo at the center, standing in profile and facing to the right. He holds a large kithara and a plektron. Artemis faces him, also in profile. She holds an object in her right hand, possibly a flower. Between the two gods stands a deer, facing Apollo. So far this is a familiar image, yet behind Apollo stands Hermes, in profile to the right. Half of the vases repeat this composition with slight changes - Apollo Kitharoidos in the middle, looking towards Artemis, who has no attributes, while an additional god, mainly Hermes or Dionysos, stands behind Apollo. In this way, they replicate the images of the Triad, only without Leto, while maintaining Apollo's centrality. Among the changes, once Apollo seems a little more exuberant and once he possibly dances, since he is portrayed on his tiptoes. On another vase, Artemis clasps a bow while a quiver is slung on her back, providing an undeniable proof of her identity, and once the gods' names are inscribed.

The remaining vases present greater variation and changes from the original scheme. For example, a neck-amphora by the Painter of the Villa Giulia M 482 (**Cat. 343**) depicts the twins together with Dionysos. All three gods seated, and Apollo, who plays the lyre is uncharacteristically bearded. Even more unusually, Apollo is seated on the right side, facing to the left, towards Artemis, who sits at the center, with Dionysos sitting behind her. The goddess

has no attributes and there are no inscriptions, yet here too, since she is closely associated with Apollo, it is reasonable to assume that she is Artemis and that the painter deviated from their standard depiction and opted to present us with a different hierarchy regarding the twins.

A few other images present the gods in a different layout – a procession. A lekythos dated to ca. 500 BCE and attributed to the Leagros Group (**Cat. 345**), in which Apollo leads a procession, carrying a kithara while a deer walks beside him. He is followed by Artemis, and Dionysos marches behind her, holding a kantharos. Portraying the gods in a procession changes the standard depiction we have seen so far, turning a static image with a central figure into a dynamic image with different hierarchical criteria. However, the previous hierarchy is kept here – Apollo is leading the procession, Artemis, rather than facing him, is now following him, and Dionysos is again placed in the third place of importance, closing the procession behind his two half-siblings.

Another procession is depicted on an alabastron by the Diosphos Painter, dated to 500-475 BCE (**Cat. 347**), is somewhat more unusual, since the image is continuous, we cannot know for certain who is leading this procession. The gods are actually divided into two pairs, mostly because they look at each other. Apollo Kitharoidos is facing his sister on the right, extending towards her a phiale and a deer stands near him, in the space between him and his sister. Artemis looks back at her brother, since her body is also facing to the right. In front of her stand a small panther and Dionysos. Behind Apollo stand Hermes, facing to the right, but turning his head backwards, towards Dionysos, who faces him. All but Artemis carry an attribute or two, while the goddess holds a torch. Judging by previous vases, we could say that Apollo should be perceived as the central character here, accompanied by the others. The phiale he holds, as we

shall see below, should also indicate this, since he is giving libations. However, Dionysos' kantharos can also be used for that purpose, so perhaps it is safe to say that this vessel presents us with two divine pairs, each consisting one god who is actively giving libations, while the other deity accompanies him. This is strengthened by the fact that both Artemis and Hermes turn their heads backwards, therefore creating a scene which is either an awkward procession or an early libation scene in which not all the participants are well-positioned.

One notable difference between the representations of the Triad with other gods and those of Artemis and Apollo is that now Athena is sometimes incorporated into the picture, as we can see on a lekythos attributed to the Leagros Group and dated to 510-500 BCE (**Cat. 352**). It depicts a divine procession led by Apollo Kitharoidos and headed towards Athena, who stands on the right, awaiting the gods approaching her, although she turns her head backwards, away from them. Behind Apollo we see Artemis, holding up two torches, and behind her we see a god, who was identified as Hermes by Jackson and Connor.<sup>413</sup> Thus, Athena's importance is stressed once again, and the twins are demoted one level. There is no indication of the occasion for this procession, but perhaps Jackson and Connor are right in assuming that Athena's prominence here may refer to a festival in her honor,<sup>414</sup> and perhaps as the gods attend the Panathenaia on the Parthenon frieze, here too they come to attend her festival.<sup>415</sup>

A different rendition of the divine procession theme comes on a Hydria in Liverpool (**Cat. 350**). Here, Artemis, who is holding clappers, is leading the procession, with three more

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<sup>413</sup> Jackson and Connor (2000), p. 100.

<sup>414</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>415</sup> For the Parthenon frieze, see I.S. Mark, "The Gods on the East Frieze of the Parthenon," in *Hesperia*, vol. 53, (1984), pp. 290-302; J. Neils, "Reconfiguring the Gods on the Parthenon Frieze," in *the Art Bulletin*, vol. 81, no. 1 (1999), pp. 6-11; E.G. Pemberton, "The Gods of the East Frieze of the Parthenon," in *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 80, no. 2 (1976), pp. 119-119.

gods following her. First is Apollo, carrying a lyre and a deer, which stands near him, looking at Artemis. Next come Athena with a high-crested helmet and aegis and Dionysos, raising a kantharos. Similarly to the procession on the alabastron (7838), here too the gods are divided into two pairs, as each goddess turns her head backwards, to look at the god who stands behind her. We cannot know the destination of this procession, perhaps it is a festival, and the musical instruments may suggest choral hymns would be performed. Regardless, the painter took the well-established image of Apollo and Artemis, in which Apollo is always at the center (spatially but also in regards to his importance), and by changing the direction of Artemis' body, had made her the leader of the procession and of her brother.

A lekythos in Lecce, dated to 525-500 BCE (**Cat. 349**), presents Artemis and Apollo alongside Athena, whose greater importance – be that in Athens or in the eyes of the painter – is shown here, since she is leading a small procession, followed by Apollo kitharoidos and Artemis, who, unlike her brother and half-sister, has none of her attributes. Moreover, the strong connection between Artemis and Apollo is loosened here, since Athena turns her head backwards, towards Apollo, and the two of them are looking at each other. This emphasizes their connection, while Artemis is moved to the left, to the less significant position behind her brother.

The last vase, which incorporates the twins with Athena, is an oinochoe dated to 525-475 BCE (**Cat. 351**), which includes another male figure, Herakles, presenting again a composition of two pairs, although it is a deconstructed one. On each side of the vase we see one seated pair, Apollo and Artemis facing the left, and Athena and Herakles facing the right, with the goddess extending her hand forward, as if interacting with the obverse. Placed as a sequence, the two sides of the oinochoe would present the twins and Athena and Herakles sitting in front of each

other. Artemis and Athena are closer to the viewer, since they are placed in the foreground, although Apollo and Herakles, who are more in the background, are in fact closer to the center of the image.

**Fig. 1**

<b>Black-figure non-narrative scenes</b>	<b>Triad</b>	<b>Triad +</b>	<b>Apollo and Artemis</b>	<b>Apollo and Artemis +</b>	<b>Total</b>
How many images in total	83	33	25	18	159
Apollo with kithara	64	30	16	15	125
Apollo with lyre	18	3	9	3	33
Apollo with archery gear	1	-	-	-	1
Artemis with archery gear	8	1	2	1	12
Artemis with other weapons	1	-	-	-	1
Apollo with a deer	8	6	-	3	17
Artemis with a deer	7	3	3	1	14
Artemis and Apollo with a deer or two	6	1	1	2	10
The deer at the center, looking at Artemis	3	-	7	2	12
The deer at the center, looking at Apollo	-	-	3	3	9
A deer between Apollo and the figure on the left	2	1	-	-	3
A deer between Apollo and Leto	2	1	-	-	3
Artemis with a polos	10	9	5	3	27
Leto with a polos	4 <sup>416</sup>	1	-	-	5
Artemis with a libation vessel	1	-	-	-	1
Artemis with a torch	1	1	-	2	4
Apollo sits	5	1	1	-	7
All sit	11	-	9	2	22
Artemis sits	1	-	1	-	2
Artemis and Leto sit	3	-	-	-	3
Leto sits	2	1	-	-	3
Leto with a veil	3	-	-	-	3
Artemis with a veil	1	-	1	-	2
Artemis looks away from Apollo	-	2	1	-	3
Leto looks away from Apollo	-	1	-	-	1
A figure breaks the sequence of the triad	-	1	-	-	1

<sup>416</sup> In three of these Artemis also wears a polos.

One additional figure	-	11	-	11	22
Two additional figures	-	21	-	7	28
Three or more additional figures	-	1	-	-	1

### 3.2.2 – Red-Figure Non-Narrative Scenes

Depictions of Apollo and Artemis in non-narrative scenes remained popular after the transition to red-figure technique; albeit to a lesser degree (159 black-figure vases vs. 98 red-figure vases<sup>417</sup>) (see fig. 2). At the earlier stages of the red-figure vases, we see images such as the one on an amphora in Philadelphia, dated to 520-510 BCE (**Cat. 383**), which almost replicates the black-figure style only in the new technique. Apollo's centrality remains, as Prange, noting that the Triad has become a fixed unit, emphasizes Apollo's centrality within it, asserting that Artemis and Leto "gehen völlig im Bereich Apollons auf."<sup>418</sup> However, this transition also brought some important changes both in style and themes from the archaic musical Triad, as the painters quickly reclaimed this topic and changed its iconography. The gods' portrayal became less schematic and rigid and they were presented with greater freedom and versatility, both figuratively and thematically. Additionally, we witness a sudden switch to imagery of religious activity, mainly performing the libation ritual.<sup>419</sup>

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<sup>417</sup> I include in this the images of the Triad with its three variants.

<sup>418</sup> Prange (1989), p. 73.

<sup>419</sup> *ibid.* p. 71.

### 3.2.2.1 – Artemis’ Attributes

Although Artemis did not gain back her archery gear in every image, it recurs more frequently. She is portrayed with a quiver, a bow, arrows or any combination of them on forty-three vases, thus making her identification undisputable. Another attribute, albeit a non-exclusive one, that perhaps replaces the polos, which has entirely vanished, is the torch, and she is presented twelve times with one or two torches.<sup>420</sup> While in narrative scenes Artemis occasionally uses torches as a weapon, here it seems to function mainly as an attribute, perhaps alluding to Artemis Phosphoros, or maybe just replicating it from other scenes. Although these attributes are significant in order to establish her identity, they are not as important as the overhaul scene, which tends to focus on the ritualistic act of libations. However, as we shall see below, Artemis is incorporated into the action, as a participant in the libation ritual, although Apollo is performing the more important part of the ritual.

Three vases portray Artemis holding a scepter, an object more commonly associated with Leto. The first, a pelike in New York, dated to the middle of the fifth century BCE (**Cat. 427**), portrays a similar scene, with Apollo holding a lyre and Artemis – a jug and a scepter, pouring the libation into Apollo’s phiale. The second example, a volute-krater in Bologna, dated to 470-460 BCE (**Cat. 424**) portrays Apollo holding a kithara and a phiale, while Artemis, who is in front of him, holds a scepter, an oinochoe, and a small laurel sprig, carrying the emblems of both her brother and mother. While Beazley identified Artemis on the New York pelike,<sup>421</sup> regarding

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<sup>420</sup> For Artemis and torches, see L. Kahil, *LIMC II, s.v. Artemis*, (Zürich, 1984), pp. 654-661; Parisinou (2000), pp. 19-43; A. Schöne-Denkinger, “Das Artemis-Gigantenrelief von Kalapodi,” in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, vol. 1, (2006), pp. 1-9.

<sup>421</sup> *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 632.



the Bologna krater he claimed the goddess facing Apollo is Leto.<sup>422</sup> However, I agree with Montanari, who has identified her as Artemis,<sup>423</sup> since Apollo is much more likely to be presented with Artemis than with Leto in these scenes, especially since Leto is mainly portrayed with a phiale. These arguments should suffice to support the identification of Artemis on the New York pelike as well.

### 3.2.2.2 – Apollo’s Attributes

Apollo is still very much associated with music in the red-figure vases, although the centrality of the kithara, which appears in most of the non-narrative black-figure vases, has somewhat dwindled, and the lyre appears more frequently. Out of the 98 red-figure vases considered here, the god holds a kithara forty-three times and a lyre - twenty-nine. He is without any musical instrument in the remaining twenty-six images. Prange has stressed that the difference between the two musical instruments are their weight, juxtaposing the heavy kithara and the lighter lyre.<sup>424</sup> As mentioned earlier, it was argued that the kithara is the instrument of Apollo Delios, while the lyre is the attribute of Apollo Pythios,<sup>425</sup> although it was also suggested that Apollo kitharoidos is usually associated with Delos,<sup>426</sup> and Foukara argues that both instruments should be understood “as attributes that accentuate the god’s association with music rather his connection to a particular site.”<sup>427</sup>

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<sup>422</sup> *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 590.6.

<sup>423</sup> Montanari (1957), p. 8.

<sup>424</sup> Prange (1989), p. 71.

<sup>425</sup> Kaltsas and Shapiro (2008), p. 224; Kostoglou-Despini (1976), pp. 175-176; Tiverios (1986), p. 600.

<sup>426</sup> Marangou (1995), p. 152.

<sup>427</sup> Foukara (2014), p. 78.

The real difference between the two could be that the lyre allowed the painters to increase and diversify the manner in which they portray the god. Interestingly, while Apollo carries the kithara upright, the lyre is mostly held lowered down which indicates that he is not playing it. Moreover, unlike the predomination of the kithara on black-figure vases, in red-figure vases both instruments are presented intermittently, without any apparent meaning. Therefore it seems that the advantage of the lyre is that it allows painters to depict Apollo in a less rigid and restricted way and the relative absence of the kithara and its restrictions on his position allowed the painters to depict him in a more versatile manner, rather than standing, facing the right, and strumming the kithara.

As for Apollo's other emblems, the laurel branch, one of the god's attributes which was altogether missing from the black-figure images, replaces the musical instruments often during the second half of the fifth century.<sup>428</sup> It is held by the god twenty-six times, and in four of these, Apollo also carries a lyre. The laurel branch possibly references Delphi or the Athenian Apollo Pythios, perhaps balancing the Delian aspect of the Triad. It may hint at the twins' assumed location, although this is not necessarily so, since it could be used as a general attribute of the god without any specific location. One vase, on which Apollo holds a laurel branch, also includes a large palm tree, towering above an altar which either received or will receive Apollo's libation (**Cat. 398**). The presence of the palm and the laurel could be a way to unite the Pythian and the Delian elements of Apollo's character, although it is also possible that the painter was using objects associated with Apollo without any thought of a specific locale.

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<sup>428</sup> Oakley (1997), p. 42.

More importantly, the emphasis of the non-narrative scenes has shifted, and most of the vases exhibit a more religious atmosphere. Twenty-three vases depict an altar and four - an omphalos. However, the main religious indications come from recurring libation scenes, and 76 of the vases present at least one of the deities carrying a libation vessel, either a phiale or an oinochoe. In most cases, Apollo performs the rite while Artemis assists him. Thus, despite the changes in iconography, Apollo's centrality remains, since with one exception, whenever a libation is poured, it is Apollo who is offering it. The predominance of the libation theme brought another change to the depiction of Artemis and Apollo, since unlike the serene scenes of the black-figure vases, in the red-figure iconography Apollo is not the only one who is consistently presented as active. Now we have fewer scenes in which Apollo plays his kithara while Artemis and Leto stand motionlessly, passively listening to his music, since Artemis is incorporated into the action as a participant in the libation ritual, although Apollo is allotted the more important part of the ritual.

### **3.2.2.3 –Deer in Red-Figure Vases**

Another casualty of the transition to red-figure vases is the deer, whose frequent presence on the black-figure vases has dwindled considerably. The deer appears only twenty-five or twenty-four times, compared with sixty-eight images presenting it (on sixty-five vases) in black-figure iconography. The division of the representations of the deer is similar to those previously discussed. The animal stands near Artemis or interacts with her seven times. Only once it jumps on the goddess, and on one vase, a unique pelike by the Herakles Painter, dated to 370 BCE (**Cat. 451**), Artemis not only stands at the center, flanked by her brother and father, but she is

slaying the animal, a clear and brutal assertion that it belongs to her. On nine vases the deer stands between Artemis and Apollo, facing the former five times and the latter – four. Sometimes it stares at the raised phiale, perhaps exhibiting a “thirsty interest in the libation.”<sup>429</sup> The deer stands by Apollo’s side six times, and in one of these, a calyx-krater by the Painter of London F64, dated to the early fourth century BCE (**Cat. 450**), Apollo seems to be feeding the animal with a small branch. Despite this, the lower number of vases associating Apollo and the deer demonstrates that Artemis is gaining back her connection with the animal, since she is more often associated with it now.

The deer is closer or more associated with Leto three times. Once on an amphora by the Bowdoin-Eye Painter, dated to 520-500 BCE (**Cat. 355**), on which Apollo Kitharoidos stands in the middle, facing to the right, towards his sister. Behind Artemis in the background stands a panther – the only red-figure panther in our non-narrative scenes. Leto is placed behind her son, and a deer stands between them, facing her. On a pyxis by the Marlay Painter, dated to 440-430 BCE, depicting the Triad with Hermes and the personification of Delos, a small deer stands between Apollo and Leto. He is placed behind Apollo, near a palm tree, and the relatively big distance between Apollo and his mother makes him look somewhat forlorn (**Cat. 400**). A neck-amphora dated to 450-400 BCE (**Cat. 390**) portrays the deer as turning its back to Apollo and Artemis, and rather facing Leto. Only one chariot scene is graced with the presence of a deer, which stands by the horses’ heads (**Cat. 496**).

Perhaps now, when new elements are introduced into the depiction of Artemis and Apollo in non-narrative scenes, the deer is more redundant, especially facing the plethora of

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<sup>429</sup> H.R.W. Smith, *CVA USA, San Francisco, M.H. de Young Memorial Museum and California Palace of the Legion of Honor*, (Cambridge, MA, 1943), p. 36.

altars and other decorative elements which replace it. Another possible explanation is that the great change in Artemis' portrayal in red-figure non-narrative scenes, since she is presented with her archery gear more frequently, has rendered the deer unnecessary.

As for other animals in these scenes, Apollo rides a griffon twice (**Cat. 366, 388**). This creature is well associated with Apollo,<sup>430</sup> or as Metzger puts it, “monstre hyperboréen, dont les traditions anciennes faisaient le servant d'Apollon et le gardien de ses trésors.”<sup>431</sup> Another mythological creature which appears once with the Triad, on a hydria by the Nikoxenos Painter, dated to 490 BCE (**Cat. 356**), is a small Siren. Foukara explains the Siren's presence here in its close association with music and singing, therefore connecting it to Apollo as the god of music.<sup>432</sup> Moreover, according to Simon, Sirens were associated with Apollo as the god of music, and they are also connected specifically with Delphi, where one of Apollo's temples had Sirens as part of its architectural sculpture.<sup>433</sup> The panther also makes an appearance, standing near Artemis and counterbalancing a deer which stands between Apollo and Leto (**Cat. 355**).

### 3.2.2.4 – Delian Triad and Triad with Other Deities

There are thirty red-figure images of the Delian Triad, and nineteen images of the Triad with additional figures. In all but three, Apollo is always placed between his sister and mother, thus at the focal point of the image. As for the rare vases which place Artemis in the middle while Leto and Apollo flank her, the first is a volute-krater by the Berlin Hydria Painter, dated to

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<sup>430</sup> F. Frontisi-Ducroux and F. Lissarrague, “Char, Mariage et Mixité: Une Métaphore Visuelle,” in D. Yatromanolakis (ed.), *An Archaeology of Representations*, (Athens, 2009), p. 96.

<sup>431</sup> H. Metzger, *Les représentations dans la céramique Attique du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, (Paris, 1951), p. 174.

<sup>432</sup> Foukara (2014), p. 67.

<sup>433</sup> Simon (1953), p. 24.

460-450 BCE (**Cat. 354**). Artemis stands at the center, in a frontal position, with only her head turned to the right, towards Apollo. On the one hand, the twins maintain their previous dynamic, since Artemis holds an oinochoe and Apollo is raising a phiale towards her. However, alongside the location change, the twins have also swapped their attributes, and Artemis also holds a lowered lyre. Apollo holds a bow and a laurel staff. Leto, who stands on the left side, wears a veil. Interestingly, Artemis and Leto seem to be slightly taller than Apollo.<sup>434</sup> A column between Leto and Artemis indicates that they stand in a sanctuary. Caskey and Beazley suggest the scene takes place either in Delphi or Delos,<sup>435</sup> yet due to Artemis' prominence here, Delos would be a better choice, since the goddess had very little cultic presence in Delphi, unlike her status on Delos. However, this is the exception proving the rule and Apollo's unchallenged prominence in the depictions of the Delian Triad, while Artemis and Leto are portrayed as his seconds.

Next is a pelike attributed to the Herakles Painter and dated to ca. 370 BCE (**Cat. 451**). It presents Artemis at the center of the vase (and the attention), as she is about to slay a deer. The goddess holds down the deer by its ears and pulls it backwards, brandishing a torch in her other hand as if it was a spear. Her posture and garb indicate swift movement and activity, which sets her apart from the other, more static, figures on the vase. Above the deer, hovers a semi-clad Nike, who is about to crown Artemis with a victory wreath. Zeus holds a scepter, and he sits on the left side, on a somewhat higher register, and Apollo stands on the right side, carrying a laurel branch. While their bodies are turned away from Artemis, they both look at her, since their heads are turned towards her. Both are passively watching Artemis, thus this is a rare example in which Artemis is presented as active and at the center, while a sedentary Apollo is placed by her side, in

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<sup>434</sup> Caskey and Beazley only refer to this as "curious" (Caskey and Beazley [1954], p. 83).

<sup>435</sup> *ibid.* p. 82.

a supportive role. The absence of an altar or of a sacrificial knife (or any other relevant paraphernalia), indicates that this is not a divine scene of sacrifice, but rather of a hunt. As for her unusual weapon choice, perhaps it recalls her powerful depictions in various gigantomachy scenes, and Simon, who refers to the goddess here as Elaphebolos, notes that torches may be used as a hunting weapon by Artemis.<sup>436</sup> Therefore, the painter has opted to portray Artemis embodying the hunt. This is probably not a particular mythological hunt, as Arafat asserts that this vase does not depict a specific myth, only a successful hunt, one of many.<sup>437</sup>

Zeus is not often portrayed with his twin children, and in this deconstructed Triad scene, he is replacing Leto, watching Artemis and Apollo. Zeus could have been placed here for the purpose of gender symmetry, but as we have seen earlier, this is not maintained when male gods take Leto's place in representations of Apollo and Artemis. So perhaps this was the painter's way of differentiating himself from the regular Triad scenes even further, not only placing Artemis at the center, but replacing Leto with Zeus. The presence of Nike, who usually does not appear in the other Triad scenes, adds to Artemis' importance and centrality on this vase.

The final example in which Artemis occupies the central position appears on a bell-krater by the Toya Painter, dated to 360-350 BCE (**Cat. 385**). It depicts Artemis at the center, holding two burning torches, flanked by two pairs of gods. She stands in slightly turned to the right, although her head is turned to the left, towards a seated Apollo, who holds a laurel branch, and towards Leto, who stands behind him, holding a scepter. On the other side, Dionysos sits, holding a thyrsus, and a woman stands behind him, whom Beazley identifies as either Ariadne or

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<sup>436</sup> Simon (1998), pp. 139-140.

<sup>437</sup> Arafat (1990), p. 145.

Semele.<sup>438</sup> The latter option seems more plausible, since her hairdo is quite similar to Leto's. Artemis' flesh, chiton, and torches are all painted white, thus emphasizing her uniqueness in this scene even further, since none of the other figures or their garments are painted white, just a few of their accessories (i.e. diadem, earrings, laurel berries etc.).

As for the Triad scenes with additional deities, I have included in this sub-chapter images which continue the basic outline of the Triad images with the addition of a deity or two, i.e. scenes portraying the Triad with other gods, which repeat the symbolism of the red-figure Triad scenes, without any apparent mythological narrative.

Hermes maintained his earlier popularity, appearing on twelve vases, while Dionysos and Poseidon have fared less well after the transition, with the former occurring twice and the latter vanishing completely. Instead, other masculine figures appear: Ares, a youth with a lyre whose identity is uncertain, and a boy, who appears on three vases, and whose identity will be discussed below. Another difference is that more goddesses appear on the red-figure vases. Aphrodite, Semele, and the personification of Delos, who appears four times. On fourteen vases one deity joins the Triad, while seven vases host two additional deities. As on the black-figure vases, the sequence of the Triad is usually not broken, apart from the vases portraying the additional boy. Artemis and Apollo are usually placed near each other, and thus they are at the center of the scene.

One of the more unique images in this category is on the aforementioned pyxis by the Marlay Painter, which depicts the Triad with Hermes and the personification of Delos (**Cat. 400**). The image is full of Apollonian symbols: a palm tree, two omphaloi, one onto which

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<sup>438</sup> *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1448.6.



Apollo pours libation and another on which the personification of Delos sits, a laurel tree and a large tripod. Shapiro notes this vessel is dated to a time in which the Athenians were constructing a temple on Delos; therefore it is more likely this scene takes place at the island.<sup>439</sup> However, Lissarrague notes that it is also depicted in none-Delphic contexts and Simon, too, argues that the omphaloi should not be interpreted as symbolizing only Delphi, as they can also refer to Delos, which could also be perceived as an “omphalos,” since it is placed at the center of the Cyclades.<sup>440</sup> Additionally, van Straten notes that Omphaloi “are at home in any sanctuary of Apollo (Pythios), anywhere,” and Foukara notes that the omphalos was related to various other cultic sites of Apollo, arguing that rather than indicating a specific locale, it should be perceived as “a generic indicator of sacred space that is closely associated with Apollo,” attributing the representations of the omphalos to the widespread cult of Apollo Pythios. As for our vase, she assumes that the presence of the personification of Delos means that the scene takes place on the island.<sup>441</sup> However, it is also possible that the painter deliberately mixed Delphic and Delian elements in his painting, so perhaps he intended to present Apollo and his kinsfolk in an idealized Apollonian environ, combining his various symbols, or better yet, the two most significant aspects of Apollo in Athens, Delios and Pythios.

Another vase which incorporates Delos into the scene is a calyx-krater by the Meidias Painter, dated to 420-400 BCE (**Cat. 399**). It depicts a seated Apollo, who grasps a tall laurel branch, facing Artemis, who carries a phiale and an oinochoe, and a quiver and a bow hang on

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<sup>439</sup> Shapiro (1996), pp. 104-105n29.

<sup>440</sup> F. Lissarrague, “Delphes et la Céramique,” in A. Jacquemin (ed.), *Delphes cent ans après la grande fouille*, (Athènes, 2000), p. 55.

Simon (1998b), p. 457.

<sup>441</sup> Foukara (2014), pp. 65-67; F.T. van Straten, *Hiera Kalá: Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece*, (Leiden, 1995), p. 21.

her back. They are flanked by two diadem-wearing goddesses. The one on the left, who is closer to Artemis, carries a scepter and a laurel branch, and a palm tree is placed between her and Artemis. The one on the right, who is closer to Apollo, holds a lowered down laurel branch. Simon has suggested the additional figure is a redundant duplication of Leto,<sup>442</sup> although Burn more convincingly suggests the other goddess is Leto's sister, Delos.<sup>443</sup>

One of the more lavish scenes of the Delian Triad hosting other deities comes on a bell-crater by the Painter of Athens Wedding, dated to 450-400 BCE (**Cat. 401**). This vase presents Apollo together with four goddesses: Artemis is on the far left, paired with her brother, occupying with him roughly a third of the space, while the three other goddesses form a triad at the rest of the image on the right side. Apollo leans against a laurel tree, holding a laurel branch. His body is slightly turned towards his sister, but he is looking to the right, at the three goddesses who all look at him. Artemis sits on a somewhat higher register and she holds a bow, and her quiver hangs on her back. She too looks to the right, at the entire scene. As for the goddesses, two Erotes hover near one of them, surely indicating she is Aphrodite. Metzger and Eichler have suggested the remaining goddesses are Athena and Hera, perhaps since the obverse of this vase depicts the Judgment of Paris, and they assume that the painter chose to show its divine participants on both sides of the vase.<sup>444</sup> However, while Athena on the obverse is presented in all her armed glory, none of the goddesses in our scene wears or holds any piece of armor, and we would have expected that at least some of Athena's weapons would appear in a representation of the Judgement.

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<sup>442</sup> Simon (1953), p. 36.

<sup>443</sup> Burn (1987), p. 74.

<sup>444</sup> F. Eichler, *CVA Österreich, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum III*, (Wien, 1974), p. 23; Metzger (1951), p.270.

The two other goddesses hold a scepter, and “since Leto can hardly be missing among matrons gathered around Apollo,”<sup>445</sup> it was suggested that one of the goddesses must be the twins’ mother, probably the one sitting next to Apollo.<sup>446</sup> As for the third goddess, while Beazley suggested she could be Hera or Delos,<sup>447</sup> Burn, following on Brendel’s noticing her “sisterly likeness to Leto,” argued that she is Leto’s sister, Delos.<sup>448</sup> The tripod in the background may indicate that the scene takes place in one of Apollo’s sanctuaries, and Burn suggests Delos, since its personification appears in the image.<sup>449</sup> The inclusion of Aphrodite can be explained by the predilection towards her within the Meidian circle.<sup>450</sup> For our purpose, what is significant is the proximity between Artemis and Apollo and their close association. Moreover, unlike so many other vases, here it seems that the hierarchy between the twins is not rigid or pronounced. Although all goddesses look at Apollo, he is not at the spatial center of the image, and Artemis, although she is further away, is placed on a higher ground. It is uncertain whether this image was meant to allude to a specific myth, or if, as Burn claims, it has no mythological interpretation, and “Apollo is simply receiving a visit in his sanctuary from his sister, his mother,” and his two aunts.<sup>451</sup>

Another possible appearance of Delos with the Triad comes on a hydria by the Syracuse Painter, dated to ca. 460 BCE (**Cat. 397**). Apollo and Artemis stand on each side of an altar, Apollo holds a lyre and a phiale and Artemis carries a phiale and an oinochoe. Behind Artemis in the background stands a deer, looking at a goddess who stands on the far right, behind Apollo

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<sup>445</sup> O. Brendel, “The Corbridge Lanx,” in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. 31 (1941), p. 120.

<sup>446</sup> *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 1318; Brendel (1941), p. 120; Burn (1987), p. 74.

<sup>447</sup> *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 1318.

<sup>448</sup> Brendel (1941), p. 120; Burn (1987), p. 74.

<sup>449</sup> Burn (1987), pp. 73-74.

<sup>450</sup> *ibid.* p. 74.

<sup>451</sup> Burn (1987), p. 74.

stands another goddess, and on the far left we see a weirdly shaped palm tree. Slehoferova only identified Artemis and Apollo in this image, referring to the other figures as “goddesses.”<sup>452</sup> However, considering the similar images discussed above, it is safe to assume the painter opted to recreate the standard depiction of the Triad with an additional goddess, meaning that the goddess behind Apollo is Leto. There is no indication of the identity of the second goddess, although it would be reasonable to assume that she is Delos, and the palm tree counterbalancing her presence could be a further support for this claim.

### 3.2.2.5 – Artemis and Apollo Alone

Depictions of Artemis and Apollo by themselves gained an increased popularity after the transition to red-figure vases and it is the only category of the four in which there are more red-figure images than black-figure ones - thirty-seven vs. twenty-five. Apollo and Artemis still face each other, mostly maintaining the positions allotted to them on the black-figure vases, with Apollo on the left and Artemis on the right, although nine times their order is reversed. One is a neck-amphora in London, dated to 460-440 BCE (**Cat. 418**), in which Artemis, carrying a bow and an arrow in her left hand and an oinochoe in her right hand, stands on the left, facing Apollo, who holds a lowered down lyre and a laurel sprig in his left hand, while extending a phiale with his right hand towards his sister. A calyx-krater in Oxford, to be discussed below, presents Artemis with a quiver and a bow on the left, facing Apollo on the right. The one exception regarding Apollo is the tondo of a kylix by the Briseis Painter, dated to 490-480 BCE (**Cat. 405**), where Apollo has no musical instrument or a laurel branch, and he only holds a scepter.

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<sup>452</sup> V. Slehoferova, *CVA, Schweiz, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig 3*, (Bern, 1988), p. 34.

However, while Apollo is deprived of his common attributes (or perhaps because of that), Artemis is introduced with her emblems – a bow and a quiver.

A small group of three vases presents on one side what seems to be a similar scene to what we have seen above – Artemis and Apollo together are depicted on the obverse. However, on the reverse we can see a female figure stretching out her arm, holding out a phiale. First is a calyx-krater in Oxford, by the Achilles Painter, dated to 450-440 BCE (**Cat. 444**), which depicts Artemis standing on the left, holding her bow while her quiver lies on her back. Apollo stands opposite to her, holding a laurel sprig. There is no indication of any cultic activity and the gods are not holding any vessels. The woman on the reverse, however, holds out a phiale. If we would read these scenes in continuation, she would arrive behind Apollo. According to Kavvadias, similar images appear oftentimes in Attic art and it probably should not be connected with the other side.<sup>453</sup> However, other examples demonstrate that the two sides of a vessel can be related, such as a pelike by the Syleus Painter, dated to 480-475 BCE (**Cat. 433**), which depicts Apollo Kitharoidos on one side and Artemis, carrying an oinochoe and a phiale on the other. Apollo turns his head backwards, looking at something and this must be his sister on the reverse, and therefore such a link between the two sides of the vase can appear.<sup>454</sup> This can be applied in regards to the woman on the back of the Oxford krater, and indeed to the women on the reverse of the other two vases in this category, who seem to be a part of a bigger picture, and we may safely identify her as Leto, looking at her children or even rushing towards them. Indeed, Beazley, Oakley, and Simon have suggested that the woman on the Oxford krater is possibly

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<sup>453</sup> Kavvadias (2008), p. 224.

<sup>454</sup> Marangou (1995), p. 148.

Leto.<sup>455</sup> Therefore, our vase could portray Leto hurrying to join her children and to perform libations with them, and the vase captures the moments before the formation of the image of the Delian Triad we see on so many other vases. By arriving behind Apollo, she will position herself on his right and will flank him together with Artemis.

The next two images provide less information regarding some of the participant in these scenes. A pelike by the Sabouroff Painter, dated to 450-440 BCE (**Cat. 442**), also presents a libation scene. Apollo stands on the left, holding his lyre in his left hand while tilting a phiale above a burning altar. Artemis stands on the other side of the altar, holding an oinochoe and pouring liquid into Apollo's phiale. Even though she has none of her attributes, Kavvadias and Karouzou rightfully identify her as Artemis.<sup>456</sup> On the other side, Leto hurries to the right, holding out a phiale as well. Beazley, Karouzou, and Kavvadias all refer to her as "woman,"<sup>457</sup> and Kavvadias, as mentioned above, asserts that she is not connected with the divine libation scene on the front.<sup>458</sup> We cannot know for certain, due to the lack of attributes and the fact that Leto is usually not presented as rushing, although I argue that she is more likely to be Leto. The fact that the woman does not stand, but rather she is in motion, indicates that she has a definite destination, which is most likely to be found on the obverse of this vase, thus the two sides of the vase are connected and form one sequence, with Leto hurrying to join her children, arriving behind Apollo to complete the image of the Delian Triad.

The same can be said regarding the neck-amphora by the Painter of the Boston Phiale, dated to ca. 440 BCE (**Cat. 443**). Apollo, holding a laurel branch, raises a large phiale towards

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<sup>455</sup> J.D. Beazley, *CVA, Great Britain, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1*, (Oxford, 1927), p. 19; Oakley (1997), p. 125; Simon (1953), p.44.

<sup>456</sup> S. Karouzou, *CVA, Grèce, Athènes, Musée National 2*, (Paris, 1954), p. 13; Kavvadias (2008), p. 224.

<sup>457</sup> ARV<sup>2</sup> 843.130; Karouzou (1954), p. 13; Kavvadias (2008), p. 224.

<sup>458</sup> Kavvadias (2008), p. 224.

Artemis, who holds a lowered down oinochoe. On the other side, Leto also extends a phiale, and in a continuous image she would stand behind Apollo. Lamb identifies both goddesses as women, although he concedes to write that the one on the obverse could be Artemis.<sup>459</sup> I, on the other hand, would still identify them as Artemis and Leto due to the familiar nature of this scene and due to the presence of Apollo and his interaction with them.

More importantly, this vase does not include any evidence to contradict the identification of the members of the Delian Triad, unlike a pelike by the Trophy Painter, dated to 460-440 BCE.<sup>460</sup> This pelike presents an image which is similar to the previous three vases, although it also contains some notable changes. Artemis stands on the left, holding a bow while her quiver lies on her back. In front of her, stands a youth holding a spear. Naturally, we would assume he is Apollo, yet he has none of the Apolline attributes, not even a laurel wreath. On the reverse, a woman stands, and although she is raising her arm, she holds nothing in it, thus negating any connection to libations on this vase. Unlike the previous vases, if this was one continuous image, she would have stood behind Artemis, which would have placed the goddess at the center of the continuous image. On the surface, there is nothing preventing us from assuming that just as Artemis does not always have her attributes when depicted with her brother, he may be presented without his attributes in her scenes. Yet we have many incidents of an attributeless Artemis, while Apollo almost always has at least one of his attributes, or at least a phiale. Furthermore, Apollo is usually not depicted with a spear, especially not in serene scenes such as this one, in which he is not required to fight giants or to slay mythological reptiles. It is possible that the

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<sup>459</sup> W. Lamb, *CVA, Great Britain, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 1*, (Oxford, 1930), p. 34.

<sup>460</sup> *BAPD* 212474; *ARI*<sup>2</sup> 857.3.

male figure is Apollo, and that the painter has opted to keep the focus on Artemis by presenting only her attributes.

I would like to offer a different reading. Who, then, could be portrayed with Artemis? The goddess is slightly taller than the youth, and although we have seen some images in which she is larger than her brother (e.g. **Cat. 354**), this is not usually the case. However, the height gap between them is not so big as to render him as a non-mythological worshipper facing a goddess; therefore he must be a hero. Since he has no military garb, the spear indicates that he is a hunter. The interaction between the two, as well as their facial expressions, seems more solemn than angry or vengeful, thus he is not Orion or Aktaion. When we add the goddess' hand gesture, which may be interpreted as greeting or perhaps a farewell, one name comes to mind – Hippolytos. It is true that there are hardly any representations of Hippolytos in Attic iconography,<sup>461</sup> yet as we have seen, most of the myths involving Artemis have only few representations in Attic imagery, and some, like the myth of the Alloadai and Orion, have only one contested depiction. Therefore, the absence of other Attic representations of the Hippolytos myth should not count against this interpretation. The fact that the woman on the reverse does not hold a phiale may also suggest this is a different situation than the previous vases. Perhaps she is Phaedra, longing for her step-son or maybe it is her nurse, about to do her mistress' bidding. Another possibility, since her posture and headgear are somewhat similar to Artemis', is that she may be another goddess, and the obvious candidate would be Aphrodite, although without any clear indication or attribute, this must remain a hypothetical suggestion.

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<sup>461</sup> Hippolytos is more popular in South Italian iconography. See J.H. Oakley, "The Death of Hippolytus in South Italian Vase-painting," in *Numismatica e antichità classiche*, XX, (1991), pp. 63-83.



### 3.2.2.6 – Artemis and Apollo with Other Deities

Only seven vases depict non-narrative red-figure scenes with Artemis, Apollo, and other deities. One of these had been previously discussed, since Artemis is placed at the center of the image (**Cat. 451**). Three vases simply replicate the Triad scene, only replacing Leto with Hermes. Here too, Apollo maintains his central position, even though this means the scene is asymmetrical in terms of the gender of the participating deities. Apollo holds a kithara once and a lyre twice, and in every image he looks to the left, where two vases depict Artemis and one - Hermes. Once Apollo holds out a phiale towards his sister, who carries a bow and an oinochoe, both lowered down. Another time we see no libation vessels, as Apollo carries a Lyre and a laurel staff, while Artemis holds a torch. On one vessel Apollo is uncharacteristically looking at Hermes, who interacts with him, gesturing with his hand, while Artemis stands behind her brother, carrying torches.

This familiar juxtaposition of the twins comes in variations. For example, a red-figure column-krater in St. Petersburg, dated to ca. 460 BCE (**Cat. 449**), depicts four figures - Artemis, Apollo, a Muse, and Hermes. Unusually, the focus here is on Apollo and the Muse, since they are placed at the center, flanked by the other two gods. Apollo leans forward on a laurel branch towards the Muse, who holds a kithara in her left hand and gestures with her right hand. Artemis stands behind Apollo, holding a bow in her left hand and Hermes is placed behind the Muse, holding a phiale in his raised right hand. Thus, on this vase, Artemis is reverted into the role of her brother's supporter, since the emphasis here is on his interaction with the Muse. This is unusual in the non-narrative scenes, although it is very common in the narrative scenes, as we have seen.

An unusual scene is found on a rhyton in London, dated to 500-480 BCE (**Cat. 445**), portrays a minimalistic (and unfortunately decapitated) procession of the gods. It is headed by Aphrodite, who marches to the right, followed by Apollo Kitharoidos and Artemis in the rear, while Hermes rushes towards Aphrodite from the other side. Their identification is certain, since inscriptions provide the names of all the deities. In what remains of the vase, none of Artemis' attributes can be seen, although she might have held a bow or an arrow in her raised left hand which is missing. In her right, lowered, hand, she holds κρόταλα (*clappers*). Jurriaans-Helle assumes that images of Apollo with goddesses holding clappers must represent Muses,<sup>462</sup> yet here we have the inscription clearly indicating Artemis too can be a part of a musical entourage. This is an interesting representation, not so much in regards to the spatial relationship between the twins, since, as before, Artemis follows her brother, but because she participates in the music making. Moreover, her movement indicates that she is dancing to the music.<sup>463</sup> This vase is unique since it deviates from the perception that archery and libations are the customarily mutual activity allotted to the twins on Athenian vases (as long as we do not consider standing in front of each other an activity). Therefore, this rhyton presents a lighter and more jubilant side of the twins.

Lastly, a calyx-krater in Berlin, dated to the beginning of the fourth century BCE (**Cat. 450**), presents the twins in another unique group. Apollo sits on an omphalos, holding a laurel branch. He is flanked on each side by a female-male pair. On the left, Artemis stands in front of her brother, and they both look at each other. A white deer stands between them, partially behind Apollo in the background. It lifts its head either to nibble at a small sprig held by Apollo or to

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<sup>462</sup> Jurriaans-Helle (1986), p. 116.

<sup>463</sup> Walters (1929), p. 8.

look backwards at Artemis, who holds two long burning torches. Cook refers to her as a maenad,<sup>464</sup> but it is less likely, and indeed Kahil and Schöne-Denkinger have identified her as Artemis.<sup>465</sup> Behind her arrives Hermes. On Apollo's other side we see a maenad and a satyr, who are members of the entourage of Dionysos, his half-brother. Cook identifies the surroundings as Delphi,<sup>466</sup> although the Omphalos does not necessarily mean Delphi, and it can generally signify an Apollonian sanctuary.<sup>467</sup> However, Dionysos, who is missing from this vase, had an important role in the myth of Delphi, and the mixture of the Apollonian and Dionysian elements could imply that it is the locale of this scene. Perhaps it portrays the moments before Dionysos' arrival to Delphi, after which Apollo will go to his traditional *vacance* up north.

Although Delphi is the Apollonian temple *par excellence*, and Artemis' role in it was very small, on this krater we can easily discern the strong connection between Apollo and Artemis, even though Apollo's centrality, as the master of Delphi, is unchallenged. The twins face each other, maybe even interact, and although Artemis is not seated, they both seem to be at the heart of this scene, while the other figures are of a more subsidiary nature. Artemis' position, facing Apollo, while the other figures flank them, indicates her importance within this scene and she is not a mere participant in his retinue like the maenad and the satyr in regards to Dionysos. Even though she is a guest, her importance to him and to his portrayal cannot be doubted.

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<sup>464</sup> A.B. Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*, (New York, 1964a), pp. 264-265.

<sup>465</sup> Kahil (1984), no. 1188; A. Schöne-Denkinger, *CVA, Deutschland, Berlin, Antikensammlung 11*, (München, 2009), p. 52.

<sup>466</sup> Cook (1964a), pp. 264-265.

<sup>467</sup> Schöne-Denkinger (2009), p. 52; Simon (1998b), p. 457.

Fig. 2

Red-figure non-narrative scenes	Triad	Triad +	Apollo and Artemis	Apollo and Artemis +	Total
How many images in total	34	20	37	7	98
Apollo with a kithara	12	10	19	2	43
Apollo with a lyre	12	4	11	3	30
Apollo with a laurel branch	10	5	7	5	27
Apollo with weapons	1	1	1	-	3
Artemis with weapons	16	10	15	2	43
Artemis with a torch or two	3	2	3	4	12
Artemis with a lyre or a kithara	1	1	-	-	2
Artemis with a scepter	1(?)	1	1	-	2-3
Artemis with a <i>nebris</i>	1	-	1	-	2
Apollo with a deer	1	3	2	-	6
Artemis with a deer	1	2	3	1	7
Apollo and Artemis with a deer	4	1	3	1	9
Apollo and Leto with a deer	1	2	1	1	3
Apollo with a griffon	1	1	-	-	2
Artemis with a panther	1	1	1	1	1
Artemis with no attributes	5	5	20	-	30
Artemis and Leto are indistinguishable	5	5	-	-	10
Apollo sits	4	2	2	1	9
Apollo and Leto sit	-	2	-	-	2
Artemis and Leto sit	-	1	-	-	1
Leto sits	-	1	-	-	1
Leto with a veil and/or a scepter	14	7	-	-	21
Apollo with a scepter	-	-	1	-	1
One additional figure	-	14	-	3	17
Two additional figures	-	4	-	3	7
Three additional figures	-	2	-	1	3

### 3.2.2.7 – Libation Scenes

The greatest change in the representations of Artemis and Apollo brought by the transition to red-figure images is the appearance of religious elements, mainly depictions of the

divine libations, which began to appear in Attic iconography from around 500 BCE, and gained more and more popularity, especially between 475 and 450 BCE.<sup>468</sup> The libation imagery was not limited to the twins, and other gods, such as Zeus and Dionysos, can be seen offering libations on other vases. Scholars have pondered about the meaning of these scenes, and there are many different conclusions.<sup>469</sup> These scenes were explained by political<sup>470</sup> or religious terms.<sup>471</sup> Others have interpreted them in mythological terms, finding various mythological occasions for the performance of these libations, assuming they depict divine prototypes,<sup>472</sup> or provide an attempt to portray the gods as giving libations to themselves on behalf of their worshippers.<sup>473</sup>

Simon suggests that the libating deities have different motives, and therefore they vary in their circumstances, meaning, and symbolism. A scene with Zeus and Hera in this context alludes to the oath of their sacred marriage,<sup>474</sup> while similar scenes with Apollo and Artemis are explained as symbolizing Apollo's purification and atonement after he slew Python, claiming that Apollo's "Köcher und Bogen deuten auf den Pythoktonos, Lyra und Kithara auf den Stifter des delphischen Kultes."<sup>475</sup> Foukara, however, does not accept this interpretation, rightfully noting that Apollo is portrayed with archery gear only a few times in these scenes, and that his

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<sup>468</sup> Foukara (2014), p. 60; H.A. Shapiro [et al.] (eds.), *Greek Vases in the San Antonio Museum of Art*, (San Antonio, 1995), p. 178.

<sup>469</sup> For a survey and analysis of the various interpretations regarding these scenes, see G. Bakalakis, *Ανασκαφή Στρώμης*, (Θεσσαλονίκη, 1967), pp. 62-67; Foukara (2014), pp. 71-83; Mitropoulou (1975), pp. 86-90; K.C. Patton, *Religion of the Gods: Ritual, Paradox, and Reflexivity*, (Oxford, 2009), pp. 121-159; Prange (1989), p. 71.

<sup>470</sup> e.g. Tiverios (1986), p. 602.

<sup>471</sup> e.g. Patton (2009), pp. 161-180.

<sup>472</sup> Bakalakis (1967), p. 36.

<sup>473</sup> Mitropoulou (1975), p. 90.

<sup>474</sup> Simon (1953), p. 74.

<sup>475</sup> *ibid.* p. 23.

musical instrument does not necessarily indicate his role in the foundation of Delphi.<sup>476</sup> Yet Simon may be right in assuming that there is no one explanation which can encompass the entire corpus of divine libation scenes, and these served different purposes.

Other scholars claim these scenes have no mythological meaning. According to Lissarrague, Apollo and Artemis “are not in the process of offering libations to themselves... The gods do not lack offerings, and do not need to serve themselves; they hold in their hands the objects which serve to honor them and mark their venerable character.”<sup>477</sup> Shapiro argues that the libation vessels held by any Triad member should be regarded as indirect references to the worship and sacrifices to Apollo;<sup>478</sup> and Oakley argues that these images are “*Daseinsbilder*, images that indicate the timeless presence of the gods but are not connected with any particular myth or narrative. They show the gods' essential characteristics in an archetypal manner - an epiphany of sorts.”<sup>479</sup> What we can learn for certain from these images is limited to the dynamic they exhibit between Artemis and Apollo, which will further our understanding of their relationship and representation.

As mentioned earlier, most of the red-figure vases of the non-narrative scenes present religious elements. Most commonly, Artemis and Apollo were depicted participating in the libation ritual, but some vases portray additional elements, and sometimes only them. Of the ninety-eight red-figure vases examined here, only nineteen vases have no religious connotation (apart, of course, from the presence of the gods). Among these are the aforementioned Paris

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<sup>476</sup> Foukara refers only to representations of the Triad with or without additional deities (Foukara [2014], p. 74). In similar representations of the twins without their mother, Apollo is portrayed with a bow or a quiver 1-2 times, making it 3-4 in total.

<sup>477</sup> Lissarrague (2001), p. 150.

<sup>478</sup> H.A. Shapiro, “Athena, Apollo, and the Religious Propaganda of the Athenian Empire,” in P. Hellström and B. Alroth (eds.), *Religion and Power in the Ancient Greek World*, (Uppsala, 1996), p. 104.

<sup>479</sup> J.H. Oakley, *The Greek Vase: Art of the Storyteller*, (London, 2013), pp. 41-42.

kylix (**Cat. 405**) and an oinochoe by the Berlin Painter, dated to 490-460 BCE (**Cat. 406**), on which each twin appears on one side; Apollo, holding a lyre, faces to the right while Artemis, who has her bow and quiver, faces to the left, thus they are presented in their typical layout.

Seventy-six vases depict Artemis, Apollo, or the both of them with libation vessels, which are incorporated into the conventional portrayal of the twins in non-narrative scenes - facing each other, Apollo with his musical instrument, although the kithara and lyre do not appear on every vase (see fig. 3). The additional religious connotation gives a new meaning to the red-figure non-narrative scenes, turning a usually static image or a possible musical intermission into an image of worship and piety. Moreover, there is further indication of a ritualistic nature on twenty-four of these vases, namely the presence of an altar or an omphalos in the scene. An amphora by the Eucharides Painter, dated to ca. 490 BCE (**Cat. 440**), portrays the twins in front of an altar, but without any libation vessels. Apollo carries a lyre, while his sister holds an object which could be a closed pair of clappers, since Artemis is depicted with κρόταλα on two other vases as well (**Cat. 350, 445**). However, because she is usually not associated with musical instruments, perhaps Braccesi is right to identify the object she carries as a torch.<sup>480</sup>

The most common image is Apollo holding a phiale and Artemis – an oinochoe, appearing on forty-nine vases. Sometimes Apollo holds the phiale horizontally above the altar or the ground, although he may also extend it towards Artemis, as if requesting her to fill it from her oinochoe. Two vases depict the god with a phiale and Artemis with an oinochoe as well as a phiale. On three vases, only Apollo carries a libation vessel (other figures may carry a jug in these scenes), while Artemis is portrayed with one or more of her archery gear. Nineteen vases

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<sup>480</sup> Braccesi [et al.] (1988), p. 198.

portray only Artemis holding a vessel, while Apollo either carries a musical instrument, a laurel branch or both, or, in a few fragmentary vases, it is impossible to know what he held. Of the vases in which Apollo holds no vessel, Artemis carries a phiale seven times, an oinochoe three times, and on nine vases she carries both an oinochoe and a phiale.

The vase-painters portrayed various stages of the libation ritual, in which the liquid – presumably wine, although it could also be honey, milk, water, or oil – is poured from an oinochoe into a phiale, from which the libation is poured over an altar, an omphalos, or onto the ground.<sup>481</sup> The presence of a phiale should indicate that a libation is about to happen or has already been completed. I have interpreted the scenes in which a phiale is tilted as representing the very act of giving libations and in some of these images, the painters have also added a stream of liquid pouring downwards, as a further indication of what is happening. One vase depicts a tilted phiale which is the exception to this rule. It is a column-krater in Madrid (**Cat. 398**), which portrays Apollo holding a tilted phiale far away from the altar, on which the libation should have been offered, possibly meaning that this scene captures the moment before or after the act itself.

**Fig. 3**

<b>Red-figure non-narrative scenes</b>	<b>Triad</b>	<b>Triad +</b>	<b>Apollo and Artemis</b>	<b>Apollo and Artemis +</b>	<b>Total</b>
Scenes in total	29	13	33	1	76
Apollo with a phiale, Artemis with a jug	19	5	24	1	49
Apollo with a phiale, Artemis with a jug and a phiale		1	1		2
Artemis with a jug	2		1		3
Artemis with a phiale	3	1	3		7

<sup>481</sup> J.B. Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess: Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece*, (Princeton, 2007), p. 176; Parke and Boardman (1957), p. 121; Patton (2009), p. 33.



Artemis with a jug and a phiale	2	4	3		9
Apollo with a phiale	1				1
Artemis and Apollo with a phiale	1	1 <sup>482</sup>	1		3
Apollo with a phiale (Leto with a jug)	1				1
Apollo with a phiale (a boy with a jug)		1			1

The culmination of the libation ritual is when the liquid is poured from to the phiale.<sup>483</sup>

Lissarrague writes on the relationship between these two vessels, that Apollo holds “the phiale for libations. His sister Artemis holds the complementary vase, the oinochoe, which serves to fill the phiale.”<sup>484</sup> Therefore, the act of pouring the wine from the oinochoe to the phiale is of a lesser ritualistic importance. Since Apollo is mostly associated with the phiale on our vases, appearing with it fifty-seven times, either before, during, or after performing the rite, while Artemis usually pours the libations and is much more associated with the oinochoe, with which she appears sixty-three times. Nine vases depict Apollo tilting his phiale onto an altar; nine more times he pours the wine onto the ground, and twice – on an omphalos. Thus, in almost all of our examples, Apollo is the one who offers the libation, while Artemis helps him with the preparations. Kaeser, when discussing similar scenes in which Athena fills Herakles’ libation vessel (either a phiale or a kantharos<sup>485</sup>), explains that “[n]atürlich erniedrigt sich die Göttin nicht, sondern sie erweist ihrem Lieblingshelden eine Gnade, genauso wie dann, wenn sie ihn in den Olymp führt.”<sup>486</sup> In our case, however, since both participants are deities, things are different. Olmos sees this as the traditional dichotomy between the mortal gender roles, now applied to the gods, claiming that Apollo and Artemis assume the respective gender roles of men

<sup>482</sup> Also on this vase is a boy holding an oinochoe.

<sup>483</sup> Although kantharoi can also serve this purpose, Artemis and Apollo are never depicted with such vessel.

<sup>484</sup> Lissarrague (2001), p. 150.

<sup>485</sup> E. Mitropoulou, *Libation Scene with Oinochoe in Votive Reliefs*, (Athens, 1975), p. 11.

<sup>486</sup> B. Kaeser, “Herakles jenseits der Taten,” in B. Fellmann, B. Kaeser und K. Vierneisel (eds.), *Kunst der Schale, Kultur des Trinkens*, (München, 1992), p. 342.

and women in the libation ritual, with the woman serving the man with what he needs to perform the libation.<sup>487</sup> She might be taking this too far, although it is clear that the way in which this scene is repeatedly presented indicates the power balance between the twins, in which there is neither humiliation, nor a special grace, only the well-known hierarchy between Artemis and Apollo. The previous stages of the libation ritual also appear on vases. Thirteen times we see Apollo holding out his phiale towards Artemis, as if asking her to fill it from her jug and seven times the goddess pours the liquid from her tipped jug and into Apollo's phiale.

There are a some exceptions to the Apollonian phiale/Artemisian oinochoe dichotomy. On two vases Artemis carries an oinochoe and a phiale, while Apollo has only a phiale. A hydria by the Syracuse Painter, dated to 500-450 BCE (**Cat. 397**), depicts Artemis pouring liquid from a jug onto an altar, while also tilting her phiale over it. Either she is giving libations from both vessels, or, more reasonably, she is purifying the altar with water, and the phiale, whose tip is not far away from the edge of the altar, is probably empty, since most of the libations are poured onto the center of the altar. Apollo carries a lyre and a phiale, which is slightly tilted above the altar. Perhaps the painter depicted a few stages of the ritual in one image – the purification with water by Artemis and the libation of wine by Apollo (and perhaps also by Artemis). A lekythos by the Achilles Painter, dated to 475-425 BCE (**Cat. 432**) also portrays the twins with Apollo holding a lyre in one hand and raising a phiale in the other hand, while Artemis holds an oinochoe and a phiale, both lowered down.

Nineteen vases depict Apollo with no libation vessels, while Artemis has one or two. On a hydria by the Altamura Painter, dated to 470-460 BCE (**Cat. 391**), Artemis holds a phiale and

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<sup>487</sup> Bonet (2003), p. 303.

an oinochoe above an altar, yet the phiale is not tilted and the jug, which is held on its side, is placed above the very edge of the altar, so she is not offering libations here. On the other hand, Apollo only carries his kithara, and since Artemis is not handing him the phiale, it is possible that she had just finished to perform the libations. On the other hand, the twins look at each other, so perhaps this is the moment before Artemis hands over the phiale to her brother, just before he extends his arm to receive it. Another example appears on a calyx-krater by the Hephaestos Painter, dated to ca. 440 BCE (**Cat. 396**), where Artemis holds a spear and raises a phiale towards her brother, who only grasps a laurel staff and who makes no gesture to indicate he is about to take the phiale from her. A pelike by the Vila Giulia Painter, dated to ca. 460 BCE (**Cat. 437**) portrays the goddess standing serenely in a frontal position, looking to the left, towards an equally serene Apollo. She holds up a phiale in her left hand and a jug in her lowered right hand, which is closer to Apollo, while the god only clasps a laurel branch. At another time, on a calyx-krater by the Meidias Painter, dated to 420-400 BCE (**Cat. 399**), while Apollo only grasps a laurel branch, Artemis carries two vessels, holding out the phiale to Apollo, as if giving it to him. Alternately, perhaps Artemis was about to give libations, as she does on three or possibly even four other vases, such as on a fragmentary kylix in Brauron by the Penthesilea Painter (or close to him), dated to ca. 460 BCE (**Cat. 436**), which portrays the goddess holding up an oinochoe in one hand and a tilted phiale in the other, while her brother plays the kithara, or on a neck-amphora by either the Berlin Painter or the Pan Painter (**Cat. 407**), which portrays her tipping a phiale, while Apollo strums the kithara. However, since Apollo is the one who usually offers the libations, it is possible that even in scenes in which only Artemis carries the libation vessels, the viewers would have known that she is only assisting her brother and this is probably

why Burn refers to the scene on **Cat. 399** as Apollo offering libations, even though he holds no libation vessel.<sup>488</sup>

On two vases, a lekythos by the Providence Painter, dated to ca. 470 BCE (**Cat. 410**) and a pelike by the Syleus Painter, dated to ca. 480 BCE (**Cat. 433**), Artemis seems to be chasing a reluctant (or at least a surprised) Apollo, as if urging him to perform the ritual. While on the lekythos she only holds an oinochoe, raising it towards Apollo, who holds a phiale, while striding vigorously towards him. On the pelike she holds a phiale in her left hand, which is close to her body, while extending the jug towards Apollo, who only carries his kithara, faces the other direction from her while his head turns backwards, towards her. Two more vases portray Apollo holding the phiale away from Artemis. Interestingly, in both of these, Artemis stands on the left and while Apollo's body is turned three-quarters to the right, his head is turned back towards her. Perhaps this captures the moment Artemis had arrived to meet her brother and mother (as we shall see later on, when she arrives in a chariot this is almost always done from the left side and Apollo is just noticing her, a moment which will surely be followed, as we see elsewhere, with him raising the phiale towards her.

Apollo and Artemis form the core of the libation scenes, since other gods who may appear with them in these circumstances usually do not hold libation vessels. The main exception to this is Leto, who carries a phiale sixteen times, and is given an oinochoe four times. However, Leto is somewhat removed from the act of libation, which, in our case, focuses on the interaction and actions of Artemis and Apollo. The personification of Delos is also given a phiale once and three vases depict a boy holding an oinoche.

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<sup>488</sup> Burn (1987), p. 74.

### 3.2.2.8 – Assemblies of the Gods

Artemis and Apollo sometimes take part in general scenes portraying congregations of the gods, with no apparent reason or any indication of the event. According to Schefold, these divine assemblies

“play a greater role in the art of the Greeks than similar subjects in the art of any other people. It is the Greek sense of society and the state, in the sense of Aristotle's famous dictum that man is a 'zoon politikon' (a political animal), that is being expressed here. Looked at in this way the pictures of the introduction of gods to Olympos and the assemblies of the gods can be recognised as possessing and expressing their own significance alongside scenes of the births and the love-lives of the gods.”<sup>489</sup>

Apollo and Artemis, as significant members of the Greek pantheon, occasionally grace these gatherings with their presence. One example of a non-narrative assembly of gods comes on a hydria by the Priam Painter, dated to 525-510 BCE (**Cat. 454**). It depicts four pairs of deities in two groups. The first one, to the left, portrays Hermes and Hestia or Maia facing Athena and Herakles, while on the other half of the image we see Artemis and Apollo Kitharoidos, with a deer by Apollo's side in the background, facing a goddess (Ariadne or Semele) and Dionysos, who are on the far right.<sup>490</sup> It is somewhat unusual that Apollo is portrayed in the background, although considering the directionality of the scene, had he been placed in the foreground, his

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<sup>489</sup> Schefold (1992), p. 49.

<sup>490</sup> *ABV* 332.20: Maia, Semele. Beazley also suggests either Artemis or Leto for the goddess near Apollo. Walters: Ariadne and Hestia (H.B. Walters, *CVA, Great Britain, London, British Museum* 6, [London, 1931], p. 10).

kithara would have concealed Artemis' head. Besides the fact that this image reiterates the close association of Artemis and Apollo, it also continues and maintains the prevalent attitude towards the goddess in the various non-narrative scenes, taking away her definite attributes and establishing her proximity to Apollo as her main signifier.

A similar scene, albeit more spacious, comes on a hydria in Munich, dated to 520-510 BCE (**Cat. 455**). It portrays three pairs, each one composed of a female figure on the left and a male figure on the right, both facing each other. At the center of the image stand Athena and Hermes, and on the right side we see Dionysos with probably Ariadne. Apollo, playing his kithara and a veiled goddess stand on the left. Senff and Kaeser believe she is Leto,<sup>491</sup> but although she is sometimes portrayed with a veil, Artemis may also appear wearing this item (**Cat. 237, 318**),<sup>492</sup> and I agree with Beazley, who assumed she is more likely to be Artemis, even though that once again, she is deprived of her attributes, and identified only due to her proximity to Apollo.

Sometimes the gods in these gatherings are seated, and that is the case regarding two more vessels, a kylix (**Cat. 453**) and a pyxis (**Cat. 452**), both dated to 550-500 BCE. The kylix depicts on its obverse seven seated deities, four of whom are arranged in two pairs – Apollo and Artemis and Zeus and Hera. The remaining gods, Athena, Poseidon, and Hermes, are seated in a more haphazard way. Apollo is placed exactly in the middle of the image, playing (and somewhat hunched over) a large kithara. Artemis sits in front of him, holding out a bow and two arrows. The fact that she is presented with her attributes, together with the twins' placement at

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<sup>491</sup> R. Senff und B. Kaeser, "Dionysos unter Göttern," in B. Fellmann, B. Kaeser, und K. Vierneisel (eds.), *Kunst der Schale, Kultur des Trinkens*, (München, 1992), p. 365.

<sup>492</sup> Foukara, too, notes this is possible, although uncommon. (Foukara [2014], p. 47).

the central scene, placed higher than Zeus and Athena, indicates that the painter of this kylix envisioned both twins not only on a more equal basis, but has elevated their status on this cup.

The pyxis depicts some deities, including Herakles, sitting together in pairs. Here too, Artemis and Apollo form a pair, and both hold their archery attributes – Apollo, who is uncharacteristically without a musical instrument, holds up in one hand a bow and two arrows and Artemis, who wears a polos, holds up two arrows, and perhaps she also held a bow in her other hand, which is missing. Thus, once again, we see a more equal depiction of the two. Even if Artemis was not holding a bow, she is nonetheless associated, like her brother, with archery, and both are sitting in a similar position and with the same level of activity.

There are a few more images of Olympian assemblies on red-figure vases, some of which include divine libations as well. For example, a stamnos by the Berlin Painter, dated to ca. 480 BCE (**Cat. 457**), depicts multiple libations,<sup>493</sup> in a continuous scene, which begins under one of the handles, with the image of a female figure, possibly Hera, standing behind Zeus, who is sitting on his throne. In front of him we see Artemis and Apollo perform a libation. Artemis is with her back to her father, and behind Apollo we see a winged goddess, (Nike according to Beazley, Iris according to Walters and Patton<sup>494</sup>), Dionysos, a goddess with two torches, possibly Demeter, and Hermes, who concludes the procession while looking back, at the goddess behind Zeus. Apollo and Artemis are placed at the center of the obverse, and they perform what looks like a reverse libation. While in most of the libation scenes Artemis pours the wine into Apollo's libation bowl, here, Apollo Kitharoidos is tilting his phiale above his sister's oinochoe, as pouring back the wine into it. A close look, however, shows that the liquid misses the mouth of

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<sup>493</sup> Patton (2009), p. 59.

<sup>494</sup> Patton (2009), p. 59; H.B. Walters, *CVA, Great Britain, London, British Museum 3*, (London, 1927), p. 8.

the oinochoe due to its awkward angle, so perhaps the painter miscalculated his space, and added the improbable wine stream to indicate that despite the position of the vessels, Apollo is performing a regular libation onto the ground. Zeus also holds a phiale, raising it towards Artemis. Perhaps she has also poured – or will do so soon – wine from her jug into Zeus’ phiale. Additionally, Dionysos holds a kantharos on its side, with liquid dripping from it. Walters claims the woman facing Apollo is Hera, perhaps due to her proximity to the seated Zeus, although Patton identifies her as Artemis.<sup>495</sup> Indeed, her closeness to Zeus can be measured up against the scene’s close similarity to the numerous libation scenes presenting the twins which are replicated here in many aspects. Since the goddess in question is not interacting with Zeus at the moment, but rather with Apollo, this should suffice to identify her as Artemis.

The position of the twins at the center of side A may indicate that the ritual they perform stands at the heart of this scene. While other ceremonial vessels portrayed here are either waiting to be used or already have been used, only Apollo and Artemis are actively performing the ritual.

As in the other libation scenes, although Artemis has an important part here, it is Apollo who is performing the very act of libation, and therefore this stamnos too exhibits and maintains the hierarchy between them. Perhaps Apollo’s apparent importance on this vase was what led Beazley to describe this scene as Apollo entering Olympus,<sup>496</sup> although Walters only refers to it as a scene which takes place on Olympus.<sup>497</sup>

Another scene of a divine libation in a greater company by the Berlin Painter comes on a hydria, dated to ca. 485 BCE (**Cat. 456**). Apollo stands left of an altar, holding a large kithara in

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<sup>495</sup> Patton (2009), p. 59; Walters (1927), p. 8.

<sup>496</sup> *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 208.149.

<sup>497</sup> Walters (1927), p. 8.



his left hand, and an empty phiale, held on its side, in his right hand. Artemis and Leto stand on the altar's other side, facing Apollo and partially overlapping each other. They look very similar, although Leto's hair is lighter in color and Artemis has a quiver on her back. Due to the fragmentary state of the vessel, we do not know whether Artemis held or even extended an oinochoe towards her brother. The winged goddess behind Apollo, however, identified as either Nike<sup>498</sup> or Iris, carries an oinochoe, and considering the fact that Apollo uncharacteristically does not look at his sister, but rather turns his head backwards, towards the winged figure holding the jug, may suggest that she is the one who is about to fill his phiale. Behind Artemis stands Athena, carrying a spear and holding out her helmet. She is followed by Hermes, who turns his head backwards, to look at Nike or Iris.

Beazley has referred to this scene as pouring libation, yet this is unlikely, since Apollo's phiale is not tipped as it usually is when libations are given. More importantly, the phiale is not placed above the altar. Thus, Moore is correct assuming Apollo is about to perform the ritual.<sup>499</sup> Regardless, Apollo's centrality in this libation scene is kept, even though it is performed in the presence of additional gods. On the other hand, Artemis' importance here is somewhat reduced. First, by overlapping with her mother, her presence on this vase and the space she occupies are partially minimized. More importantly, it seems that Artemis is not the one who assists her brother to perform the ritual, thus rendering her to a status of a spectator, unlike most of the red-figure libations scenes, in which she takes a more active role.

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<sup>498</sup> Moore (2010), p. 57.

<sup>499</sup> *ibid.*

Three vases incorporate into the multi-participant libations scenes a young boy.<sup>500</sup> Shapiro has identified him as Ion, Apollo's son by the Athenian princess Kreousa,<sup>501</sup> although some assert he is Ganymede,<sup>502</sup> and others choose not to identify him but rather refer to him as a boy or a youth.<sup>503</sup>

First, a pelike by the Oinante Painter, dated to 450-460 BCE (**Cat. 403**), presents Apollo, holding his lyre in both hands. His body faces to the right, but he turns his head backwards, towards Artemis, who is raising a phiale in her left hand and holding a lowered down jug in her right hand. A deer stands between the two of them. Behind Artemis appears a small Nike, and in front of Apollo, stands a boy, wrapped in a mantle. Behind him we see Hermes and another goddess, whom Shapiro identifies as Leto.<sup>504</sup>

The boy is generally identified as Ion, According to Shapiro:

“The religious aura, with a procession of divinities... proclaims the confidence of the Athenians as their empire in the Aegean, begun as the Delian League under the patronage of Apollo, continued to grow. The addition of Ion alongside his father, Apollo, this child conceived at the very heart of Athens's ancient center, makes visible the city's claim to natural leadership of all the Ionian Greeks.”<sup>505</sup>

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<sup>500</sup> Foukara mentions another unpublished vase which also belongs to this category by the Nausikaa Painter (Foukara [2014], p. 185).

<sup>501</sup> Shapiro (2003), p. 87; Shapiro (2009a), pp. 265-267; H.A. Shapiro, *LIMC Supplement, s.v. Ion*, (Düsseldorf, 2009c), no. 1. Shapiro connects Ion's presence on these vases (and on an additional vessel) to “his role in the religious propaganda of the rapidly expanding Athenian Empire,” arguing that “it was precisely the figure of Ion, eponym of the Ionian Greeks and son of Apollo, that allowed Athens to continue to include Apollo in its religious propaganda, even as the god was being eclipsed by Athena.” (Shapiro [2009a], p. 271).

<sup>502</sup> e.g. *ARI*<sup>2</sup> 623.73; Morard (2009), p. 22; M. Robertson, *The Art of Vase-Painting in Classical Athens*, (Cambridge, 1992), p. 171; Simon (1953), p.44n63.

<sup>503</sup> Foukara (2014), p. 83; *CVA Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1*, p. 9.

<sup>504</sup> Shapiro (2003), p. 87.

<sup>505</sup> *ibid.* p. 87.

Two additional and slightly later vases present a similar scene, only with the boy holding a libation vessel, and this has caused some scholars to identify him (and other boys present in the Triad scenes) as Ganymede. The first one is a cylinder by the Villa Giulia Painter, dated to ca. 450 BCE (**Cat. 404**) and the other is a bell-krater in Syracuse, dated to 450-425 BCE (**Cat. 402**). The cylinder portrays Apollo, standing in profile, holding a kithara in his left hand and a phiale in his right hand. Artemis faces him, standing in a frontal position, raising a phiale in her right hand, towards Apollo, and holding a bow and an arrow in her lowered left hand. Both twins have lost their heads, and the same goes for all the other gods in this scene. The only figure who was not decapitated is the boy, who stands between the twins, holding a lowered oinochoe. Lamb refers to him as a boy attendant;<sup>506</sup> Sichtermann and Beazley identify him as Ganymede,<sup>507</sup> while Shapiro argues he is Ion, understanding this vase, as well as the other ones, as part of the Athenian propaganda which celebrated the Ionians' legendary founder.<sup>508</sup> Behind Artemis we see Hermes, Dionysos, and Leto, who, since the scene is continuous, is placed behind her son.

As for the bell-krater, it too portrays a boy standing between Apollo and Artemis. As on the previous vessel, Apollo stands in profile, holding a kithara and a phiale, which he extends towards the boy, who carries an oinochoe, a hoop, and a stick and he is identified only as a youth,<sup>509</sup> although Simon and Lambrinudakis refer to him as Ganymede, while Shapiro identifies him as Ion.<sup>510</sup> A deer stands near the god with its head lowered down, perhaps grazing. Artemis, with a quiver on her back, extends a wreath with her right hand towards Apollo, while holding a

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<sup>506</sup> Lamb (1930), p. 37.

<sup>507</sup> *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 623.73; H. Sichtermann, *LIMC IV*, s.v. *Ganymedes*, (Zürich, 1988), no. 66.

<sup>508</sup> Lamb (1930), p. 37; Sichtermann (1988), no. 66; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 623.73; Simon (1953), p. 41; Shapiro (2009a), p. 268; H.A. Shapiro, *LIMC Supplementum*, s.v. *Ion*, (Düsseldorf, 2009c), no. 3.

<sup>509</sup> CVA Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1, p. 9.

<sup>510</sup> Lambrinudakis (1984), no. 747; Shapiro (2009a), p. 269; Simon (1953), p. 44.

bow in her left hand and Morard interprets this as a sign that the image portrays Apollo's arrival to Olympos.<sup>511</sup>

Foukara rejects the identification of the boy as either Ion or Ganymede on these vases, claiming that the boy's presence amongst Artemis and Apollo is due to their role as "presiding over the successful growth of children into adulthood."<sup>512</sup> This would be true if one accepts the strong connection she attempts to establish between the representations of the Triad and progeniture, which I do not.<sup>513</sup> However, regardless of whether the boy is Ion, Ganymede, or a generic youth, on two vases, his presence does not change the interaction and connection between Artemis and Apollo. On the Vatican pelike the twins still interact with each other, and although Artemis holds both of the libation vessel, it seems she is about to hand over the phiale to her brother. Apart from the presence of the boy, the one unique thing about this vase is that Leto, if she was correctly identified, was removed from her twins, since the boy and Hermes stand between her and her children. In the next two vases Leto moves back to her usual place behind Apollo, and the boy is placed between the twins. Now he also carries some accessories with him, a jug on both vessels and some toys on the bell-krater. Even though his oinochoe is lowered down on both occasions, we may assume that he is responsible for filling the phialai from it. On the cylinder every member of the Triad holds up a phiale, thus the boys jug is the only one presented there, and on the bell-krater, not only Apollo and the boy are the only ones carrying libation vessels, but the god holds out his phiale towards the boy, perhaps expecting him to fill it with wine.

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<sup>511</sup> Morard (2009), p. 20.

<sup>512</sup> Foukara (2014), p. 143.

<sup>513</sup> *ibid.* p. 145.

There are very few images of divine assemblies without libation vessels. Such gathering is depicted on a calyx-krater by the Kadmos Painter and dated to ca. 420 BCE (**Cat. 459**). The tripod and the palm in the background probably indicate it is located either on Delphi or Delos. Apollo, of whom we only see a head, a shoulder, and part of an arm, is facing to the right, holding a long laurel branch. Behind him, on a lower level and on a smaller scale, stand two female figures, also facing to the right. The one closest to him is Artemis, who holds a bow and a torch. Behind her, a woman leans, her elbow rests on Artemis's shoulder. She also holds a torch and we may assume she is Leto, especially due to the intimacy between the two of them. If we ignore the presence of Hermes and Poseidon and examine only these three figures, then it would seem that Artemis is at the center, a position she rarely assumes. Yet regardless of the other gods, who are placed further and higher from Leto and her children, the entire composition of Triad members clearly indicates their hierarchy, since they are not standing in a still position but rather in a procession form, perhaps following Apollo, whose position and size clearly indicate his greater importance.

Another dry assembly of gods comes on a fragmented kylix by Makron, dated to ca. 480 BCE, (**Cat. 458**). The obverse presents us with three pairs of a seated god facing to the right and another figure standing in front of them. From the left, we see Zeus and Ganymede, Dionysos and possibly Ariadne, and Poseidon with Amphitrite. On the reverse, there are two similar pairs with two more deities who break this pattern. On the left, Apollo sits, carrying a lyre and Artemis stands in front of him, holding her bow and carrying a quiver on her back and she also extends her arm towards Apollo. Ares sits at the center of the image, and Nike is facing him. Next is Aphrodite, who is not only sitting, but she is also facing Ares, while a small Eros stands behind

her. Ares is associated both with Nike, referring to victories in battle, and with Aphrodite and Eros, who is their son according to some traditions. Interestingly, although some of the gods in this scene carry libation vessels, Artemis and Apollo are not among them. Apollo is supplying the music to this gathering, he even may be singing, and Artemis perhaps encourages him. Makron's decision to pair the twins together should not surprise us. We should note, however, that the specific layout of the kylix presents all the Olympian gods but Artemis as seated, with their lesser companion standing. Makron did not choose to break the pattern from the obverse in his depiction of the twins, although he had no qualms doing so in regards to Aphrodite.

### **3.2.2.9 – Chariot Scenes**

The final category depicting Artemis and Apollo in non-narrative context is chariot scenes, which are similar in their symbolism to the previously discussed chariot scenes, only without any clear mythological narrative. The non-narrative chariot scenes present one of the twins riding or mounting a chariot, occasionally in the presence of other deities as well. This is a predominantly black-figure category, with thirty-five such compared with only seven red-figure ones. As for the black-figure vases, there are three vases portraying Apollo on a chariot and thirty-two images presenting Artemis in a similar situation. On two vases, Apollo, holding the reins and a goad, mounts a chariot while Artemis, who stands by his side, holds his kithara, about to hand it over to him once he has positioned himself on the chariot. Apollo probably gave her his instrument before he mounted the chariot, and now, once he has positioned himself, he is ready to take it back. Additionally, on five more vases another figure is mounting the chariot, while Artemis and Apollo accompanying them by foot.

One vase, a lekythos by the Edinburgh Painter, dated to 550-530 BCE (Cat. 489), portrays a chariot scene taken to the extreme. Instead of horses, Apollo's chariot is driven by an exotic team of wild beasts – a lion, a panther, and two boars.<sup>514</sup> Apollo mounts the chariot, holding the reins and the goad while his bow and quiver lie on his back. The other participants in this scene are Hermes, who stands behind the animals in the background, and two female figures, who have no identifying attributes, although they are generally understood to be Artemis and Leto. Kondoleon reasonably suggests that Artemis stands in front of the chariot, helping her brother by calming down the animals.<sup>515</sup> It is possible that this scene hints at the myth of Admetos, who won, with Apollo's help, the hand of Alkestis, whose father promised to give her to whoever will harness a lion and a wild boar to a chariot (Apollodoros, I.9.14-15). Kondoleon. However, is doubtful whether this vase was supposed to allude to the Admetos' myth, claiming that since the Edinburgh Painter was known for his unambiguous and clear mythical depictions, if he wished to depict Admetos' tale, he would certainly present the characters in a distinguishable manner.<sup>516</sup> She finds further support for her claim in the fact that neither Admetos nor Alkestis are presented here, alongside the inconsistencies of the animals.<sup>517</sup> Therefore, she claims that:

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<sup>514</sup> According to Kondoleon, these are two boars and two lions (S.M. Burke and J.J. Pollitt, *Greek Vases at Yale*, [New Haven, 1975], p. 33).

For more images of wild beasts harnessed to chariots, including some which portray either Apollo or Artemis, see Burke and Pollitt (1975), p. 33; Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague (2009), pp. 87-97. Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague also discuss a possible connection between the wild animals and brides who should be tamed and yoked in their marriage.

<sup>515</sup> Burke and Pollitt (1975), p. 33.

<sup>516</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>517</sup> *ibid.*

“This vase illustrates an earlier rendering of the group, more finely executed and less exotic in taste. The composition of the Yale vase was most likely based on such a model, rather than on representations of the Admetos tale.”<sup>518</sup>

However, despite minor inconsistencies such as the difference in the number and species of the harnessed animals, Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague connect this vase with the myth of Admetos. They identify the women as Artemis and probably Leto, arguing that Artemis’ presence here foreshadows what will happen on Admetos’ wedding day, when he will forget to properly honor her and will consequently be punished, as Artemis will fill his bed chamber with snakes galore. They refute the claim that Admetos’ absence should negate his connection to this scene, since they assume the viewers were well aware of the myth and were likely to understand the reference.<sup>519</sup> This is possible, but I would have expected to see Admetos in a scene which is so relevant for his future. Why then, does Apollo’s chariot is harnessed to such an extraordinary team of beasts? When discussing a hydria by the Priam Painter, dated to 525-500 BCE (**Cat. 490**), on which Apollo is mounting a chariot in the presence of Artemis and Hermes, Shapiro interprets the image as Apollo arriving from the land of the Hyperboreans.<sup>520</sup> So perhaps the Edinburgh Painter opted to paint such an unusual team so that it will indicate of an extraordinary destination – the land of the Hyperboreans.

Regardless of the unique Yale lekythos, it is Artemis who is mainly presented as riding the chariot in these scenes, and she mostly does so without her common attributes. Artemis is usually portrayed on the left, without any attributes, mounting a chariot with four horses and

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<sup>518</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>519</sup> Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague (2009), pp. 91-92.

<sup>520</sup> Shapiro (1989), p. 57.



holding the reign. Apollo mostly stands in front of his twin-sister and behind the chariot or the rear of the horses in the background, playing his kithara or lyre and facing to the right, thus with his back to Artemis. Although Apollo stands ahead of his sister, her position on the chariot, especially the fact that she holds the reins, uncharacteristically places the focus on her, while Apollo only accompanies her.

Typically, Artemis' association with Apollo in these scenes is enough to identify her, but on nine vases, another goddess is present. She is generally understood to be Leto, yet her presence has caused some scholars to claim that it is Leto who rides the chariot and not Artemis. For example, a column-krater in Orvieto (**Cat. 498**) provides us with no way to differentiate between mother and daughter. Cohen, when discussing this vase, suggests it is "Leto (or Artemis)" who is mounting, and "Artemis (or Leto)" who accompanies her.<sup>521</sup> Artemis' close connection with chariots, however, should support her identification as the one mounting this vase, unless there is evidence to the contrary. For example, an amphora by the Rycroft Painter, dated to 515-500 BCE (**Cat. 486**), presents inscriptions identifying the mounting goddess as Leto. In any case, Leto's driving may be a unique incident, and we could assume that in the other unlabeled vases, it is more likely that Artemis is the one who drives the chariot, as she is associated with this activity on many vases and in the literary evidence. Apollo carries his Kithara on fifteen vases, and a lyre on twenty-one, mainly due to the large number of low quality vases in this category by the Haimon Painter and his group. The most important change in these vases is the position of Artemis and Apollo. While in other scenes they are mostly facing each other, here, on thirty-two vases, they both face to the right, facing each other only eight times. This derives from the fact that most chariot scenes advance from the left to the right while

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<sup>521</sup> B. Cohen, *Attic Bilingual Vases*, (New York, 1978), p. 508.

Apollo Kitharoidos almost always turns to the right so his kithara can be fully displayed, therefore the painters had to depict the twins in this manner.<sup>522</sup> Additionally, when discussing an eye-cup in Munich, painted by the Lysippides Painter (**Cat. 53**), Schefold observes that “[n]ow the orientation of the group of four characters is to the right, the direction of victory,”<sup>523</sup> so perhaps that too can explain Apollo’s consistent tendency to the right.

An exception to this appears on a stand in Athens, dated to 500-490 BCE (**Cat. 472**), which incorporates some additional elements into the familiar scene. Apollo, holding a lyre and a flower, stands on the right, a deer walks behind him, and both face Artemis, who approaches on a chariot from the left. Although initially Shear was not certain of her identity, he later accepted that the presence of Apollo and the deer makes it a reasonable identification.<sup>524</sup> Artemis holds the reins, which places her in a position of power. Apollo’s gesture may be construed as a form of greeting, so perhaps Artemis is not mounting the chariot but rather descending from it, having arrived to Delos, where she is welcomed by her brother and a deer, a possible illustration of a scene similar to the one described in *Homeric Hymn IX*, when the goddess arrived on her chariot to one of Apollo’s sanctuaries, or a variant of the theme we later see on the Brauron Relief (430-420 BCE), in which Artemis arrives to her temple.<sup>525</sup> There are two palm trees in the background, one between Artemis and her horses and the other behind the deer. This combination evokes other images, in which both tree and animal stood between the twins, with one difference – while the other examples present a static image, this stand depicts movement.

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<sup>522</sup> Other deities on these scenes: Hermes appears eleven times, Dionysos – twice, and the additional goddess, who is in all likelihood Leto – nine times.

<sup>523</sup> Schefold (1992), p. 157.

<sup>524</sup> T.L. Shear, “Excavations in the Athenian Agora,” in *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 41, no. 2 (1937), pp. 180-181; T.L. Shear, “The Campaign of 1937,” in *Hesperia*, vol. 7, no. 3, (1938), pp. 343-344.

<sup>525</sup> For the Brauron Relief, see L. Kahil, “Mythological Repertoire of Brauron,” in W.G. Moon (ed.), *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*, (Madison, WI, 1983), pp. 231-244; M.S. Venit, “A Reconsideration of the ‘Relief of the Gods’ from Brauron,” in *Antike Kunst* 46, (2003), pp. 44-55.

The stand is unique for another reason, since it breaks the convention according to which Apollo stands on the left. This is not necessarily because he is not playing his instrument here, since this is also true regarding **Cat. 312**, on which he raises his lyre towards Artemis. Aside from Schefold's explanation discussed above, perhaps this setting has more to do with Artemis' chariot, which, as most chariots depicted on vases, arrives from the left, and arguably the painter preferred to maintain this convention, thus placing Apollo on the right.

The question stands, what is the meaning of the chariot scenes? The few instances in which Apollo is mounting may describe the god about to leave Delphi and go to the Hyperboreans for his summer vacation; or perhaps he is returning from there, although there is no indication these scenes take place in Delphi and Dionysos (or anyone else of his retinue) does not appear in them. However, the unique nature of the animals on the Yale lekythos (**Cat. 489**) may hint at Apollo's extraordinary destination. On the vases portraying Artemis on the chariot, we do not have any indication of the location either. The goddess has no weapon, so we may assume she is not going to a hunt. It is possible that she is either arriving to Delos or leaving it. However, before we determine if these scenes of Artemis on a chariot are merely generic representations, we should go back to the *Homeric Hymns* in her honor, both of which depict her arriving to one of Apollo's sanctuaries. So it is possible that in these scenes she is arriving to Apollo's sanctuary. Alternatively, she may be leaving Apollo, on her way to ride joyously in the country side or to go to one of her own sanctuaries, after she had finished her visit at Apollo's.

The number of black-figure vases depicting Apollo and Artemis in various chariot scenes has considerably dwindled after the transition to red-figure. Artemis is portrayed mounting or riding a chariot four times, and Apollo is presented doing so three times (in one of which Leto

stands of the chariot with him). They mostly repeat the patterns of the black-figure vases with some variants. Artemis carries her archery gear on two images, and Apollo's kithara – in two other images. Apollo has his kithara twice and his lyre – also twice. Additionally, Apollo raises a phiale towards his mounting sister twice. The twins face each other seven times, and once, on a relatively early vase, both twins are facing to the right.

On one example, fragments of a krater in London, dated to 475-425 BCE (**Cat. 497**), Artemis mounts a chariot, holding the reins in one hand and the goad in the other. She and the horses face to the right. Behind the horses in the background, at the center of the scene, stands Apollo. He holds his kithara upright in his left hand, while extending his right hand towards his sister, possibly about to grab the reins as well. More importantly, he faces to the left, looking at her. In the background between them stands a palm tree, so perhaps this is another scene in which Apollo welcomes his sister to Delos, about to help her with the horses and to grab the reins so she could dismount the chariot.

Thus, the important change which occurred with the transition to red-figure technique is that Artemis is occasionally presented with her weapon, which was expected, but it is interesting to note that the great change in the depiction of Artemis and Apollo – the omnipresence of libation scenes and vessels, is hardly present, with only two examples. Perhaps driving and libations do not mix even when chariots are involved, as they represent two different functions. More importantly, the non-narrative chariot scenes, both in black- and red-figure technique, are unique in that they mostly present Artemis as the central figure, since she is the one who is usually riding the chariot and Apollo accompanies or welcomes her. Although some of these images probably depict Artemis arriving to Delos (e.g. **Cat. 472**), we could assume that they

may also represent scenes in which the goddess arrives (or about to go) to one of her own sanctuaries, as she does on the Brauron relief, thus providing us with some rare instances in which Apollo supports and accompanies his sister.

## Conclusions

Kahil describes Artemis as “la plus populaire d'entre les divinités féminines de la Grece,”<sup>1</sup> yet we would not have known this, had we relied only on her literary depictions. In this study, I have argued that the great gap between the representations of Artemis and Apollo in Athenian drama and Attic iconography derives from the influence of the Homeric perception of Artemis. In the *Iliad*, the goddess is portrayed as a persona *multum non grata* because she was not a hero-oriented goddess. Since she ignored heroes and refused to help them, she was turned into an insignificant deity for the warriors of the *Iliad*. The belittling approach of the *Iliad* has affected the later literary sources, namely the *Odyssey* and the *Homeric Hymns* to Apollo and to Artemis, which preserve some of the Iliadic attitude towards the twins and their connection, while eliminating its negative approach towards Artemis. This is also true in regards to the Athenian plays, the “slices” from the Homeric banquet. Highly influenced by epic materials and themes, the tragedies replicate some of the Homeric attitudes towards the twins and the dynamics between them – or the lack of it – and uphold it in their plays and this is also true to some extent in regards to the comedies of Aristophanes. Artemis is mostly absent from the dramatic narratives, especially when we compare her to Apollo’s dramatic presence. She is generally portrayed in a positive light, but this is almost always relative and never absolute, since she is mostly depicted as being under the control of her brother or as weaker than he. Artemis mostly appears in the plays in prayers and hymns in representations of religious piety mainly by the chorus, which may be perceived as glimpses of the cultic reality in Athens of the fifth century BCE. Thus, the Athenian plays present a dialectical tension between the immense importance

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<sup>1</sup> Kahil (1984), p. 618.

and influence of the Homeric poems on the one hand, and the Attic cultic reality, in which Artemis was a powerful and important goddess, on the other hand.

When we turn to iconography, we discover that the vase-painters were less influenced by the Homeric tendencies and that they expressed more readily Artemis' importance in the Athenian cultic life. Although Apollo is more popular than his twin sister, when we examine the vase corpus, unlike her scarce presence in epos and drama, Artemis appears frequently, with or without her brother and she is presented in a positive manner. However, Apollo is mostly depicted as more central or active than his sister, who is usually presented as standing by him and supporting him in his endeavors. Moreover, many times she depends on his presence to establish and define her identity.

Why then, despite the positive way in which Attic iconography presents Artemis, not to mention her great cultic importance, Apollo is repeatedly presented as her superior? It could not derive from the Homeric influences, since Artemis is portrayed more often on the vases as a huntress and as a warrior, elements which Homer strove to avoid. Moreover, her close connection with Apollo, which was considerably downplayed in Homer and only sometimes attested in the *Homeric Hymns* and Athenian drama, is strongly emphasized in iconography. The answer cannot be that Artemis hardly offers any paint worthy episodes, as many of her myths could have been used as subjects for paintings. The two myths which gained certain popularity were the death of Aktaion, perhaps because the metamorphosis of the hunter offered painters an interesting topic. Interestingly, Apollo appears only on one of its attestations, leaving the stage to Artemis. However, the second popular myth of Artemis, the myth of the Kerynian Hind, was

mainly used as a variation for the Struggle for the Tripod, with Apollo assuming the leading role and Artemis placed as his second in most of the images.

When Dasen characterizes the relationship of mythological twins, she claims that “les couples eux-mêmes ont des relations polarisées entre deux extrêmes, entre duo et duel.”<sup>2</sup> The relationship of Artemis and Apollo, however, is more complex, and it changes between media and authors. The twins are mostly presented in harmony (the Homeric Theomachy scene is a notable exception), but many times their connection is obliterated or Apollo is presented as superior to his sister. Dasen also notes, when discussing the phenomenon of mythological twins in general, that their anomaly sometimes manifests in physical terms, making them monstrous. United by hubris, they are ungodly, belligerent, and even violent. Only other twins, such as Herakles, Apollo, and Artemis, are able to take them down.<sup>3</sup> Yet we have seen many times in which Apollo is presented as the one who fights the various hubristic beings, although according to other sources not only Artemis participates in these events, but sometimes she does so without Apollo.

Apollo’s political significance in Athens, as well as his function as one of the leading deities of the Athenian empire, has surely contributed to his popularity in Attic iconography, but it cannot be the sole explanation for the dynamic between him and Artemis. After all, other images, which were unrelated to Peisistratos’ agenda or to the propaganda of the Delian League, also maintain the hierarchy between the twins. Rather, the answer must lie in the way in which twins were perceived in Athens, which influenced the portrayal and perception of Artemis and Apollo.

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<sup>2</sup> Dasen (2005), p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.* p. 144.



Although their connection was acknowledged sometimes in cult, Artemis and Apollo were worshipped separately in Athens, unlike another pair of divine twins, the Dioskouroi, who were worshipped together throughout Greece. Moreover, while the Dioskouroi are portrayed as indistinguishable in Attic art,<sup>4</sup> the identity of Artemis and Apollo is never conflated nor can it be.

Some of the mythological twins in Antiquity usually have different fathers, one twin who is the child of a god and the other of a mortal man and this, of course, entails a certain hierarchy between them.<sup>5</sup> However, with Artemis and Apollo, both sired by Zeus, Artemis' gender is used to place her below her brother in the internal hierarchy between them. Or in other words, due to their unique position as non-identical pair of mythological twins, the basic distinction between them cannot be blurred, so the way they were presented, even in the favorable terms of Attic iconography, would necessarily mean that they will be depicted in some hierarchical order.

Thus, just as Homer presents Artemis and Apollo in a manner befitting his agenda and purposes, so do the playwrights and the painters. In the cultic life of Athens, where Artemis and Apollo were mostly separated, each twin was an important and venerated member of the pantheon. However, in Athenian drama, the writers play on this tension between the Homeric influences and the cultic reality, while the painters, whose work better represents how the gods were perceived in Athens, necessarily create a hierarchy in their portrayal, in which Apollo is mostly placed first.

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<sup>4</sup> e.g. *BAPD* 2940; *BAPD* 16207; *BAPD* 207165, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 619.15.

For a discussion of how the Dioskouroi were perceived in antiquity, see Burkert (1985), pp. 212-213; Dasen (2005), pp. 76-81, 105-123, 178-181; Gantz (1993), pp. 323-328; *LIMC III*, s.v. Dioskouroi, pp. 567-593; R. Rathmayr, *Zwillinge in der griechisch-römischen Antike*, (Köln, 2000), pp. 5-9; Schefold und Jung (1988), pp. 28-34.

<sup>5</sup> Rathmayr (2000), p. 15.

## Appendix 1 – Catalogue of Vases

The catalogue provides images of the vases and information about the vase and its location and museum number. When available, it provides the *BAPD* number on the top left corner and basic bibliographical information, namely *ABV*, *ARV*, *Paralipomena*, and *Addenda* numbers, as well as *LIMC* and *CVA* references. When none of the above is available, I have added another bibliographical item, either the most recent one or another, more thorough source, such as a catalogue.

Attributions are by Beazley, unless otherwise indicated.

*LIMC* entries which refer to the other side of a vessel are given in parenthesis.

### List of Abbreviations

**ABV** - Beazley, J.D. *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*. Oxford, 1956.

**Addenda<sup>1</sup>** - Burn, L. and Glynn, R. *Beazley Addenda*. Oxford, 1982.

**Addenda<sup>2</sup>** - Carpenter, T.H., Mannack, T., and Mendonca, M. *Beazley Addenda*. Oxford, 1989.

**ARV<sup>1</sup>** - Beazley, J.D. *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*. Oxford, 1942.

**ARV<sup>2</sup>** - Beazley, J.D. *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*. Oxford, 1963.

**BAPD** - Beazley Archive Pottery Database

**CVA** - Classical Vasorum Antiquorum

**Para** - Beazley, J.D. *Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters and to Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*. Oxford, 1971.

**LIMC** - Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae

# Narrative Scenes

## Myths of Artemis and Apollo

### Niobids

#### Cat. 1

<b>350268</b>	Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1960.1
Black-figure neck-amphora, 575-560 BCE, Castellani Painter	
Para 40.35; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 28	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 1077; Artemis 1346	
CVA, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1, 23-24, fig.4, pls.(1978-1980) 12.1-2, 13.1-2, 14.1-4	

#### Cat. 2

<b>350226</b>	Leipzig, Antikenmuseum d. Universität Leipzig, T4225
Black-figure neck-amphora, 570-560 BCE, Castellani Painter - Castellani Painter [Bothmer]	
Para 40.35; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 28	
LIMC, vol. VI, Niobidai 2	
CVA Leipzig, Antikenmuseum der Karl Marx Universität 2, 15, pl.(70) 9.1-9	

#### Cat. 3

<b>310032</b>	Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, RC1043
Black-figure neck-amphora, 550-530 BCE, Fallow Deer Painter [Bothmer]	
ABV 97.32; Para 37	
LIMC, vol. VIII, Tityos 3	
CVA Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale 2, III.F.3, pl.(1169) 1.1-3	

#### Cat. 4

<b>206954</b>	Paris, Musée du Louvre, G 341
Red-figure calyx-krater, 460-450 BCE, Niobid Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 601.22, 1661; Para 395; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 266; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 130	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 1079; Artemis 1348	
CVA, Paris, Musée du Louvre 2, III.Id.3, pls.(95-98) 1.1-4, 2.1-4, 3.1-5, 4.1	

### Cat. 5

<b>214333</b>	London, British Museum E81 / 1867,0508.1066
Red-figure kylix, 440-425 BCE, Phiale Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1024, 150; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 317	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 1080; Artemis 1349	

## Trojan War

### Cat. 6

<b>205119</b>	Paris, Louvre G 115
Red-figure kylix, 490-480 BCE, Douris	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 434.74; Para 375; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 117; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 237	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 881	

## Tityos

### Cat. 7

<b>7931</b>	Athens, National Museum, 1.2406
Black-figure plate, ca. 570 BCE	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 1067	

### Cat. 8

<b>310033</b>	Paris, Musee du Louvre, E864
Black-figure neck-amphora, 570-560 BCE, Castellani Painter [Bothmer]	
ABV 97.33, 683; Para 37; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 6	
LIMC vol. II, Apollon 1066	
CVA Paris, Musee du Louvre 1, III H d.6, pl.(36) 6.4.11	

### Cat. 9

<b>300872</b>	Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia
Black-figure neck-amphora, 575-525 BCE, Painter of Vatican 309	
ABV 121.6; Para 49	
LIMC, vol. IV, Ge 12	

### Cat. 10

<b>200116</b>	Paris, Musee du Louvre, G42
Red-figure amphora, 515-500 BCE, Phintias	
ARV <sup>1</sup> 22.1; ARV <sup>2</sup> 23.1, 1620; Para 323; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 75; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 154	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 1069	
CVA, Paris, Louvre 5, III.IC.18, III.IC.19, pl.(366) 28.2-3.5-8.	

### Cat. 11

<b>19028</b>	Munich, Antikensammlungen, LOEB472
Red-figure column-krater, 475-425 BCE	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1368. vol. VI, Leto 38	

### Cat. 12

<b>214585</b>	New York, Metropolitan Museum, 08.258.21
Red-figure calyx-krater, 450-440 BCE, Nekyia Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1086.1; Para 449; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 160; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 327	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 1072; Artemis 1367. vol. VI, Leto 37. vol. VIII, Tityos 7	

## Gigantomachy

### Cat. 13

<b>310147</b>	Athens, National Museum, 1.607
Black-figure dinos fragments, ca. 560 BCE, Lydos	
ABV 107.1, 684; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 29	

**Cat. 14**

	Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, 81.AE.211
Black-figure dinos fragments, 575-550 BCE, Tyrrhenian Group [Frel]	
Moore, M.B. "Giants at the Getty." in <i>Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum</i> , vol. 2. Malibu 1985, pp. 21-40	

**Cat. 15**

<b>10047</b>	Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum, 81.AE.211 / 82.AE.86
Black-figure dinos fragment, 560-550 BCE, Kyllenios Painter [FREL]	
LIMC, vol. IV, Gigantes 171. vol. VII, Ouranion 1, 103	

**Cat. 16**

<b>301942</b>	Athens, National Museum, 1.2134
Black-figure kantharos fragments, 560-550 BCE	
ABV 347; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 94	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1326. vol. IV, Gigantes 106	

**Cat. 17**

<b>9112</b>	Athens, Agora Museum, P1891
Black-figure kylix fragments, 560-550 BCE	
Carpenter, T.H. <i>Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art</i> . Oxford, 1986. pl.15B	

**Cat. 18**

<b>9027195</b>	Gravisca
Black-figure kantharos fragments	
Torelli, M. <i>Semainein, Significare, Scritti vari di ermeneutica archeologica, a cura di Angela Sciarma</i> . Pisa, 2012. pp. 379-380, figs.1-2	

**Cat. 19**

<b>207137</b>	London, British Museum, E469 / 1873,0820.373
Red-figure volute-krater, 480-470 BCE, Altamura Painter	

ARV <sup>2</sup> 589.1; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 264
LIMC, vol. IV, Gigantes 309; Hera 382

### Cat. 20

<b>206956</b>	Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina, T313 / 2891
Red-figure calyx-krater, 460-440 BCE, Niobid Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 602.24, 1661; Para 395; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 30; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 266	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 1057; Ares 102; Athena 389. vol. IV, Gigantes 311. vol. VI, Hekate 20	
CVA Ferrara, Museo Nazionale 1, 08, pls. (1661-1662) 17.1, 18.1	

### Cat. 21

<b>275292</b>	Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, LU51
Red-figure calyx-krater, ca. 450 BCE, Niobid Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1661.7 bis; Para 396; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 268	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 1058; Artemis 1329. vol. IV, Gigantes 312	

### Cat. 22

<b>9026149</b>	Serra, Archaeological Museum
Red-figure pelike, 420-400 BCE, Pronomos Painter [Nikolaidou-Patera]	
Νικολαΐδου-Πατέρα, Μ. “Αττική ερυθρόμορφη πελίκη από την Τράγιλο.” in Πινηγάτογλου, Σ. και Στεφανΐδου-Τιβερΐου, Θ. <i>Νάματα: Τιμητικός Τόμος για τον Καθηγητή Δημήτριο Παντερμαλή</i> . Θεσσαλονικη, 2011. pp. 305-309, figs.1-11, pls.7-9	

### Cat. 23

<b>220533</b>	Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2531
Red -figure kylix, 410-400 BCE, Aristophanes	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1318.1; Para 478; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 363	
LIMC, vol. IV, Gigantes 318.	
CVA, Berlin, Antiquarium 3, 18, pls.(1048-1050,1062) 119.1-4, 120.1-3, 121.2-4, 133.10	

### Cat. 24

<b>217568</b>	Paris, Musee du Louvre, S1677
Red -figure neck-amphora, 410-390 BCE, Suessula Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1344.1, 1691; Para 482; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 367	
LIMC vol. II, Aphrodite 1398; Apollon 1060 ; Ares 105; Artemis 1332; Athena 39. vol. IV, Gigantes 322	

## Uncertain Scene

### Cat. 25

<b>300603</b>	Athens, National Museum, 1.2133
Black-figure kantharos fragments, ca. 560 BCE, Heidelberg Painter	
ABV 66.60 ; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 18	

## Myths of Apollo

### Orestes

#### Cat. 26

<b>214834</b>	Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2380
Red -figure hydria, ca. 450 BCE, Later Mannerist	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1121.16; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 331	
CVA, Berlin, Antikensammlung 9, 39-41, fig.10, beilage 5.2, pls.(3708,3709,3745,3747) 18.1-3, 19.1-3, 55.6, 57.5	

#### Cat. 27

<b>207883</b>	San Antonio (TX), Art Museum, 86.134.73
Red-figure column-krater, 450-440 BCE, Naples Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1097.21 bis; Para 450; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 278,328	

#### Cat. 28

<b>207635</b>	Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 221
Red-figure column-krater, ca. 440 BCE, Painter of Brussels R 330	



ARV <sup>2</sup> 930.104; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 306
LIMC, vol. VII, Orestes 11
CVA, Bologna, Museo Civico 1, III.I.C.21, pl.(246) 49.1-2

## Marpessa

### Cat. 29

<b>206344</b>	Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2417 / J745
Red-figure Psykter, 480-460 BCE, Pan Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 556.101; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 126; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 258; Para 387,388	
LIMC, vol. VI, Marpessa 2	

## Marsyas

### Cat. 30

<b>215692</b>	Syracuse, Museo Arch. Regionale Paolo Orsi, 17427
Red-figure calyx-krater, 420- 450 BCE, Kadmos Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1184.4; Para 460; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 341	
CVA Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1, III.I.7, pl.(824) 10.1-6	

### Cat. 31

<b>215701</b>	Hillsborough (CA), W.R. Hearst, T139 / 20
Red-figure bell-krater, 435-420 BCE, Kadmos Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1185.13	

### Cat. 32

<b>215689</b>	Ruvo, Museo Jatta, Ruvo, Museo Jatta, 1093 / 36818
Red-figure volute-krater, 430-420 BCE, Kadmos Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1184.1; Para 460; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 340	
LIMC, vol. IV, Hera 412. Vol. VI, Marsyas I 43	

**Cat. 33**

<b>215693</b>	Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 301
Red-figure calyx-krater, ca. 420 BCE, Kadmos Painter	
On the other side: Artemis and Apollo in an unidentified scene	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1184.5, 1685	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 799; Artemis 1176	
CVA, Bologna, Museo Civico 4, III.I.16, pls. (1237,1238,1239) 83.3, 84.1-2, 85.4-5	

**Cat. 34**

<b>9030613</b>	Bochum, Ruhr Universitat, Kunstsammlungen, S1181
Red-figure bell-krater, 410-400 BCE, Kadmos Painter	
CVA Bochum, Kunstsammlungen der Ruhr-Universitat 2, 25, 26, 27, Beilage 4.3, pls.(4171,4173,4174) 19.3-4, 21.1-2, 22.7	

**Cat. 35**

<b>217574</b>	London, British Museum, E490 / 1772,0320.323
Red-figure column-krater, 410-400 BCE, Suessula Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1345.7; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 368	
LIMC, vol. VI, Marsyas I, 22A	

**Cat. 36**

<b>217564</b>	Athens, National Museum, Athens, National Museum, CC1921 / 1442
Red-figure bell-krater, 425-375 BCE, Semele Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1343.2; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 367	

**Cat. 37**

<b>230421</b>	St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, ST1795 / KEK8
Red-figure Pelike, ca. 360 BCE, Marsyas Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1475.3, 1704; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 381	
LIMC, vol. VI Marsyas I 31	

**Cat. 38**

<b>3700</b>	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1939.599
Red-figure calyx-krater fragments, 347-335 BCE	
LIMC Vol. II, Artemis 1236, 1426	

**Tripod – Black-figure****Artemis touches the tripod****Cat. 39**

<b>596</b>	Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1970.69
Black-figure neck-amphora, 525-500 LIMC BCE, Group of Munich 1501	
LIMC vol. II, Artemis 1294	
CVA Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1, 31, fig.35, pl.(664) 42.1-4	

**Artemis with a spear, Apollo as archer****Cat. 40**

<b>340776</b>	Syracuse, Museo Arch. Regionale Paolo Orsi, 20541
Black-figure lekythos, 530-520 BCE, Painter of Syracuse 20541 [Haspels]	
Para 213.1	
LIMC, vol. VI, Leto 53	

**Cat. 41**

<b>2937</b>	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 753
Black-figure lekythos, 520-510 BCE, Rycroft Painter	
LIMC, vol. V, Herakles 3012	

**Cat. 42**

<b>8340</b>	St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, 4466
Black-figure amphora, 500-480 BCE, Priam Painter [Gorbunova]	
Gorbunova, K. <i>Chernofigurnie atticheskie vazi v Ermitazhe, Katalog</i> . Leningrad, 1983. p. 105, no.75	

## Artemis with a spear, Apollo with no weapon

### Cat. 43

15725	Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale, C780
Black-figure lekythos, ca. 500 BCE, Krotala Group [Haspels]	
CVA, Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale 1, 30, pl.(2757) 73.1-2	

### Cat. 44

361408	Basel, market, Munzen und Medaillen A.G.
Black-figure white-ground lekythos, 525-475 BCE, Sappho Painter	
Para 247; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 127	

## Artemis with a scepter, Apollo as archer

### Cat. 45

351197	Bremen, Zimmermann, 66.8
Black-figure hydria, 525-510 BCE, Leagros Group, Group of Vatican 424 [both by Beazley]	
Para 164.9 bis	
LIMC, vol. V, Herakles 3038	

### Cat. 46

14682	San Antonio (TX), Art Museum, 86.134.152
Black-figure white-ground lekythos, ca. 500 BCE, Edinburgh Painter [Guy]	
Shapiro, H.A. [et al.] (eds.). <i>Greek Vases in the San Antonio Museum of Art</i> . San Antonio, 1995. pp. 120-121, no.60	

## Artemis and Apollo as archers

### Cat. 47

340504	Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau-Museum, 220
Black-figure amphora, ca. 540 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
Para 123	
CVA, Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau-Museum 1, 18-19, pl.(802) 17	

**Cat. 48**

<b>320213</b>	Orvieto, Museo Civico, 2669
Black-figure Stamnos, 550-500 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
ABV 279.52; Para 122	

**Cat. 49**

<b>320267</b>	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, 48.21
Black-figure neck-amphora, ca. 520 BCE, Antimenes Painter [unknown]	
ABV 284.8	

**Cat. 50**

<b>29208</b>	Dijon, Musee Archeologique, 1207
Black-figure hydria, 550-500 BCE	
Sakowski, A. <i>Darstellungen von Dreifusskesseln in der griechischen Kunst bis zum Beginn der Klassischen Zeit</i> . Frankfurt, 1997. p. 386, fig.29	

**Cat. 51**

<b>7831</b>	Munich, Antikensammlungen, 1702 / J60
Black-figure hydria, 550-500 BCE	
Wunsche, R. (ed.). <i>Herakles, Herkules, Staatliche Antikensammlungen Munchen</i> . Munich, 2003. p. 413, cat.142	

**Cat. 52**

<b>320050</b>	St. Louis (MO), City Art Museum, 39.21
Black-figure neck-amphora, 550-500 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
ABV 269.40	

**Cat. 53**

<b>302231</b>	Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2080
Black-figure kylix, 530-520 BCE, Lysippides Painter	
ABV 256.2; ARV <sup>1</sup> 4.29; Para 114; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 67	

CVA, Munich, Antikensammlungen 13, 30, 31, 32, beilage 4.1, pls.(3870,3871,3) 10.1-7, 11.1-2, 3.1-2

### Cat. 54

<b>320034</b>	London, British Museum, B316
Black-figure hydria, 530-520 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
ABV 268.24, 666; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 70	
CVA, London, British Museum. 6, III.H.E.5-III.H.E.6, pls.(338,342) 79.4, 83.1	

### Cat. 55

<b>320309</b>	Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, 927.39.1
Black-figure neck-amphora, ca. 520 BCE, Group of Würzburg 199	
ABV 287.6; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 75	
CVA, Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, 8, pls.(11,12) 11.1-2, 12.1-2	

### Cat. 56

<b>320035</b>	Munich, Antikensammlungen, 1696
Black-figure hydria, 520-510 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
ABV 268.25; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 70	
LIMC, vol. V, Herakles 3003	

### Cat. 57

<b>310</b>	New York, Metropolitan Museum, 07.286.76
Black-figure column-krater, 520-510 BCE, Lykomedes Painter	
Addenda <sup>2</sup> 391	
LIMC, vol. V, Iolaos 42	

### Cat. 58

<b>7813</b>	Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum, 86.AE.114
Black-figure hydria, 520-510 BCE, Lykomedes Painter [Bothmer]	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1298. vol. V, Herakles 1861	
CVA, Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 1, 58-60, 90, fig.30, pls.(1162,1165,1167) 52.3, 55.1-2, 57.3-4	

**Cat. 59**

<b>7611</b>	Compiègne, Musée Vivienel, 974
Black-figure neck-amphora, ca. 510 BCE	
CVA, Compiègne, Musée Vivienel, 5, pl.(104) 6.3-4	

**Cat. 60**

<b>9025035</b>	Munich, Antikensammlungen, SS52
Black-figure column-krater, ca. 510 BCE	
Wunsche, R. (ed.). <i>Herakles, Herkules, Staatliche Antikensammlungen München</i> . Munich, 2003. p. 252, fig.41.4, 412, cat.135	

**Cat. 61**

<b>351098</b>	Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, BS409
Black-figure neck-amphora, 510-500 BCE, Rycroft Painter	
Para 149.16 bis; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 92	
CVA, Basel, Antikenmuseum 1, 104-105, pls.(187,191) 41.3-4, 45.1-3	

**Cat. 62**

<b>8242</b>	London, Market, Sotheby's
Black-figure column-krater, 525-475 BCE	
Sotheby, sale catalogue: 20.5.1985, pl.27, no.295	

**Cat. 63**

<b>14872</b>	Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum, RG295 / 84.1
Black-figure hydria, 525-500 BCE, Rycroft Painter	
Annali del Seminario di Studi del Mondo Classico: NS 2 (1995) 123, fig.11	

**Cat. 64**

<b>19629</b>	London, Market, Bonhams
Black-figure lekythos, 525-475 BCE	
Bonhams: 26.4.2001, 14, NO.32	

**Cat. 65**

<b>303507</b>	London, British Museum, B527 / 1864,1007.213
Black-figure lekythos, ca. 500 BCE, Marathon Painter	
ABV 488	
LIMC, vol. V, Herakles 3017	

**Artemis as an archer, Apollo without weapon****Cat. 66**

<b>320049</b>	Italy, Private, Rome, Market
Black-figure neck-amphora, 550-500 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
ABV 269.39	

**Cat. 67**

<b>7828</b>	Paris, Musee du Louvre, F312
Black-figure column-krater, 520-510 BCE	
On the other side: the Delian Triad	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 631g	
CVA, Paris, Louvre 2, III.He.4, pls.(76-77) 4.9, 5.3	

**Cat. 68**

<b>320310</b>	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1965.114
Black-figure neck-amphora, ca. 510 BCE, Group of Würzburg 199	
ABV 287.7; Para 126; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 75	
LIMC, vol. V, Herakles 3037	
CVA, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 3, 5-6, pls.(627,628) 12.3-4, 13.3-4	

**Cat. 69**

<b>3048</b>	Palermo, Palazzo Branciforte, 107
Black-figure lekythos, 510-500 BCE, Gela Painter [de La Genière]	
LIMC, vol. V, Herakles 3042	
CVA, Palermo, Collezione Mormino 1, III.H.7, pl.(2218) 8.8-9	



**Cat. 70**

<b>9028393</b>	Palermo, Mus. Arch. Regionale
Black-figure lekythos, Gela Painter	
Giudice, F. and Panvini, R. (eds.). <i>Il greco, il barbaro e la ceramica attica</i> . Rome, 2003. pl.2 at p.128, fig.1	

**Artemis without a weapon, Apollo with a weapon****Cat. 71**

<b>473</b>	Paris, Cabinet des Medailles, 251
Black-figure stamnos, 530-520 BCE, Madrid Painter	
CVA, Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale 2, 57, pls. (463-464) 77.3-4, 78.1-3	

**Cat. 72**

<b>28011</b>	Kiel, Antikensammlung, B772
Black-figure amphora, ca. 525 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
CVA, Kiel, Kunsthalle Antikensammlung 1, 25-27, fig.7, pls.(2671,2673) 6.3-4, 8.1-2	

**Cat. 73**

<b>301862</b>	Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, RC6847
Black-figure amphora, 520-510 BCE, Painter of Tarquinia RC 6847	
ABV 338.1; Para 150; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 92	
LIMC, vol. V, Herakles 2988	
CVA, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale 1, III.H.11, pl.(1151) 19.2-3	

**Cat. 74**

<b>320051</b>	Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, BS435
Black-figure neck-amphora, 525-510 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
ABV 269.41; Para 118; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 70	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 1015; Artemis 1300; Athena 515.	
CVA, Basel, Antikenmuseum 1, 103-104, pls.(187,190) 41.2.5, 44.1-3	

**Cat. 75**

<b>301855</b>	Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Mus., 366
Black-figure lekythos, ca. 510 BCE, Daybreak Painter [Haspels], Rycroft Painter [Beazley]	
ABV 337.31	
LIMC, vol. V, Herakles 3000	

**Cat. 76**

<b>302003</b>	Berlin, Antikensammlung, F1907
Black-figure hydria, 510-500 BCE, Leagros Group	
ABV 360.8; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 95	
LIMC, vol. V, Herakles 3036	
CVA, Berlin, Antikemuseum 7, 29-31, Beilage 4.2, pls.(3016,3017,3018,3041) 23.1-2, 24.1-2, 25.4, 48.4	

**Cat. 77**

<b>302004</b>	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1948.236
Black-figure hydria, 510-500 BCE, Leagros Group	
ABV 360.9; Para 161; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 95	
LIMC, vol. V, Hermes 539B	
CVA, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 3, 24-25, pls.(652,654) 37.5-6, 39.1-2	

**Cat. 78**

<b>24398</b>	Jerusalem, Bible Lands Museum, 4650
Black-figure white-ground lekythos, 510-500 BCE	
Bernheimer, M.G. <i>Glories of Ancient Greece, Vases and Jewelry from the Borowski Collection</i> . Jerusalem, 2001. p. 67, no.75	

**Cat. 79**

<b>303494</b>	Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, H544
Black-figure neck-amphora, ca. 500 BCE, Bompas Group	
ABV 485	

CVA, Copenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum, 28-29, fig.9, pl.(374) 12.9A, 12.9B, 12.9C, 12.9D

### Cat. 80

<b>29212</b>	Syracuse, Museo Arch. Regionale Paolo Orsi, 10786
Black-figure lekythos, 525-475 BCE	
Sakowski, A. <i>Darstellungen von Dreifusskesseln in der griechischen Kunst bis zum Beginn der Klassischen Zeit</i> . Frankfurt, 1997. p. 395, fig.38	

### Cat. 81

<b>29213</b>	Palermo, Mus. Arch. Regionale, 1949
Black-figure lekythos, 525-475 BCE, Class of Athens 581	
Sakowski, A. <i>Darstellungen von Dreifusskesseln in der griechischen Kunst bis zum Beginn der Klassischen Zeit</i> . Frankfurt, 1997. p. 396, fig.39	

### Cat. 82

<b>29214</b>	Naples, Ragusa, 77
Black-figure lekythos, 525-475 BCE	
Sakowski, A. <i>Darstellungen von Dreifusskesseln in der griechischen Kunst bis zum Beginn der Klassischen Zeit</i> . Frankfurt, 1997. p. 397, fig.40	

### Cat. 83

<b>46570</b>	Palermo, Mormino Collection, 1629
Black-figure lekythos, ca. 480 BCE, Class of Athens 581 II	
Giudice, F., Tusa, S. and Tusa, V. <i>La collezione archeologica del Banco di Sicilia</i> . Palermo, 1992. p. 107, D100	

### Cat. 84

<b>351078</b>	Paris, Musee du Louvre, F293
Black-figure hydria, 525-475 BCE, Madrid Painter	
Para 146; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 89	
CVA, Paris, Louvre 6, III H e 50, pl.(409) 70.3	

**Cat. 85**

---	New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 66.11.4
Black-figure lekythos, 500-490 BCE, style of the Sappho Painter	
LIMC, vol. IV, Herakles 3016	

**Cat. 86**

<b>6836</b>	Fiesole, Museo Archeologico
Black-figure neck-amphora, 500-475 BCE, Haimon Painter	
LIMC, vol. V, Herakles 3009	
CVA, Fiesole, Collezione Costantini 1, 11, pls.(2523,2527,2528) 11.4, 15.1-2, 16.4	

**Artemis and Apollo unarmed****Cat. 87**

<b>306205</b>	Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts, 61.1256
Black-figure pyxis, ca. 550 BCE, Group of the Oxford Lid	
ABV 616.11 ; Para 306 ; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 143	
LIMC, vol. V, Herakles 2947. vol. VI, Nereus 127	

**Cat. 88**

<b>29205</b>	Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 39530
Black-figure neck-amphora, 550-500 BCE	
Buranelli, F. (ed.). <i>La raccolta Giacinto Guglielmi, I. La Ceramica</i> . Vatican, 1997. pp. 74-76, no.22	

**Cat. 89**

<b>320268</b>	Paris, Musee du Louvre, F231
Black-figure neck-amphora, 550-500 BCE, Group of Toronto 305	
ABV 284.9	
LIMC, vol. V, Herakles 2991	
CVA, Paris, Louvre 4, III H e 25, pl.(210) 44.1-3	

**Cat. 90**

<b>330929</b>	Athens, National Museum, E1851
Black-figure skyphos, 550-500 BCE, Haimon Painter	
ABV 569.661, Addenda <sup>2</sup> 137	
CVA Athens, National Museum 4, 69, fig.16.4, pl.(212) 64.1-2	

**Cat. 91**

<b>301826</b>	Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 98.919
Black-figure amphora, ca. 520 BCE, Rycroft Painter	
ABV 335.3, 664; Para 148; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 91	
LIMC, vol. IV, Herakles 1424	
CVA, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1, 10-11, fig.16, pl.(636) 14.1-3	

**Cat. 92**

<b>301825</b>	London, British Museum, B195 / 1843,1103.89
Black-figure amphora, 520-510 BCE, Rycroft Painter	
ABV 335.2, 668; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 91	
CVA, London, British Museum 3, III H e 8, pl.(157) 37.2A-B	

**Cat. 93**

<b>301832</b>	Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, RC5165
Black-figure amphora, 520-510 BCE, Rycroft Painter	
ABV 336.8; Para 148; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 91	
LIMC, vol. V, Herakles 3013	
CVA, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale 1, III.H.4, pl.(1135) 3.1-2	

**Cat. 94**

<b>7950</b>	Brussels, Musees Royaux, R298
Black-figure oinochoe, 525-500 BCE	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 1013	
CVA, Brussels, Musees Royaux du Cinquantenaire 1, III.H.E.2, pls. (018,019) 5.7A.7B, 6.6	

**Cat. 95**

<b>13775</b>	Berlin, Antikensammlung, 264
Black-figure lekythos, 525-475 BCE	
Heilmeyer, W.D. (ed.). <i>Kunst und Archaologie, Die Sammlung Brommer</i> . Berlin, 1989. p. 39, no.264	

**Cat. 96**

<b>29218</b>	Palermo, Mus. Arch. Regionale, 2212
Black-figure lekythos, 525-475 BCE	
Sakowski, A. <i>Darstellungen von Dreifusskesseln in der griechischen Kunst bis zum Beginn der Klassischen Zeit</i> . Frankfurt, 1997. pp. 402-403, figs.45-47	

**Cat. 97**

<b>361189</b>	Basel, market, Munzen und Medaillen A.G.
Black-figure lekythos, 525-475 BCE, Class of Athens 581 II	
Para 237	

**Cat. 98**

<b>9294</b>	St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, 4477
Black-figure lekythos, 525-475 BCE, Haimon Painter	
Gorbunova, K. <i>Chernofigurnie atticheskie vazi v Ermitazhe, Katalog</i> . Leningrad, 1983. p. 158, no.126	

**Cat. 99**

<b>7770</b>	Munich, Antikensammlungen, J178 / 1574
Black-figure neck-amphora, 500-475 BCE, Group of Munich 1501	
On the other side: Delian Triad with Poseidon and Hermes	
ABV 341.694; Para 153	
LIMC, vol. V, Herakles 2998	
CVA, Munchen, Antikensammlungen Ehemals Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 9, 32-33, beilage e1, pls.(2320,2321,2322) 23.4, 24.1, 25.1-2	

**Cat. 100**

<b>14883</b>	Corinth, Archaeological Museum, CP796
Black-figure White-ground lekythos, 500-475 BCE	
LIMC, vol. V, Herakles 3006	
Bleeker Luce, S. "Studies of the Exploits of Heracles on Vases II." in <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> . vol. 34, no. 3. pp. 313-314, figs.1-2	

**Cat. 101**

<b>331325</b>	Paris, Cabinet des Medailles, 301
Black-figure lekythos, 500-475 BCE, Haimon Painter	
ABV 546.227	
CVA, Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale 2, 67, pl.(473) 87.7-9	

**Cat. 102**

<b>7189</b>	Dusseldorf, Hetjens-Museum, 1954.8
Black-figure kylix, ca. 480 BCE, Caylus Painter [Siedentopf]	
CVA, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Dusseldorf und Krefeld und Neuss 1, 23, fig.8, pl.(2377) 12.1-5	

**Cat. 103**

<b>303030</b>	Munich, Antikensammlungen, 1573
Black-figure neck-amphora, ca. 480 BCE, Group of Würzburg 221	
ABV 401.7	
CVA, Munich, Antikensammlungen 14, 34-35, pls.(3966,3970) 26.6, 30.1-2	

**Cat. 104**

<b>351853</b>	Warsaw, National Museum, 198044
Black-figure lekythos, ca. 480 BCE, Haimon Painter	
Para 277	
CVA, Warsaw, Musee National 1, 19-20, pl.(159) 30.3-5	

**Cat. 105**

<b>45134</b>	Metaponto, Museo Civico, 133530
Black-figure lekythos, 480-470 BCE	
San Pietro, A. <i>La ceramica a figure nere di San Biagio (Metaponto)</i> . Galatina, 1991. p. 168, no. 14	

**Cat. 106**

<b>305358</b>	Havana, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, 217
Black-figure lekythos, 525-475 BCE, Class of Athens 581	
ABV 499.31	

**Tripod – Red-figure****Artemis with weapon****Cat. 107**

<b>200175</b>	London, British Museum, E255 / 1843,1103.41
Red-figure amphora, 510-500 BCE, Dikaios Painter	
ARV <sup>1</sup> 28.2; ARV <sup>2</sup> 31.2; Para 324; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 75; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 157	
LIMC vol. VII, Herakles 2993	
CVA London, British Museum 3, III Ic 4, pl.(168) 3.1A-B	

**Cat. 108**

<b>275638</b>	Berlin, Antikensammlung, 1964.4
Red-figure kylix, ca. 500 BCE, Nikosthenes Painter or his circle	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1700, Para 334, Addenda <sup>2</sup> 177	

**Cat. 109**

<b>204458</b>	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, PC84 / XVIIIIE24
Red-figure Oinochoe, 490-480 BCE, Briseis Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 410.60; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 115; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 233	
LIMC, vol. V, Herakles 2997	
CVA, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden 4, 26-28, fig.19, pls.(343-345) 185.5-8, 186.1-4, 187.1-4	



## Artemis without weapon

### Cat. 110

<b>200001</b>	Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2159
Red-figure amphora, 530-520 BCE, Andokides painter	
ABV 253.1; ARV <sup>1</sup> 1.1; ARV <sup>2</sup> 3.1, 1617; Para 320; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 149	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1295; Athena 121	

### Cat. 111

<b>275000</b>	New York, Metropolitan Museum, 63.11.6
Bilingual amphora, 530-520 BCE, Andokides Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1617.2 bis; Para 320	
LIMC, vol. V, Herakles 2985	

### Cat. 112

<b>200211</b>	Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 16579
Red-figure kylix, End of sixth-century BCE, Pythokles Painter	
ARV <sup>1</sup> 31; ARV <sup>2</sup> 36	
LIMC, vol. V, Herakles 2994	

### Cat. 113

<b>200212</b>	Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2318
Red-figure Skyphos, 500-490 BCE, Pythokles Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 36; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 158	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 1019	
CVA, Berlin, Antiquarium 3, 24, fig.8, pls.(1069,1072) 140.1-6, 143.3	

### Cat. 114

<b>202629</b>	Paris, Musee du Louvre, G180
Red-figure Stamnos, 490-480 BCE, Siren Painter	
ARV <sup>1</sup> 177.2; ARV <sup>2</sup> 289.2, 1642; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 104; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 210	
LIMC, vol. V, Herakles 2996	

CVA, Paris Louvre 2, III.IC.9, III.IC.10, pls.(82-84) 12.9, 13.3.6.9, 14.5

### Cat. 115

<b>201894</b>	Rome, Romagnoli
Red-figure neck-amphora, ca. 480 BCE, Berlin Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 202.86	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 1026 . vol. V, Herakles 2966	

### Cat. 115.1

<b>41143</b>	London, British Museum, E491
Red-figure column krater, 410-390 BCE	
Vollkommer, R. <i>Herakles in the Art of Classical Greece</i> . Oxford, 1988. p. 43, fig.55	

## The reconciliation of Apollo and Herakles

### Cat. 116

<b>260022</b>	London, British Museum, 1924.0716.1
Red-figure bell-krater, 390-380 BCE, Painter of London F 64	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1420.6; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 375	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 1040	

## Myths of Artemis

### The Kerynian Hind

### Cat. 117

<b>310237</b>	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1934.333
Black-figure plate, ca. 560 BCE, Lydos	
ABV 115.4; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 32	
LIMC vol. II, Apollon 1045; Artemis 1315. vol. IV, Herakles 2174	

**Cat. 118**

<b>7968</b>	Cervetri, Museo Nazionale Cerite, 7968
Black-figure neck-amphora, 560-550 BCE, Prometheus Painter [Kluiver], Timiades Painter [Bothmer]	
LIMC, (vol. VII, Psoleas 1). (vol. VIII, Lampon 1)	

**Cat. 119**

<b>9003149</b>	Princeton (NJ), The Art Museum, Princeton U., 2001.218
Black-figure neck-amphora, 575-525 BCE, Guglielmi Painter	
Guthrie, J. (ed.). <i>Princeton University Art Museum: Handbook of the Collections</i> . Princeton, 2007. 76-77	

**Cat. 120**

---	Louvre F234 bis
Black-figure amphora, 530-520 BCE	
LIMC, vol. V, Herakles 2176	

**Cat. 121**

<b>320308</b>	Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Mus., 199
Black-figure neck-amphora, 530-510 BCE, Group of Würzburg 199	
ABV 287.5; Addenda <sup>2</sup> , 75; Para 126	
LIMC, vol. V, Herakles 2177	

**Cat. 122**

<b>200203</b>	Vienna, University, 631A
Red-figure amphora, ca. 510 BCE, Oltos	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 35.1, 54.3; Para 326	
LIMC, (vol. II, Ares 46)	
CVA, Wien, Universität und Professor Franz V. Matsch, U18-U19, pls.(201-202) 7.1, 8.1-3	

**Cat. 123**

<b>41085</b>	Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 390
Black-figure neck-amphora, 510-500 BCE	

LIMC, vol. V, Herakles 2175

### Cat. 124

<b>3455</b>	Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale, 1568
Red-figure Oinochoe, 435-420 BCE, Eretria Painter [Lezzi-Hafter], Shuvalov Painter [Orlandini and Trendall]	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 1051. vol. IV, Herakles 2196	

### Cat. 125

<b>215694</b>	Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, P303
Red-figure calyx-krater, ca. 420 BCE, Kadmos Painter [Rizzo]	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1184.6; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 341; Para 460	
LIMC vol. II, Apollon 1053; Artemis 1317. vol. V, Herakles 2197	
CVA, Bologna, Museo Civico 4, III.I.15, III.I.16, pls.(1233,1236,1237,1248) 79.3-4, 82.5-8, 83.1-2, 94.9	

## Kallisto

### Cat. 126

<b>2458</b>	Basel, H. Cahn, HC501 - HC506
Red-figure krater fragments, 430-420 BCE	
Calame, C. "Identities of Gods and Heroes: Athenian Garden Sanctuaries and Gendered Rites of Passage." in Bremmer, J. and Erskine, A. (eds.). <i>The Gods of Ancient Greece</i> . Edinburgh, 2010. p. 260, fig.13.3	

## Aktaion

### Cat. 127

<b>207101</b>	Paris, Louvre, CA3482
Red-figure volute-krater, 460-440 BCE, Painter of Woolly Satyrs	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 613.3; Para 397; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 31; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 269	
LIMC vol. II. Aktaion 16; Apollon 916; Aristaios I 9a; Artemis 1399	

## Orion

### Cat. 128

<b>202979</b>	Lost
Red-figure neck-amphora, 470-460 BCE, Syriskos Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 261.25; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 205	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1419	

## Agamemnon (Iphigenia?)

### Cat. 129

<b>220633</b>	Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 4529
Red-figure lekanis fragment, 425-400 BCE, Meidias Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1326.77, 1315; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 364	

## Myths of others

### Cat. 130

<b>29025</b>	Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional, 1999.99.52
Black-figure amphora, 540-530 BCE, Princeton Painter	
Bonet, P.C. (ed.). <i>La coleccion Varez Fisa en el Museo Arqueologico Nacional</i> . Madrid, 2003. pp. 160-162, no.52	

### Cat. 131

<b>43278</b>	New York (NY), Shelby White & Leon Levy Collection, 105
Black-figure pyxis, ca. 540 BCE, Painter of the Nicosia Olpe [Bothmer]	
LIMC Supp. 1, Zeus add.177	

### Cat. 132

<b>42053</b>	Berlin, lost, 3332
Red-figure pyxis, 450-400 BCE	

Furtwängler, A. "Erwerbungen der Antikensammlungen in Deutschland. Berlin." in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, Vol.15, 1895. pp. 32-43

### Cat. 133

<b>215723</b>	Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2634
Red-figure hydria, 420-410 BCE, Kadmos Painter [Furtwängler]	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1187.33 ; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 341	
LIMC, vol. IV, Harmonia 2. vol. V, Ismenos 2. vol. V, Kadmos I 19	
CVA Berlin, Antikensammlung 9, 59-64, fig.16, Beilage 9.1, pls.(3724,3725,3726,3727,3728,3729,3748) 34.1-2, 35.1-2, 36.1-3, 37.1-4, 38.1-7, 39.1-8, 58.11	

### Cat. 134

<b>17333</b>	Pella, Archaeological Museum of Pella, 80.514
Red-figure hydria, ca. 400 BCE, Pronomos Painter [Cesare, Drougou]	
LIMC, vol. VII, Poseidon 241. Supp. 1, Zeus add. 207	

### Cat. 135

<b>217590</b>	Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie, 78
Red-figure calyx-krater, ca. 400 BCE, Kekrops Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1346.2, Para 482, Addenda <sup>2</sup> 368	
LIMC, vol. VII, Poseidon 204	
CVA Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie 1, 36,37,38, pls.(527-530) 49,50.1-2, 51.1-2,52.1	

### Cat. 136

<b>11073</b>	Heidelberg, private
Red-figure pyxis, end of fifth-century BCE	
LIMC vol. VII, Pentheus 1	

### Cat. 137

<b>215728</b>	San Francisco (CA), Legion of Honour, 1925.365
Red-figure pelike, 450-425 BCE, Kadmos Painter	

ARV <sup>2</sup> 1187.1
CVA San Francisco, M. H. de Young Memorial Museum and California Palace of the Legion of Honor, 41-44, pls.(480,481,490) 20.2A-D,21.1A-B,30.5A-C

## Wedding scenes

### Artemis and Apollo on separate chariots

#### Cat. 138

<b>350099</b>	London, British Museum, 1971.11-1.1
Black-figure dinos, 580-570 BCE, Sophilos	
Para 19.16bis; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 10	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1281	

### Artemis and Apollo face each other

#### Cat. 139

<b>14624</b>	Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum, 72.AE.148
Black-figure amphora, 540-530 BCE, Painter of the Vatican Mourner [Bothmer, Frel]	
Mackay, E.A. "Methodology in Vase-Profile Analysis." in <i>Greek Vases in the J.Paul Getty Museum: 2</i> (1985). pp. 230-231, figs. 1a-b	

#### Cat. 140

<b>753</b>	Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 68.46
Black-figure amphora, ca. 530 BCE, Lysippides Painter (Bothmer)	
On the other side: the Delian Triad with Poseidon	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1245	
CVA Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1, 10, fig.15, pl.(635) 13.1-2	

#### Cat. 141

<b>44120</b>	Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia
Black-figure neck-amphora, ca. 530 BCE, attributed to the Three-line Group [Bothmer]	

Marchetti, C. (ed.). *L'Arma per l'Arte, Archeologia che ritorna*. Livorno, 2009. pp. 32-33, fig. 6

**Cat. 142**

<b>7817</b>	Palermo, Palazzo Branciforte, 140
Black-figure column-krater, 540-510 BCE, Amasis Painter [Tusa]	
Volpe, G., and Spatafora, F. (eds.). <i>Le collezioni della Fondazione Banco di Sicilia, L'archeologia</i> . Cinisello Balsamo, 2012. 132-133	

**Cat. 143**

<b>301857</b>	Copenhagen, National Museum, 113
Black-figure amphora, 555-500 BCE, Rycroft Painter	
ABV 337.1; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 92	

**Cat. 144**

<b>320234</b>	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 81308 / H2466
Black-figure Amphora, 540-510 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
ABV 281.14	
CVA, Napoli, Museo Nazionale 1, III.H.E.6, pl. (951) 7.1-2	

**Cat. 145**

<b>23623</b>	Kyoto, Hashimoto Collection, 29
Black-figure Amphora, 550-500 BCE, Leagros Group	
CVA, Japan, Schwarz- und Rotfigurige Vasen in Japanischen Sammlungen 2, 10-11, Beilage 4.10, pls.(58,59,60) 8.3, 9.1-2, 10.5-7	

**Cat. 146**

<b>320143</b>	Paris, Market
Black-figure amphora, 550-500 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
ABV 274.132; Para, 119	



**Cat. 147**

<b>320019</b>	London, British Museum, B340 / 1843.11-3.83
Black-figure hydria, 550-500 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
ABV 267.9; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 69	
CVA London, British Museum 6, III.H.E.10, pls.(351,354) 92.4, 95.2	

**Cat. 148**

<b>302269</b>	New York, Metropolitan Museum, 14.105.10
Black-figure white ground hydria, 530-510 BCE, Lysippides Painter	
ABV 261.37, 257, 672; ARV <sup>1</sup> 6.17; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 68	

**Cat. 149**

<b>301778</b>	Munich, Antikensammlungen, J119
Black-figure neck-amphora, 520-510 BCE, Madrid Painter	
ABV 330.2	
CVA Munich, Antikensammlungen 14, 15-16, fig.15.1, Beilage 2.1, pls.(3947,3948,3952) 7.1, 8.1-2, 12.1	

**Cat. 150**

<b>19192</b>	San Antonio (TX), Art Museum, 86.134.42
Black-figure hydria, 520-510 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
Shapiro, H.A. et al. (eds.). <i>Greek Vases in the San Antonio Museum of Art</i> . San Antonio, 1995. pp. 108-110, fig. 53	

**Cat. 151**

<b>1268</b>	Munich, Antikensammlungen, J692
Black-figure Amphora, 520-510 BCE, Painter of Tarquinia RC 6847	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1253	
CVA Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 8, 37-38, Beilage B8, pls.(1798,1802,1809) 380.3, 384.1-2, 391.2	

**Cat. 152**

<b>320300</b>	Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, LU25
Black-figure hydria, 520-510 BCE, Eye-Siren Group	
ABV 287.13; Para 125.13; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 75	
LIMC , vol. II, Artemis 1249	

**Cat. 153**

<b>320237</b>	Brussels, Musees Royaux, R310
Black-figure calyx-krater, 525-500 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
ABV 281.17; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 73	
CVA Brussels, Musees Royaux D'art et d'histoire (Cinquantenaire) 2, III.H.E, pl.(057) 17.2	

**Cat. 154**

<b>9029452</b>	Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, 672
Black-figure neck-amphora, 525 -500 BCE, Painter of Villa Giulia M 482 [Nati]	
Nati, D. <i>Ceramica attica a figure nere nel Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia</i> . Rome, 2012. pp. 136-137, pls. 84A-D, 85A-B	

**Cat. 155**

<b>352184</b>	Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, 645
Black-figure neck-amphora, ca. 510 BCE, Painter of Villa Giulia M 482	
Para 295.5 bis	
CVA Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale 2, III.H.8, pls. (1180,1181) 31.6, 32.1	

**Cat. 156**

<b>301852</b>	Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, 74
Black-figure hydria, 510-500 BCE, Rycroft Painter	
ABV 337.28; Para 148; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 92	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1114	
CVA Copenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum, 43-45, fig.21, pls.(363,392,393) 1.21, 30.21, 31.21A, 31.21B, 31.21C, 31.21D	

### Cat. 157

<b>302080</b>	Munich, Antikensammlungen, 1413 / J693
Black-figure Amphora, 510-500 BCE, Leagros Group	
ABV 366.85; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 97	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1251	
CVA Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 1, 30, pls.(139,140,141,146) 45.1, 46.1, 47.4-5, 52.5	

### Cat. 158

<b>13821</b>	Tarquinoa, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, 646
Black-figure neck-amphora, 525 -475 BCE	
CVA Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale 2, III.H.11, pl.(1188) 39.1-2	

### Cat. 159

<b>513</b>	London, British Museum, B298 / 1867,0508.967
Black-figure Lebes Gamikos, 480-500 BCE	
Boardman, J. <i>The History of Greek Vases: Potters, Painters and Pictures</i> . London, 2001. p. 264, fig.293	

### Cat. 160

<b>9024717</b>	Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional, 1999.99.57
Black-figure neck-amphora, 475-500 BCE	
Bonet, P.C. (ed.). <i>La coleccion Varez Fisa en el Museo Arqueologico Nacional</i> . Madrid, 2003. pp. 196-197, no.65	

## Artemis and Apollo not facing each other

### Cat. 161

<b>310385</b>	New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17.230.14
Black-figure neck-amphora, 540-530 BCE, Exekias	
ABV 144.3, 686; Para 59; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 39	
CVA New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 4, 14-15, pls.(744-747) 16.1-2, 17.1-2, 18.1-2, 19.1-3	

**Cat. 162**

<b>15032</b>	Bryn Mawr (PA), Bryn Mawr College, R2446 / P87
Black-figure hydria, 575-500 BCE	
Hamilton Swindler, M. "The Bryn Mawr Collection of Greek Vases." in <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> , vol. 20, no. 3 (1916). pp. 310-311, pl. 12	

**Cat. 163**

---	New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 12.198.4
Black-figure amphora , ca. 530 BCE, Bateman Group	
ABV 258.5	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1257	
CVA New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, III, pl. 19	

**Cat. 164**

<b>320021</b>	Civitavecchia, Museo Civico, 1319
Black-figure hydria, 550-500 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
ABV 267.11; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 69	

**Cat. 165**

<b>320172</b>	Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, 919.5.133
Black-figure hydria, 525-530 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
ABV 277.10; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 72	
CVA Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, 18-19, pls.(24,25) 24.3-4, 25.3-4	

**Cat. 166**

<b>302267</b>	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1965.119
Black-figure hydria, 530-520 BCE, Lysippides Painter	
ABV 261.35, ARV <sup>1</sup> 6.14, Para 115, Addenda <sup>2</sup> 68	
CVA Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 3, 23-24, pls.(652,653) 37.3-4, 38.3-4	

### Cat. 167

<b>320380</b>	London, British Museum, B197 / 1861,0425.50
Black-figure amphora, 550-530 BCE, Painter of Berlin 1686 [Beazley], Amasis Painter [Walters]	
ABV 296.1; Para 128; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 77	
CVA London, British Museum 3, III He 8, pls.(158,161) 38.1A-B,41.1	

## Weddings processions without chariot

### Cat. 168

<b>303026</b>	London, British Museum, B257 / 1836,0224.170
Black-figure neck-amphora, 550-500 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
ABV 401.3; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 105	
LIMC, (vol. V, Hermes 798A)	
CVA London, British Museum, 4, IIIHe.9, pl.(208) 63.3A-B	

### Cat. 169

<b>28626</b>	Reading (PA), Public Museum, 32.772.1
Red-figure bell-krater, 500-450 BCE	
Brule, P. <i>Women of Ancient Greece</i> . Edinburgh, 2003. 143	

### Cat. 170

<b>43937</b>	New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum, SL1990.1.21
Red-figure neck-amphora, ca. 470 BCE, Copenhagen Painter [Guy]	
LIMC vol. VII, Peleus 210	

### Cat. 171

<b>211247</b>	Paris, Musee du Louvre, N3348
Red-figure pyxis, 475-425 BCE, Wedding Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 924.33; Para 431; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 149; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 305	

### Cat. 172

<b>207336</b>	Athens, Acropolis Museum, NA.57.AA.757
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Red-figure Loutrophoros fragments, ca. 450 BCE, Methyse Painter
ARV <sup>2</sup> 632.1
Kyrkou, M. "Réalité Iconographique et Tradition Littéraire. Noces d'Admète et d'Alceste." in de Bellefonds, P.L. [et.al.] (eds.). <i>Άγαθός Δαίμων: Mythes et Cultes</i> . Athènes, 2000. pp. 287-297

## Chariots with Athena and Herakles

### Cat. 173

<b>310401</b>	Athens, Agora Museum, AP1044
Black-figure calyx-krater, 540-530 BCE, Exekias [Broneer]	
ABV 145.19, 672.4; Para 60; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 40	
LIMC, vol. VII, Poseidon 165	

### Cat. 174

<b>6706</b>	Dunedin (NZ), Otago Museum, E50.108
Black-figure hydria, ca. 530 BCE	
CVA, New Zealand, New Zealand Collections 1, 11-12, pl.(14) 14.1-4	

### Cat. 175

<b>320170</b>	Paris, Musée du Louvre, F50
Black-figure hydria, 550-500 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
ABV 277.8; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 72	
CVA Paris, Louvre 6, III H e 46, III H e 47, pl.(406) 67.2	

### Cat. 176

<b>320238</b>	Syracuse, Museo Arch. Regionale Paolo Orsi, 50960
Black-figure calyx-krater, 525-500 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
ABV 281.18	

### Cat. 177

<b>15667</b>	Odessa, Museum of Western and Eastern Art, 23369
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Black-figure neck-amphora, 525-500 BCE, Leagros Group [Dzis-Raiko]
Bodzek, J. (ed.). <i>Treasures from the Black Sea Coast</i> . Cracow, 2006. p. 236, no.15

### Cat. 178

<b>42033</b>	Paestum, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 133153
Black-figure amphora, 520-510 BCE, Andokides Painter [Sestieri]	
Stansbury-O'Donnell, M.D. <i>A History of Greek Art</i> . Oxford, 2015. p. 229, fig. 9.15	

### Cat. 179

<b>340505</b>	New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 41.162.174
Black-figure amphora, ca. 510 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
On the other side: the Delian Triad, Hermes, and Poseidon	
Para 123; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 73	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon, 777b, 857; Artemis, 1149, 1320. vol. IV, Herakles, 2900	
CVA, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 3, 27, pl.(566) 34.1-4	

### Cat. 180

<b>301773</b>	London, Market, Christie's
Black-figure neck-amphora, 520-500 BCE, Madrid Painter	
ABV 329.2; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 89	
LIMC, vol. V, Herakles 3300	
CVA Northampton, Castle Ashby, 6-7, pls. (666,667) 11.1-2, 12.1-4	

### Cat. 181

<b>351261</b>	Paestum, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
Black-figure amphora, 525-475 BCE, Chiusi Painter	
Para 170.6	

### Cat. 182

<b>12029</b>	Mainz, Johannes Gutenberg Universitat, 71
Black-figure lekythos, ca. 500 BCE	

CVA, Mainz, Universitat 1, 39-40, pls.(730,732) 37.5-7, 39.7

### Cat. 183

<b>9029762</b>	Abingdon, Richardson
Black-figure hydria	

### Cat. 184

<b>203078</b>	Copenhagen, National Museum, 126
Red-figure calyx-krater, ca. 470 BCE, Troilos Painter	
ARV <sup>1</sup> 191.10; ARV <sup>2</sup> 297.11; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 105; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 211	
LIMC, vol. V, Hermes 429	
CVA, Copenhagen, National Museum 3, 104105, pls.(129,130,131) 27.1A,127.1B,128.1A,128.1B,129.1A,129.1B,129.1C,129.1D	

### Cat. 185

<b>215500</b>	New York, Metropolitan Museum, 27.122.8
Red-figure volute-krater, 420-410 BCE, Polion	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1171.2	
LIMC, (vol. IV, Hera 468). (Supp. 1, Zeus add. 201)	

## Chariots with Athena but without Herakles

### Cat. 186

<b>9023328</b>	Unknown
Black-figure lekythos, 550-530 BCE, Athena Painter [Kephalidou]	
Kefalidou, E. "Late Archaic Polychrome Pottery from Aiani." in <i>Hesperia</i> , vol. 70, No.2 (2001), p. 211, fig. 11	

### Cat. 187

<b>320027</b>	London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 4795.1901
Black-figure hydria, 550-500 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
ABV 267.17	



**Cat. 188**

<b>320028</b>	Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Mus., 320
Black-figure hydria, 550-500 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
ABV 267.18	

**Cat. 189**

<b>320239</b>	Paris, Musée du Louvre, F316
Black-figure calyx-krater, 550-500 BCE, Antimenes Painter [Jacobsthal]	
ABV 281.19	
CVA Paris, Louvre 2, III.He.5, pls.(79-80) 7.3-4, 8.1	

**Cat. 190**

<b>303016</b>	Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 288
Black-figure amphora, 550-500 BCE, Dikaios Painter	
On the other side: Triad scene	
ABV 400.1; ARV <sup>1</sup> 29.8; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 104	
CVA, Bologna, Museo Civico 2, III.H.E.5, pl.(307) 8.4-5	

**Cat. 191**

<b>301770</b>	Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, 11758 – it's athena
Black-figure neck-amphora, 520-510 BCE, Madrid Painter	
ABV 329.6	
CVA Rhodes, archaeological museum 1, 50,51, 52, pls.(626,627,628) 31.1-2, 32.1-2, 33.1-2	

**Cat. 192**

<b>351215</b>	Palermo, Mus. Arch. Regionale, 1967
Black-figure amphora, 525-500 BCE, Leagros Group [Bothmer]	
Para 166.111bis	

**Cat. 193**

<b>320142</b>	London, British Museum, B203 / 1843,1103.100
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Black-figure amphora, 520-500 BCE, Antimenes Painter
ABV 274.131
CVA London, British Museum 3, III He 8, pl.(162) 42.2A-B

### Cat. 194

<b>303017</b>	Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale, C1954
Black-figure amphora, 520-500 BCE, Dikaios Painter	
On the other side: a triad scene	
ABV 400.2; ARV <sup>1</sup> 29.9; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 104	
CVA, Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1,11, pls.(2698,2699,2700) 14.1-2, 15.1-3, 16.1-3. p. 11	

### Cat. 195

<b>7897</b>	Paris, Musee du Louvre, F304
Black-figure column-krater, 525-475 BCE	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1242	
CVA, Paris, Louvre 2, III.He.3, pl.(75) 3.3.6	

## Herakles' Apotheosis by foot

### Cat. 197

<b>45105</b>	Vathy, Museum
Black-figure pyxis, 550-522 BCE, Taleides Painter [Tsakos]	
Tsakos, K. and Viglaki-Sofianu, M. <i>Samos - The Archaeological Museums</i> . Athens, 2012. 164-167	

### Cat. 198

<b>20325</b>	Trieste, Museo Storia ed Arte, S424
Red-figure stamnos, 470-460 BCE, Hermonax / Painter of London E 445 [both by Beazley]	
ARV <sup>1</sup> 145; ARV <sup>2</sup> 217.2; Para 346	
LIMC, vol. V, Herakles 2873. Supp. I, Zeus add. 141	
CVA Trieste, Museo Civico 1, III.I.4, pl. (1915) 3.1-4	

# Non-Narrative Black-Figure Scenes

## Delian Triad

### Artemis with weapon

#### Cat. 199

<b>14611</b>	Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 77.AE.45
Black-figure neck-amphora fragments, ca. 540 BCE, E Group [Frel]	
Carpenter, T.H. "The Terrible Twins in Sixth-Century Attic Art." in J. Solomon (ed.). <i>Apollo: Origins and Influences</i> . Tucson, 1994. p. 73.	

#### Cat. 200

<b>340482</b>	Switzerland, Private
Black-figure neck-amphora, 550-500 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
Para 120.92 ter	

#### Cat. 201

<b>46552</b>	Orvieto, Duomo, Orvieto, Duomo, 333
Black-figure neck-amphora, 550-500 BCE	
Annali del Seminario di Studi del Mondo Classico: 9 (1987) fig.27.2	

#### Cat. 202

<b>20510</b>	London, British Museum, B680/ 1836,0224.5
Black-figure kylix, 500-520 BCE	
Similar image on both sides	
Annali del Seminario di Studi del Mondo Classico: 10 (1988), 33, fig.5	

#### Cat. 203

<b>303017</b>	Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale, C1954
Black-figure amphora, 520-500 BCE, Dikaios Painter	
ABV 400.2; ARV <sup>1</sup> 29.9; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 104	

CVA Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1, 11, pls. (2698,2699,2700) 14.1-2, 15.1-3, 16.1-3

**Cat. 204**

<b>3254</b>	Hannover, Kestner Museum, 753
Black-figure neck-amphora, ca. 510 BCE, Nikoxenos Painter [Follmann]	
Both sides depict the Delian Triad	
ABV 392 ff	
LIMC, II, Apollon 634 b and 641	
CVA Hannover, Kestner-Museum 1, 23-25, pls. (1641,1644,1646) 9.3, 12.1-2, 14.3	

**Cat. 205**

<b>4643</b>	Los Angeles (CA), County Museum, 50.8.20
Black-figure neck-amphora, ca. 510 BCE	
CVA Los Angeles County Museum of Art 1, 12-13, pl. (850) 10.1-4	

**Cat. 206**

<b>303475</b>	Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, B757
Black-figure neck-amphora, early fifth-century BCE, Edinburgh Painter	
ABV 484.16; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 122	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 631 j	
CVA Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 1, 17, pl. (306) 8.7	

**Delian Triad with the deer**

**Cat. 207**

<b>310341</b>	Paris, Musée du Louvre, F218
Black-figure neck-amphora, 550-525 BCE, possibly close to Group E	
ABV 139.9, 665; Para 57; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 37	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 630 b	
CVA Paris, Louvre 4, III.He.23, pl. (206) 40.4-5.8	

**Cat. 208**

--	Chapel Hill, Ackland Art Museum (UNC), 88.15
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Black-figure neck-amphora, 540-530 BCE, Bucci Painter by Guy
ABV ARV <sup>2</sup>

### Cat. 209

<b>12968</b>	London, Market, Sotheby's
Black-figure neck-amphora, 550-500 BCE, Group of Würzburg 199	
Sotheby, sale catalogue: 17-18.7.1985, no.258	

### Cat. 210

<b>303016</b>	Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 288
Black-figure amphora, 550-500 BCE, Dikaios Painter	
On the other side: Athena mounting a chariot in the presence of Artemis and Apollo	
ABV 400.1; ARV <sup>1</sup> 29.8; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 104	
CVA Bologna, Museo Civico 2, III.H.E.5, pl. (307) 8.4-5	

### Cat. 211

<b>7860</b>	Paris, Musée du Louvre, F252
Black-figure neck-amphora, 550-500 BCE	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 640	
CVA Paris, Louvre 4, III.He.28, pl. (217) 51.3.7	

### Cat. 212

<b>301763</b>	Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 3396
Black-figure neck-amphora, 530-520 BCE, Pasikles Painter	
ABV 328.6; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 89	
CVA Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 5, 13,14,15, fig.16, pls. (548-549) 239.1-4, 240.1-2	

### Cat. 213

<b>9032827</b>	San Simeon (CA), Hearst Corporation, 12269
Black-figure neck-amphora, 530-510 BCE, Antimenes Painter [Bell]	

**Cat. 214**

<b>6975</b>	Basel, market, Palladion
Black-figure neck-amphora, ca. 520 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
CVA Japan, Schwarz- und Rotfigurige Vasen in Japanischen Sammlungen 2, 68-69, pls. (108,109) 58.1-3, 59.1-2	

**Cat. 215**

<b>46116</b>	Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, IIIB41
Black-figure neck-amphora, 520-510 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
CVA Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts 1, 14, pl. (9) 9.1-2	

**Cat. 216**

<b>1579</b>	Munich, Antikensammlungen, J399/ 1536
Black-figure neck-amphora, 520-510 BCE, Pasikles Painter	
CVA Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 8, 57-58, Beilage D5, pls. (1821-1822,1824) 403.1, 404.1-2, 406.3	

**Cat. 217**

<b>12553</b>	Frankfurt, Museum für Kunsthandwerk, WM016
Black-figure neck-amphora, 520-510 BCE	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 630 e	
CVA Frankfurt, Frankfurt am Main 1, 29, pl. (1201) 29.1-2	

**Cat. 218**

<b>302187</b>	Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale, C1533
Black-figure neck-amphora, 525-500 BCE, Leagros Group	
ABV 374.192; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 99	
CVA Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1, 13-14, pls. (2708,2709) 24.1-2, 25.1-2	

**Cat. 219**

<b>351099</b>	Budapest, Hungarian Museum of Fine Arts, 50.612
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Black-figure neck-amphora, ca. 510 BCE, Rycroft Painter
Para 149.19 bis
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1119

### Cat. 220

<b>7829</b>	Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, 164
Black-figure neck-amphora, 510-500 BCE	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 630 m	
CVA Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 1, 17, pl. (306) 8.3-4	

### Cat. 221

<b>5005</b>	Frankfurt, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, B289
Black-figure neck-amphora, ca. 500 BCE, Leagros Group	
LIMC, vol. VI, Mousa, Mousai 27H	
CVA Frankfurt, Frankfurt am Main 1, 30, pl. (1203) 31.1-2	

### Cat. 222

<b>12552</b>	Gotha, Schlossmuseum, AHV33
Black-figure neck-amphora, ca. 500 BCE	
CVA Gotha, Schlossmuseum 1, 45-46, pls. (1159-1161) 35.1-2, 36.3, 37.2-3	

### Cat. 223

<b>14837</b>	Eleusis, Archaeological Museum, 472
Black-figure thymiaterion, ca. 500 BCE	
Tiverios, M. "Αρτεμις, Διονυσος και Ελευσινιακες θεοτητες." εν <i>Ιερα και Λατρειες της Δημητρας στον Αρχαιο Ελληνικο Κοσμο</i> . Βόλος, 2010. pp. 17-41	

### Cat. 224

<b>43703</b>	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, H2539 / 81175
Black-figure hydria, 510-490 BCE	
CVA Napoli, Museo Nazionale 1, III He 18, pl. (984) 40.1-2	

**Cat. 225**

<b>12145</b>	Brussels, Musées Royaux, R240
Black-figure Olpe, 525-475 BCE	
CVA Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (cinquantenaire) 2, III H e 9, pl. (058) 18.5A.5B	

**Cat. 226**

<b>13081</b>	Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 39
Black-figure neck-amphora, 525-475 BCE	
CVA Bologna, Museo Civico 2, III.H.e.11, pl. (321) 22.2	

**Cat. 227**

<b>14578</b>	Basel, market, Munzen und Medaillen A.G.
Black-figure neck-amphora, 525-475 BCE	
Kunstwerke der Antike: Munzen und Medaillen, A.G., Basel, sale catalogue: 11 (23-24.1.1953), pl.18, no.328	

**Cat. 228**

<b>9080</b>	Morlanwelz, Mariemont, AC568B
Black-figure lekythos, 475-500 BCE, Gela Painter	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1003	

**Cat. 229**

<b>16112</b>	Athens, British School, A3
Black-figure oinochoe, 500-475 BCE, Phanyllis Painter or his group [Smith]	
Smith, T.J. "Black-Figure Vases in the Collection of the British School at Athens." in <i>The Annual of the British School at Athens</i> . vol. 98 (2003). p. 98, pl.61E-F	

**Cat. 230**

<b>9031270</b>	Havana, Lagunillas
Black-figure neck-amphora	



## Delian Triad with Lions and panthers and dolphins

### Cat. 231

<b>13085</b>	Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 44314
Black-figure neck-amphora, 550-500 BCE	
CVA Roma, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 3, III H e 13, pl. (102) 18.1-2	

### Cat. 232

<b>302143</b>	Berlin, Antikensammlung, F1867
Black-figure neck-amphora, 510-500 BCE, Leagros Group	
ABV 371.148; Para 162; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 99	
CVA Berlin, Antikensammlung 14, 87, 88, 89, 90, Beilage 9.3, pls. (4596,4599,4601,4612) 40.3, 43.1-2, 45.5-6, 56.3	

### Cat. 233

<b>306550</b>	Paris, Musee du Louvre, CP10619
Black-figure neck-amphora, 575-525 BCE, Ready Painter	
ABV 685.8; Para 53; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 35	

### Cat. 234

<b>9804</b>	Lost
Black-figure amphora	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollo 630s; Artemis 1116	

## Artemis wears a polos or a veil

### Cat. 235

<b>301760</b>	Syracuse, Museo Arch. Regionale Paolo Orsi, 50820
Black-figure neck-amphora, 550-500 BCE, Pasikles Painter	
ABV 328.3; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 89	

**Cat. 236**

<b>1581</b>	Munich, Antikensammlungen, 1535 / J180
Black-figure neck-amphora, 510-520 BCE, Pasikles Painter	
LIMC, vol. II: Apollo 631 f; Artemis 1241	
CVA Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 8, 58-60, Beilage D6, pls. (1821-1822,1824) 403.2, 404.3-4, 406.4	

**Cat. 237**

<b>30531</b>	Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum, A16
Black-figure hydria fragments, 510-500 BCE	
CVA Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 1, 63-64, pl. (1166) 56.2	

**Cat. 238**

<b>9032013</b>	London, Market, Sotheby's
Black-figure neck-amphora	

**Cat. 239**

<b>9032369</b>	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 2534
Black-figure neck-amphora	

**Artemis and Leto look identical****Cat. 240**

<b>310367</b>	Berlin, Antikensammlung, F1717
Black-figure neck-amphora, ca. 540 BCE, Group E / Group of London B 174 both by Beazley	
ABV 141.7, 686; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 38	
LIMC, vol. VI, Mousa, Mousai 27 b	
CVA Berlin, Antikensammlung 5, 30-31, Beilage C5, pls. (2163,2164,2200) 18.1-2, 19.1-3, 55.1	

**Cat. 241**

<b>743</b>	Munich, Antikensammlungen, J1153
Black-figure neck-amphora, ca. 540 BCE, Group of London B 174	

Similar image on both sides
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 639
CVA Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 7, 52-53, Beilage E1, pls. (1562-1563) 348.1-4, 349.1

### Cat. 242

<b>302154</b>	Paris, Musée du Louvre, F253
Black-figure neck-amphora, 550-500 BCE, Leagros Group	
On the other side: Artemis, Apollo, and Hermes	
ABV 372.159; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 99	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 631 i	
CVA Paris, Louvre 4, III.He.28, pl. (217) 51.1.5	

### Cat. 243

<b>4803</b>	Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA1671
Black-figure neck-amphora, 500-550 BCE	
CVA Paris, Louvre 5, III.He.35, pl. (354) 56.3.5-6	

### Cat. 244

<b>301762</b>	New York, Metropolitan Museum, 67.44.1
Black-figure neck-amphora, ca. 510 BCE, Pasikles Painter	
ABV 328.5; Para 145	
LIMC, vol. 2. Apollon, no. 631 a; Artemis, no. 1106	
CVA New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 4, 35, pl. (762) 34.1-4	

### Cat. 245

<b>620</b>	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, PC40
Black-figure neck-amphora, ca. 520 BCE, Group of Toronto 305	
CVA Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden 1, 22-23, pls. (121,145,146) 27.1-2, 51.4-5, 52.9	

### Cat. 246

<b>351069</b>	Dayton (OH), Dayton Art Institute, 63.84
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Black-figure neck-amphora, ca. 520 BCE, Dayton Painter [Bothmer]	
Para 144.2; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 88	
LIMC, vol. VI, Mousa, Mousai 27A	

### Cat. 247

<b>9024158</b>	Aberdeen, University, 64015
Black-figure neck-amphora, 530-510 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
CVA Aberdeen University, Marischal Collection 1, 8-9, fig.9.1, pls. (1089,1090) 13.1-3, 14.1-2	

### Cat. 248

--	Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale, 23076
Black-figure amphora, last decades of sixth-century BCE	
Marconi, C. "Images for a Warrior: On a Group of Athenian Vases and Their Public." in Marconi, C. (ed.). <i>Greek Vases: Images, Contexts and Controversies</i> . Leiden, 2004. pp. 27-40, figs. 3.4-5	

### Cat. 249

<b>7828</b>	Paris, Musée du Louvre, F312
Black-figure column-krater, 510-520 BCE	
On the other side: the struggle for the tripod with Artemis and Athena	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 631 g	
CVA Paris, Louvre 2, III.He.4, pls. (76-77) 4.9, 5.3	

### Cat. 250

<b>301643</b>	Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Mus., 218
Black-figure neck-amphora, 510 BCE, Class of Cambridge 49	
ABV 316.2; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 85	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 631 d	

### Cat. 251

<b>351263</b>	Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, 61.24
Black-figure neck-amphora, end of sixth-century BCE, Chiusi Painter	

Para 171.8; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 102
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1114
CVA Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 3, 40-41, pls. (2960,2961) 15.1-2, 16.1-2

### Cat. 252

<b>19564</b>	Washington (DC), National Museum of Natural History, 1369
Black-figure neck-amphora, 510-500 BCE, Painter of Munich 1519 [Schwarz]	
Schwarz, S.J. <i>Greek Vases In the National Museum of Natural History Smithsonian Institution Washington, D.C.</i> Rome, 1996. pp. 20-21, pls.16-19, no.7	

### Cat. 253

<b>9026854</b>	Munich, Antikensammlungen, J360/ 1587
Black-figure neck-amphora, 510-500 BCE	
CVA Munich, Antikensammlungen 14, 42-43, Beilage 10.1, pls. (3977,3980,3981) 37.3, 40.1-2, 41.5	

### Cat. 254

<b>9026855</b>	Munich, Antikensammlungen, M927/ J528
Black-figure neck-amphora, 510-500 BCE	
CVA Munich, Antikensammlungen 14, 43-44, Beilage 10.2, pls. (3977,3980,3981) 37.4, 40.3-4, 41.6	

### Cat. 255

<b>9029450</b>	Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, 642
Black-figure neck-amphora, 500-490 BCE, Edinburgh Painter [Nati]	
On the other side : Chariot scene	
Nati, D. <i>Ceramica attica a figure nere nel Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia.</i> Rome, 2012. pp. 127-129, pls.78A-D, 79A-B, 102C	

### Cat. 256

<b>9024475</b>	Palermo, Mus. Arch. Regionale, 2019
Black-figure lekythos, 500-475 BCE, Haimon Group [Equizzi], Haimon Painter [Bellia]	
Bellia, A. <i>Gli Strumenti Musicali Nei Reperti del Museo Archeologico Regionale "Antonino Salinas" di</i>	

Palermo. Roma, 2009. pp. 15, 53, fig.2

**Cat. 257**

<b>9029438</b>	Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, 644
Black-figure pelike	
Nati, D. <i>Ceramica attica a figure nere nel Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia</i> . Rome, 2012. pls.10A-D, 11A-B, 96C-D	

**Cat. 258**

<b>9031196</b>	Dublin, University College, 101 / V3049
Black-figure neck-amphora, 515-510 BCE	
On the other side: Artemis, Apollo, and Hermes	
CVA Dublin and Cork, University College Dublin and University College Cork, 15, figs.6-7, pl. (12) 12.1-5	

**Cat. 259**

<b>9032820</b>	Rome, Fondazione Lerici
Black-figure neck-amphora	

**Cat. 260**

<b>9032825</b>	San Simeon (CA), Hearst Corporation, 9831
Black-figure neck-amphora, Acheloos Painter	

**Artemis and Leto look identical, but with inscriptions**

**Cat. 261**

<b>301758</b>	Würzburg, Universitat, Martin von Wagner Mus., L220
Black-figure neck-amphora, 510-520 BCE, Pasikles Painter	
ABV 328.1, 672; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 89	
LIMC, vol. II. Apollon 631 e; Artemis 1107	

## Two or three figures sitting

### Cat. 262

<b>302155</b>	New York, Market
Black-figure neck-amphora, 550-500 BCE, Leagros Group	
ABV 372.160	

### Cat. 263

<b>7827</b>	Paris, Musée du Louvre, F270
Black-figure neck-amphora, 525-475 BCE	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 632	
CVA Paris, Louvre 5, III.He.35, pl. (354) 56.8.11	

### Cat. 264

<b>361006</b>	Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau-Museum, 195
Black-figure lekythos, early fifth-century BCE, Class of Athens 581 I	
Para 228	
CVA Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau-Museum 1, 41, pl. (827) 42.4-6	

### Cat. 265

<b>5501</b>	Munster, Wilhelms-Univ., Archäologisches Mus.
Black-figure lekythos, ca. 490 BCE, Haimon Painter [Stupperich]	
Stupperich, R. "Eulen der Athena in einer munsterschen Privatsammlung." in <i>Boreas</i> , vol. 3 (1980). pp. 164-165, pl.19.4-5	

### Cat. 266

<b>9024787</b>	Palermo, Mus. Arch. Regionale, 34429
Black-figure lekythos, 500-475 BCE, Haimon Group	
Equizzi, R. <i>Palermo San Martino delle Scale, la collezione archeologica, storia della collezione e catalogo della ceramic</i> . Rome, 2006. pp. 419-420, pl.32, no.120	

**Cat. 267**

<b>3185</b>	Palermo, Mormino Collection, 131
Black-figure lekythos, 500-475 BCE, Haimon Painter [de La Genière]	
CVA Palermo, Collezione Mormino 1, III.H.10, pl. (2222) 12.5-6	

**Cat. 268**

<b>9025050</b>	Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 26
Black-figure lekythos, ca. 480 BCE, Class of Athens 581 II, Haimon Group [Van de Put]	
CVA Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 3, 29-30, fig.30.1, pls. (471,472) 162.1-3, 163.6	

**Cat. 269**

<b>1000</b>	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, ROI31
Black-figure lekythos, 480-470 BCE, Haimon Painter [Vos]	
CVA Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden 2, 62, pl. (194) 100.9-11	

**Cat. 270**

<b>2714</b>	Palermo, Mormino Collection, 300
Black-figure lekythos, 475-465 BCE, Haimon Painter [Bothmer]	
CVA Palermo, Collezione Mormino 1, III.Y.3, III.Y.4, pl. (2232) 2.5-6	

**Cat. 271**

<b>15699</b>	Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale, C802
Black-figure lekythos, 475-450 BCE, Haimon Painter [Calderone]	
CVA Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1, 33, pl. (2765) 81.3-4	

**Cat. 272**

<b>2972</b>	Palermo, Mormino Collection, 552
Black-figure lekythos, 480-470 BCE, Haimon Painter [de La Genière]	
CVA Palermo, Collezione Mormino 1, III.H.12, pl. (2224) 14.10-11	



**Cat. 273**

<b>2956</b>	Palermo, Mormino Collection, 122
Black-figure lekythos, 475-450 BCE, Haimon Painter [de La Genière]	
CVA Palermo, Collezione Mormino 1, III.H.14, pl. (2226) 16.13-14	

**Cat. 274**

<b>9026960</b>	Unknown
Black-figure lekythos, 480-470 BCE, Haimon Painter	
Giudice, F. and Panvini, R. (eds.). <i>Il greco, il barbaro e la ceramica attica</i> . Rome, 2003. p. 75, figs.14-15	

**Cat. 275**

<b>9027222</b>	Athens, Ceramicus, 2744
Black-figure lekythos, Class of Athens 496 [anon.]	
Paleothodoros, D. (ed.). <i>The Contexts of Painted Pottery in the Ancient Mediterranean World, Seventh - Fourth Centuries BCE</i> . Oxford, 2012. p. 25, fig.2.8	

**Cat. 276**

<b>9029585</b>	London, Market, Bonhams
Black-figure lekythos	
Bonhams: 28.10.2004, 116, no.278	

**Cat. 277**

<b>9029607</b>	London, Market, Bonhams
Black-figure lekythos	
Bonhams: 30.10.2003, 129, no.387	

## Delian Triad with other figures

### Triad with Poseidon

#### Cat. 278

753	Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 68.46
Black-figure amphora, ca. 530 BCE, Lysippides Painter [Bothmer]	
On the other side: chariot scene	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1245	
CVA Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1, 10, fig.15, pl. (635) 13.1-2	

### Triad with Hermes

#### Cat. 279

320229	Munich, Antikensammlungen, J159 / 1578
Black-figure neck-amphora, 520-510 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
ABV 281.9; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 73	
LIMC,( vol. V, Herakles 2892)	
CVA Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 8, 38-40, Beilage B9, pls. (1798,1803,1815) 380.4, 385.1-2, 397.1	

#### Cat. 280

301648	Paris, Musee du Louvre, F215bis
Black-figure neck-amphora, 525-500 BCE, Painter of Louvre F 215bis	
ABV 317.1; Para 138; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 86	
LIMC vol. II, Artemis 1142	

#### Cat. 281

13090	Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, A3
Black-figure neck-amphora fragments, ca. 510 BCE	
CVA Bologna, Museo Civico 2, III.H.E.10, pl. (319) 20.3-4	

**Cat. 282**

<b>7845</b>	Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Mus., L260
Black-figure amphora, end of sixth-century BCE	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 749 b	

**Cat. 283**

<b>12966</b>	New York, Market, Christie's
Black-figure neck-amphora, 525-475 BCE, Group of Toronto 305	
Christie, Manson and Woods, sale catalogue: New York, 9.12.2005, 144-145, no.226	

**Cat. 284**

<b>340822</b>	Los Angeles, Merlo Collection, X65.103.43
Black-figure lekythos, ca. 500 BCE, Gela Painter	
Para 215; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 119	
LIMC, vol. V, Hermes 696	

**Cat. 285**

<b>9023250</b>	Marathon, Museum, K777
Black-figure white ground alabastron, ca. 500 BCE, Diosphos Painter	
CVA Marathon, Marathon Museum, 72, 73, 74, 83, figs. 54, 56, pl. (408) 41.1-4	

**Cat. 286**

<b>6838</b>	Fiesole, A. Costantini
Black-figure neck-amphora	
CVA Fiesole, Collezione Costantini 1, 10, pls. (2523,2525,2528) 11.2, 13.1-2, 16.2	

**Triad with Dionysos****Cat. 287**

<b>24084</b>	New York, Market
Black-figure amphora, 550-500 BCE	

**Cat. 288**

<b>9022743</b>	Athens, Ceramicus, 21037
Black-figure lekythos, Leagros Group	
Kunze-Gotte, E., Tancke, K., and Vierneisel, K. <i>Kerameikos VII.2, Die Nekropole von der Mitte des 6. bis zum Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts.</i> Munich, 1999. pl.52.1.1, 52.5.1	

**Triad with two figures of Hermes****Cat. 289**

<b>9024643</b>	Orvieto, Museo Civico, Coll. Faina, 2641
Black-figure neck-amphora, Leagros Group	
Wojcik, M.R. <i>Museo Claudio Faina di Orvieto, Ceramica attica a figure nere.</i> Perugia, 1989. pp. 229-230, no.109	

**Triad with Hermes and Dionysos****Cat. 290**

<b>626</b>	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, PC2
Black-figure hydria, 520-510 BCE, Group of Würzburg 221	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 777 f ; Artemis 1148	
CVA Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden 1, 7-8, pls. (101,105,110,146) 7.1, 11.3, 16.4, 52.1	

**Cat. 291**

<b>340505</b>	New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 41.162.174
Black-figure amphora, ca. 510 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
On the other side: a chariot scene with Artemis and Apollo	
Para 123; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 73	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon, 777 b, 857; Artemis, 1149, 1320. vol. IV, Herakles, 2900.	
CVA New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 3, 27, pl. (566) 34.1-4	

**Cat. 292**

<b>351235</b>	Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau-Museum, 209
Black-figure oinochoe, 510-500 BCE, Leagros Group	

Para 167.246 bis, 181.2
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 777a
CVA Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau-Museum 1, pp. 30-31, pls. 31.4-6

### Cat. 293

<b>41071</b>	Havana, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, 125
Black-figure hydria, 525-475 BCE	
Olmos, R. <i>Catalogo de los Vasos Griegos del Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes de La Habana</i> . Madrid, 1993. pp. 135-136, 301, no. 54	

### Cat. 294

<b>31049</b>	Athens, Agora Museum, P9276
Black-figure neck-amphora fragments, 525-475 BCE	

## Triad with Hermes, Dionysos, and a Satyr

### Cat. 295

<b>16779</b>	New York, Market, Sotheby's
Black-figure neck-amphora, 575-525 BCE	
Bothmer, B. von [et al.]. <i>Antiquities from the Collection of Christos G. Bastis</i> . Mainz, 1987. pp. 256-257, no.152	

## Triad with Hermes and Poseidon

### Cat. 296

<b>320400</b>	London, British Museum B212 / 1843,1103.100.x / 1843.11-3.63
Black-figure neck-amphora, 545-530 BCE, Princeton Painter	
ABV 297.1; Para 129; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 78	
LIMC, vol. V, Hermes 708	
CVA British Museum 4 IIIHe, pls. (195,196) 50.1A-D,51.1A-F	

### Cat. 297

<b>340471</b>	Basel, A. Wilhelm
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Black-figure hydria, 550-500 BCE, Antimenes Painter
Para 119.27 bis

### Cat. 298

<b>320139</b>	Turin, Museo di Antichita, 4100 / 3026
Black-figure amphora, 530-520 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
ABV 274.128; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 72	
CVA Torino, Museo di Antichita 2, III.H.4, pls. (1787,1788) 3.1-2, 4.1-3	

### Cat. 299

<b>320036</b>	Toledo (OH), 56.70 / 1956.70
Black-figure hydria, 530-520 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
ABV 268.26; Para 118; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 70	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 858b; Artemis 1150	
CVA Toledo, Toledo Museum of Art 1, pls 23.1, 24.1-2 (803,804)	

### Cat. 300

<b>8410</b>	St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, B256 / 1496
Black-figure neck-amphora, 525-510 BCE, Antimenes Painter [Gorbunova], Painter of Munich 1512 [unknown]	
Kunze-Goette, E. <i>Der Kleophrades- Maler unter Malern schwarzfiguriger Amphoren</i> . Mainz, 1992. pl.49	

### Cat. 301

<b>340472</b>	Hannover, Kestner Museum, 1965.30
Black-figure hydria, 520-510 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
Para 119.27 ter; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 70	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 858 f; Artemis 1152. vol. VII, Poseidon 170	
CVA Hannover, Kestner-Museum 1, 29-30, pls. (1650-1651) 18.2-3, 19.1-2	

### Cat. 302

<b>1158</b>	Munich, Antikensammlungen, 1576
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Black-figure neck-amphora, 520- 510 BCE, Antimenes Painter
CVA Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 8, 44-46, Beilage C4, pls. (1804,1808-1809) 386.4, 390.1-2, 391.6

### Cat. 303

<b>320231</b>	Tarquinoa, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, 669
Black-figure neck-amphora, 520-510 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
ABV 281.11	

### Cat. 304

<b>301684</b>	London, British Museum, B262 / 1842,0407.2
Black-figure neck-amphora, ca. 510 BCE, Medea Group [Smith]	
ABV 321.3; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 87	
CVA London, British Museum 4, IIIHe.10, pl. (213) 68.2A-B	

### Cat. 305

<b>320037</b>	Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau-Museum, 222
Black-figure hydria, ca. 500 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
ABV 268.27; Para 118; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 70	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 798; Artemis 1101	
CVA Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau-Museum 1, pls. (814-815) 29, 30.1	

### Cat. 306

<b>7770</b>	Munich, Antikensammlungen, J178 / 1574
Black-figure neck-amphora, 490-480 BCE, Group of Munich 1501	
On the other side: the struggle for the tripod	
ABV 341.694; Para 153	
LIMC, (vol. V, Herakles 2998)	
CVA Munchen, Antikensammlungen Ehemals Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 9, 32-33, Beilage e1, pls. (2320,2321,2322) 23.4, 24.1, 25.1-2	

### Cat. 307

24035	Melbourne, University, 1972.0112
Black-figure neck-amphora, 515-505 BCE, circle of the Antimenes Painter [Connor and Jackson]	
Connor, P. and Jackson, H. <i>Greek Vases at The University of Melbourne</i> . Melbourne, 2000. pp. 96-99, no.34	

### Cat. 308

9032466	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 3416
Black-figure neck-amphora	

## Triad with Hermes and a male figure

### Cat. 309

9539	St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, ST9
Black-figure amphora, 550-500 BCE, Lysippides Painter	
Gorbunova, K. <i>Chernofigurnie atticheskie vazi v Ermitazhe, Katalog</i> . Leningrad, 1983. p. 59, no.39	

## Triad with Dionysos and Poseidon

### Cat. 310

340487	New York, Metropolitan Museum, 57.12.6
Black-figure amphora, 530-520 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
Para 120; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 72	
LIMC, vol. 2. Apollon, 858d; Artemis, 1155. (vol. XI, Kyknos I, 151)	
CVA New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 3, 26, pl. (565) 33.1-4	

## Artemis and Apollo Alone

### Artemis with weapon

### Cat. 311

7848	London, British Museum, B260 / 1843,1103.98
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Black-figure neck-amphora, 550-540 BCE
On the other side: a bearded Apollo Kitharoidos
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 668A; Artemis 1062
CVA London, British Museum 4, IIIHe.9, pl. (209) 654.1A-C

### Cat. 312

<b>310486</b>	London, British Museum 1873, 0820.299 / B548
Black-figure lekythos, 550-530 BCE, Amasis Painter	
ABV 154.58; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 45	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollo 673a; Artemis 1069	

## Artemis and Apollo with a deer

### Cat. 313

<b>350449</b>	Cologne, Foundation M. Bodmer, 60
Black-figure neck-amphora, ca. 530 BCE, Towry Whyte Painter	
Para 59.3; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 38	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 668d; Artemis 1063	

### Cat. 314

<b>320083</b>	Tarquinoa, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, RC6991
Black-figure neck-amphora, 550-500 BCE, Antimenes Painter	
ABV, 271.72; Para 118	
CVA Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale 1, III.H.4, pl. (1136) 4.2-3	

### Cat. 315

<b>330030</b>	Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, 12240
Black-figure oinochoe, 550-500 BCE, Red-Bodied oinochoai III	
ABV, 439.1	
CVA Rodi, Museo Archeologico dello Spedale dei Cavalieri 2, III.H.E.1, pl. (496) 20.4,6	

**Cat. 316**

<b>330547</b>	Athens, Agora Museum, P2569
Black-figure lekythos, 550-500 BCE, Gela Painter [Haspels]	
ABV 473	

**Cat. 317**

<b>301824</b>	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1965.118
Black-figure amphora, 520-510 BCE, Rycroft Painter	
On the other side: chariot with various gods, including Apollo and Artemis	
ABV 335.1; Para 148; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 91	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 673 b ; Artemis 1229	
CVA Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 3, 21, pls. (649,650) 34.2-5, 35.1-2	

**Cat. 318**

<b>7597</b>	Rouen, Musee Departmental des Antiquites, 358
Black-figure neck-amphora, ca. 510 BCE	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 723	

**Cat. 319**

<b>683</b>	Gela, Museo Archeologico, N43
Black-figure white ground lekythos, 510-500 BCE, Gela Painter [Haspels].	
CVA Gela, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 3, III.H.7, III.H.8, pl. (2393) 16.1-3, 5	

**Cat. 320**

<b>302159</b>	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, PC3
Black-figure neck-amphora, 510-500 BCE, Leagros Group	
Similar scene on both sides	
ABV 372.164; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 99	
LIMC, vol. II Artemis 1071a	
CVA Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden 1, 24-25, pls. (124) 30.1-2	

### Cat. 321

<b>31728</b>	Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale, AG22611
Black-figure lekythos, 525-475 BCE, Gela Painter	
de Miro, E. <i>Agrigento, la necropoli greca di Pezzino</i> . Messina, 1989. pl.28.2.1	

### Cat. 322

<b>5616</b>	Geneva, Musee d'Art et d'Histoire, 1711.1891 / I711
Black-figure lekythos, 480-470 BCE, Haimon Painter or his style	
CVA Geneva, Musee d'Art et d'Histoire 2, III H 46, pl. (131) 75.4-6	

### Cat. 323

<b>41048</b>	Sofia, National Museum, 7318
Black-figure oinochoe, ca. 470 BCE	
Lazarow, M. <i>Ancient Pottery from Bulgaria</i> . Sofia, 1990. p. 49, no.12	

### Cat. 324

--	Princeton, 45-180
Black-figure skyphos, 475-440 BCE, Haimon Painter or in his manner [F.F.J.]	
Similar image on both sides	
F.F.J. "Four Vases by the Haimon Painter" in <i>Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University</i> , Vol. 11, No. 1 (1952), pp. 5-9.	

## Artemis without attributes

### Cat. 325

<b>351039</b>	Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, LU26
Black-figure neck-amphora, ca. 510 BCE, Class of Cabinet des Medailles 218	
Similar scenes on both sides	
Para 140.4; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 86	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1092a-b	

**Cat. 326**

<b>9028908</b>	London, Market, Bonhams
Black-figure neck-amphora, Euphiletos Painter [Padgett]	
Bonhams: 6.10.2010, 60-61, no.93	

**Cat. 327**

<b>9029392</b>	Limassol, District Museum
Black-figure olpe, 500-480 BCE, Red-Line Painter [Giudice]	
Giudice, G. and Muscolino, F. <i>Vasi Attici Corinzi Apuli a Cipro</i> . Catania, 2012. pp. 62-63, pl.13.3-4	

**Cat. 328**

<b>9030594</b>	Ascona, Galleria Casa Serodine
Black-figure neck-amphora	

**Cat. 329**

<b>17720</b>	Salerno, Museo Nazionale, 228139
Black-figure neck-amphora, 520-510 BCE, Leagros Group	
Campanelli, A. (ed.). <i>Dopo lo tsunami, Salerno antica</i> . Naples, 2011. pp. 205, 211, figs.245, 260-261	

**Artemis and Apollo sitting****Cat. 330**

<b>302160</b>	Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, 3857
Black-figure neck-amphora, 550-500 BCE, Acheloos Painter	
ABV 372.165; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 99	

**Cat. 331**

<b>302161</b>	Paris, Musee du Louvre, F249
Black-figure neck-amphora, 550-500 BCE, Leagros Group	
On the other side: Hermes with two goddesses, possibly Leto and Artemis	
ABV 372.166; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 99	
CVA Paris, Louvre 4, III.He.28, pl. (216) 50.3-5	

### Cat. 332

<b>4589</b>	Palermo, Mus. Arch. Regionale, 5525/1460
Black-figure neck-amphora, 510-500 BCE, Leagros Group [unknown]	
ABV 372, 164	
Paribeni, E. [et al.]. <i>La Collezione Casuccini, Ceramica Attica, Ceramica Etrusca, Ceramica Falisca</i> . Rome, 1996. p. 19, fig.11	

### Cat. 333

<b>306016</b>	London, British Museum, B282 / 1867.5-8.986
Black-figure neck-amphora, 525-475 BCE, Red-Line Painter	
ABV 602.27; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 141	
CVA London, British Museum 4, IIIHe.11, pl. (214) 69.5A-B	

### Cat. 334

<b>14073</b>	Goluchow, Musee Czartorski, 11
Black-figure neck-amphora, 500-450 BCE, Diosphos Painter	
CVA Goluchow, Musee Czartorski, 16, pl. (013) 13.2A.2B	

## Artemis, Apollo, and Other Deities

### Artemis and Apollo with Hermes

#### Cat. 335

<b>7871</b>	Paris, Stavros S. Niarchos, A032
Black-figure Olpe, ca. 540 BCE, close to Amasis Painter's workshop [Marangou]	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 737	

#### Cat. 336

<b>310427</b>	New York, Metropolitan Museum, GR547 / 98.8.13
Black-figure neck-amphora, ca. 530 BCE, Exekias	

ABV 149; Para 62; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 42
LIMC, (vol. I, Aithiopes, 3; vol. VI, Memnon, 6)
CVA New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 4, 18- 20, pl. (749) 21.1-4

### Cat. 337

<b>301751</b>	Munich, Antikensammlungen, J694
Black-figure amphora, ca. 520 BCE, Long-nose Painter	
ABV 327.5; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 89	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1094	
CVA Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 8, 34-37, Beilage B7, pls. (1798,1801,1809) 380.2, 383.1-2, 391.1	

### Cat. 338

<b>302245</b>	London, British Museum, B245 / 1836,0224.7
Black-figure neck-amphora, ca. 520 BCE, Lysippides Painter	
ABV 258.13; ARV <sup>1</sup> 4.22; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 67	
LIMC, vol. IV, Helene 221; vol. V, Hermes 694	
CVA London, British Museum, 4, IIIHe.8, pl. (205) 60.1A-B	

### Cat. 339

<b>3273</b>	Schwerin, Staatliches Museum, 726
Black-figure neck-amphora, end of sixth-century BCE, Edinburgh Painter	
ABV 476	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1096	
CVA Schwerin, Staatliches Museum 1, 13-14, pls. (12,13) 12.1-2, 13.1-4	

### Cat. 340

<b>9030716</b>	Basel, market, Munzen und Medaillen A.G.
Black-figure neck-amphora	

**Cat. 341**

<b>9031196</b>	Dublin, University College, 101 / V3049
Black-figure neck-amphora, 515-510 BCE	
On the other side: Delian Triad	
CVA Dublin and Cork, University College Dublin and University College Cork, 15, figs.6-7, pl. (12) 12.1-5	

**Artemis and Apollo with two figures of Hermes****Cat. 342**

<b>3184</b>	Palermo, Mormino Collection, 303
Black-figure lekythos, 500-475 BCE, Haimon Painter [de La Genière]	
CVA Palermo, Collezione Mormino 1, III.H.10, pl. (2222) 12.7-8	

**Artemis and Apollo with Dionysos****Cat. 343**

<b>331270</b>	Northwick, Spencer-Churchill
Black-figure neck-amphora, 550-500 BCE, Painter of Villa Giulia M 482	
ABV 590.2	

**Cat. 344**

<b>303007</b>	Athens, National Archaeological Museum, CC 751 / 448
Black-figure amphora, 525-500 BCE, Eucharides Painter	
ABV 397.2; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 104	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 760 a; Artemis 1098	

**Cat. 345**

<b>29106</b>	Unknown
Black-figure lekythos, ca. 500 BCE, Leagros group	
Carter, J.C. <i>Discovering the Greek Countryside at Metaponto</i> . Ann Arbor, 2006. p. 213, figs. 5.19A, 6B	

## Artemis and Apollo with Dionysos and Hermes

### Cat. 346

15402	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 81101 / H3419
Black-figure neck-amphora, end of sixth-century BCE	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1099	

### Cat. 347

7838	Paris, Musee du Louvre, CA1706
Black-figure White Ground Alabastron, 500-475 BCE, Diosphos Painter	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 781 d; Artemis 1100	

### Cat. 348

9027221	Athens, Ceramicus, 2739
Black-figure lekythos, Class of Athens 496	
Paleothodoros, D. (ed.). <i>The Contexts of Painted Pottery in the Ancient Mediterranean World, Seventh - Fourth Centuries BCE</i> . Oxford, 2012. p. 25, fig.2.7	

## Artemis and Apollo with Athena

### Cat. 349

7891	Lecce, Museo Provinciale Sigismondo Castromediano, 558
Black-figure lekythos, 525-500 BCE	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1104	
CVA Lecce, Museo Provinciale Sigismondo Castromediano 1, III.H.e.4, pl. (151) 4.1-2	

## Artemis and Apollo with Athena and Dionysos

### Cat. 350

69	Liverpool, World Museum, 10
Black-figure hydria, 550-500 BCE	
Mee, C. <i>Greek Archaeology: A Thematic Approach</i> . Malden, 2011. p. 143, fig.6.9	



## Artemis and Apollo with Athena and Herakles

### Cat. 351

351341	Switzerland, Private
Black-figure oinochoe, 525-475 BCE, Guide-Line Class	
Para 185.20 bis	

## Artemis and Apollo with Athena and Poseidon

### Cat. 352

24044	Melbourne University, MUV14
Black-figure lekythos, 510- 500 BCE, Leagros Group [Connor and Jackson]	
Connor, P. and Jackson, H. <i>Greek Vases at The University of Melbourne</i> . Melbourne, 2000. pp. 100-101, no. 35	

## Artemis and Apollo with Zeus and a youth

### Cat. 353

310475	Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 432
Black-figure oinochoe, 550-525 BCE, Amasis Painter	
ABV 154.48, 688; Para 64; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 45	

## Non-Narrative Red-Figure Scenes

### Delian Triad

#### Artemis at the center

### Cat. 354

207120	Boston, MFA, 00.347
Red -figure volute-krater, 460-450, Berlin Hydria Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 616.1; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 269	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 651 b	

## Artemis with weapon

### Cat. 355

<b>201543</b>	London, British Museum, E256 / 1843,1103.87
Red-figure amphora, 520-500 BCE, Bowdoin-Eye Painter	
ARV <sup>1</sup> 31; ARV <sup>2</sup> 168; Para 337; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 183	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 630 r; Artemis 1122	
CVA London, British Museum 3 III Ic 4, pl. 3. 2 a-b	

### Cat. 356

<b>202082</b>	Unknown, Canino Collection
Red-figure hydria, ca. 490 BCE, Nikoxenos Painter	
ARV <sup>1</sup> 150.2; ARV <sup>2</sup> 223.5	

### Cat. 357

<b>206343</b>	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, STG192
Red-figure hydria, 500-450 BCE, Pan Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 556.100; Para 387 no. 100; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 258	

### Cat. 358

<b>207135</b>	San Francisco (CA), Legion of Honor, 1874A
Red-figure pelike, 475-450 BCE, Spreckels Painter	
ARV <sup>1</sup> 425.16; ARV <sup>2</sup> 617.1	
CVA San Francisco, M. H. de Young Memorial Museum and California Palace of the legion of Honor, 40-41, pls. (478,479) 18.2A-B,19.2A-C	

### Cat. 359

<b>275769</b>	Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, LU49
Red-figure pelike, 460-450 BCE, Villa Giulia Painter [Lullies]	
Para 399.48 bis; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 270	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 645 b	

**Cat. 360**

<b>9029955</b>	Athens, Benaki Museum, 35415
Red-figure hydria, 460-450 BCE, circle of the Villa Giulia Painter [Sabetai]	
CVA Athens, Benaki Museum 1, 16-17, fig.2, pl. (523) 2.1-5	

**Cat. 361**

<b>207279</b>	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, V295 / 1879.170
Red-figure hydria, 460-450 BCE, Villa Giulia Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 627.2	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1006	
CVA Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1, 26, pl. (124) 32.10	

**Cat. 362**

<b>14190</b>	Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 270
Red-figure volute-krater, ca. 450, Achilles Painter	
CVA Bologna, Museo Civico 5, III.I.8, pl. (1482) 108.1-5	

**Cat. 363**

<b>206988</b>	Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, B2402 / 205
Red-figure pelike, ca. 450 BCE, Niobid Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 604.49; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 130; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 267	
CVA Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 1, 26, pl. (314) 16.1-4	

**Cat. 364**

<b>217059</b>	Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2407
Red-figure oinochoe, 450-400 BCE, Painter of Munich 2528	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1257.3; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 355	

**Cat. 365**

<b>276103</b>	Kavala, Museum, 1712
Red-figure pelike, ca. 440 BCE	

Para 450.78 bis

### Cat. 366

<b>240000</b>	British Museum E543 / 1845,1128.1
Red-figure oinochoe, 420-400 BCE, Painter of London E 543	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1348.1; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 368	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 364; Artemis 1259	

## Artemis with a jug, Apollo with a phiale

### Cat. 367

<b>206840</b>	Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1960.34
Red-figure kalyx-krater, 470-460 BCE, Altamura Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 591.22, 1660; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 264	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 652 c	

### Cat. 368

<b>206880</b>	London, British Museum, E177 / 1843,1103.20
Red-figure hydria, 470-460 BCE, Altamura Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 594.56; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 265	
LIMC vol. II, Artemis 1004	
CVA London, British Museum 5, III.Ic.14, pl. (331) 81.2	

### Cat. 369

<b>206925</b>	Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 286
Red-figure kalyx-krater, ca. 465 BCE, Blenheim Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 598.3; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 265	
CVA Bologna, Museo Civico 4, III.I.13, III.I.14, pls. (1229,1230) 75.1-2, 76.3-4	

### Cat. 370

<b>207169</b>	New York, Metropolitan Museum, 24.97.96
Red-figure bell-krater, 470-450 BCE, the Villa Giulia Painter	

ARV <sup>2</sup> 619.17; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 270
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 645 a

### Cat. 371

<b>207079</b>	Würzburg, Universitat, Martin von Wagner Mus., 503 / H4533
Red-figure neck-amphora, ca. 450 BCE, Niobid Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 611.32, 1661; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 131; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 268	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 653	
CVA Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum 2, 22-24, fig.10, pls. (2215-2216) 14.1-2, 15.1-6	

### Cat. 372

<b>10104</b>	Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum, 77.AE.12.2
Red-figure pelike fragment, 460-450 BCE, Villa Giulia Painter	

### Cat. 373

<b>10105</b>	Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum, 77.AE.12.1
Red-figure pelike, 460-450 BCE, Villa Giulia Painter	

### Cat. 374

<b>215574</b>	St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, ST1677 / GP-2066
Red -figure oinochoe, ca. 430 BCE, Aison	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1175.18	

### Cat. 375

<b>214990</b>	Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 52225
Red-figure oinochoe, 450-400 BCE, Washing Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1132.180	

## Artemis with one or two Libation Vessels, Apollo with None

### Cat. 376

<b>207022</b>	Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, 12060
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Red-figure hydria, 475-450 BCE, Niobid Painter
ARV <sup>2</sup> 606.81

### Cat. 377

<b>44673</b>	Athens, Agora Museum, P30019
Red-figure bell-krater fragments, 460-450 BCE, Hermonax	
Rotroff, S.I. and Oakley, J.H. "Debris from a Public Dining Place in the Athenian Agora." in <i>Hesperia Supplement 25</i> (1992). fig.5, pls. 20-21, no.48	

### Cat. 378

<b>213437</b>	Paris, Musée du Louvre, G375
Red-figure pelike, 475-425 BCE, Polygnotos	
On the other side: Tityos with Apollo and Leto	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1032.54; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 317	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1009	
CVA Paris, Musée du Louvre 8, III.I.D.29, pl. (522) 42.1-4.6.8	

### Cat. 379

<b>528</b>	Paris, Musée du Louvre, G572
Red-figure oinochoe, 440- 410 BCE, Shuvalov Painter [Lezzi-Hafter]	
Lezzi-Hafter, A. <i>Der Schuwalow-Maler: eine Kannenwerkstatt der Parthenonzeit</i> . Mainz, 1976. pl.138A	

## Other libation scenes

### Cat. 380

<b>206884</b>	Rome, Market
Red-figure hydria, 470-460 BCE, Altamura Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 594.58; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 265	
LIMC vol. II Apollo 644b; Artemis 1007	

### Cat. 381

<b>207414</b>	Warsaw, National Museum, 142331
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Red-figure hydria, ca. 470 BCE, Providence Painter
ARV <sup>2</sup> 639.63; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 274
CVA Goluchow, Musée Czartoryski., 19, pl. (021) 21.2A.2B

### Cat. 382

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Red-figure	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 655	

## Artemis and Apollo with no libation vessels

### Cat. 383

200023	Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 5399
Red -figure amphora, 520-510 BCE, Psiax	
ABV 292; ARV <sup>2</sup> 7.3	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1110	

### Cat. 384

29221	Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional, 1999.99.86
Red-figure amphora, 470-460 BCE, Pig Painter	
Bonet, P.C. (ed.). <i>La coleccion Varez Fisa en el Museo Arqueologico Nacional</i> . Madrid, 2003. pp. 274-276, no.94	

## Triad with other deities

### Artemis at the center, with Dionysos and Ariadne

### Cat. 385

218168	New York, Market, Sotheby's
Red-figure bell-krater, 360-350 BCE, Toya Painter [Corbett]	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1448.6; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 379	

## Triad with Hermes

### Cat. 386

<b>206763</b>	Athens, National Museum, CC1229
Red-figure lebes, ca. 470 BCE, Early Mannerist	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 585.33, Addenda <sup>2</sup> 263	

### Cat. 387

<b>207013</b>	St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, 4521
Red-figure hydria, ca. 460 BCE, Niobid Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 606.72	

### Cat. 388

<b>215308</b>	Berlin, Pergamonmuseum, F2641
Red-figure bell-krater, ca. 420 BCE, Dinos Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1155.8; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 337	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 363; Artemis 1258	
CVA Berlin, Antikensammlung 11, 47-48, Beilage 10.1, pls. (4544,4545,4576) 44.1-3, 45.1-6, 76.3	

### Cat. 389

<b>215310</b>	London, British Museum, E502 / 1836,0224.4
Red-figure bell-krater, 425-410 BCE, Dinos Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1156.10; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 337	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 745	

### Cat. 390

<b>214848</b>	St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, 711
Red-figure neck-amphora, 450-400 BCE, Later Mannerist	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1123.6; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 332	
LIMC, (vol. VII, Thamyris 4)	



### Cat. 391

<b>206883</b>	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 28.7 / GR7.1928
Red-figure hydria, ca. 460 BCE, Altamura Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 594.59; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 265	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1011	
CVA Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 2, 46-47, pls. (505,507) 26.2, 28.2	

### Cat. 392

<b>207012</b>	Paris, Cabinet des Medailles, 443
Red-figure hydria, ca. 460 BCE, Niobid Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 606.71; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 267	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 745a	

### Cat. 393

<b>207770</b>	Athens, National Museum, 1626
Red-figure lekythos, 475-450 BCE, Mys	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 663	

## Triad with Ares

### Cat. 394

<b>200022</b>	Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional, 11008 / L63
Red-figure amphora, 480-450 BCE, Psiax [Buschor]	
ABV 253.1, 294.24; ARV <sup>2</sup> 7.2, 1618; Para 128, 321; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 77, 150	
LIMC, vol. II, Ares 111; Artemis 1141	
CVA Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional, 1, IIIHE.8-9, pls. (41,42-44) 23.1A-B. 24.1-2, 25.1-2, 26.1	

## Triad with Dionysos

### Cat. 395

<b>201926</b>	London, British Museum, 2.742 / E459
Red-figure kalyx-krater fragments, early fifth-century BCE, Berlin Painter	

ARV<sup>1</sup> 137.89; ARV<sup>2</sup> 205.117; Addenda<sup>1</sup> 96; Addenda<sup>2</sup> 193

## Triad with a youth

### Cat. 396

<b>214761</b>	Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 292
Red-figure kalyx-krater, ca. 440 BCE, Hephaistos Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1116.35; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 331	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 979, Artemis 1013	
CVA Bologna, Museo Civico 4, III.I.14, pls. (1231,1234) 77.3-4, 80.3-4	

## Triad with Delos

### Cat. 397

<b>205841</b>	Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, BS476
Red-figure hydria, ca. 460 BCE, Syracuse Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 520.35; Para 383	
CVA Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig 3, 33-34, Beilage 5.2, pl. (327) 15.1-5	

### Cat. 398

<b>9024734</b>	Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional, 1999.99.91
Red-figure column-krater, ca. 450 BCE, Comacchio Painter	
Bonet, P.C. (ed.). <i>La coleccion Varez Fisa en el Museo Arqueologico Nacional</i> . Madrid, 2003. pp. 303-304, no.106	

### Cat. 399

<b>220558</b>	Palermo, Mus. Arch. Regionale, 2187 / 270
Red-figure kalyx-krater, 420-400 BCE, Meidias Painter [Furtwangler] or his style [Beazely]	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1321.9, 1690; Para 478; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 363	
LIMC, (vol. VII, Phaon 3)	

## Triad with Delos and other deities

### Cat. 400

<b>216209</b>	Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina, 20298 / T27CVP
Red-figure pyxis, 440-430 BCE, Marlay Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1277.22; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 357	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 746; Artemis 1015	

### Cat. 401

<b>220529</b>	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1771
Red-figure bell-krater, 450-400 BCE, Painter of Athens Wedding	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1318; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 363	
LIMC, (vol. V, Helios 93). (vol. VII, Paridis Iudicium 51)	
CVA, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3, 23-24, 43, pls. (120,121) 120.1-6, 121.1-6	

## Triad with a boy and other deities

### Cat. 402

<b>213661</b>	Syracuse, Museo Arch. Regionale Paolo Orsi, 45911
Red-figure bell-krater, 450-425 BCE, Group of Polygnotos	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1053.32; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 322	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 747	
CVA Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1, III.I.9, pls. (829,830) 15.1-2, 16.1-2	

### Cat. 403

<b>206697</b>	Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 17851
Red-figure pelike, 460-450 BCE, Oinante Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 580, 585.32	
LIMC, Supp. 1, Ion add.1	

### Cat. 404

<b>207228</b>	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, GR.P13
Red-figure cylinder, ca. 450 BCE, Villa Giulia Painter	

ARV <sup>2</sup> 623.73
LIMC vol. IV, Ganymedes 66
CVA Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 1, 37, pl. (276) 38.1-4

## Artemis and Apollo Alone

### Artemis with weapon, neither twin with a libation vessel

#### Cat. 405

204407	Paris, Musee du Louvre, G151 / CP1005
Red-figure kylix, 490-480 BCE, Briseis Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 406.8; Para 371; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 115; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 32	

#### Cat. 406

202003	London, British Museum, E514 / 1836,0224.2
Red-figure oinochoe, ca. 470 BCE, Berlin Painter	
ARV <sup>1</sup> 142.177; ARV <sup>2</sup> 210.185; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 196	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollo 668 b; Artemis 1064	

### Artemis with weapon and libation vessel, Apollo with none

#### Cat. 407

4699	Germany, private
Red-figure neck-amphora, ca. 470 BCE, Berlin Painter [unknown] / Pan Painter [unknown]	
<i>Antiken aus rheinischem Privatbesitz, Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn. Cologne, 1973. pl.31.56</i>	

### Artemis with weapon, both twins with a libation vessel

#### Cat. 408

204101	Berlin, Antikensammlung, Berlin, F2206
Red-figure lekythos, 480-470 BCE, Brygos Painter	
ARV <sup>1</sup> 255.154; ARV <sup>2</sup> 383.203; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 113; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 228	
CVA Berlin, Antikensammlung 8, 13-14, Beilage 2.1, pls. (3042,3043) 1.1-6, 2.4	

**Cat. 409**

<b>15823</b>	Richmond (VA), Museum of Fine Arts, 82.204
Red-figure neck-amphora, ca. 470 BCE, Berlin Painter	
Mayo, M.E. <i>Ancient Art: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts</i> . Richmond, VA, 1998. pp. 52-53	

**Cat. 410**

<b>207425</b>	Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, KA427
Red-figure lekythos, ca. 470 BCE, Providence Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 640.73bis, 1708; Para 400; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 133; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 274	
CVA Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig 3, 52-53, pls. (341,343,346) 29.1-2, 31.1-2, 34.1	

**Cat. 411**

<b>206039</b>	Schwerin, Staatliches Museum, 1308 / 711
Red-figure oinochoe, ca. 470 BCE, style of the Alkimachos Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 533.60; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 124; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 255	
CVA Schwerin, Staatliches Museum, 1, 17-18, pls. (21,22,41) 21.1-2, 22.2, 41.4-6	

**Cat. 412**

<b>206360</b>	London, British Museum, E579 / 1863,0728.144
Red-figure lekythos, 480-450 BCE, Pan Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 557.117	

**Cat. 413**

<b>206887</b>	Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 97.370
Red-figure oinochoe, 470-460 BCE, Altamura Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 594.62	

**Cat. 414**

<b>8957</b>	8957, Stanford (CA), Stanford University, 1977.13 / 77.13
Red-figure pelike, 475-450 BCE, Niobid Painter [unknown], Vila Giulia Painter [Bothmer] or related to him [Cohen]	

Cohen, B. "Baskets, Nets and Cages." in Oakley, J.H. (ed.). *Athenian Potters and Painters, Volume III*. Oxford, 2014. p. 35, fig.9

**Cat. 415**

<b>207231</b>	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 535 / G292
Red-figure lekythos, 460-450 BCE, Villa Giulia Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 624.76	
CVA Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1, 27, pls. (127,130) 35.1-2, 38.14	

**Cat. 416**

<b>207308</b>	London, British Museum, E383 / 1843,1103.28
Red-figure pelike, 460-450 BCE, Chicago Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 630.25	

**Cat. 417**

<b>213883</b>	Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 323
Red-figure bell-krater, 455-450 BCE, Achilles Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 991.62	

**Cat. 418**

<b>206992</b>	London, British Museum, E274 / 1842,0517.3
Red-figure neck-amphora, 460-440 BCE, Niobid Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 604.53	
CVA London, British Museum 3, III.Ic.6, pl. (178) 13.2A-C	

**Cat. 419**

<b>44979</b>	Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, II1B594 / 594
Red-figure lekythos, ca. 440 BCE, Shuvalov Painter	
CVA Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts 4, 37, pl. (184) 33.1-4	

## Artemis with a jug, Apollo with a phiale

### Cat. 420

<b>201991</b>	Vienna, Osterreichisches Museum, 331
Red-figure hydria, 490-480 BCE, Berlin Painter	
ARV <sup>1</sup> 140.137; ARV <sup>2</sup> 210.173; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 97; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 195	
CVA Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3, 38, pl. (140) 140.1-3	

### Cat. 421

<b>201911</b>	Cologne, M. Bodmer, 35
Red-figure neck-amphora, ca. 475 BCE, Berlin Painter	
ARV <sup>1</sup> 134.46; ARV <sup>2</sup> 203.103; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 96; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 193	

### Cat. 422

<b>202455</b>	Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum, 75
Red-figure pelike, beginning of fifth-century BCE, Painter of Munich Amphora	
ARV <sup>1</sup> 162.5; ARV <sup>2</sup> 245.5	
CVA Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 1, 15, pl. (13) 13.1-4	

### Cat. 423

<b>206340</b>	San Francisco (CA), de Young Memorial Museum, 707
Red-figure hydria, 500-450 BCE, Pan Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 555.97; Para 388; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 258	
CVA San Francisco, M. H. de Young Memorial Museum and California Palace of the Legion of Honor, 36, pls. (475,476) 15.2A-B,16.2	

### Cat. 424

<b>207148</b>	Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 277
Red-figure volute-krater, 470-460 BCE, Altamura Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 590.6; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 264	
CVA Bologna, Museo Civico 4, III.I.8, III.I.9, pls. (1212,1213) 58.3, 59.1-2	

**Cat. 425**

<b>207352</b>	Providence, Rhode Island School of Design, 15.005
Red-figure neck-amphora, 475-450 BCE, Providence Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 635.1; Para 400; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 133; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 273	
CVA Providence, Museum of the Rhode Island School of Design 1, 26, pl. (71) 18.1A-C	

**Cat. 426**

----	St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, B1563
Red-figure amphora, ca. 460 BCE	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 486.52	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollo 403	

**Cat. 427**

<b>207333</b>	New York, Metropolitan Museum, 06.1021.191
Red-figure pelike, mid-fifth BCE, Chicago Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 632; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 272	
LIMC, (vol. VI, Hebe I 8)	

**Cat. 428**

<b>207763</b>	Athens, M. Vlasto
Red-figure lekythos, 475-425 BCE, Painter of Athens 12778	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 663.1	

**Cat. 429**

<b>215787</b>	London, Market, Christie's, 199
Red-figure neck-amphora, ca. 440 BCE, Painter of Leningrad 702	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1193.2	
CVA Northampton, Castle Ashby, 26-27, pl. (698) 43.1-4	

**Cat. 430**

<b>276097</b>	Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum, S80.AE.258
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Red-figure oinochoe, ca. 440 BCE, Richmond Painter
Para 448.10; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 325
CVA Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 7, 37, fig.13, pls. (1638,1647) 361.1-2, 370.1-2

### Cat. 431

<b>215583</b>	London, British Museum, E400 / 1772,0320.287
Red-figure pelike, 450-400 BCE, Aison	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1176.27; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 340	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 678 b	

## Apollo with a phiale, Artemis with a phiale and a jug

### Cat. 432

<b>7161</b>	San Antonio (TX), Art Museum, 86.134.75
Red-figure lekythos, ca. 440 BCE, Achilles Painter or his workshop [Oakley]	
Oakley, J.H. <i>The Achilles Painter</i> . Mainz, 1997. p. 164, pl.173 c-d	

## Artemis with one or two libation vessels, Apollo with none

### Cat. 433

<b>202521</b>	Paris, Stavros S. Niarchos, A039
Red-figure pelike, 480-475 BCE, Syleus Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 250.18; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 101; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 203	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollo 84; Artemis 995	

### Cat. 434

<b>202047</b>	Paris, Cabinet des Medailles, 441
Red-figure hydria, 500-450 BCE, Berlin Painter	
ARV <sup>1</sup> 141.146; ARV <sup>2</sup> 210.183	
de Ridder, A. <i>Catalogue des vases peints de la Bibliotheque Nationale</i> . Paris, 1902. p. 333	

**Cat. 435**

<b>214521</b>	London, British Museum, E415
Red-figure pelike, 450-425 BCE, Clio Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1081.14	
LIMC, vol. VI, Mousa, Mousai 67	

**Cat. 436**

<b>7956</b>	Brauron, Archaeological Museum, 109
Red-figure kylix fragments, ca. 460 BCE, Penthesilea Painter	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1001	

**Cat. 437**

<b>207205</b>	San Simeon (CA), Hearst Historical State Monument, 10445 / 5694
Red-figure pelike, ca. 460 BCE, Vila Giulia Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 662.51; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 70	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1000	

**Cat. 438**

<b>9021920</b>	Gela, Museo Archeologico, 35707
Red-figure neck-amphora, 440-430 BCE, Shuvalov Painter [Oliveri]	
Panvini, R. and Giudice, F. (eds.). <i>Ta Attika, Attic Figured Vases from Gela</i> . Rome, 2003. pp. 487-488, pl. 11	

**Cat. 439**

<b>9028412</b>	Unknown
Red-figure hydria	
Giudice, F. and Panvini, R. (eds.). <i>Il greco, il barbaro e la ceramica attica</i> . Rome, 2003. p. 136, fig.13	

## Artemis and Apollo without libations vessels

### Cat. 440

202226	New York, Metropolitan Museum, 07.286.78
Red-figure amphora, ca. 490 BCE, Eucharides Painter	
ARV <sup>1</sup> 154.9; ARV <sup>2</sup> 227.9; Para 347; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 199	

### Cat. 441

2712	Budapest, private
Red-figure alabastron	
<i>Bulletin du Musee Hongrois des Beaux-Arts, Budapest.</i> 46-47 (1976). p. 46, fig.35	

## Artemis and Apollo with other deities

### Artemis and Apollo with a goddess

#### Cat. 442

212278	Athens, National Museum, 16348
Red-figure pelike, 450-440 BCE, Sabouroff Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 843.130	
CVA Athens, National Museum 2, III.ID.13, pl. (078) 20.4-8	

#### Cat. 443

214184	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, GR52.1865
Red-figure neck-amphora, ca. 440 BCE, Painter of the Boston Phiale	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1014.7	
CVA Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 1, 34, pls. (270,278) 32.2A-B,40.3	

#### Cat. 444

213879	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1914.730
Red -figure kalyx-krater, 435-430 BCE, Achilles Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 991.58; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 311	

LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 656; Artemis 1068
CVA Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1, 19, pls. (113,124) 21.4, 32.13

## Artemis and Apollo with Aphrodite and Hermes

### Cat. 445

<b>7870</b>	London, British Museum, E785 / 1873,0820.267
Red-figure rhyton, 480-500 BCE	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1165	
CVA London, British Museum 4, III I c 7, pl. (230) 37.1A-D	

## Artemis and Apollo with Hermes

### Cat. 446

<b>214371</b>	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 342 / 3733
Red-figure bell-krater, ca. 450 BCE, Barclay Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1067.1; Para 447; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 159; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 325	
LIMC, vol. V, Hermes 701	
CVA Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3, 17, pl. (114) 114.1-2	

### Cat. 447

<b>215429</b>	Museo Nazionale di Spina, T711
Red-figure column-krater, ca. 420 BCE, Painter of Munich 2335	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1165.77	
LIMC, vol. V, Hermes 692	

### Cat. 448

<b>216172</b>	Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 182
Red-figure column-krater, 475-425 BCE, Orpheus Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1104.5	
CVA Bologna, Museo Civico 1, III.I.C.20, pl. (243) 46.3-4	

## Artemis and Apollo with Hermes and other deities

### Cat. 449

<b>206608</b>	St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, 798 / B210
Red-figure column-krater, ca. 460 BCE, Agrigento Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 574.4; Para 513; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 262	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 751; Artemis 1103	

### Cat. 450

<b>7847</b>	Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2645
Red-figure kalyx-krater, beginning of fourth-century, Painter of London F 64 [Kathariou]	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 753; Artemis 1188	
CVA Berlin, Antikensammlung 11, 51-52, fig.3.1, beilage 11.1, pls. (4550,4551,4576) 50.1-4, 51.1-3, 76.6	

## Artemis at the center, with Apollo and Zeus

### Cat. 451

<b>230393</b>	London, British Museum, E432 / 1867,0508.1340
Red-figure pelike, 380-370 BCE, Herakles Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1472.2; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 381	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 396	

## Assemblies of the gods

### Cat. 452

<b>201951</b>	Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, 76931
Black-figure pyxis, 550-500 BCE	
ABV 229; ARV <sup>2</sup> 122.1627; Para 108; Addenda 27; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 59	
LIMC, vol. V, Herakles 3388. Supp. I, Zeus add. 197	

### Cat. 453

<b>320459</b>	Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2060
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Black-figure kylix, 550-500 BCE, Kevorkian Oinochoe
ABV 435.1, 697; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 112
LIMC, vol. V, Herakles 2890

#### Cat. 454

<b>301798</b>	London, British Museum, B345 / 1836,0224.84
Black-figure hydria, 525-510 BCE, Priam Painter	
ABV 332.20; Para 146; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 90	
LIMC, vol. VI, Nike 88 (Shoulder)	
CVA, London, British Museum 6, III.H.E.10, pls. (353,354) 94.4, 95.4	

#### Cat. 455

<b>4432</b>	Munich, Antikensammlungen, 47/1685
Black-figure hydria, 520-510 BCE	
Senff, R. und Kaeser, B. "Dionysos unter Göttern." in Fellmann, B., Kaeser, B. und Vierneisel, K. (eds.). <i>Kunst der Schale, Kultur des Trinkens</i> . München, 1992. pp. 365-366, fig. 64.3	

#### Cat. 456

<b>84</b>	Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia
Red-figure hydria, ca. 485 BCE, Berlin Painter [Cahn]	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 860; Artemis 1011. vol. V, Hermes 744	

#### Cat. 457

<b>201968</b>	London, British Museum, E444 / 1836,0224.8
Red-figure Stamnos, ca. 480 BCE, Berlin Painter	
ARV <sup>1</sup> 139.117; ARV <sup>2</sup> 208.149	
LIMC, Suppl. 1, Zeus add.173	
CVA, London, British Museum, 3, III I c 8, pl. (186) 21.4A-D	

#### Cat. 458

<b>13378</b>	Bochum, Ruhr Universität, Kunstsammlungen, S1062
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Red-figure cup fragments, ca. 480 BCE, Makron [Waltz]
LIMC sup. 1, Zeus add.139
CVA Bochum, Kunstsammlungen der Ruhr-Universität 2, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, figs.15-19, beilage 9.2, pls. (4194,4195,4196,4199,4210,4212) 42.1-3, 43.1-3, 44.1-3, 47.1, 58.1-2, 60.6

### Cat. 459

<b>215693</b>	Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 301
Red-figure kalyx-krater, ca. 420 BCE, Kadmos Painter	
On the other side: the competition with Marsyas - unknown if Artemis was there	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 1184.5, 1685	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 799; Artemis 1176	
CVA, Bologna, Museo Civico 4, III.I.16, pls. (1237,1238,1239) 83.3, 84.1-2, 85.4-5	

## Chariot scenes – Black-figure

### Artemis mounting a chariot, accompanied by Apollo

#### Cat. 460

<b>30007</b>	Montauban, Musée Ingres, MI87.4.29
Black-figure hydria, ca. 530 BCE	
Landes, C., and Laurens, A-F. [et al.] (eds.). <i>Les vases à mémoire, les collections de céramique Grecque dans le midi de la France</i> . Montpellier, 1988. p. 106, no. 59	

#### Cat. 461

<b>237</b>	London, Market, Christie's
Black-figure column-krater, 550-500 BCE, Rycroft Painter	
Bulletin Antieke Beschaving: 42 (1967), 81, figs.4-5	

#### Cat. 462

<b>351214</b>	Essen, Folkwang Museum, A176
Black-figure amphora, ca. 510 BCE, Leagros Group	

Para 166.108 bis; Addenda<sup>2</sup> 98

**Cat. 463**

<b>306074</b>	Copenhagen, National Museum, 1
Black-figure neck-amphora, 520-500 BCE, Red-Line Painter	
ABV 605.3	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1114	
CVA Copenhagen, National Museum 3, 87, pl. (110) 108.3A, 108.3B	

**Cat. 464**

<b>330919</b>	Athens, Agora Museum, P2737
Black-figure fragmentary skyphos, 550-500 BCE, Haimon Painter	
ABV 570.683	
Vanderpool, E. "The Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft." in <i>Hesperia</i> , vol.15, no. 4, (1946). p. 295, pl. 48	

**Cat. 465**

<b>331700</b>	Unknown
Black-figure skyphos, 525-475 BCE, Haimon Painter	
ABV 565.602	
CVA Poland, Collections Diverses, 23, pl. (106) 1.11	

**Cat. 466**

<b>9007562</b>	Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, III B1142
Black-figure skyphos, 525-475 BCE, Haimon Painter [Sidorova]	
CVA Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts 1, 49, pl. (52) 52.4	

**Cat. 467**

<b>331697</b>	Ann Arbor (MI), University of Michigan, Kelsey Museum, 2595
Black-figure skyphos, 525-475 BCE, Haimon Painter	
ABV 565.599	
CVA Michigan, University of Michigan 1, 30, pl. (99) 14.1	



**Cat. 468**

<b>9007560</b>	Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, II1B89
Black-figure skyphos, 525-475 BCE, Haimon Painter [Sidorova]	
CVA Moscow, Pushkin State Museum Of Fine Arts 1, 48-49, pl. (52) 52.1-2	

**Cat. 469**

<b>1003154</b>	Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, 16383
Black-figure skyphos, 500-475 BCE, Haimon Group	
CVA Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum 1, 46-47, pl. (274) 62.1-2	

**Cat. 470**

<b>9024676</b>	Unknown
Black-figure skyphos fragments, Haimon Painter	
Di Stefano, C.A. [et al.]. <i>La necropoli punica di Palermo, dieci anni di scavi nell'area della Caserma Tukory</i> . Pisa, 2009. p. 119, no.40	

**Cat. 471**

<b>1010457</b>	Geneva, Musee d'Art et d'Histoire, 232
Black-figure skyphos, ca. 480, Haimon Painter	
CVA Geneva, Musee D'art Et D'histoire 2, 35, pl. (123) 67.3-4	

**Cat. 472**

<b>7833</b>	Athens, Agora Museum, P9275
Black-figure Stand, 500-490 BCE	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1210	

**Artemis mounting a chariot with other deities****Artemis mounting with Hermes****Cat. 473**

<b>7949</b>	Paris, Musee du Petit Palais, 304
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Black-figure amphora, ca. 525 BCE
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1215
CVA Paris, Musee du Petit Palais, 8-10, 46, pls. (647,648,688) 7.1.3.5-6, 8.1-3, 48.5

## Artemis mounting with a boy

### Cat. 474

<b>23031</b>	Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, 2675
Black-figure amphora, 520-510 BCE, close to the style of the Rycroft Painter [Fischer-Hansen]	
CVA Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1, 29-30, fig.3, pls. (455-456) 3.4, 4.1-4	

## Artemis mounting with Leto

### Cat. 475

<b>1003120</b>	Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, 9451
Black-figure column-krater, ca. 500 BCE	
CVA Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum 1, 30, pls. (252,256) 40.1-4, 44.1.5	

## Artemis mounting with Dionysos

### Cat. 476

<b>330967</b>	Geneva, Musee d'Art et d'Histoire, 14996
Black-figure skyphos, ca. 480 BCE, Haimon Painter – 2 images	
ABV 571.703; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 137	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1221	
CVA Geneva, Musee d'Art et d'Histoire 2, 35, pl. (123) 67.6-7	

### Cat. 477

<b>45164</b>	Adria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 23436
Black-figure skyphos, 490-480 BCE, Haimon Group [Bonomi]	
CVA Adria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 2, 35, pl. (2947) 34.2-3	

**Cat. 478**

<b>45169</b>	Adria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 23437
Black-figure skyphos, 490-480 BCE, Haimon Group [Bonomi]	
CVA Adria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 2, 33, pl. (2945) 32.5	

**Cat. 479**

<b>331696</b>	Goluchow, Czartorski
Black-figure skyphos, 525-475 BCE, Haimon Painter	
ABV 565.598	
CVA Goluchow, Musee Czartoryski, 16, pl. (014) 14.4	

**Cat. 480**

<b>9007564</b>	Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, M1172
Black-figure skyphos, 525-475 BCE, Haimon Painter [Sidorova]	
CVA Moscow, Pushkin State Museum Of Fine Arts 1, 49, pl. (52) 52.5	

**Artemis Mounting with Leto and Hermes****Cat. 481**

<b>301850</b>	Syracuse, Museo Arch. Regionale Paolo Orsi, 21951
Black-figure hydria, 550-500 BCE, Rycroft Painter	
ABV 337.26	
CVA Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1, III.H.6, pl. (814) 9.2	

**Cat. 482**

<b>301851</b>	Syracuse, Museo Arch. Regionale Paolo Orsi, 21950
Black-figure hydria, 550-500 BCE, Rycroft Painter	
ABV 337.27	
CVA Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1, III.H.6, pl. (814) 9.1	

**Cat. 483**

<b>301824</b>	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1965.118
Black-figure amphora, 520-510 BCE, Rycroft Painter	
ABV 335.1; Para 148; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 91	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 673 b; Artemis 1229	
CVA Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 3, 21, pls. (649,650) 34.2-5, 35.1-2	

**Cat. 484**

<b>301786</b>	Salerno, Museo Nazionale, 1102
Black-figure amphora, 525-500 BCE, Priam Painter	
ABV 331.8; Para 146; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 90	

**Cat. 485**

<b>301779</b>	Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 1794
Black-figure amphora, ca. 510 BCE, Priam Painter	
ABV 330.1; Para 146; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 89	
CVA Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1, 14-15, pls. (2616,2617,2618,2619) 16.6, 17.1-2, 18.1-2, 19.1-3	

**Cat. 486**

<b>301829</b>	Worcester (MA), Art Museum, 1956.83
Black-figure amphora, 515-500 BCE, Rycroft Painter	
ABV 335.5 bis; Para 148; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 91	

**Artemis mounting with Dionysos, Hermes, and a man****Cat. 487**

<b>583</b>	Eleusis, Archaeological Museum, 470 / 1244
Black-figure Stand	
Levente, I., and Metsopolou, C. (eds.). <i>Ιερά και Λατρείες της Δήμητρας στον Αρχαίο Ελληνικό Κόσμο</i> . Βόλος, 2010. p. 40, figs.20-22	

## **Apollo mounting a chariot with other deities**

### **Apollo mounting with Hermes**

#### **Cat. 488**

<b>361396</b>	Basel, Helene Kambli
Black-figure lekythos, 525-475 BCE, Sappho Painter [Cahn]	
Para 246	

### **Apollo mounting with Leto and Hermes**

#### **Cat. 489**

<b>3200</b>	New Haven, Yale University, 1913.111
Black-figure lekythos, ca. 500 BCE, Edinburgh Painter	
Burke, S. and Pollit, J. <i>Greek Vases at Yale</i> . New Haven, 1975. pp. 34-35, no.35	

#### **Cat. 490**

<b>301808</b>	Paris, Musee du Louvre, F297
Black-figure hydria, 525-500 BCE, Priam Painter	
ABV 333.1; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 91	
LIMC, vol. II, Apollon 854; Artemis 1233	
CVA Paris, Louvre 6, III.He.51, pl. (410) 71.4,6,9	

## **Artemis and Apollo in scenes where others are mounting**

#### **Cat. 491**

<b>301715</b>	Copenhagen, National Museum, 111
Black-figure hydria, 550-500 BCE, Euphiletos Painter	
ABV 324.29; Para 142; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 88	
CVA Copenhagen, National Museum 3, 101, pl. (125) 123.4A, 123.4B	

#### **Cat. 492**

<b>320029</b>	Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Mus., L308 / HA38
Black-figure hydria, ca. 520 BCE, Antimenes Painter	

ABV 267.19; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 69
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1240. vol. IV, Hades 146

### Cat. 492.1

<b>44155</b>	New York, Market, Royal Athena
Black-figure hydria, 520-500 BCE, Leagros Group [unknown]	
Eisenberg, J. <i>Art of the Ancient World, Royal Athena, sale catalogue</i> : 68 (1992). p. 53, no. 264	

### Cat. 493

<b>9001999</b>	New York (NY), Market, Royal Athena
Black-figure column-krater, 525-475 BCE	

### Cat. 494

<b>9027401</b>	Lost, Marzabotto, Museo Nazionale Etrusco Pompeo Aria
Black-figure column-krater fragments, 520-480 BCE, Gela Painter	
Baldoni, V. <i>La ceramica attica dagli scavi ottocenteschi di Marzabotto</i> . Bologna, 2009. pp. 23, 38, 59, no.7, figs.5, 27, 47	

### Cat. 495

<b>9029388</b>	Larnaka, Museum
Black-figure lekythos, 500-475 BCE, Gela Painter [Giudice]	
Giudice, G. and Muscolino, F. <i>Vasi Attici Corinzi Apuli a Cipro</i> . Catania, 2012. pp. 58-59, pl.10.2-3	

## Chariots scenes – Red-figure

### Artemis mounts with Apollo

#### Cat. 496

<b>206701</b>	London, British Museum, E262 / 1849,0518.3
Red-figure amphora, 460-480 BCE, Painter of Louvre G231	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 580.3, 1030.36; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 128; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 263	

LIMC, (vol. V, Herakles 2874)
CVA London, British Museum 3, III.IC.4-5, pl. (171) 6.1A-B

### **Cat. 497**

<b>9015662</b>	London, British Museum, 2000.11-1.54
Red-figure krater fragments, 450-440 BCE	
LIMC, vol. II, Artemis 1213	
CVA London, British Museum 10, 81, fig.e.54, pl. (983) 49.54	

## **Artemis mounts with Apollo and Leto**

### **Cat. 498**

<b>200052</b>	Orvieto, Museo Civico, 61
Bilingual column-krater, 550-500 BCE, Sundry Early RF Painters	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 11.5; ARV <sup>1</sup> 13; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 72; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 151	

## **Artemis mounts with Apollo and Hermes**

### **Cat. 499**

<b>205738</b>	Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina, 1685
Red-figure column-krater, 460-450 BCE, Painter of Bologna 228	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 511.5, 1657; Para 382; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 123; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 252	
LIMC, vol. V, Hermes 431a	
CVA Ferrara, Museo Nazionale 1, 14, pl. (1678) 34.1-4	

## **Apollo mounts with Artemis and Leto**

### **Cat. 500**

<b>206579</b>	Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 16550
Red-figure hydria, 500-450 BCE, Leningrad Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 572.87	

## Apollo mounts with Artemis, Leto, and Hermes

### Cat. 501

<b>280254</b>	Berlin, Antikensammlung, F2530
Red-figure Cup, ca. 460 BCE, Amphitrite Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 831.20, 1702; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 95	
LIMC, vol. V, Hermes 433. (vol. VI, Hekate 45)	
CVA Berlin Antiquarium III, 7, pls. (1030, 1035, 1060) 101.1-4, 106.5-6, 131.2.6	

### Cat. 502

<b>202086</b>	Munich, Antikensammlungen, J406
Red-figure amphora, ca. 500 BCE, Painter of Munich 2306	
ARV <sup>1</sup> 152.1; ARV <sup>2</sup> 225.1; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 99; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 198	
LIMC, (vol. VIII, Persephone 279)	
CVA Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 4, 20-21, pls. (560-563,566) 182.1-2, 183.1-2, 184.1-2, 185.1-2, 188.9	

## Hebe mounting with Artemis, Apollo, and Hera

### Cat. 503

<b>205789</b>	Cleveland (OH), Museum of Art, 1930.104
Red-figure column-krater, 470-460 BCE, Cleveland Painter	
ARV <sup>2</sup> 516.1; Addenda <sup>1</sup> 123; Addenda <sup>2</sup> 253	
LIMC, vol. VI, Mousa, Mousai 67	
CVA Cleveland, Museum of Art 1, 16, pls. (703-704) 23.1-4, 24.1-3	



## Appendix 2 - Tables

### Black-Figure Vases – Painters

	Total	Niobids	Tityos	Gigantomachy	Trojan war	<u>kallisto</u>	Orion	<u>Aktaeon</u>	Hind	Tripod	Marsyas	Misc.	Marpessa	Assemblies	Others' myths	Weddings	Chariots w/ Athena/Herakle	Chariots w/ AA	AA alone	AA +	Triad	Triad +
<u>Acheloos</u> Painter	2																		1		1	
Amasis Painter	5															2			1	2		
Antimenes Painter	43									9						8	7	1	1		5	12
Painter of Berlin 1686	1															1						
<u>Bucci</u> Painter	1																				1	
Castellani Painter	3	2	1																			
<u>Caylus</u> Painter	1									1												
<u>Chiusi</u> Painter	2															1					1	
Dayton Painter	1																				1	
Diosphos Painter	3																		1	1		1
Edinburgh Painter	5									1								1		1	2	
Eucharides Painter	1																				1	
<u>Euphiletos</u> Painter	2																	1	1			
Exekias	3															1	1			1		
Fallow Deer Painter	1	1																				
Gela Painter	10									2							1	2	3		1	1
<u>Guglielmi</u> Painter	1								1													
Haimon Painter / Group	32									6									10	2	2	12
Heidelberg Painter	1											1										
<u>Kyllenios</u> Painter	1			1																		
Long-nose Painter	1																			1		
P. of Louvre F 215bis	1																					1
Lydos	2			1					1													
<u>Lykomedes</u> Painter	2									2												
<u>Lysippides</u> Painter	7			1						1						2				1		2
Madrid Painter	5									2						1	2					
Marathon Painter	1									1												
Painter of Munich 1519	1																					1
Nicosia Olpe Painter	1													1								
<u>Phanyllis</u> Painter	1																					1
<u>Pasikles</u> Painter	6																					6
<u>Phanyllis</u> Painter	1																					1
Priam Painter	5									1									3			
Princeton Painter	2														1							1
(Prometheus Painter)	(1)								(1)													
Ready Painter	1																					1
Red-Line Painter	3																		1	2		
Rycroft Painter	17									7						2		6	1		1	
Sappho Painter	3									2								1				
Sophilos	1															1						
P. of Syracuse 20541	1									1												
<u>Taleides</u> Painter	1													1								
P. of Tarquinia RC 6847	2									1						1						
(Timiades Painter)	(1)									(1)												
<u>Towry Whyte</u> Painter	1																			1		
P. of Vatican 309	1		1																			
P. of Villa Giulia M 482	1																				1	
<b>46 painters, 198 images</b>																						

## Black-Figure Vases – Groups and Classes

	Total	Niobids	Tityos	Gigantomachy	Trojan war	kallisto	Orion	Aktaeon	Hind	Tripod	Marsyas	Orestes	Marpessa	Assemblies	Others' myths	Weddings	Charios w/ Athens/Degalis	Charios w/AA	AA alone	AA +	Triad	Triad+
Class of Athens 496	2																		1	1		
Class of Athens 581	6									4											2	
Bateman Group	1																		1			
Bompas Group	1									1												
Class of Cabinet des Medailles 218	2																		2			
Class of Cambridge 49	1																				1	
E Group	3																				3	
Eye-Siren Group	1															1						
Guide-Line Class	1																		1			
Haimon Group	4																1				3	
Kevorkian Oinochoe	1													1								
Krotala Group	1									1												
Leagros Group	25			1						3						2	2	1	5	2	6	3
Group of London B 174	3																				3	
Medea Group	1																					1
Group of Munich 1501	3									2												1
Group of the Oxford Lid	1									1												
Red-Bodied oinochoai III	1																	1				
Group of Toronto 305	3									1											1	1
Three-line Group	1															1						
Group of Würzburg 199	4								1	1											1	1
Group of Würzburg 221	2									1												1
<b>22 groups and classes, 68 images</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Niobids</b>	<b>Tityos</b>	<b>Gigantomachy</b>	<b>Trojan war</b>	<b>kallisto</b>	<b>Orion</b>	<b>Aktaeon</b>	<b>Hind</b>	<b>Tripod</b>	<b>Marsyas</b>	<b>Orestes</b>	<b>Marpessa</b>	<b>Assemblies</b>	<b>Others' myths</b>	<b>Weddings</b>	<b>Charios w/ Athens/Degalis</b>	<b>Charios w/AA</b>	<b>AA alone</b>	<b>AA +</b>	<b>Triad</b>	<b>Triad+</b>

## Bilingual Painters

	Total	Niobids	Tityos	Gigantomachy	Trojan war	kallisto	Orion	Aktaeon	Hind	Tripod	Marsyas	Orestes	Marpessa	Assemblies	Others' myths	Weddings	Charios w/ Athens/Degalis	Charios w/AA	AA alone	AA +	Triad	Triad+
Dikaios Painter	5									1							2				2	
Eucharides Painter	2																		1	1		
Nikoxenos Painter	3																				3	
<b>3 painters, 10 images</b>																						

## Red-Figure Vases

	Total	Niobids	Tityos	Gigantomachy	Trojan war	<u>Kallisto</u>	Orion	Aktaion	Hind	Tripod	Marsyas	Orestes	Marpessa	Assemblies	Other myths	Weddings	Choirs w/ Athens	Choirs w/AA	AA alone	AA +	Triad	Triad+	
Achilles Painter	4																	2			2		
Agrigento Painter	1																			1			
<u>Aison</u>	2																		1			1	
<u>Alkimachos</u> Painter	1																		1				
Altamura Painter	7			1															2			3	1
Amphitrite Painter	1																	1					
Andokides Painter	2									2													
Aristophanes	1			1																			
P. of Athens 12778	1																		1				
P. of Athens Wedding	1														1								
Barclay Painter	1																			1			
Berlin Painter	9									1				2					5				1
Berlin Hydria Painter	1																					1	
Blenheim Painter	1																					1	
P. of Bologna 228	1																	1					
P. of the Boston Phiale	1																					1	
Bowdoin-Eye Painter	1																					1	
<u>Briseis</u> Painter	2									1									1				
P. of Brussels R 330	1											1											
<u>Brygos</u> Painter	1																		1				
Chicago Painter	2																		2				
Cleveland Painter	1																		1				
Clio Painter	1																		1				
<u>Comacchio</u> Painter	1																						1
Copenhagen Painter	1															1							
Dinos Painter	2																						2
Douris	1				1																		
Eretria Painter	1								1														
Herakles Painter	1													1									
Hephaistos Painter	1																						1
<u>Hermonax</u>	2													1								1	
Kadmos Painter	12								1		6			2	3								
<u>Kekrops</u> Painter	1														1								
Leningrad Painter	1																	1					
P. of Leningrad 702	1																		1				
P. of London E 445	1																1						
P. of London E 543	1																					1	
P. of London F 64	2													2									
P. of Louvre G231	1																	1					
<u>Makron</u>	1													1									
Early Mannerist	1																						1
Later Mannerist	2											1											1
Marlay Painter	1																						1
Marsyas Painter	1										1												
Meidias Painter	3											1		1									1
<u>Methyse</u> Painter	1															1							
P. of Munich Amphora	1																		1				
P. of Munich 2306	1																	1					
P. of Munich 2335	1																			1			
P. of Munich 2528	1																					1	



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# Curriculum Vitae

## Sarit Stern

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## Education

PhD, Department of Classics, Johns Hopkins University	2017
Dissertation: "The Unequal Twins: Artemis and Apollo in Athenian Drama and Iconography"	
Student Associate Member, American School of Classical Studies at Athens	2012-2013
Regular Member, American School of Classical Studies at Athens	2009-2010
MA in Ancient History, graduated magna cum laude, Tel-Aviv University	spring 2005
BA in History, graduated magna cum laude, Tel-Aviv University	spring 2002

## Grants and Awards

Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies Prize Teaching Fellowship, JHU	2014
Classical Association Conference Presentation Grant	2009, 2013
The Singleton Graduate Fellowship, JHU	2009, 2012
J. Brien Key Award, JHU	2008, 2013
Robert and Nancy Hall Fellowship, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore	2008
Travel Grant, JHU	2008-2009
Summer Research Grant, JHU	2007, 2012
Graduate fellow, JHU	2005-2007

## Publications

Book review of S. Frangoulidis, *Witches, Isis and Narrative* in *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. 100 (2010). pp. 313-314.

Contributions to Albersmeier, S. (ed.). *Heroes: Mortals and Myths in Ancient Greece*, exhibition catalogue. Baltimore, 2009.

## Conferences and Invited Presentation

"When Two Do Not Become One - Artemis and Apollo in Tragedy" Annual Meeting of the Society for Classical Studies, Boston	2018
"Am I my Sister's Keeper? – Artemis and Apollo in the Homeric Hymns" Annual Conference of the Israel Society for the Promotion of Classical Studies, Ramat Gan	2016
"Not My Sister's Keeper: Artemis and Apollo in Aeschylus and Sophocles" Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States, Washington DC	2014
"Anything she can do, he can do better? Apollo and Artemis in the Homeric Corpus" Annual Meeting of the Classical Association, Reading, UK	2013
"The Unequal Twins – Apollo and Artemis in the Iliad" American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Athens, Greece	2013
"Magistrates, Bandits and Witches, Oh My! – Authority Questions in Apuleius' Metamorphoses" Annual Meeting of the Classical Association, Glasgow, Scotland	2009
"Magistrates, Bandits and Witches, Oh My! – Authority Questions in Apuleius' Metamorphoses" Classics and Feminism conference, Ann Arbor, MI	2008
"Daily Aphrodite" CUNY's Graduate Student Conference, New York, NY	2008

## Museum Experience

Robert and Nancy Hall Curatorial Research Fellow, *Walters Art Museum*, Baltimore 2008  
Teaching and curatorial assistant, *Archaeological Collection of Johns Hopkins University* 2007

## Teaching Experience

### Instructor

Introduction to Ancient Greek History, Tel Aviv University spring 2017  
Great Greek Battles, Johns Hopkins University winter 2014, 2015  
Worshipped Goddesses, Worshipping Women, JHU spring 2014  
Elementary Latin, JHU spring 2012, 2007-2008  
One Nation under Gods? – Ancient Greece in the Making, JHU winter 2012  
Greek Heroes –expository writing course, JHU 2010 – 2011  
Greek Mythology, JHU summer 2009

### Teaching assistant

Classics and Comics, JHU spring 2015  
Intermediate Greek, JHU fall 2010, 2008  
Jews, Greeks, and Romans in Ancient Palestine, JHU spring 2009  
Greek Civilization, Tel Aviv-Jaffa Academic College spring 2004, 2005  
Greek Mythology, TAU fall 2003, 2004  
Greek Mythology, TAJAC fall 2003, 2004

## Other Professional Experience

Coordinator of a classical colloquium, "Palestine in Transition from the Roman to the Byzantine Era:  
From Palaestina Romana to Terra Sancta", JHU 2009  
Co-organizer of a graduate conference, "Political Representations", JHU 2007  
Organizer of the James Poultney Memorial Lecture, JHU 2007  
Research assistant to Prof. Arnon Gutfeld, Dept. of History, TAU 2000-2005  
Research assistant to Prof. Robert Rockaway, Dept. of Jewish History, TAU 2001 - 2002

## Research Interests

Ancient history: Archaic and Classical Greece  
Ancient cultural history: mythology and religion, gender studies  
Ancient literature: Homer, ancient drama, Apuleius  
Ancient art: Athenian and South Italian vases