

EUMOLPOS ARRIVES IN ELEUSIS

ABSTRACT

The boy between Demeter and Kore in the Great Eleusinian Relief is commonly called Triptolemos, but Ploutos and Demophon have recently been proposed instead. Here I suggest that he is Eumolpos, receiving from Demeter a *tainia* depicted in paint. In attitude he resembles another son of Poseidon: Theseus, arriving in Athens to claim his inheritance. Other representations of Eumolpos are identified, youthful on the Parthenon west frieze and on a votive relief from the Athenian Eleusinion, and as a strong young man on the Parthenon west pediment. The Great Eleusinian Relief may commemorate a late-5th-century B.C. historical event.

In his richly informative book on Eleusinian iconography, Kevin Clinton points out that the identity of the youth in the “Great Eleusinian Relief” in Athens (Fig. 1) has been a center of controversy ever since the relief was discovered in 1859: “A controversy that plays itself out against a backdrop of widespread belief that the figure is Triptolemos.”¹ At present this remains the most favored identification, but Clinton advances serious arguments against it and proposes instead to understand the boy as Ploutos, handing up a bunch of wheat to Demeter rather than receiving one from her.²

1. I owe thanks to three anonymous *Hesperia* reviewers for queries and suggestions that helped to clarify my thoughts and my expression. Elizabeth Milleker discussed problems in front of the relief in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which combines a cast of the original with fragments of a Roman copy, and was especially helpful in obtaining photographs. Others to whom I am grateful for photographs and/or permissions are Hans Rupprecht Goette of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens;

Jasper Gaunt of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University; D. Widmer, Basel; Skulpturhalle, Basel; the late John Travlos; and the late Frank Brommer.

Clinton 1992, p. 39; see also pp. 48–49. Simon (1985, p. 117) repeats from earlier editions of the same work the mistaken statement that the relief was found “innerhalb des heiligen Bezirks von Eleusis.” As the original findspot next to the Church of St. Zacharias helped to foster the identification of the subject as Triptolemos

(Clinton 1992, pp. 48–49 with full citations), so Simon’s acceptance of a provenance inside the sanctuary led her to consider the work a sacred icon rather than a votive offering. In her most recent article, Simon corrects the information on the provenance of the relief (1998, p. 373), but maintains her hypothesis that it stood originally inside the Telesterion (pp. 377–378).

2. Clinton 1992, pp. 38–55, 83–84, 96, 103–104, 133–135; *LIMC* VII, 1994, pp. 416–420, s.v. Ploutos (K. Clinton).



Figure 1. Great Eleusinian Relief, Athens, National Museum 126.
Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens

Both Triptolemos and Ploutos have standard attributes that they are very rarely without: the winged chariot for Triptolemos and the cornucopia for Ploutos. Triptolemos is ready to ride long distances to spread his gifts abroad; Ploutos comes up from the fertile earth wherever the seed has taken root. Neither is specifically related to travel on foot. Before deciding that the boy in the relief must be either Triptolemos or Ploutos and searching for arguments to explain his deviation from the standard iconography of one or the other, it might be preferable to look for another possibility. Elements that deserve more consideration are the positions of the hands of the figures, the placement of the attributes assumed to have been added in metal or in paint, the stance and implied character of the boy, and the significance of his footwear.³

The right hand of Demeter and that of the boy are closer together

3. Simon (1998) considers some of these questions and offers a suggestion that is, as far as I know, entirely new. She identifies the boy as Demophon, the nursling of Demeter in the Homeric Hymn. She makes a number of useful observations on the figures of the relief, which I am happy to accept. These observations do not, however, persuade me to abandon my own interpretation (the present article was largely written before hers appeared), though I have profited from some of her insights.



Figure 2. Detail of fragmentary Roman copy of the Great Eleusinian Relief incorporated in a cast of the original. Hands of Demeter and boy. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1914 (14.130.9). Photo S. Houston, courtesy Museum

than in most representations of objects being offered by one person to another (Fig. 2). In particular, this proximity is not convenient for depicting the transfer of a bunch of wheat. In vase paintings, the stalks spread out freely from the hand that grasps them and the heads nod, either symmetrically or in one direction. The length of the stalks and the weight of the heads proclaim the wealth of the harvest.⁴

The proponents of Triptolemos would restore the stalks held in Demeter's hand, above which they should fan out to display the ripened heads against the background, while the boy is not yet fully grasping them. In fact, there is not enough background space above her hand for the grain to spread out properly, especially since there are no holes to attach a bunch of metal wheat that could have overlapped the scepter. The relation of the hands is even less favorable for Ploutos showing the grain to Demeter, since the boy's hand is open as if reaching for something not yet fully grasped (Fig. 2).⁵

It is more probable that whatever was portrayed was painted on the marble. Demeter's right index finger is lifted free, and her right thumb is hidden behind the other fingers. She must have held something between her thumb and one or more fingers, probably the middle one. The boy's thumb, now broken off, was widely separated from his index finger, which has left its trace against the background. Though he was not grasping any object, something could have extended below Demeter's hand over his open palm. The easiest thing to depict convincingly in paint would be a long fillet (*tainia*). Parallels from vase painting suggest that the goddess held it doubled, with a loop visible above her hand.

Compare the representation on a Paestan neck-amphora by Python, made around the middle of the 4th century B.C. (Fig. 3).⁶ The orientation

4. See the numerous examples in the illustrations in Peschlow-Bindokat 1972 and Clinton 1992.

5. Clinton (1992, pp. 39–40) argues that in spite of the absence of drilled holes for attaching any object in the boy's right hand, he might have held "a large number of stalks bunched together, so tightly pressed against his thumb and fingers that they could not slip out." If, however, the sculptor intended to depict a tightly grasped bundle of stalks, such as is represented in the figure on the Lakrateides relief (Clinton 1992, figs. 5–6) and in the Hierophant dedication (Clinton 1992, fig. 55; here Fig. 10), the boy's four fingers should curl together and the thumb should turn inward to touch or rest on top of the index finger. This is the normal hand position for grasping a bunch of twigs held by priests or other participants in a sacrificial procession (cf. Parthenon North X 41). In none of these examples is the bunch

of stalks or twigs being offered to another person. Rather it seems to be held as an attribute of the one who carries it. Vase painting does not differ from sculpture in this kind of representation. Cf. Athena holding the suppliant twigs of the Seven against Thebes on the volute krater in Ferrara by the Painter of Bologna 279, *ARV*² 612, no. 1. This vase also shows the gestures of the Seven greeting each other.

The right hand of the boy on the Eleusinian Relief differs from these examples in that the index finger does not curl around together with the other fingers. The back of it adhered to the relief background as far as the second joint, where it was bent and is broken off. The thumb, whose base projects in high relief from the shallow concavity of the palm, rises vertically at such an angle that its tip cannot possibly have made contact with any of the fingers. That the three curled fingers were not

tightly curled is evident from the spacing of the two folds of skin at the base of the little finger. There would have been no need for the sculptor to model these folds if they were to be obscured by a cluster of stems. Finally, if the boy held an attached object, it would be strange if the sculptor who used drilled holes to attach metal additions elsewhere in the relief did not use them here.

Simon's suggestion (1998, pp. 376–377) that Demeter and the boy are simply addressing each other is not demonstrably impossible, but it does not explain why Demeter's thumb is hidden or why the boy's hand is turned toward the viewer rather than the goddess.

6. Trendall 1987, pl. 111:a. Once New York Market, now in a private collection in New Jersey. For the date of Python, see the chronological chart in Trendall 1989, p. 271.

of the scene is opposite that of the relief, with the goddess on the right and the boy on the left, and we can see exactly how the ribbon is held and how the ends fall. A tall female (probably Aphrodite, though she wears the same "Argive" peplos and shoulder mantle as Demeter in the relief) holds the fillet up so high that the boy Eros, shorter than the boy on the relief, has to reach up for it. He stretches up both hands, with thumbs spread outward, and one end of the ribbon falls across his left palm as we must imagine one end of the ribbon in the Eleusinian relief to fall across the open right palm of Demeter's protégé. The raised forearm of the latter is in low relief against the background and his wrist so positioned that a fillet could fall almost vertically over it and end against the flat background without being overlapped by his cloak. The other end, perhaps shorter as on the vase, will have been partly visible in the narrow space between the two hands and the overfall of Demeter's peplos and can have emerged more fully farther down.

It has generally been assumed that Kore, whose hand is visible above the boy's head (Fig. 1), is crowning him with a wreath. A drilled hole in front of his forehead could have served to attach a wreath of metal. Lambert Schneider denied that there is a corresponding hole at the back of the boy's head and concluded that he wore no wreath, but since wreaths are worn in most representations of participants in the Eleusinian Mysteries, be they mythological or contemporary individuals, a wreath is to be expected.⁷

Kore's hand does not appear to be grasping the wreath, however; it is held in an open position above the crown of the boy's head. The idea that she is anointing him with perfumed oil has been recently advanced by Simon, with supporting observations by Erika Zwierlein-Diehl and John Boardman. The latter remarked that the smooth hair on top of the boy's head looks wet.⁸ Since the ends of Kore's fingers and most of her thumb are broken off, one cannot refute the suggestion that she held a small perfume vase in her hand, but if so, the manner of its attachment is not clear. There is ample background space for an aryballos to be painted hanging on the wall above the boy.⁹ This would make it clear that Kore's action is one of smoothing the oil on his hair (perhaps the vertical position of her hand is intended to leave it visible above the wreath to a viewer from below). Her action serves to establish a feeling of intimacy between Kore and the boy in this scene, while Demeter's attitude is more formal.



Figure 3. Paestan neck-amphora by Python. Aphrodite and Eros. Photo D. Widmer, Basel

7. Schneider 1973, pp. 105–106. His idea that the hole in front of the boy's forehead was made to attach a forehead knot in metal is unconvincing. Given the profile view, the knot, if there were one, should have been carved together with the background. If some damage or oversight prevented this, it would have been reasonable to make a marble patch, but there is no dressing for this on the stone. Simon (1998, p. 376)

accepts the hair knot, however, and does not restore a wreath. For a 5th-century example of a metal wreath attached only to the front of the head, see below (Fig. 13).

8. Simon 1998, pp. 381–383, note 48.

9. For a hanging aryballos painted on marble, see the late-5th- or early-4th-century tombstone in the Kera-meikos: Robertson 1959, pp. 153, 156.

Figure 4. Red-figure cup by the Briseis Painter. Tondo, Theseus received by Amphitrite. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1953 (53.11.4) and gift of Emily Dickinson Blake Vermeule, 1970 (1970.46). Courtesy Museum



The stance of the boy and the character that it implies are essential clues to his identity. All agree that he is on familiar terms with the goddesses and accepted as their protégé, but he seems to be presenting himself formally for their acceptance like a soldier reporting to his captain. Schwarz expresses his attitude well: “stoltz und ehrfürchtig zugleich.”¹⁰ Attic vase painting offers a striking parallel in the representation of the young Theseus arriving in Athens after he has proved his paternity by passing through a series of trials. He first had to establish himself as the true son and heir of Aegeus, the King of Athens, by growing strong enough to raise the stone under which his father had hidden the tokens of his identity, a sword and a pair of sandals. With these he made his way on foot from Troizen to Athens, destroying a number of wicked and formidable opponents along the route.¹¹ A separate trial of a very different kind established him as the son of Poseidon. He had to dive into the sea and retrieve a ring that Minos had thrown overboard. He not only recovered the ring but also brought back a crown that Amphitrite gave him along with a purple cloak.¹²

On first arriving in Athens from Troizen, Theseus in some vase paintings greets his human father, Aegeus. Sometimes Poseidon looks on.¹³ In a second version, which seems to represent his arrival after he has slain the Minotaur and brought home the rescued Athenian children, he greets Athena directly, while the grateful mothers surround him, offering fillets. The scene appears on a red-figure cup by the Briseis Painter in New York, made around 480–475 B.C. (Figs. 4–7).¹⁴ The cup also shows Theseus in

10. Schwarz 1987, p. 196.

11. See Neils 1987 for discussion of these adventures and their illustration in art. They are first depicted in Attic vase painting of the late 6th century and become especially popular in the 5th.

12. The story is told in Bacchylides’ Third Dithyramb, Bacchyl. 17. For discussion, see Neils 1987, p. 10.

13. See Neils 1987, pl. X, figs. 46 and 47; pl. XII, figs. 55 and 56.

14. *ARV*² 406, no. 7; von Bothmer 1987, pp. 52–53.



Figure 5. Side A of cup, Theseus at the palace of Poseidon prepares to leave.
Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



Figure 6. Side B of cup, Theseus arrives in Athens.
Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Figure 7. Detail of side A of cup.
 Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art,
 New York



the tondo, being presented with a fillet by Amphitrite (Fig. 4). He stretches out his open hands below the raised hand of the goddess while his swaying stance adjusts to the underwater currents. On the outside of the cup he appears outside Poseidon's palace, gently steadied by a large Triton of kingly aspect, while Poseidon bids him farewell and Nereids flank the scene (Fig. 5), much as the Athenian women do on the other side of the cup, where he presents himself to Athena (Fig. 6).

Under the sea, Theseus wears his sword in both scenes, but, appropriately, he does not wear sandals. As he gestures in reverence toward Poseidon and in farewell to Amphitrite, he is wearing a wreath of flowers, evidently the wreath of roses mentioned by Bacchylides.¹⁵ This wreath projects beyond his forehead in the same way that is implied by the attachment hole in front of the forehead of the Eleusinian boy.

In the undersea scenes of the Briseis Painter, Theseus is younger than in the scenes of his arrival in Athens, either before or after the Cretan adventure. This may seem to contradict mythological chronology, but that is not the point. Theseus under the sea is the nursling of Poseidon and Amphitrite, carried by the sea creatures in a realm in which he cannot walk.¹⁶ On land, by contrast, when he presents himself as heir to the throne of Athens he has learned to make his own way, guided and protected but not transported by the power of Athena. It is as a young prince who has proven his strength and intelligence on purely human terms that he presents himself to the goddess of Athens as ready and worthy to serve her.

The central figure of the Great Eleusinian Relief presents himself to the Two Goddesses of Eleusis in the same manner. It is easiest to understand him as another son of Poseidon who is also a descendant of the royal

15. Bacchyl. 17.105–106.

16. The famous cup by Onesimos in the Louvre, *ARV*² 318, no. 1, earlier than that of the Briseis Painter, depicts in its tondo a very young Theseus, supported on the hands of a small Triton, greeting Amphitrite enthroned in her chamber under the sea. Her left hand held "a large white wreath, now largely disappeared" (Neils 1987, pp. 60–61). Athena, mistress of Athens, with her owl in her hand, stands tall in the center of the tondo, overlapped by the hands of Theseus and Amphitrite. Neils points out that Athena, like Theseus, is a guest of Amphitrite. She inclines her head graciously to greet the mistress of the sea.

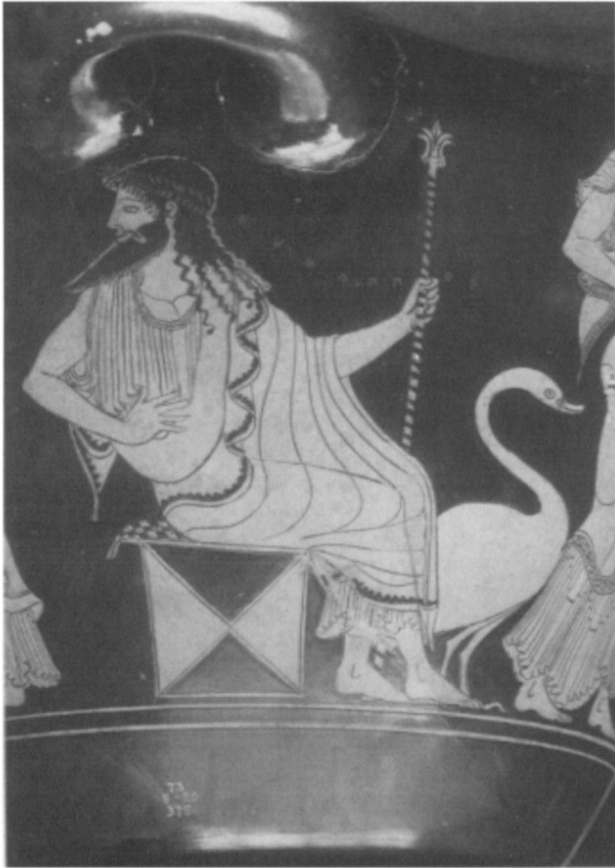


Figure 8. Skyphos by Makron. Eumolpos with swan. London, British Museum E 140. Courtesy Museum

Figure 9. Skyphos by Makron. Poseidon with dolphin. London, British Museum E 140. Courtesy Museum

family of Athens, to wit, Eumolpos, the founder of the Eleusinian Mysteries and eponym of the *genos* of the Eumolpidae, from whom the Hierophant, the principal priest of the Mysteries, was chosen. The genealogy that made Eumolpos the son of Poseidon also made him part Thracian: he is the son of Chione, daughter of the Erechtheid Oreithyia, who was carried off from Athens by Boreas, the North Wind. Apollodoros (3.15.4) says that when Chione bore Eumolpos to Poseidon without her father's knowledge, she threw him into the sea to hide the fact. Poseidon then saved him and carried him to Ethiopia and gave him to Benthesisikyme, daughter of Poseidon and Amphitrite, to rear. Most sources take the son of Chione and Poseidon to be the Eumolpos who came as an ally of Eleusis against Athens. Even this strains genealogical logic, since he is the great-grandson of Erechtheus, but in art relationships are often stressed at the expense of chronology. On the skyphos by Makron in London,¹⁷ the swan beside Eumolpos and the scepter in his hand mark him as the first Hierophant, the swan representing his beautiful voice and the scepter his divinely sanctioned authority (Fig. 8). At the same time the images of Poseidon with his dolphin and Amphitrite standing beside him recall the divine paternity of Eumolpos and his childhood immersion in the sea (Fig. 9).

Eumolpos, like other important figures in the Eleusinian sphere, is depicted at various ages, and his identifiable representations are not as numerous as those of Triptolemos and Ploutos. Nevertheless, Clinton has

17. *ARV*² 459, no. 3; Clinton 1992, p. 138, "Eumolpos in Attic Vase Painting," no. 1, with bibliography, pls. 193–194, discussion p. 75; *Agora* XXXI, pp. 53–55, pls. 20–21.

Figure 10. Votive relief dedicated to Demeter and Kore by a Hierophant. Antonine period. Athens, temporarily stored in the Agora Museum. Courtesy J. Travlos



18. Clinton 1992, p. 139, "Eumolpos in Sculpture," no. 1, with bibliography, discussion p. 75. The marble relief was found in excavations by John Travlos in 1959 north of the Olympieion precinct. It has never received full publication, but Eugene Vanderpool gave a good brief account of its finding, with a plan of the site and a photograph of the relief: Vanderpool 1960, p. 268, ill. 1 and pl. 73, fig. 17.

19. The *strophion* worn by the Hierophant in the Roman relief also occurs on figures of boys connected with Eleusinian ritual, likewise of the Roman period. The crown consisting of a fillet wound around a circlet is discussed by Krug 1968 as Type 12 II, pp. 45–47, 104–106 and Appendix III. She concludes that vase painting does not represent the details of this crown and is therefore not useful for chronology. Since the circlet is completely covered by the ribbon, it is the latter that carries its significance, as in the case of the Hellenistic diadem. Scepter and *strophion* as symbols of religious authority correspond to the "scepter and ribbons of the god" in *Il.* 1.14, 28.

succeeded in establishing his Classical iconography based on that of his descendant, the Hierophant as depicted on a classicizing votive relief of the Roman period, made for dedication by a Hierophant from the deme of Hagnous (Fig. 10). This can be taken in conjunction with labeled representations of Eumolpos on vases to distinguish him from other prominent Eleusinian persons.

The Hierophant on the relief displays all his official regalia. He approaches the Two Goddesses in a walking pose, with his right foot advanced, and holds out his scepter in front of him. Kore's left arm overlaps the scepter and the knuckles of his right hand, emphasizing his closeness to the divinities. On his head he wears a *strophion* and a wreath of myrtle. The *strophion* consists of a long fillet wound continuously around a circlet of some kind, overlapping so that only the cloth is visible. The wreath rests above the *strophion*. The Hierophant wears a long-sleeved tunic that is short enough to reveal the tops of his boots. Over it he wears a draped himation. The boots seem to be elaborately decorated.¹⁸

Long sleeves and boots are worn by many Eleusinian gods and heroes in Attic vase painting of the late 5th and 4th centuries B.C., as are wreaths and fillets.¹⁹ Clinton concludes that the distinctive attribute of Eumolpos is the scepter, which can serve to set him apart from other long-haired youths, such as Eubouleus and Iakchos, in the populous assemblies of Eleusinian gods and heroes on 4th-century Attic vases.

Since the protégé of the Two Goddesses on the great marble relief is still a boy, he is not yet entitled to a scepter of his own. Like the boy Theseus in his arrival scenes, Eumolpos has the scepter in his future, not



Figure 11. Neck-amphora by the Niobid Painter. Youth (Eumolpos?) offered wheat by a goddess (Kore?). London, British Museum E 274. Courtesy Museum

in his hand. At the same time, the way in which Demeter holds out her own scepter in front of her, so that it is overlapped by the arm and body of the boy, conveys the transmission of her power to him in the same way as does the spear of Athena in the arrival of Theseus on the Briseis Painter's cup, where it overlaps his sandaled right foot (Fig. 6).

All three figures in the Great Eleusinian Relief wear sandals, but those of the boy are different from those of the goddesses. Known as network sandals, they often appear in Classical vase paintings as worn over a sock that rises partway up the leg and is held in place by straps wrapped around the leg.²⁰ The Briseis Painter's arriving Theseus wears such sandals, as do other mythical travelers. They also appear on grave reliefs from Boeotia and the Cyclades.²¹ Theseus and Peirithoos stuck in the Underworld wear them on the Nekyia krater in New York, while Herakles stands barefoot beside them.²² Hermes attending the rising Persephone reveals the tops of such sandals as he comes up out of the ground.²³ Hunters and riders also wear network sandals. In any case, it seems to be generally agreed that a boy wearing sandals on both feet cannot be identified as a *παῖς ἀφ' ἐστίας μνηθεῖς*, since he is not barefoot as an initiate ought to be.²⁴

As mentioned above, the ages at which Eumolpos is depicted in art differ. Like other gods and heroes, he tends to be shown bearded in Late Archaic and Classical representations and to lose his beard and become younger as time goes on. The one vase painting in which Eumolpos is identified by inscription, the skyphos by Makron in London, shows him as a mature bearded man with long black hair. He is seated and holds a scepter (Fig. 8).²⁵ A standing youthful male on a neck-amphora by the

20. Morrow 1985, p. 58, pls. 41–42, and see index under “network sandals.”

21. Despinis 1967, pp. 79–81, pl. 35.

22. *ARV*² 1086, no. 1; Nekyia Painter: Richter and Hall 1936, no. 135.

23. *ARV*² 1012, no. 1; Persephone Painter: Richter and Hall 1936, no. 124.

24. Clinton 1992, p. 49.

25. See note 17, above.

Figure 12. Relief of the Rheitoi Bridge decree. Eleusis, Archaeological Museum 5093. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens



26. *ARV*² 604, no. 53; Clinton 1992, p. 139, no. 12, with bibliography.

27. Clinton 1992, pp. 75–76 and p. 140, no. 2, with bibliography, fig. 60. See also Lawton 1995, p. 54 and pp. 82–83, no. 3, pl. 2. Lawton refers to Clinton 1992 in her text (p. 54, note 113) for evidence of Triptolemos’s “divine status at Eleusis,” but she maintains the identification of the male figure as Triptolemos without mentioning Clinton’s discussion of the figure.

28. Agora inv. S 1119: *Agora XXXI*, p. 217, no. 2, pl. 36; *LIMC* IV.1, 1988, p. 875, no. 377, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi). Both Beschi and Miles identify the young male as Triptolemos.

29. Close examination of the relief reveals some details not mentioned by Miles (*Agora XXXI*) that may be relevant to the discussion of the youth’s identity. His head is only a little smaller than that of Kore, as his height was only a little less than hers. The approximate height of Kore’s head, chin to crown, is ca. 0.07 m, that of the boy’s ca. 0.065 m. The relief appears to have been intentionally mutilated. There are tiny point marks in the area of Kore’s right eye and similar marks below and behind the right eye of the boy. The mouths and chins of both figures are broken off, but the line of intersection of the face with the neck is clearly preserved on both.

The locks on top of the boy’s head are simply carved with long strokes; one curls up against the background behind the two holes drilled for attaching a wreath. There is no corresponding hole at the back of the head, but an indentation suggests that the wreath overlapped the large locks above and behind his ear. Similar locks cling to the back of his neck below this.

It seems clear that Kore did not wear a bridal crown in addition to her veil. Her front hair is battered, but one can see that it overlapped the right ear, revealing only the lobe. It appears to have been combed forward above the forehead. There may have been curls, now broken away.

Niobid Painter in London holds a scepter in his left hand and pours a libation with his right to a goddess who offers him a bundle of wheat (Fig. 11). Clinton remarks, “The scepter and the wheat suggest importance in the cult and remind us of the Hierophant in the Olympieion relief. The figure therefore seems to be Eumolpos.”²⁶

The male figure who greets Athena on the stele of the Rheitoi Bridge decree of 422/1 (*IG* I³ 79) in Eleusis (Fig. 12) apparently held a scepter, rendered in paint as was Athena’s spear. Clinton calls him “most likely Eumolpos.”²⁷ He is draped in a himation without a chiton, like the youth on the Niobid Painter’s neck-amphora. He is a little shorter than the Two Goddesses, but nearly the same height as Athena. He is evidently beardless, though all the faces are damaged. His hair is cut shorter than that of the boy of the Great Eleusinian Relief, but not as short as that of an ephebe on a fragment of a late-5th-century votive relief found in 1939 in the Athenian Agora (S 1119).

There is an interesting correspondence between the Hierophant relief (Fig. 10), probably made in the Early Antonine period, and Agora S 1119, mentioned by L. Beschi in *LIMC* but fully published only recently by M. Miles (Fig. 13).²⁸ Though it was found in the demolition of a modern house outside the City Eleusinion to the west, Miles is surely right to associate it with that sanctuary. At the broken left edge of the relief there is preserved a raised left forearm and hand grasping a scepter whose shaft overlaps the forearm and an adjacent bit of hanging drapery. The hand overlaps the ovolo beneath the taenia that crowned the relief. The tip of the scepter has disappeared in the break.²⁹



Figure 13. Fragment of a votive relief (Agora S 1119) showing Demeter, Kore, and a youth (Eumolpos?).
Courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations

The angle of the arm and scepter is very like that in the figure of Demeter in the Hierophant relief (Fig. 10). The Demeter of the Agora votive must have been enthroned like her, with Kore standing in front of her. Kore has a veil over her head in both reliefs, and her head is inclined in both toward the male figure who stands facing her.

Whereas Kore in the Hierophant relief holds a downturned torch by her side,³⁰ in the late-5th-century relief she holds a lighted torch in front of her. In place of the Hierophant, the male figure next to her is a boyish youth, probably an ephebe, for he wears a chlamys. Rather than standing stiffly like the Hierophant, he inclines his head toward the goddess. This creates a feeling of familiar intimacy between the boy and Kore such as we sense in the Great Eleusinian Relief, where she lays her hand on his head. On the Hierophant relief, however, Kore inclines her head toward the Hierophant in the same way, and a special relationship between them is established by the manner in which her left arm overlaps his right hand and scepter.³¹

It may well be that the Two Goddesses on the Hierophant relief, with their strikingly classicizing dress and faces, are copied from a famous prototype, perhaps a painting, and that this also influenced the sculptor of the Agora relief. The similar composition strongly suggests that the young male on Agora S 1119 is Eumolpos. He evidently wore a wreath, as is indicated by the two drilled holes in the short hair above his forehead. Though nothing survives of any attributes he may have held, his lowered right shoulder and raised left one would fit the action depicted on the Niobid Painter's neck-amphora (Fig. 11), pouring a libation with the right hand while grasping an upright scepter with the left.³²

The boy on the Great Eleusinian Relief makes a gesture with his mantle that could be read either as taking it off or putting it on. While one end remains draped over his right shoulder, he grasps the other end with his lowered left hand. Simon, who identifies the boy as Demophon, explains that his act of robing must have followed a ritual of disrobing, namely the bathing in the sea on the second day of the Mysteries that was known as *Halade Mystai*. Demophon in his role as King of Eleusis would stand for all the *mystai*. The boy would present himself to the goddesses freshly

30. As no flames are indicated in relief, the question arises whether this torch may symbolize the darkness that precedes the reappearance of Kore in the Eleusinian ritual. See Clinton 1992, pp. 84–90. Because we do not know the sanctuary for which the relief was intended, no certainty is possible.

31. That the feeling of intimacy exists between the boy and Kore rather than between the boy and Demeter may be an additional argument against Simon's (1998) identification of the boy as Demophon.

32. See above, note 26. Both Clinton (1992) and Schwarz (1987) recognize that this representation by the Niobid Painter is unusual. If the goddess offering the wheat is Demeter, we cannot invoke the vase as a parallel for the Agora relief with as much confidence as we might if we could call her Kore. Both goddesses offer grain; both can wear crowns and long back hair without shoulder locks, but two aspects suggest that the goddess on this amphora is Kore. First, the Niobid Painter seems to have taken pleasure in assimilating the young man and the goddess facing him to Apollo and Artemis on the opposite side. The laurel wreath and sideburns on the young man echo those of the youthful Apollo, and the crown and long back hair of the goddess offering wheat echo those of the maiden Artemis. Second is the similarity of the back hair of this goddess to the figure labeled "Kore" on the volute krater in Stanford (Clinton 1992, fig. 12; Raubitschek and Raubitschek 1982, pl. 15). Schwarz (1987, p. 121) says only "wohl Demeter" but she is sure the youth is Triptolemos. Clinton (1992, p. 139, no. 12) says simply "Demeter" and of the youth, "apparently Eumolpos."



Figure 14. Parthenon west frieze figure 30 (Eumolpos?) from a cast. Photo D. Widmer, courtesy Skulpturhalle, Basel

33. Simon 1998, pp. 380–381.

34. For a valuable succinct account and full references, see Kearns 1989, p. 163. The story that Chione threw her child Eumolpos into the sea and that Poseidon saved him and took him to Ethiopia for Benthesisikyme to rear is most fully told in Apollod. 3.15.4 (together with a string of misdeeds and exiles not to be found in most sources), but the core myth seems to be no later than the time of Euripides' *Erechtheus*. In addition to the references in Kearns, see Collard et al. 1995, pp. 156–157, frag. 349, text, translations, and commentary. For the declaration of Zeus that a descendant of the son of Chione and Poseidon will found the Mysteries, see Collard et al. 1995, pp. 174–175, lines 102–114 and commentary, pp. 193–194, on these lines. For the story of another divine ancestor who was thrown into the sea by his mother, see *Il.* 18.393–405, where Hephaistos relates how his mother, wanting to hide him, threw him out of Olympos, and how Eurynome and Thetis saved him and hid him in a cave by the River of Ocean. One could imagine the Ethiopian hiding place of Eumolpos to

purified from his sea-bath. Simon connects the anointing of the boy's hair by Kore as an appropriate ritual following the bath.³³

All this would be suitable for Eumolpos in a double sense. As the son of Poseidon and the Erechtheid Chione, daughter of Oreithyia, saved from the sea and reared by Benthesisikyme, the daughter of Poseidon and Amphitrite, Eumolpos grew up to become a military defender of Eleusis and in some versions the founder of the Mysteries.³⁴ I propose that Eumolpos is twice represented on the west end of the Parthenon, once in the south corner of the pediment and again at a lower level in the south end of the frieze. In the frieze, the act of dressing is impersonated by a nude and apparently barefoot young male (West XVI, 30; Fig. 14).³⁵ He holds up his mantle toward his left side with both hands hidden under the cloth. Ian Jenkins notes that his arms seem to point the way around the corner to the south side of the frieze and so to express a connection with the south cavalcade. The first group of riders on the south side is distinguished by elements of Thracian dress and probably represents the tribe of Hippothontis, whose eponymous hero, Hippothoon, had a sanctuary at Eleusis.³⁶

On the frieze, Eumolpos would be shown as the ancestor of the *genos* of the Eumolpidae, the clan to which the Hierophant belonged.³⁷ Next to him (West XV, 29) is a figure so much like Hermes in his dress and attitude that he ought to be Keryx, the son of Hermes and ancestor of the *genos* of the Kerykes, the clan that shared with the Eumolpidae the administration of the Sanctuary of Eleusis.³⁸ West 29, with his left foot propped

have also been a cave by the River of Ocean, in its southernmost reaches.

35. Most fully described and illustrated by Brommer 1977, p. 23, pls. 5, 45, 46, and 116:2. Carrey was at a particular disadvantage in trying to draw this figure because of the heavy shadow cast by the ceiling beam above its head. Some of this also affected his vision of the neighboring figure, West 29. His drawing indicates the existence of this shadow over the two figures. Irregularities in the surface of 30 led him to believe the figure was a chiton-clad female. He also omitted the petasos and chlamys of 29. The Elgin cast (see Jenkins 1990, p. 113, pl. 19) remains the best record of the head, though the right side of the face was already damaged and filled out in the cast. The short curls on top of the head are still clearly visible in the cast and are not unlike those of the boy in the Agora relief. For further information see Berger and Gisler-Huwyler 1996, pp. 55–56 (Text), pls. 34–37 (Plates).

36. See Kron 1976, pp. 177–187; Kearns 1989, p. 173, for Hippothoon; Jenkins 1994, p. 111, for the pose of West 30 as pointing to a connection with the

south frieze; Brommer 1977, pl. 46:4, for a good corner view.

37. In Harrison 1984, p. 234, I suggested that the figures in the west frieze belong to early times and may stand for *gene*, as the north frieze seems to represent the time of the four tribes and the south frieze recent times, with the ten tribes of Kleisthenes.

38. Clinton 1974, p. 8. See Kearns 1989, p. 177, for Keryx's somewhat varied genealogies. The one proclaimed by the Kerykes themselves made him the son of Hermes by one of the daughters of Kekrops (Paus. 1.38.3). This specifically Athenian genealogy is given little attention in *LIMC* VI, 1992, pp. 36–38, s.v. Keryx (E. Simon). Resemblance to Hermes is not treated as an element in the iconography of Keryx and so there is no occasion to mention either in approval or rejection my tentative identification (1984, pp. 234 and 417, note 61) of West 29 as Keryx. By taking the Dadouchos rather than the Hierokeryx as the iconographical prototype of the ancestor of the Kerykes, Simon discusses as possible representations of Keryx a variety of torch-bearing males to whom Clinton 1992 has given other names.

on a large rock, is in the act of tying his sandal. His right foot is still bare; no sandal sole is indicated. Attributes that West 29 shares with Hermes are his chlamys, his petasos, and the act of tying his sandal. He does not carry a kerykeion, and there are no wings on his shoes or hat. The figures of the west frieze may all be heroes, but none of them is a god.³⁹

Because of the indications that the Parthenon frieze as a whole has as its subject the worship of the gods in joyous festivals by the Athenians, we may guess that these two ancestors of the clans that administer the Sanctuary of Eleusis together represent the Festival of the Eleusinia. I would take the rock on which Keryx rests his foot not simply as a mounting block, but as a topographical sign, locating the figure on the sacred hill of Eleusis. The rock is irregularly shaped and has a bumpy surface like that of another such rock that appears in the northern half of the west frieze.

On this another rider (West VI, 12), also facing south, props up his left foot and ties his sandal. His right foot is already shod. He differs from West XV, 29 in wearing a helmet. West VI, 11, directly behind him, is also helmeted and wears a cuirass. Elements of defensive armor seem appropriately associated with the Acropolis, the citadel of Athens.⁴⁰ Thus the rock on which West VI, 12 rests his foot might be that of the Acropolis, and he might be Boutes, the eponym of the Eteoboutadai, who had an altar in the Erechtheion (Paus. 1.26.5).⁴¹

The human figures in the west frieze number thirty, and this number is by no means so securely linked to the *gene* as are the numbers ten and four to the Kleisthenic and pre-Kleisthenic tribes. It does figure, however, in a fragment of the Aristotelian *Constitution of the Athenians*, according to which "in olden days" (παλαι) the whole citizen body was divided into 360 *gene*, consisting of thirty men each, one *genos* for every day of the year.⁴² Thus a depiction of thirty heroes, each representing a *genos*, could be tied into the yearly cycle that seems to dominate the frieze as a whole. Eumolpos in this context would take his place as an Athenian citizen, like his descendant, the Hierophant.

In between the rocks that represent Eleusis and Athens is a partly preserved segment of sloping terrain against which a magnificent hero with flying chlamys braces his foot while he exerts all his strength to control a splendid rearing horse (West VIII, 15). This hero had metal (presumably golden) sandal straps, attested by drilled holes for their attachment, three in the right leg and one in the left.⁴³ I have suggested elsewhere that this hero is Theseus as King, adult and bearded, and that his act of bringing the spirited horse under control symbolizes the *synoikismos*, the union of all the previously autonomous towns of Attica to form the single Athenian state. Since festival activities are a principal subject of the frieze, this figure might also stand for the festival of the Synoikia on the 16th of Hekatombaion, twelve days before the Panathenaia.⁴⁴ This opens up the possibility that other festivals, as unidentifiable to us as the majority of the *genos* heroes of the west frieze, might be represented by these figures.

The Parthenon pediments, in contrast to the frieze, are more concerned with what the gods do for the Athenians than with what the Athenians do for the gods. West pediment V (Figs. 15–16), the figure that I have earlier proposed as Eumolpos, personifies the Mysteries and as such

39. Kardara (1961, pp. 151–152, pl. 7) suggested that West 23 was Hermes himself, but this has not been generally accepted. The rule seems to hold that no person is shown more than once on the frieze, though the same god or hero may appear in other sections of the Parthenon sculptures: metopes, pediments, and statue base.

40. I have suggested (Harrison 1984, pp. 232–233) that the three groups of riders on the south frieze who wear elements of defensive armor may represent the three tribes whose eponymous heroes are associated with the Acropolis: Kekropis, Erechtheis, and Pandionis.

41. On the elaborate 4th-century hydria from Cumae in St. Petersburg known as the "Regina Vasorum," Athena sits on an irregular rock that evidently stands for the Acropolis (Clinton 1992, pp. 78–79, ill. 9). It appears to have a cave in its lower part.

42. Aristotle frag. 385 Rose.

43. Harrison 1984, p. 234. See Brommer 1977, p. 13, for a description of the holes, their interpretation as sandal straps, and the observation that nowhere else on the frieze were sandal straps made separately in this way. See Brommer 1977, pl. 23, and, for an even clearer depiction of the holes, Robertson and Frantz 1975, pl. 11.

44. Harrison 1984, p. 234. See Parke 1977, pp. 30–32; Deubner 1932, pp. 37–38; Simon 1983, p. 50; Figueira 1984, pp. 465–466. N. Robertson (1992, pp. 32–43) gives an explanation of the ultimate origin of the festival that is too complex to be useful in interpreting a sculptural representation of the 5th century B.C. If Parthenon West 15 alludes to Theseus and the Synoikia, its version will have been closer to Plutarch's than to Robertson's.

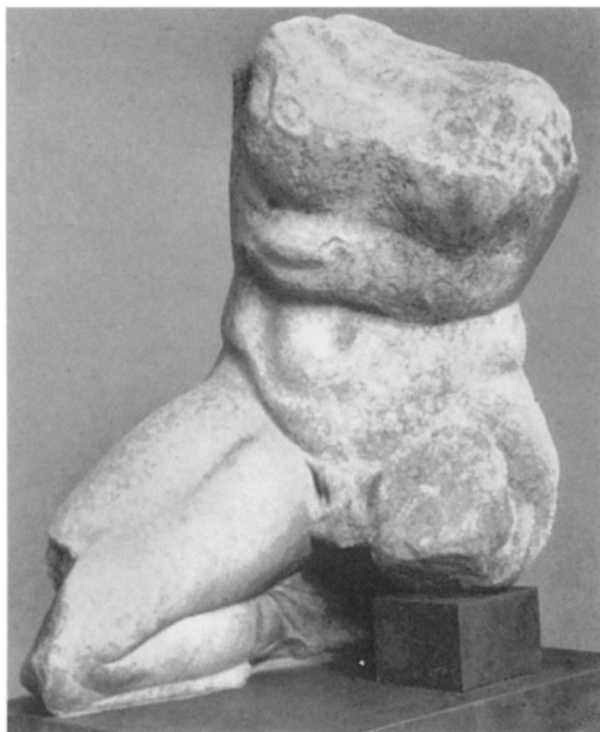


Figure 15. Parthenon west pediment V (Eumolpos?). Frontal view. After Brommer 1963, pl. 128:1



Figure 16. Parthenon west pediment V (Eumolpos?). Side view. After Brommer 1963, pl. 128:2

is the gift of Poseidon who fathered him.⁴⁵ He is linked to the autochthonous Athenians by the female line of two generations of Erechtheids, who produced heroes by union with male divinities. These divine fathers played a special role in Athens. The first of the Erechtheids to the right of the central divinities in the west pediment (Fig. 17) is Oreithyia, the bride of the North Wind.⁴⁶ She is recognized by the fact that she holds infant twins, P and R, Kalais and Zetes, and the union with Boreas that engendered them is signified by her wind-fluttered mantle and chiton hem. Without the favor and the power of the North Wind, neither the destruction of the Persian fleet at Cape Artemision nor the success of the Delian League (which had become an Empire by the time work was begun on the Parthenon sculptures) would have been possible.

After Oreithyia and her children comes another daughter of Erechtheus who was equally important to the Athenian self-image in the 5th century. Kreousa, T, became the mother by Apollo of Ion, S, eponym of the Ionians and the key to the myth that Athens was the mother city of all the Ionians.⁴⁷ By the same token Apollo became Patroos, father of the Athenians and the other Ionians.

45. Harrison 1967a, p. 9, note 55. For a cult of Poseidon Pater, outside the entrance of the sanctuary at Eleusis, see Paus. 1.38.6; Clinton 1992, p. 116.

46. Spaeth (1991) identifies the seated female figures in the southern half of the west pediment with members of the royal family of Eleusis instead of that of Athens, but in doing

this she must deny iconographical validity to the wind-ruffled drapery of West Q and play down the importance of her twins. Concerning the proposal of Weidauer and Krauskopf (1993) to substitute Erechtheus and his daughters for Kekrops and his daughters in the northern half of the pediment, see Harrison 1997, p. 124, note 29.

47. The suggestion in *LIMC* IV, 1988, pp. 56–59, s.v. Eumolpos (L. Weidauer) under “Deutung vermutet” (Eumolpos 2, p. 56), that West T is Chione and West S Eumolpos violates the generational sequence of the Erechtheids, inserting the granddaughter and great-grandson of Erechtheus between his daughters and their offspring.

The next figure, U, seems to have been maidenly and not an ancestress. I still accept Rhys Carpenter's identification of the lower part of a seated female, Acropolis 1363, as the figure depicted in Carrey's drawing (Fig. 17).⁴⁸ I would also accept the statuette from Eleusis in the Athens National Museum, NM 201 (Fig. 18), to which I was able to join the upper torso from the storeroom at Eleusis, as copied at a small scale from the original Parthenon U, with scarcely more deviation from the prototype than we find in the group NM 200, imitated from West B–C, Kekrops and his daughter.⁴⁹ These, along with a fragment that may conform to the lower part of the reclining woman, W, shown by Carrey,⁵⁰ are the only figures among the Eleusis pedimental statuettes that are reasonably faithful quotations of Parthenon prototypes. The other pieces vary widely in style and quality of workmanship.

Athens NM 202, the woman with a female child in her lap (Fig. 18), which probably occupied the place to the right of NM 201, is portrayed with the high girding and heavy peplos with folds stretched tight over full breasts that is typical of later 4th-century figures of mother goddesses.⁵¹ She could represent an Eleusinian heroine with her daughter, as Ruth Lindner has suggested;⁵² alternatively, she could be Demeter with Kore, if the context were suitable, but that interpretation poses difficulties, since Kore is portrayed in the center of the pediment being carried off by Hades.

Assuming that the figure to the right of U on the Parthenon, already missing from the pediment in Carrey's time, was like statuette NM 202 in being a mother with a child in her lap, regardless of whom the child may have represented in the Eleusinian context, we can easily imagine that the position U* was occupied by Acropolis 888, a fragment of the lower part of a woman seated on a smoothly rounded object with a bell-shaped profile that might best be explained as a hearth or household altar made of clay.⁵³

Olga Palagia objects that Acropolis 1363 is unique among seated female figures in the Parthenon pediments in having a plinth, and Liselotte Weidauer and Ingrid Krauskopf object to the juxtaposition of two related figures with such different seats.⁵⁴ These seeming anomalies are easily ex-

48. Carpenter 1932. See below, note 54.

49. See Harrison 1967a, figs. 1–16; for detailed description see pp. 1–9. For detailed description of all the figures assigned to the small Eleusis pediment, see Lindner 1982. She compares the fragments with the Parthenon figures that seem to have inspired them and makes clear their deviations from the prototypes. She also suggests identifications for most of the figures, though some are more tentative than others. These do not directly affect the identifications of the Parthenon figures. For further speculation on Eleusinian identities, see Weidauer and Krauskopf 1993.

50. Lindner (1982, pp. 380–381, no. 14, figs. 53–54) does not exclude the possibility that this figure was modeled on W. In any case, as she points out, it is not a closer copy of W than the Eleusis group modeled on B–C is of its Parthenon prototype.

51. Harrison 1967a, figs. 9–11;

Lindner 1982, figs. 49–50.

52. Lindner 1982.

53. In its smoothly rounded shape, lacking the irregularities of natural rock, it resembles the seat of east pediment K; clearest in Palagia 1993, fig. 44. See also Brommer 1963, pls. 50–51; Harrison 1967b, p. 46.

54. Palagia 1993, pp. 50–51;

Weidauer and Krauskopf 1993, p. 10. In questioning the identification of Acropolis 1363 with west pediment U, Palagia writes, "Carrey drew U as a seated woman in peplos and himation covering her legs, leaning heavily to her proper left." Palagia evidently rejects, though she does not mention it, Carpenter's explanation that the figure has been knocked out of alignment by the falling cornice block that also damaged the left knee. When one corrects the vertical axis of the displaced figure in the drawing, one becomes aware of the edge of a chiton overfall on the proper right side. U was not drawn wearing a peplos.

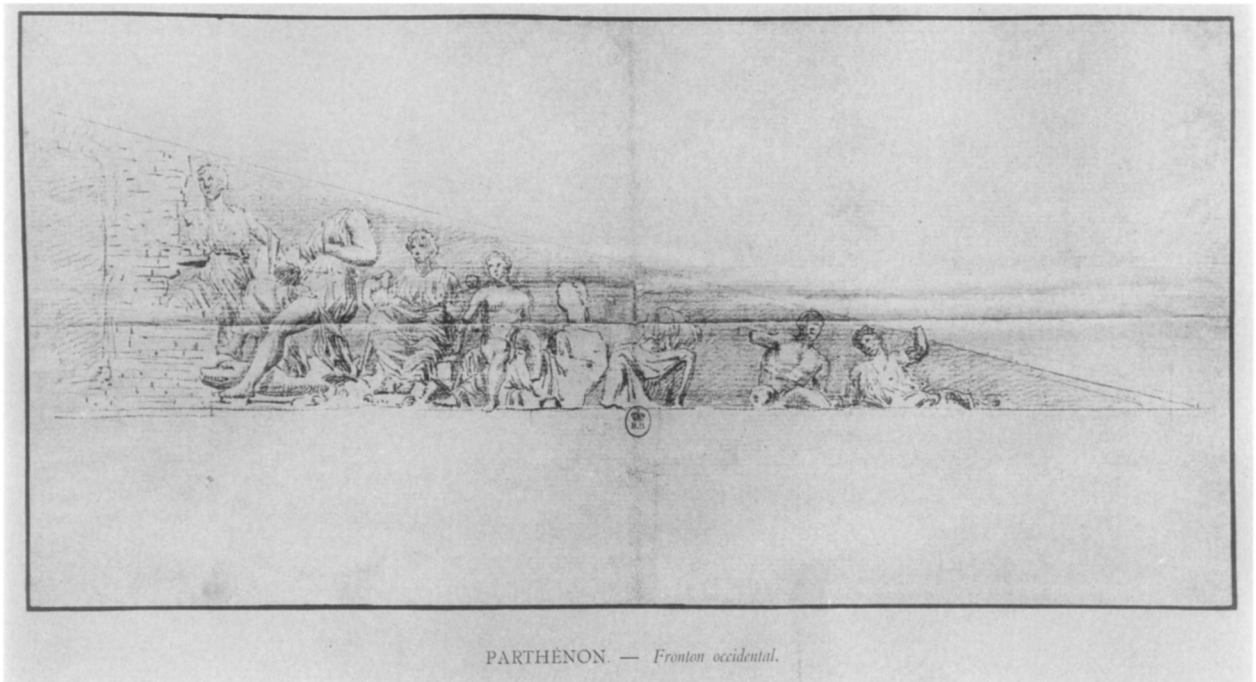


Figure 17. Parthenon west pediment, south corner (J. Carrey). Photo courtesy F. Brommer



Figure 18. Statuettes from a small pediment at Eleusis. Athens, National Museum 201 (left) in a cast joined with an original fragment in Eleusis; Athens NM 202 in cast. Photo S. Meletzis, courtesy Eleusis Museum

plained if we retain the earlier interpretations of U as the maiden daughter of Erechtheus whom he sacrificed to save the city of Athens at the time of the war with Eleusis and of U* as Praxithea, the wife of Erechtheus and mother of the sacrificed maiden.⁵⁵ A tradition that goes back to the Attidographer Phanodemos in the second half of the 4th century B.C. places the sacrifice of the daughters of Erechtheus “on the Pagos called Hyakinthos.”⁵⁶ It is unlikely that the term *pagos* would be applied to the Hill of the Nymphs as a whole, as was suggested by Machteld Mellink and subsequently by Miriam Ervin,⁵⁷ but it would well suit the rocky extension of that hill at its eastern foot, separated from the main mass of the hill by a low saddle, as the Areopagus is separated from the Acropolis.⁵⁸ The rocky seat of the maiden U with a low plinthlike extension of the terrain under her feet would mark this locale and help to identify the figure.⁵⁹ The smoothly rounded seat of Acropolis 888, which is retained in the Eleusis statuette NM 202 although its human figure seems to have been altered, resembles the little that survives of the seat of Parthenon east pediment K, who is best identified as Hestia. It should represent a clay altar or hearth (perhaps emulating some prehistoric form). The mother, U*, should be seen as inside the palace, where Praxithea belonged as Queen.⁶⁰ If the mother is Praxithea, the child on her lap was probably an infant. The small size of this child would explain why no trace of it appears on the fragment Acropolis 888.⁶¹

55. See Palagia 1993, p. 50, and p. 58, note 193, for proposers of these identifications, which she does not accept.

56. Phanodemos, *FGrHist* 325, F 4; Jacoby, *FGrHist* IIIB, Suppl. I, pp. 178–180. Photios, *Suda*, s.v. *παρθένου*. For a convenient collection of testimonia on the same myth, see Austin 1968, pp. 22–23.

57. Mellink 1943, pp. 56–59; Ervin 1959, esp. pp. 152–159.

58. Kron 1979, pp. 67–72.

59. Note that the “plinth” is only under the feet of NM 201, as it is of Acropolis 1363. On the sides and back, the carved rock surface extends to the pediment floor. Pittakis, who excavated Acropolis 1363 west of the Erechtheion in 1860, recognized the stylistic similarity of the piece to sculptures of the Parthenon pediments. He proposed that it represented Athena Polias seated on the rock of the Acropolis, which the rock under U resembles in its projections and indentations. The rock of the Hill of the Nymphs is similar to that of the Acropolis, with caves at its base (see Kron 1979, p. 67). For the transcription of Pittakis’s report, see Despinis 1982,

pp. 61–62. Despinis stresses the importance of the fact that Pittakis was the first to associate the statue stylistically and iconographically with the Parthenon pediments.

60. See Harrison 1967a, figs. 9, 16–17. In the excellent new Acropolis Museum picture book (Trianti 1998, p. 269, pl. 270), Acropolis 888 is described as sitting on a rock, but the front part of the fragment, next to the drapery that falls against the seat, is evenly dressed with a small-toothed implement, whereas the back part, which would never have been visible to spectators, shows some shallow indentation and coarser smoothing. These tool marks are clearer here than in any previous publication that I have seen. The fine claw chisel work is remarkably similar to that on the background of a 5th-century Thespian gravestone in New York that was reused in the Roman period (see Harrison 1990, pp. 173–174, fig. 11:b). This suggests that Acropolis 888, like other west pediment sculptures, had undergone rehabilitation after some damage. The irregular surface of the back part of the seat, which would have been

invisible, will have been roughly smoothed over, while the front part will have been carefully dressed down to remove stains and weathering, still preserving its bell-shaped profile. Palagia (1993, p. 51) remarks on the “pristine surface” but does not attribute it to recutting. She suggests that a figure of Praxithea occupied position U and one of Erechtheus the position U*. She casts doubt on both 1363 and 888 as Parthenon fragments and reads V and W as Ilissos and a Water Nymph (Appendix, p. 61).

61. The traditions about the number of the Erechtheids, their names, and who was sacrificed and who survived, are impossible to reconcile in any consistent way. In the *Erechtheus* of Euripides it is implied that all the sisters died, whether by sacrifice or by suicide. In the *Ion*, however, Kreousa says that she escaped because she was a newborn baby in her mother’s arms (*Ion*, line 280). A newborn would not yet count as a member of the family in the first few precarious days of its life, but the story is still inconsistent with the plot of the *Erechtheus*. We cannot, therefore, interpret the Parthenon sculptures using the

The male figure West V (Figs. 15–16) shares with West A, the reclining male in the left corner of the west pediment, the appearance of one emerging out of the water. I have suggested elsewhere that A is Aktaios, who preceded Kekrops in some mythical lists of Attic kings and gave his name to the land of Attica.⁶² The fall of drapery over the left arm and shoulder of Aktaios as he raises himself up on a low shelf of land suggests the fall of water from a body rising up out of the sea. The cloak of V creates a somewhat similar effect, though the figure is kneeling, rather than reclining as A does. Brommer remarked that the right leg of V, like A's left, seems to sink into the floor of the pediment.⁶³ The feet of those legs on both are enveloped in drapery.

Figure V of the west pediment was drawn by Carrey with its right upper arm raised. Though the lower arm and hand were already missing when Carrey saw the figure, the forearm probably extended forward, to judge from his right shoulder, which leans forward, not back like that of Poseidon in the center of the pediment. If this raised hand held a staff or scepter, its lower end may have been anchored in a cutting near the front of the cornice by V's right knee. The whole front part of block 6 is now missing, so this detail cannot be verified.

The very thick edge of V's cloak where it is broken away from his back suggests that a wind blew it back from his hand in an enveloping shell of cloth whose color would have framed the figure against the background. This mass of cloth would have supported the forearm and the hand.

Kekrops (B) in the opposite corner of the pediment must also have held a scepter, for his right arm too is raised. He was entitled to it as a king and as a judge. Eumolpos in the pediment was a grown man, though beardless, as we know from Carrey's drawing.⁶⁴ He too is entitled to the scepter, as founder and ruler of the Mysteries. His scepter would express the agreement whereby Eleusis, though becoming a part of the Athenian state, retained control in all matters pertaining to the Mysteries (Paus. 1.38.3).

The broad shoulders, heavily developed thighs, and well-muscled torso of V befit a son of Poseidon grown to manhood. The similar angles of the arms, shoulders, and upper torso of V and those of Poseidon (M) as drawn by Carrey reinforce the impression that the two are related. Figure West V thus declared its identity by quoting three others in the same pediment: A (Aktaios) in the use of falling drapery to mimic the flow of water from a body emerging from the sea, B (Kekrops) in the scepter of a ruler and a judge, and M (Poseidon) in the physical resemblance of two powerful bodies in a similar action.

It remains to discuss the cloak of the boy Eumolpos in the Great Eleusinian Relief and the manner of its draping. Like the cloak of west pediment V, it covers his back but is open in front. This may be meant to recall his emergence from the sea-bath of his childhood into the upper world, as his sandals recall a journey over land. One is also reminded in a certain way of the images of Apollo opening his cloak, which I have suggested may refer to his prophetic revelations.⁶⁵ The Hierophant of the Eleusinian Mysteries is by his very title one who reveals holy things. He must also keep secret those matters that are not to be revealed to the uninitiated. It is not clear in the image itself whether the boy's gesture of

text of either tragedy. It would be easy to restore a newborn suckling in the arms of the woman represented in Acropolis 888, however. The baby would have been very small, and the mother would have held it on her left side, close to her heart. It would have left no trace on the surviving fragment. This child should not be called Kreousa, for, as we have seen, T with her half-grown boy S is almost certainly Kreousa, but it is not at all impossible that the Parthenon image influenced Euripides when he came to write the *Ion*.

62. Harrison 1967a, p. 9. This suggestion was noted as uncertain by Gratia Berger-Doer, *LIMC* I, 1981, pp. 469–470, pl. 363, s.v. Aktaios I.

63. Brommer 1963, pp. 31, 55.

64. Palagia (1993, p. 51) comments on "his powerful musculature." See her pl. 117 and Brommer 1963, pls. 127–128.

65. Harrison 1979. See the Boston cup, pl. 25, for Apollo opening his cloak while both hands remain covered. Eumolpos, West 30 of the Parthenon frieze, has both hands covered while preparing to put on his cloak.

grasping the gathered folds of the himation is a prelude to taking it off or wrapping it around him. Perhaps it is both, an expression of the dual powers that the goddesses confer on him.⁶⁶

There is no general agreement on the date of the Great Eleusinian Relief, but it seems clearly to be somewhat apart from the main line of development of Attic relief sculpture as we know it from the reasonably well-dated series of architectural sculptures in Athens from the Parthenon frieze down to the monument of Dexileos. The stiffness of the poses may well be due, as many have suggested, to a desire to render a sacred image with appropriate solemnity. The very conscientious carving of the finer folds in the drapery and the almost metallic rendering of the hair give a faintly archaistic impression.

Tobias Dohrn suggested a date in the last decade of the 5th century B.C.⁶⁷ Brunilde Ridgway considered this to be too late,⁶⁸ but the hypothesis of a Boeotian or central Greek sculptor, or an Attic sculptor who had worked in Boeotia, an idea advanced by Schuchhardt, or a "Middle Greek" sculptor as proposed by Schneider⁶⁹ and favored by Ridgway, would explain its failure to conform to official Attic works of that period, such as the Erechtheion frieze or the western half of the south side of the Nike Parapet. Reliefs from Thespiiai show similar characteristics. The boy on the grave stele reused in the Roman period as the monument of Agathokles (Fig. 19)⁷⁰ has been cited in favor of a Boeotian connection. This is reinforced by a comparison of the lower portion of Persephone's chiton and the stiff sandal sole of her left foot with the gravestone of a seated woman in New York (Fig. 20).⁷¹ Although no provenance is recorded for the latter, the type belongs to a series found in Thespiiai that extends down into the 4th century, and the signs of reworking in the Roman period are similar, as is the non-Attic marble.

In the Great Eleusinian Relief the unusually low relief in proportion to the size of the panel implies a greater reliance on paint to clarify the actions of the figures and the pattern of the whole than we have in most Attic reliefs. We are reminded of the fine series of engraved and painted Boeotian gravestones of warriors from the late 5th and early 4th centuries.⁷²

Among unquestionably Attic monuments of high quality, the best parallel for the low relief of elements adjacent to the background and the reliance on color to unify the silhouette is the funerary stele of Hegeso, dated by common consent in the last decade of the 5th century or the very beginning of the 4th.⁷³ The right hand of Hegeso, like the right hand of Demeter in the Eleusinian relief, is holding up something that has hardly any thickness; the tips of the thumb and forefinger nearly meet. The base of the thumb and its junction with the wrist are carved in extremely simple forms, as though their basic shapes were visible, but not their details. This recalls the *tainia* held by Demeter and about to be grasped by Eumolpos. The arguments of Jürgen Thimme in favor of seeing the object offered to Hegeso as a funerary *tainia* and not an actual necklace are strengthened by this resemblance.⁷⁴

The stele of Hegeso is surely by an Attic artist. The beautiful echoing curves of the lower drapery of Hegeso and of her maid link the two figures in much the same way as the two daughters of Pelias are linked in the

66. Simon's direct reference (1998, pp. 380–381) to dressing after the sea-bath of *Halade Mystai* is made with the assumption that the boy is Demophon, serving as a representative of all the *mystai* in the preparatory rite of purification. This interpretation, however, lacks the broader allusion to the whole mystic experience that a youthful Eumolpos would embody in his rebirth from the sea.

67. Dohrn 1957, pp. 40–48.

68. Ridgway 1981, p. 140, note 23: Dohrn "dated the monument far too late."

69. Schuchhardt 1958, p. 487; Schneider 1973, p. 107.

70. Dohrn 1957, pp. 40, 42–44; Ridgway 1981, p. 140; Harrison 1990, pp. 171–172, fig. 8.

71. Richter 1954, pp. 50–51, no. 75, pl. 61; Harrison 1990, pp. 173–174.

72. Pfuhl 1923, pls. 259–260.

73. Athens, NM 3624. The relief has been reproduced in a number of different photographs, but the one that best illustrates the relation of the relief to the background is in Lullies and Hirmer 1957, pl. 185 (pl. 187 in 1960 ed., pl. 182 in 1979). See also the detail in Knigge 1991, p. 133, fig. 128.

The most recent discussion of the date, *IG I³* 1289 (1994), affirms that almost all except Dohrn and Robertson date the stele to the 5th century (ca. 410–400?). Knigge (1991, p. 134) also considers Hegeso's stele to be from the late 5th century: "the excavations showed that the late 5th C. B.C. relief of Hegeso was put beside the mid-4th B.C. anthemion stele of Koroibos after the latter had been set up."

74. Thimme 1964, pp. 18–19.



Figure 19. 5th-century B.C. grave-stone of a youth from Thespiiai. Athens, National Museum 742. Photo Hirmer



Figure 20. Grave stele of a seated woman, probably from Thespiiai. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1908 (08.258.42). Courtesy Museum

famous Three-Figure Relief. I have given arguments elsewhere for dating the latter in the last decade of the 5th century, though these reliefs too have often been dated earlier.⁷⁵ The Great Eleusinian Relief is also a three-figure relief, and it has in common with the Peliad relief the presence of a commanding, vertically posed, and relatively static figure at the left, faced by two less formally standing figures of different ages. If the composition lacks the rhythmic beauty and implicit drama of the Attic reliefs to which it can be compared, it is because its purpose is wholly different: to embody and confirm existing values, not to warn against their loss.

If we accept, and I think we must, that the Eleusinian relief was a votive offering and not a sacred icon to be set up within the inner sanctuary, its sheer size finds parallels among votive reliefs of the last years of the 5th century rather than in earlier works. Best documented, though recon-

75. Harrison, forthcoming.



Figure 21. Votive relief of Xenokrateia. Athens, National Museum 2756. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens

structed from many fragments, is the extraordinary “Monument of Telemachos,” consisting of a votive *pinax* ca. 0.70 m wide set on a pillar of such a height that the whole measured over 2 m. Inscriptions on the pillar recorded that Telemachos was the first founder of the Asklepieion in Athens.⁷⁶ The *pinax* was sculptured on both sides with images celebrating the gods of the sanctuary that Telemachos built.⁷⁷ Though the foundation must have taken place before 419/8 B.C., the actual monument is placed around the end of the century. Its purpose seems to have been to document Telemachos’s claim as first founder against any other possible claimants.

The beautiful relief set up by Xenokrateia in a small sanctuary near Phaleron measures 0.57 m in height and 1.05 m in width (Fig. 21). It was mounted on a poros pillar 2.12 m high. It is exceptional in the size of the *pinax*, the great number of figures represented, and the quality of the design and execution. The style is purely Attic, suggesting a date in the last decade of the 5th century. Xenokrateia dedicates the relief to Kephisos and the divinities who share the altar with him. It is assumed that she also dedicated the altar.⁷⁸

These impressive votive offerings displayed the generosity of their donors by depicting a large number of small figures. On the other hand, Pausanias (9.11.6) records that Thrasyboulos and the Athenians with him who destroyed the tyranny of the Thirty dedicated colossal images of Athena and Herakles on a Pentelic marble relief in the Herakleion at Thebes (because they had set out from Thebes on their return to Athens). The stele was the work of Alkamenes.

76. For the historical background of the dedication, see Aleshire 1989, pp. 7, 11, 34.

77. For the reliefs on the stele, see Beschi 1967–1968 and 1982. A reconstruction made in the Acropolis Center in Athens with the help of casts from the original fragments in Athens and London and fragments of a contemporary copy now in Padova and Verona has a height of well over 2.5 m. This is only an approximation since the height of the base is not preserved.

78. Athens, NM 2756: Karouzou 1968, p. 57; Guarducci 1974, pp. 57–66, pls. 8–12; Edwards 1985, pp. 310–338.

79. Plut. *Alc.* 33–34. For commentary, see Clinton 1974, pp. 15–16.

80. The date of the procession in 407 B.C. can serve only as a terminus post quem for the execution and dedication of the relief. An anonymous *Hesperia* reviewer has kindly called my attention to the fact that IG I³ 386/387 shows that no serious activity was taking place in the sanctuary in 408/7 B.C. If one looks at the history of the years from 407 to the end of the century, it would seem that ca. 400 B.C. would be the earliest likely date for the resumption of normal life at Eleusis. Alkibiades had taken refuge in Phrygia, where he was murdered in 404 B.C. at the instigation of the Thirty Tyrants, in league with Lysander. After the battle in that same year in which Thrasyboulos triumphed over the Thirty and Kritias was killed, the Herald of the *mystai*, Kleokritos, is said to have recalled in an eloquent plea for reconciliation, “We never did you any harm, but we have shared with you in the most solemn rites and sacrifices and the most splendid festivals” (Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.20, trans. C. L. Brownson, Loeb). Alkibiades had not slain tyrants as Thrasyboulos did, but through his having himself been slain by the Tyrants’ friends, his memory may have acquired by the turn of the century some of the aura of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, whose images now appeared on the shield of Athena on the Panathenaic amphoras.

81. A letter of Cicero to Atticus in 67 B.C. attests to the Roman interest in the old traditions of Eleusis. He asks Atticus to send him, at the request of Thyllus, a copy of the *Εὐμολπιδῶν Πάτρια* (*Letters to Atticus* 1.9.2). See Clinton 1974, p. 93. Cicero himself had been initiated, as had Atticus.

These examples would suggest for the Great Eleusinian Relief a donor connected with a special event in the history of the Eleusinian cult. Once we accept the date near the end of the 5th century that is favored by the parallels, an event comes readily to mind. From the time when the Spartans seized and fortified Dekeleia in 413/2 until the triumphant return of Alkibiades to Athens in 408/7, the Athenians had not been able to hold their procession by land from Athens to Eleusis at the time of the Mysteries, though the Mysteries continued to be celebrated. Plutarch records that during this time the celebrants were forced to travel by sea and so to omit sacrifices and dances and other rites performed during the march. Thus the festival lost much of its splendor. For the festival of 407 B.C., Alkibiades undertook to provide military protection for a land procession, which, thanks to his intervention, was carried out in undisturbed solemnity. Previously the Demos had voted that the Eumolpidae and the Kerykes should revoke the curses that they had laid upon Alkibiades when he was accused of profaning the Mysteries.⁷⁹

This triumphant return of the customary land procession is the kind of occasion that could well have been memorialized by a colossal votive relief. It was a kind of refoundation of the cult as its original founder would have wanted it to be. The Great Eleusinian Relief would have been a private dedication, perhaps by the Hierophant himself. The monument was large enough to be impressive but economical in its use of low relief and reliance on painted detail. Like the procession of Alkibiades, it emphasized the solemnity of the ritual rather than the enthusiasm of the participants.⁸⁰ The fact that the relief was copied in Roman times for display in Italy might suggest that it was valued for its historical associations rather than simply as an appealing work of art from Classical Athens.⁸¹

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