

THE MONDRAGONE RELIEF REVISITED

ELEUSINIAN CULT ICONOGRAPHY IN CAMPANIA

ABSTRACT

This study of a Classical Attic votive relief found at Mondragone in northern Campania reaffirms the traditional interpretation of the deities depicted on it as members of the Eleusinian cult circle. Drawing on contemporary Eleusinian vase painting, the author argues that the relief depicts episodes from the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. The figure of Dionysos, leaning on the throne of Hades, indicates that this Attic relief was dedicated in a local or domestic sanctuary in Campania by Eleusinian initiates who may also have participated in the Dionysiac-Orphic Mysteries. Thus, the relief is a crucial piece of evidence for the diffusion of the Eleusinian cult abroad.

A votive relief depicting an array of deities (Fig. 1) was found in 1916 during the plowing of a field northwest of the village of Mondragone in northern Campania, in the area where the Roman colony Sinuessa was situated.¹ The relief, now in Naples at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, is made of Pentelic marble and has traditionally been dated to the third quarter of the 4th century B.C.²

1. On the findspot of the relief and Sinuessa, founded in 296/5 B.C., see Mingazzini [1927] 1986, p. 3; Bonanome 1995, pp. 1–17. The heads of all of the figures are mutilated: Bonanome 1995, pp. 211–214.

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tions, and especially to Olga Novoseltceva and Elena Ananich (State Hermitage Museum). I finally wish to thank Stefanie Kennell for improving my English text, as well as the editor and the anonymous reviewers of *Hesperia* for their helpful comments.

2. Dimensions of the relief according to the initial publication by Mingazzini [1927] 1986, p. 3 (repeated by Bonanome 1995, p. 9, n. 1): H. 0.70, L. 1.33, D. 0.17 m. Dimensions in Baumer 1997, p. 147, no. R52: H. 0.71, L. 1.40, D. 0.19 m. My measurements: H. 0.71, L. 1.40, D. 0.13–0.17 m. There is a tenon on the underside of the relief.



Figure 1. Votive relief from Mondragone. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (no inv. no.). Photo C. Koppermann, courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome (neg. D-DAI-Rom 1966.1835)

A majority of scholars have associated the Mondragone relief with the Eleusinian cult circle, although its iconography is peculiar and the identification of most of the gods portrayed on it is still controversial.³ In her 1995 monograph on the relief, Daniela Bonanome argued that it shows Eleusinian deities along with deities from the circle of Asklepios, and that it was originally dedicated in the Athenian Asklepieion on the south slope of the Acropolis. Her interpretation, including the suggestion that the relief was removed in Roman times, before the sack of Athens by the Herulians in A.D. 267, and transported to the region of Sinuessa in Campania, where a cult of Asklepios flourished in connection with healing springs that were well known in antiquity, has been accepted in several recent studies.⁴

In this article, I reexamine the puzzling iconography of the Mondragone relief, with a view to better understanding the original context of its dedication. My study, which associates scenes on the relief with episodes

3. The relief is often mentioned in articles and monographs, including Borrelli 1920 (unavailable to me); Mingazzini [1927] 1986; Buschor 1928; Rizzo 1932, pp. 101–103, pl. CLIII; Picard 1931, pp. 25–34, pl. II; Nilsson [1935] 1952, pp. 556–557; Bielefeld 1951–1952; Herrmann 1959, pp. 106–111, 114–115; Mylonas 1965, pp. 105–107, no. 10, fig. 15; Metzger 1965, pp. 30, 36, 48, no. 14; Kerényi [1967] 1991, pp. 152–153, fig. 43; Peschlow-Bindokat 1972, pp. 126–127, 156,

no. R66; Bianchi 1976, p. 22, no. 25, fig. 25; Palagia 1980, pp. 28–29, 66, no. A1, fig. 48; Eschbach 1986, pp. 78, 80, nn. 288, 302, pl. 21:4; Schwarz 1987, pp. 66, 199–200, no. R8; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 878, no. 412, pl. 594, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); p. 44, no. 4, p. 46, s.v. Eubouleus (G. Schwarz); *LIMC* V, 1990, p. 612, no. 2b, s.v. Iakchos (E. Simon); Clinton 1992, pp. 41, n. 20, 64, 137, no. 5; *LIMC* VI, 1992, p. 991, no. 23, s.v. Hekate (H. Sarian); Güntner 1994, pp. 57–58, 153, no. D23,

pl. 30; Vikela 1994, p. 183, n. 71; Bonanome 1995; Baumer 1997, p. 147, no. R52, pl. 36:1; Filges 1997, pp. 37–42, 64–65, 254, no. 58, with fig.; *LIMC* VIII, 1997, p. 965, no. 152, s.v. Persephone (G. Güntner); Baumer 2001, pp. 89–90.

4. Bonanome 1995, pp. 199–210; followed by Vikela 1997, pp. 192–194, n. 86; Comella 2002, pp. 153–154, 215, no. Mondragone 1, fig. 157; Bottini 2005, pp. 148–151, no. 18, with fig. (A. Papini).

narrated in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, upholds the traditional interpretation of the scene on the relief as comprising only Eleusinian deities. One exception is the figure of Dionysos, who, despite his frequent appearance in Eleusinian vase painting, belongs here to a completely different cult tradition. The way in which Dionysos is depicted on the Mondragone relief provides a clue about the circumstances in which the relief was produced and dedicated. I argue that it was made in an Attic workshop and subsequently dedicated in a Campanian sanctuary by a devotee of both the Eleusinian and the Dionysiac-Orphic Mysteries, thus providing important evidence for the diffusion of the Eleusinian cult to the periphery of the Greek world in the 4th century B.C.

A REVIEW OF THE SCHOLARSHIP

Paolino Mingazzini in 1927 was the first to identify the relief from Mondragone as an Attic offering to the Eleusinian deities. He suggested that it had been dedicated in a sanctuary at Athens and transported to Italy as war booty after the sack of Athens by Sulla in 86 B.C., when the relief came into the possession of a native who used it to adorn his villa.⁵ The suggestion that the relief was transported to Italy as war booty has been widely accepted.⁶ Moreover, Mingazzini's idea that it adorned a Roman villa in the area of Sinuessa was endorsed by Bonanome, who associated it with a specific Roman villa adjacent to a bath complex excavated near the findspot of the relief.⁷

The only divinities on the Mondragone relief who can be securely identified are Triptolemos, seated in his winged wagon on the far left, and, standing next to him, the Eleusinian Kore, who holds a pair of torches in her right hand. The goddess standing beside Kore has been variously identified as Demeter, Thea (i.e., Persephone, consort of Hades in Eleusinian cult and queen of the underworld), Rhea, a personification of Eleusis, or Hekate.⁸ In front of her, the goddess seated on what seems to be an Eleusinian

5. Mingazzini [1927] 1986, p. 8.

6. See, e.g., Buschor 1928, pp. 49–50; Picard 1931, p. 34; Bianchi 1976, p. 22, no. 25. Kerényi ([1967] 1991, p. 152) suggests, however, that the relief may have been carried off from Eleusis by a Roman worshipper of the Eleusinian gods.

7. Bonanome 1995, pp. 10–17, 207–209, figs. 3, 4. See also Frederiksen 1984, pp. 39–40, for Roman villas in the area of Mondragone-Sinuessa.

8. Demeter: Mingazzini [1927] 1986, p. 5; Bielefeld 1951–1952, p. 1; Güntner 1994, p. 58; Bonanome 1995, pp. 53–72, figs. 27, 28; Vikela 1997, p. 193. Thea: Buschor 1928, p. 49; Nils-

son [1935] 1952, p. 557; Kerényi [1967] 1991, p. 153; Peschlow-Bindokat 1972, p. 127; Schwarz 1987, p. 200; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 878, no. 412, pl. 594, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); p. 44, no. 4, s.v. Eubouleus (G. Schwarz); Güntner 1994, p. 58; Baumer 1997, p. 147, no. R52. Theos and Thea identified as Hades and Persephone, respectively, in Eleusinian cult context: Nilsson [1935] 1952, pp. 555–558; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 390, s.v. Hades (R. Lindner et al., who in contrast identify Hades in art not with Theos, but with his agrarian aspect, the Eleusinian god Plouton); Clinton 1992, pp. 112, 114–115; *Agora* XXXI,

pp. 102–103, nn. 32–34. This identification has been challenged by other scholars who see Theos and Thea as an independent cult pair: Peschlow-Bindokat 1972, pp. 124–127; Schwarz 1987, p. 200; Simon 1997, p. 106, n. 58. Rhea (suggested as more likely than Aphrodite, who was worshipped at Daphni on the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis: Paus. 1.37.7): Picard 1931, p. 27. Personification of Eleusis: Metzger 1965, p. 36, no. 14; Bianchi 1976, p. 22, no. 25; Clinton 1992, p. 137, no. 5, with reservations. Hekate: *LIMC* VI, 1992, p. 991, no. 23, s.v. Hekate (H. Sarian).

kiste, the sacred round basket, probably represents Demeter, but Thea, Hestia, and Ge have also been proposed.⁹ A majority of scholars regard the enthroned god on the right as Theos (the Eleusinian Hades), although Zeus has been also considered a possibility.¹⁰ The god standing between the two seated deities could be either Hermes or Eubouleus,¹¹ while the figure sporting Thracian attire with fawnskin (*nebris*) and boots, standing behind the enthroned god, has been identified as Dionysos¹² or Iakchos.¹³

In 1931 Charles Picard offered a somewhat different interpretation of the Mondragone relief, arguing that it portrays episodes from the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. According to the *Hymn*, the goddesses standing in the background should be Kore and Rhea, as the latter listens to Demeter teaching the mysteries to Triptolemos (*Hom. Hymn Dem.* 459–484). Picard identified the enthroned figure as Zeus and the god in front of him as Hermes, who, according to the *Hymn*, accompanied Persephone on her return to the upper world (*Hom. Hymn Dem.* 377–385).¹⁴

George Mylonas was the first to propose, in 1965, that Demeter was depicted twice in the Mondragone relief, once as the goddess standing next to Kore and again as the goddess seated in the foreground, in a combination of two narratives.¹⁵ He did not, however, go so far as to identify the enthroned god, and remarked that the deities depicted on the right half of the relief may not have belonged to the Eleusinian cult circle.

9. Demeter: Buschor 1928, p. 49; Picard 1931, p. 26; Nilsson [1935] 1952, p. 557; Mylonas 1965, p. 106; Metzger 1965, p. 36, no. 14; Kerényi [1967] 1991, p. 153; Bianchi 1976, p. 22, no. 25; Peschlow-Bindokat 1972, p. 127; Schwarz 1987, p. 200; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 878, no. 412, pl. 594, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); p. 44, no. 4, s.v. Eubouleus (G. Schwarz); Clinton 1992, p. 137, no. 5; Güntner 1994, p. 58; Baumer 1997, p. 147, no. R52. Thea (seated on the *kiste*): Mingazzini [1927] 1986, pp. 5–7. Hestia: Bielefeld 1951–1952, pp. 10–19; Simon 1998, p. 386, n. 74; Comella 2002, p. 215, no. Mondragone 1. Ge (seated on an omphalos): Herrmann 1959, pp. 111, 114–115; Filges 1997, p. 42, n. 149.

10. Theos: Mingazzini [1927] 1986, p. 7; Buschor 1928, p. 49; Nilsson [1935] 1952, p. 557; Kerényi [1967] 1991, p. 153; Peschlow-Bindokat 1972, p. 127; Schwarz 1987, p. 200; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 878, no. 412, pl. 594, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); p. 44, no. 4, s.v. Eubouleus (G. Schwarz); Clinton 1992, p. 137, no. 5; Güntner 1994, p. 58; Baumer 1997, p. 147, no. R52. Zeus: Picard 1931, p. 27; Metzger 1965, p. 36, no. 14; Bianchi 1976, p. 22,

no. 25; Simon 1998, p. 386, n. 74.

11. Hermes: Picard 1931, pp. 27–28; Mylonas 1965, p. 106 (Hermes or Apollo); Metzger 1965, p. 36, no. 14; Bianchi 1976, p. 22, no. 25; Clinton 1992, p. 137, no. 5 (Hermes or Eubouleus); Baumer 1997, p. 147, no. R52 (Hermes or Apollo). Eubouleus: Mingazzini [1927] 1986, pp. 7–8; Nilsson [1935] 1952, p. 557; Kerényi [1967] 1991, p. 153; Bianchi 1976, p. 22, no. 25; Schwarz 1987, p. 200; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 878, no. 412, pl. 594, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi, who also suggests Iakchos); p. 44, no. 4, s.v. Eubouleus (G. Schwarz); Güntner 1994, p. 58. Eubouleus appears with Theos and Thea on a monumental votive relief dedicated by the priest Lakrateides in the late 2nd century B.C., Eleusis Museum 5079: *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 876, no. 386, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); pp. 43–44, no. 2, pl. 21, s.v. Eubouleus (G. Schwarz); Clinton 1992, pp. 51–53, 135 (Eubouleus: Sculpture), no. 3, pp. 162–163, figs. 5–7.

12. Mingazzini [1927] 1986, p. 8; Buschor 1928, p. 49; Picard 1931, pp. 27–28; Metzger 1965, p. 36, no. 14; Bianchi 1976, p. 22, no. 25; Schwarz 1987, p. 200; Clinton 1992, p. 137,

no. 5; Bonanome 1995, pp. 160–190, figs. 79, 80; Baumer 1997, p. 147, no. R52; Vikela 1997, pp. 193–194.

13. Nilsson [1935] 1952, p. 557 (Iakchos-Dionysos); Kerényi [1967] 1991, p. 153; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 878, no. 412, pl. 594, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi, who also suggests Eumolpos); p. 44, no. 4, s.v. Eubouleus (G. Schwarz, who suggests Iakchos or Dionysos); Güntner 1994, p. 58 (Dionysos-Iakchos); Filges 1997, pp. 64–65 (Iakchos-Dionysos). Simon (*LIMC* V, 1990, p. 612, no. 2b, s.v. Iakchos) accepts the Iakchos identification, basing her argument on the Torre Nova sarcophagus in the Palazzo Borghese in Rome (*LIMC* V, 1990, p. 612, no. 2a, s.v. Iakchos), which displays cultic and iconographic traits of the Roman Imperial period. Simon refers to traces of a sculpted torch next to this god on the Mondragone relief, which my autopsy did not confirm. Iakchos's symbolism and iconography: Graf 1974, pp. 60–61; Clinton 1992, pp. 64–71.

14. Picard 1931, pp. 26–28.

15. Mylonas 1965, p. 105, n. 1; see also Filges 1997, pp. 41–42, n. 149, with reservations.

Another interpretation of the seated goddess on the relief was offered by Erwin Bielefeld, who identified the seat as a cylindrical altar that he arbitrarily labeled as a *bestia*. Consequently, he argued that the goddess was Hestia, the goddess of the altar *par excellence*, portrayed after a famous statue.¹⁶ The main objection to this identification is that Hestia has no apparent place in Eleusinian cult and iconography. Although Bielefeld recognized this difficulty, he did not try to explain Hestia's presence among the Eleusinian deities on the Mondragone relief.

The main problems in interpreting the Mondragone relief involve both cult and iconography. First, disagreement persists among scholars concerning the role of the pair Theos and Thea in Eleusinian cult.¹⁷ Second, there is the difficulty posed by the presence of two goddesses on the relief who are both depicted following well-known Demeter types from the Classical Attic repertory.

In her monograph on the Mondragone relief, Bonanome sidestepped the problems that had vexed earlier scholars and adopted a new point of departure. She argued that the seat of the goddess in the middle of the composition is a wellhead that symbolizes the primary importance of water to medical treatment and cult.¹⁸ The goddess seated on the wellhead could therefore be none other than Epione, Asklepios's consort.¹⁹ Asklepios himself is the enthroned god dominating the right half of the scene, while one of his sons stands before him. The last male figure on this side, according to Bonanome, is Dionysos. On the basis of the well-documented cult relationship between the Eleusinian deities and Asklepios and his circle in Athens, Bonanome hypothesized that the Mondragone relief had originally been dedicated in the Athenian Asklepieion.

My main objections to accepting the idea that deities from the circle of Asklepios are present on the Mondragone relief are iconographic. Despite all the aforementioned difficulties of identification, I believe that the composition contains only deities from the Eleusinian cult. I should make it clear at this point that the use of the term "Eleusinian" throughout this paper refers to the mystery cult practiced at the sanctuary at Eleusis as well as to its documented diffusion in other parts of the Greek world.²⁰

16. Bielefeld 1951–1952, pp. 5–25; he associates the seated figure on the Mondragone relief with a Hestia by Skopas, originally in Athens, later in the Horti Serviliani in Rome (Plin. *HN* 36.25). The iconographic type of the seated goddess on the Mondragone relief recurs, according to Bielefeld, at least once as Hestia on a fragmentary relief from the Amphiaraios sanctuary at Oropos (Oropos, Archaeological Collection 72): Bielefeld 1951–1952, p. 3, no. 8; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 884, no. 259, s.v. Asklepios (B. Holtzmann); Leventi 2003, p. 146, no. R46, pl. 31. On that relief, however, the goddess who accompanies Amphiaraios should be

Hygieia, who was, according to the archaeological and epigraphical evidence, the most important female deity in the sanctuary. The goddess on the Oropos relief sits on an omphalos, a chthonic altar, known to be a seat for Hygieia: Leventi 2003, p. 69. Herrmann's suggestion that Ge is seated on an omphalos on the Mondragone relief, though adopted by Filges (see n. 9), is implausible on iconographic grounds. For Ge emerging from the ground in Classical iconography, see *LIMC* IV, 1988, pp. 172–177, pl. 98, s.v. Ge (M. B. Moore).

17. See nn. 8 and 10, above. The 5th-century First Fruits Decree (*IG* I³

78, lines 37–40; Clinton 2005, pp. 37–40, no. 28, pls. 9–11) attests to the central role of the Eleusinian pair Theos and Thea in 5th-century cult in the sanctuary at Eleusis, which makes their identification with Hades and Persephone highly plausible: see Clinton 1992, p. 56, n. 149, p. 114, n. 4.

18. Bonanome 1995, pp. 90–93.

19. One impediment to this view is that there is no attested relationship between Epione and Triptolemos, whom the seated figure on the relief appears to address.

20. See Burkert 1987, p. 37, n. 40; Hinz 1998, p. 236.



Figure 2. Votive relief with Hygieia, Asklepios, and a son of Asklepios.

Athens NM 1344. Photo E. Feiler, courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (neg. D-DAI-ATH-NM 6338)

DATE AND PROVENANCE OF THE RELIEF

The votive relief from Mondragone can be attributed to an Attic workshop of the third quarter of the 4th century B.C. on the basis of parallels with other 4th-century Attic votive reliefs that are comparable in style, workmanship, iconography, and architectural frame. A similar architectural frame appears on votive reliefs dedicated to the Nymphs (Athens NM 4465) and to Asklepios and Hygieia (Athens NM 1335), and on a votive relief with the Delian triad (Athens NM 3917), all from the period 350–325 B.C.²¹ The Kore type on the Mondragone relief is the standard one used for the Eleusinian Kore in 4th-century Attic iconography.²² The right hand of Triptolemos, which rests on his lap and perhaps once held a scepter or sheaves of wheat, is comparable to that of a seated Asklepios holding his staff on a votive relief (Athens NM 1333) of ca. 330–320 B.C.²³

The pose of the enthroned god on the Mondragone relief is comparable to that of Asklepios on another votive relief (Athens NM 1344) of ca. 330–320 B.C. (Fig. 2).²⁴ The goddess standing in the background is of the same type as the Demeter on a votive relief in Paris dating to ca. 330 (Fig. 3).²⁵ Similarities in the way the figures of the gods on the

21. Kaltsas 2002, pp. 212–214, 216–217, nos. 434, 438, 447, with figs. Athens NM 1335: Leventi 2003, p. 149, no. R56, pl. 36. For Athens NM 4465, see also Edwards 1987, pp. 467–474, no. 20.

22. Baumer 1997, p. 41, Beilage 3 (Kore type Kyparissi-Knidos); Filges 1997, pp. 35–43, nos. 52–59 (Persephone type Kos-Sofia).

23. *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 873, no. 66,

pl. 639, s.v. Asklepios (B. Holtzmann); Leventi 2003, p. 153, no. R70, pl. 46.

24. *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 873, no. 70, pl. 640, s.v. Asklepios (B. Holtzmann); Leventi 2003, p. 149, no. R57, pl. 36.

25. Louvre Ma 752: *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 865, no. 234, pl. 578, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); Bonanome 1995, pp. 41, 43, fig. 23; Baumer 1997, pp. 148–149, no. R54, fig. 36:3; Hamiaux 2001, p. 215, no. 223, with fig.



Figure 3. Votive relief with Demeter and Kore. Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 752. Photo Musée du Louvre, Dist RMN, © Les frères Chuzeville



Figure 4. Votive relief with Demeter, Kore, and Triptolemos. Eleusis Museum 5061. Photo H. Wagner, courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (neg. D-DAI-ATH-1976/16)

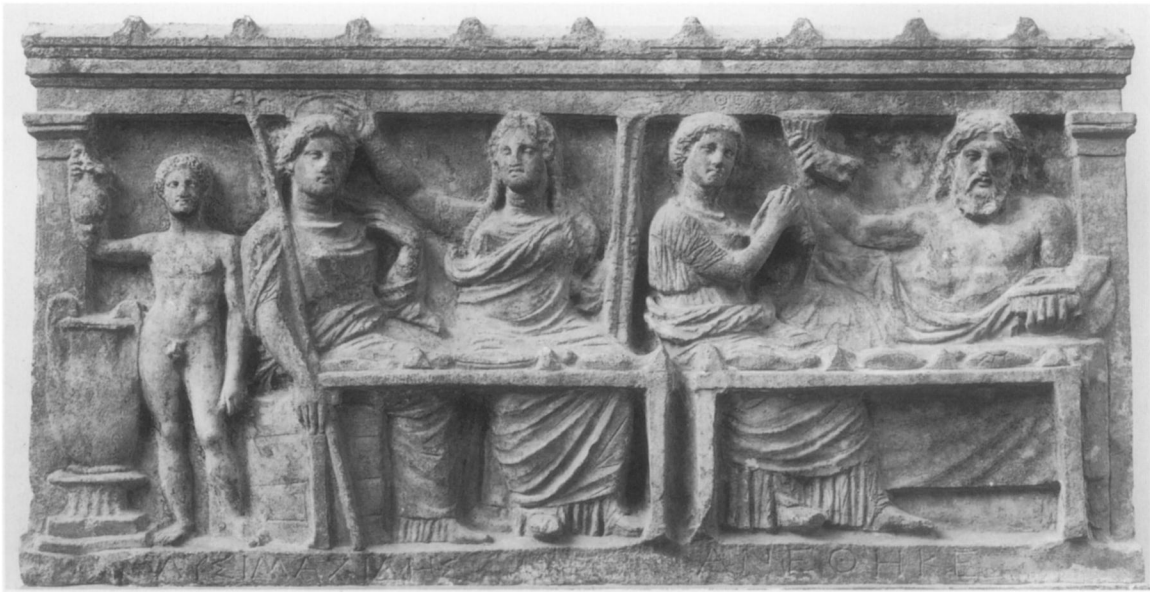
Mondragone relief relate to the background can be observed in other Attic votive reliefs dating from the decade 340–330, such as a relief with the Delian triad in Brauron, an Asklepios relief in the Vatican Museum, and a relief in Eleusis (Fig. 4).²⁶ In style, the Mondragone relief is closer to the latter two reliefs, as well as to yet another votive relief of ca. 340–330, dedicated to Asklepios in Athens.²⁷ It is therefore

26. Brauron Museum 1152: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 708, no. 1127, pl. 536, s.v. Artemis (L. Kahil and N. Icard); Baumer 1997, p. 136, no. R33, pl. 32:3. Vatican Museum 739: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 873, no. 72,

pl. 640, s.v. Asklepios (B. Holtzmann); Leventi 2003, pp. 146–147, no. R47, pl. 32. Eleusis Museum 5061: *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 875, no. 379, pl. 589, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); Baumer 1997, p. 139, no. R40, pl. 33:6 (with an

incorrect inventory number).

27. Athens NM 1377: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 881, no. 201, pl. 650, s.v. Asklepios (B. Holtzmann); Leventi 2003, p. 143, no. R37, pl. 27.



possible to date the Mondragone relief more precisely, to the decade 340–330 B.C.

An idiosyncratic feature of the composition on the Mondragone relief is the absence of any adorants, which is contrary to standard practice on 4th-century Attic votive reliefs from several different cult circles. A contemporary Attic votive relief dedicated by Neoptolemos of Melite, which is in the form of a cave and portrays several deities, does, however, provide a good parallel.²⁸ Other parallels include possibly a late-4th-century votive relief in Eleusis, preserved in two nonjoining fragments,²⁹ and a votive relief in Athens dedicated by Lysimachides (Fig. 5).³⁰ There are several possible reasons why deities were not shown together with mortals on some Attic votive reliefs. For example, the intention might have been to portray only the gods worshipped in neighboring sanctuaries, or to depict specific mythological scenes. It is also possible that the dedicant wanted to give an overall impression of the sacred place, as in the case of reliefs dedicated to the Nymphs, rather than to reproduce the cult action in which he or she participated, as was usual on reliefs representing worshippers.³¹

Despite the peculiarities of its composition, then, the Mondragone relief was, by all indications (including the Pentelic marble of which it was made), produced in an Athenian workshop.

Figure 5. Votive relief with Eleusinian deities dedicated by Lysimachides.

Athens NM 1519. Photo E.-M. Czakó, courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (neg. D-DAI-ATH-NM 5020)

28. Agora Museum I 7154: Shear 1973; Edwards 1987, pp. 419–437, no. 14; Clinton 1992, p. 21, n. 38; Vikela 1997, pp. 174–175, n. 21, pp. 204–205, pl. 20:3.

29. Eleusis Museum 5068 (Fig. 17, below): Kern 1892, p. 128, fig. 2; Peschlow-Bindokat 1972, pp. 127, 152, no. R45; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 878, no. 411, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); Clinton 1992, p. 125, n. 25; Güntner 1994,

pp. 58–59, 154, no. D24; Baumer 1997, p. 138, no. R37, pl. 33:3 (left); Vikela 1997, pp. 231–232, nn. 260, 265–266.

30. Athens NM 1519 (second half of the 4th century B.C.): *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 876, no. 385, pl. 389, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); Clinton 1992, p. 51, n. 118, p. 164, fig. 8; Comella 2002, pp. 128–129, 210, no. Eleusis 18, fig. 130; Kaltsas 2002, pp. 230–231, no. 484, with fig.

31. Reliefs of the Nymphs without adorants are found from the 4th century down through Hellenistic times, e.g., Athens NM 2012 (ca. 330–320 B.C.): Edwards 1987, pp. 519–528, no. 29; Kaltsas 2002, p. 218, no. 452, with fig. Athens NM 1879 (Late Hellenistic): Edwards 1987, pp. 725–735, no. 76; Vikela 1997, p. 210, n. 166, p. 217, pl. 28:3. There is also a strong tradition of Attic votive reliefs to various other

ICONOGRAPHY OF THE RELIEF

If we return now to the iconography of the Mondragone relief, it becomes obvious that Bonanome's identification of certain of its figures as Asklepios³² and other gods of his circle cannot be supported. The enthroned god's bare-chested type is more appropriate to Hades (the Eleusinian Theos), as we see on the votive reliefs of Lysimachides (Fig. 5) and Lakrateides,³³ although it occurs also with the seated Asklepios.³⁴ This phenomenon can be attributed to the iconographic assimilation of deities belonging to kindred cult circles, but in an Eleusinian context such as that of the Mondragone relief, Asklepios should be represented by a type distinct from that of Hades so that the worshipper could tell the two gods apart. It is also unlikely that the standing youth in front of the enthroned god represents a son of Asklepios.³⁵ In contrast to the god on the Mondragone relief, sons of Asklepios on Classical votive reliefs usually wear only a chlamys or a mantle, not a chitoniskos as well.³⁶

More relevant to the identification of the three divinities that Bonanome assigned to the circle of Asklepios is the observation that Asklepios, Epione, and a son of Asklepios do not appear as a triad on votive reliefs. Moreover, it is not Epione, Asklepios's consort, but his daughter Hygieia who may appear in such a group (e.g., Fig. 2), since she is the most important female deity in the cult and iconography of the healing god's circle.³⁷ On the other known 4th-century votive relief on which Eleusinian divinities appear together with Asklepios (Fig. 6), it is Asklepios alone who is portrayed as the essential representative of his circle.³⁸ Epione and a son of Asklepios are lesser deities in the cult, and it is difficult to believe that they would be represented with the principal divinities of another cult circle (Demeter, Kore, and Triptolemos) on the Mondragone relief.

deities without adorants, especially in the late 5th century B.C., e.g., Eleusis Museum 5085: Comella 2002, pp. 39, 209, no. Eleusis 7, fig. 24; a votive relief dedicated by Bakchios to the Delian triad, Athens NM 1389: Comella 2002, pp. 57, 199, no. Atene 108, fig. 45; and a votive relief with Dionysos and actors, Athens NM 1500: Comella 2002, pp. 75, 218–219, no. Pireo 10, fig. 69.

32. Bonanome 1995, pp. 121–159, figs. 60, 61.

33. The iconography of Hades: *LIMC* IV, 1988, pp. 367–394, s.v. Hades (R. Lindner et al.); Clinton 1992, pp. 105–107. Lakrateides relief: see n. 11, above. Lysimachides relief: see n. 30, above.

34. Asklepios appears bare-chested, e.g., on the reliefs Athens NM 1335 and 1344 (Fig. 2): see nn. 21 and 24, above. See also the discussion in Bonanome (n. 32, above).

35. Asklepios's son: Bonanome 1995, pp. 97–119, 157–158, figs. 49, 50.

36. E.g., Athens NM 1344 (Fig. 2): see n. 24, above. See also Asklepios's sons on the following reliefs: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 881, no. 204, pl. 650 (Athens NM 1426 [Fig. 7, below]) and p. 883, no. 248, pl. 654 (Athens NM 1402), s.v. Asklepios (B. Holtzmann); and on the relief Vatican Museum 739: see n. 26, above. An exception is the relief Athens NM 3528, on which Asklepios's son wears a chitoniskos under his chlamys: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 874, no. 75, pl. 641, s.v. Asklepios (B. Holtzmann); Bonanome 1995, p. 116, n. 48, fig. 56.

37. Leventi 2003, pp. 47–54. On Athens NM 1344 (Fig. 2), see n. 24, above. From the mid-4th century onward Epione more often appears accompanied by her numerous children, as on the relief Athens NM 1352: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 873, no. 65, pl. 639,

s.v. Asklepios (B. Holtzmann); *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 808, no. 1, s.v. Epione (F. Croissant); Leventi 2003, p. 142, no. R36, pl. 26.

38. Athens NM 1332: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 886, no. 313, pl. 660, s.v. Asklepios (B. Holtzmann); *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 881, no. 444, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi) (340–330 B.C.). This relief was excavated in the Athenian Asklepieion. Another possible depiction of Demeter and Kore together with Asklepios may be on the so-called Este relief of the late 5th century B.C., now in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum I 1095: Peschlow-Bindokat 1972, pp. 141–142, p. 151, no. R15; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 867, no. 272, pl. 580, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); Clinton 1992, p. 91, n. 147; Güntner 1994, p. 154, no. D26, pl. 31:1; Baumer 1997, pp. 152–153, no. R62, pl. 38:1.



Figure 6. Votive relief with Kore, Demeter, and Asklepios. Athens NM 1332. Photo courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (neg. D-DAI-ATH-NM 642)

Despite these considerations, Bonanome identified the seated female figure on the Mondragone relief as Epione seated on a wellhead on the basis of the parallel offered by an Asklepios relief from the god's sanctuary at Epidauros (Fig. 7).³⁹ The squared-off shape of the seat on the Epidauros relief, however, as well as the cloth covering it, suggest that it may in fact be a rocky altar. Thus, Bonanome's suggestion that the scene on the Mondragone relief mingles deities from the circle of Asklepios with Eleusinian deities seems implausible. Nonetheless, while the Mondragone relief should logically contain only Eleusinian deities, its composition remains unique and resists comparison with other Eleusinian votive reliefs.

The key to solving the interpretative problems of the Mondragone relief is to identify the goddess who sits in the middle of the composition, thereby constituting a focal point, and the goddess who stands behind her in the background. Since both are Classical types of Demeter, correctly identifying the object on which the central goddess is seated is vital. As we have seen, Bonanome identified this seat as a puteal or wellhead. Earlier, Jean Svoronos had suggested that Demeter's seat is, as a rule, the Kallichoron well at the Eleusis sanctuary.⁴⁰ Svoronos's interpretation failed to gain acceptance, and the prevailing scholarly view is that the Mondragone relief depicts the Eleusinian *kiste*, Demeter's seat *par excellence*, as do many other Eleusinian reliefs and vase paintings.⁴¹

39. Bonanome 1995, pp. 73–96, esp. pp. 90–93, fig. 45; Vikela 1997, p. 193, n. 85. For the Asklepios relief, Athens NM 1426 (330–320 B.C.), see n. 36, above.

40. Svoronos 1901, pp. 247–254. His identification was based on texts that mention Demeter sitting by or on the Kallichoron/Parthenion well in the

myth. See *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 98–99; Callim. *Hymn* 6.15; Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2.204. Svoronos's identification of all cylindrical seats of Demeter as well-heads was rightly criticized by Bielefeld (1951–1952, pp. 13–14), who acknowledged that the seat of the Mondragone goddess was very similar to a wellhead, but then shied away from the conse-

quence of identifying this figure as Demeter, whom he had already recognized as the goddess standing behind her.

41. Beschi (*LIMC* IV, 1988, pp. 844–892, s.v. Demeter) recognizes the *kiste* as Demeter's seat in the majority of cases. On the *kiste* generally, see Kern 1892, pp. 136–137; Bonanome 1995, pp. 73–76.



Figure 7. Votive relief with Asklepios and his family. Athens NM 1426.

Photo G. Hellner, courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (neg. D-DAI-ATH-NM 6257)

The iconography of the Classical period, however, shows Demeter sitting on a variety of objects in addition to *kistai*, such as tall baskets, thrones, and even the Mirthless Rock, as Kevin Clinton has suggested for vase paintings.⁴² In one exceptional case, that of the east pediment of the Parthenon, Demeter and Kore are seated on bridal chests.⁴³

Demeter's seat on the Mondragone relief may be another special case, since comparison with other depictions shows that it is unlikely to be either a *kiste* or a tall basket. The relief Athens NM 1332 (Fig. 6) shows Demeter seated on an unadorned *kiste*, while a fragmentary votive relief in the Eleusis Museum (Fig. 8) even depicts its cover;⁴⁴ in both cases the *kiste* is much lower than the seat on the Mondragone relief. But when Demeter is seated on a tall basket in Attic vase painting, that basket is rendered quite differently. For example, on a red-figure pelike formerly in the Sanford-Graham collection and on a fragmentary red-figure votive pinax

42. The seats of Demeter: Metzger 1965, pp. 33–48. Tall baskets: see nn. 45 and 46, below. Throne: votive relief, Athens, Agora Museum S 1251: *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 878, no. 413, pl. 594, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); Clinton 1992, p. 135 (Eubouleus: Sculpture), no. 1, p. 164, fig. 9; *LIMC* VII, 1994, p. 417, no. 14, s.v. Ploutos (K. Clinton); cf. n. 88, below. The Mirthless Rock: Clinton 1992, pp. 15–27, and as a seat for Demeter, e.g., (1) the Kerch hydria Athens NM 17297 (ca. 350 B.C.): Metzger 1965, p. 33, n. 1, p. 41, no. 38, pl. XIX:2; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 877, no. 398, pl. 592, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi; altar?); Clinton 1992, p. 136 (Iakchos:

Vase Painting), no. 3, p. 180, fig. 33; and (2) a hydria in Bern, Riggisberg, Abegg-Stiftung 3.127.73 (ca. 330 B.C.): *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 878, no. 408, pl. 593, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi, who identifies the goddess as Rhea seated on an omphalos); Clinton 1992, pp. 83–84, 133 (Ploutos: Vase Painting), no. 7, p. 174, figs. 22, 23; *LIMC* VII, 1994, p. 417, no. 11, s.v. Ploutos (K. Clinton).

43. E and F in the Parthenon east pediment: *LIMC* IV, 1988, pp. 882–883, no. 463, pl. 598, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); Palagia 1993, p. 20, figs. 37, 38.

44. Athens NM 1332: see n. 38, above. Eleusis Museum 5067: Kanta

1979, p. 71, with fig.; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 868, no. 281, with fig., s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi). See also the relief Eleusis Museum 5068: n. 29, above. The *kiste* with offerings carried by a maiden on some Asklepios reliefs of the 4th century B.C. is similar, e.g., Athens NM 1345: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 887, no. 344, pl. 663, s.v. Asklepios (B. Holtzmann); *LIMC* V, 1990, p. 564, no. 147, s.v. Hygieia (F. Croissant); Leventi 2003, p. 139, no. R25, pl. 22; Athens NM 1331: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 889, no. 386, pl. 666, s.v. Asklepios (B. Holtzmann); *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 808, no. 16, s.v. Epione (F. Croissant); Leventi 2003, p. 44, no. 41, pl. 29.



Figure 8. Fragment of a votive relief showing Demeter and Kore. Eleusis Museum 5067. Photo courtesy Eleusis Museum

in Eleusis, both of ca. 340–330 B.C., the basket is articulated as a series of parallel horizontal rings; on the pelike, they flare toward the top.⁴⁵ The tall basket on which Demeter is seated on the votive relief of Lysimachides (Fig. 5) and the basket on the so-called Regina Vasorum, an Attic relief hydria from Cumae whose central scene depicts Demeter's reunion with Kore (Fig. 9), are rendered with similar rings.⁴⁶

We turn now to the suggestion that Demeter is seated on a wellhead on the Mondragone relief. Marble wellheads with decorative moldings around their rims and bases are usually dated to the Hellenistic period. One parallel to the cylindrical seat on the Mondragone relief is offered by a limestone wellhead in the South Stoa at Corinth attached to a well in room XIV (Fig. 10). The South Stoa has been dated to the last quarter of

45. Pelike (now lost): Metzger 1965, p. 34, no. 2, pl. XIV:1; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 878, no. 409, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi, who identifies the basket as a *kiste*); Clinton 1992, p. 133 (Ploutos: Vase Painting), no. 4, p. 176, fig. 25. Pinax, Eleusis Museum 1627: Metzger 1965, p. 36, no. 15, pl. XVI:1; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 876, no. 391, pl. 590, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi; *kiste*); Clinton 1992, p. 134 (Eubouleus: Vase Painting),

no. 6, p. 203, fig. 71.

46. Lysimachides relief, Athens NM 1519: see n. 30, above. Regina Vasorum, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum B-1659 (ca. 330 B.C.): *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 878, no. 405, pl. 593, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi, who identifies the basket as a *kiste*); Clinton 1992, pp. 78–81, 134 (Eubouleus: Vase Painting), no. 5, p. 79, fig. 9, pp. 169–171, figs. 17–19.



Figure 9. Two views of a relief hydria (Regina Vasorum) showing Eleusinian deities. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum B-1659. Photos courtesy the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg



Figure 10. Wellhead at Corinth, South Stoa, room XIV. *Corinth* I.4, pl. 14:3. Courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations

the 4th century B.C., although it is not certain that all the wells in it are contemporary with the building.⁴⁷ On the other hand, terracotta wellheads of nearly cylindrical shape are known from the 7th century to the Hellenistic period.⁴⁸ One terracotta wellhead from the Athenian Agora dating from the second half of the 4th century is in fact comparable, though not identical, to the Mondragone relief's putative wellhead. The Agora example has a straight profile that flares toward the base, which carries a heavier molding than the mouth.⁴⁹ A similar base profile is suggested by the seat of Demeter on the Mondragone relief. Given its similarities to extant wellheads and its shape, which differs from that of *kistai* and tall baskets, the cylindrical object on which the goddess is seated on the Mondragone relief should in all likelihood be identified as a wellhead.

Another possibility, however, is that a cylindrical puteal may be identical to a cylindrical altar, Bielefeld's interpretation of the goddess's seat on the Mondragone relief. Monumental marble altars of cylindrical shape are already known from the Late Archaic period,⁵⁰ and the secondary use of cylindrical altars as wellheads is attested in the Hellenistic period.⁵¹ But

47. The earliest fill in the well topped by this cylindrical puteal contained a coin of Demetrios Poliorketes (306–283 B.C.) along with early-3rd-century B.C. pottery: *Corinth* I.4, pp. 62–65, esp. p. 64, n. 30. On wells with cylindrical stone puteals from the South Stoa generally, see *Corinth* I.4, pp. 59–65, figs. 39, 40, pl. 14. The dating of the South Stoa to the last quarter of the 4th century B.C.: *Corinth* XVIII.1, pp. 3–4. Hellenistic cylindrical puteals from Pompeii: Pernice 1932, pp. 12–22, pls. 8:5, 8:6, 9:1–3, 13:5–6.

48. As far as I know, the development of the puteal types has not been studied recently; see Lang 1949 and Camp 1980, esp. pp. 180–181. Examples of drum-shaped terracotta wellheads dated to the 7th century B.C.: Brann 1961, p. 379, no. S32, pl. 88, fig. 3 (Agora Museum A 2753); and pp. 373–374, no. H78, pl. 89 (fragment Agora Museum A 2473). Another terracotta wellhead was excavated at the fortress of Rhamnous; the well's fill dates between the late 4th and the 1st centuries: Petrakos 1993, pp. 29–30, fig. 9;

Petrakos 1999, p. 138, figs. 85, 86.

49. A 1418: Lang 1949, p. 127, no. 15, pl. 7, fig. 5. Cf. Bielefeld 1951–1952, pp. 13–14. For plain Hellenistic wellheads without decorative moldings at the mouth, see *Délös* VIII, p. 347, pls. LXI:B, E, LX:D.

50. Thompson 1937, pp. 151–152, fig. 87; Tuchelt 1992, p. 52, figs. 84, 85; Voutiras 1994, p. 45; Aktseli 1996, p. 68, nn. 97–98.

51. For Hellenistic puteals from Delos that resemble cylindrical altars, see *Délös* VIII, pp. 346–351, pls. LXI,

the problem with interpreting the seat of the goddess on the Mondragone relief as a cylindrical altar is ultimately one of iconography. Cylindrical altars do not appear on Attic votive reliefs before the Hellenistic period, and then they are richly decorated or have offset moldings on their tops and bases, as, for instance, on a votive relief from the sanctuary of Amynos in Athens and on a relief in Paris.⁵²

A further objection to the interpretation of the cylindrical object in the Mondragone relief as an altar is that the depiction of a deity seated on an altar normally indicates an epiphany, with the deity appearing to his or her worshippers.⁵³ This is clearly not the case with the Mondragone relief, which carries a scene devoid of mortals and portrays the seated goddess interacting with Triptolemos on a purely mythical level.

Given the Eleusinian cult context, the most plausible suggestion for the identity of the seated goddess on the Mondragone relief is that she is Demeter seated on a well. The logical conclusion is that it is the Kallichoron or Parthenion well in the sanctuary at Eleusis, which is mentioned in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* and was an important feature of the sanctuary throughout antiquity because of its close association with the myth of Demeter and Kore.⁵⁴ In the *Hymn*, Demeter is desperately searching for Kore, who has been abducted by Hades. She arrives in Eleusis and sits down to rest by the Parthenion well, where she meets Keleos's daughters, who escort her to his palace (*Hom. Hymn Dem.* 98–184; cf. Paus. 1.38.6). After Demeter's identity has been revealed, she orders the Eleusinians to build her a temple above the Kallichoron well, below the city walls (*Hom. Hymn Dem.* 268–272). This well is therefore closely connected with the establishment of Demeter's cult in Eleusis.

It can be argued, moreover, that the figure of Demeter seated on the Kallichoron/Parthenion well amounts to a conventionalizing transformation of mythical narrative into pictorial depiction. This trend was current in Eleusinian vase painting of the second half of the 4th century B.C., as seen, for example, on a Kerch hydria from Crete (Fig. 11), an aryballoid lekythos from Apollonia in Thrace,⁵⁵ and a fragmentary pyxis lid in Boston

LXII; *Délos* XVIII, pp. 94–96, pls. 37, 38, figs. 124–127, where it is stated (p. 96) that some puteals were made from cylindrical altars. Also comparable in form to the seat on the Mondragone relief are certain bases for 4th-century grave reliefs, e.g., that of Euboulos in Brauron (Brauron Museum BE 2676): Pologiorgi 2002, figs. 4, 6, and esp. pp. 200–201.

52. Athens NM 3540 (ca. 310–290 B.C.): Hausmann 1948, p. 171, no. 64 (A 16), fig. 8; Leventi 2003, p. 154, no. R74, pl. 49. Relief in Paris, Louvre Ma 756 (ca. 310 B.C.): *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 850, no. 27, pl. 564, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); Voutiras 1994; Hamiaux 2001, p. 216, no. 224, with fig. In general, see Voutiras 1994,

p. 45, n. 77; Golda 1997, p. 36.

53. Leventi 2003, pp. 69–70. This may also be true of Epione on the Epidauros relief, Athens NM 1426 (Fig. 7): see nn. 36, above, and 77, below.

54. Richardson 1974, pp. 326–327; Clinton 1992, pp. 27–28, 34–35.

55. Hydria NM 1443: Metzger 1965, p. 39, no. 30, pl. XIX:1; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 877, no. 396, pl. 591, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); Clinton 1992, p. 138 (Eumolpos: Vase Painting), no. 3, p. 196, fig. 56. Lekythos in Sofia, Archaeological Museum 7721: Metzger 1965, p. 41, no. 39, pl. XXIII:1–2; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 869, no. 288, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); Clinton 1992, p. 134 (Euboulos: Vase Painting), no. 3, p. 177, figs. 26–28. Metzger

(1965, p. 47) recognizes Demeter seated on or near the well on the Sofia lekythos and on two other examples, a hydria (Athens NM 17297: see n. 42, above) and a votive relief in Athens (Agora Museum S 1646: *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 879, no. 414, pl. 594, s.v. Demeter [L. Beschi]; Clinton 1992, p. 135 [Euboulos: Sculpture], no. 2, p. 165, fig. 10; *LIMC* VII, 1994, pp. 417–418, no. 15, s.v. Ploutos [K. Clinton]; see n. 88, below), both of which Clinton (1992, p. 27, n. 62) rightly rejects. Metzger (1965, p. 48) concedes that Demeter might be seated on the Kallichoron well on the Mondragone relief, but finally decides that her seat is a *kiste*, as it occurs more commonly.



Figure 11. Kerch hydria showing Eleusinian deities. Athens NM 1443.

Photo courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens

(Fig. 12).⁵⁶ These vase paintings show Demeter seated on the well, which is represented by two superimposed rings that indicate the form of the actual Kallichoron/Parthenion well by the entrance to the Eleusis sanctuary (Fig. 13).⁵⁷ Demeter may also be seated on a cylindrical wellhead representing the Kallichoron/Parthenion well on two similar gold bands from Thessaly, dated to the late 4th or 3rd century B.C. (Fig. 14, left); in contrast, Kore's seat on the bands is clearly the low, broad *kiste* furnished with horizontal rings (Fig. 14, right).⁵⁸

56. Boston, MFA 03.877a–c: FR II (1909), p. 53, n. 2, p. 54, fig. 24; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 877, no. 401, pl. 592, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); pp. 45–46, no. 15, s.v. Eubouleus (G. Schwarz). The identification as Demeter seated on the Kallichoron/Parthenion well was first suggested by Metzger (1965, p. 40, no. 34), but rejected by Clinton (1992, p. 27, n. 62), who regards the scene as non-Eleusinian. Nevertheless, the pyxis lid fragment with the seated Demeter joins another published in *LIMC*, which shows a nude male figure holding the mystic staff or simple myrtle stalks (perhaps Herakles, as Beschi correctly recognized). A female figure with a torch (Hekate?), Hermes, and possibly Persephone emerging from the ground in an *anodos* are represented

behind Demeter. The Boston pyxis lid was attributed to the Marsyas Painter by Schefold (1934, p. 4, no. 5, esp. pp. 125, 159). On another fragment, a seated female figure is depicted with the Eleusinian cult vessel called the *plemochoe* (Clinton 1992, pp. 74–75) in front of her seat. This vessel is similar to that shown on the Regina Vasorum (see n. 46, above, and Fig. 9, bottom) and the Niinnion pinax (Athens NM 11036: Metzger 1965, pp. 38–39, no. 26; *LIMC* IV, 1988, pp. 876–877, no. 392, pl. 591, s.v. Demeter [L. Beschi]; Clinton 1992, pp. 73–75, 136 [Iakchos: Vase Painting], no. 1, frontispiece, and p. 204, fig. 73). The vessel on the Boston fragment shows a convex shoulder and domed upper part or lid. On the Eleu-

sinian *plemochoe* in general, see *Agora* XXXI, pp. 95–103, pls. 22, 23.

57. Travlos 1988, p. 94, figs. 154–156. For the correct identification of the Kallichoron/Parthenion well, see Richardson 1974, pp. 327–328, reconsidering Mylonas 1961, pp. 44–47.

58. Athens NM, Stathatos Collection 342: Amandry 1953, pp. 86–87, nos. 230–231, pl. XXXIV (although he identified both seats as the Eleusinian *kiste*); *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 875, no. 382, pl. 589, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi). Demeter's seat identified as a well: Möbius 1955, p. 39; cf. Metzger 1965, p. 48, n. 6. It is noteworthy that Kore is seated comfortably on the *kiste*, whereas Demeter appears to lean on the rim of the wellhead (or altar?).

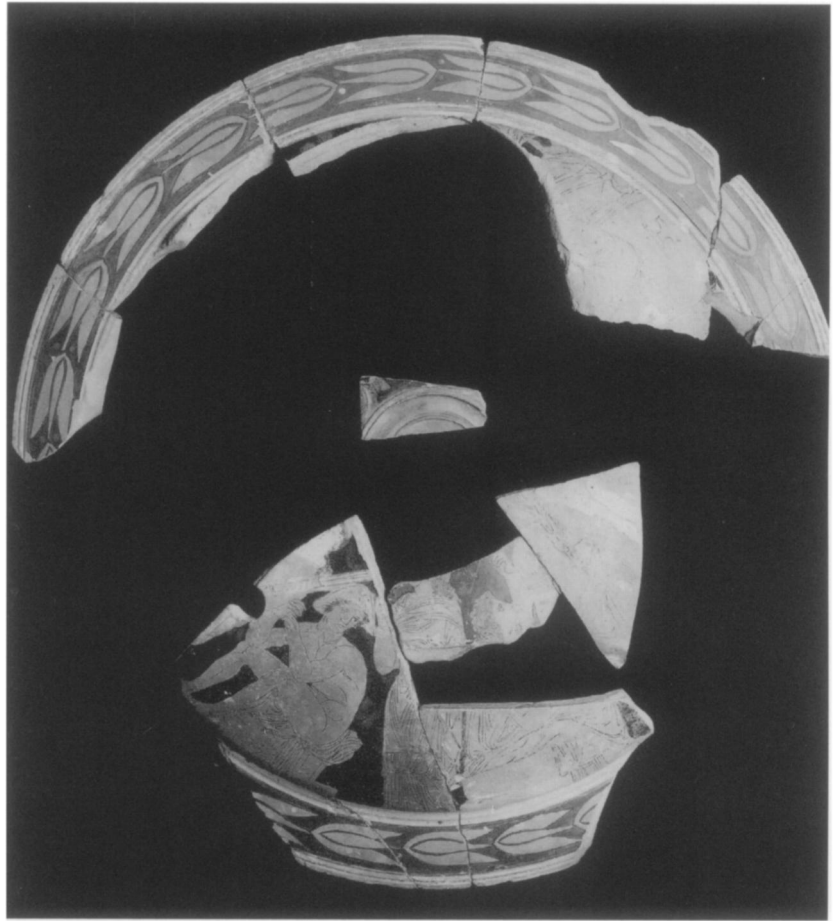


Figure 12. Fragments of a red-figure pyxis lid showing Eleusinian deities. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 03.877a–c. Photo © 2007, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 13. The Kallichoron/Parthenion well in the sanctuary at Eleusis. Giraud 1991, pl. 9:a. Courtesy Archaeological Society at Athens

59. Giraud 1991, pp. 19–47, and, with special reference to the plain cylindrical wellhead that may have existed in Peisistratid times, p. 47, figs. 4, 8–10, 17, 18, 21, 22, 26; Micheli 2002, pp. 72–73. Cf. the well on the Sofia lekythos (see n. 55, above), which is cylindrical on one side and has steps corresponding to the rings on the other.

Though the Kallichoron/Parthenion well on the Mondragone relief is not rendered in the same way as in the vase paintings mentioned above, it nonetheless recalls to some degree the extant well at Eleusis, which had a plain cylindrical shape that was visible from outside, as it was partly incorporated into a round construction of the sanctuary's fortification wall in the early 5th century B.C.⁵⁹ The identification of the seated goddess on the Mondragone relief as Demeter seated on the Kallichoron/Parthenion well would complement the narrative in the *Homeric Hymn*, which Clinton

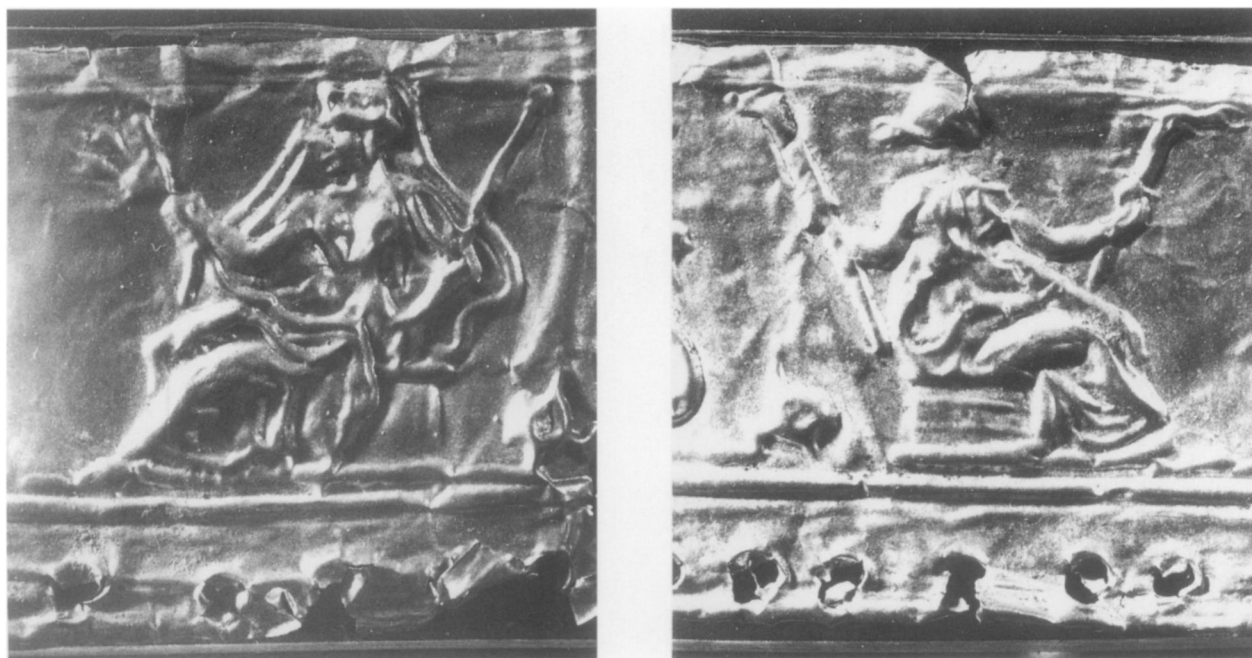


Figure 14. Gold band showing (left) Demeter and (right) Kore. Athens NM, Stathatos Collection 342. Photos courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens

connected primarily with the panhellenic festival of the Thesmophoria, a ritual celebration that is likely to be earlier in date than the Great Mysteries.⁶⁰ In this context, Demeter's association with the well may denote the role of water in the fertility festival of the Thesmophoria.⁶¹ But how does Demeter seated on the well fit in with the other Eleusinian deities on the relief, and how can her identification help to determine the identity of the other disputed figures?

The goddess standing between Kore and the seated Demeter wears an Argive peplos and himation, as well as a polos, and has long tresses over her shoulders. The figure of Demeter on the relief in Paris (Fig. 3) dating to ca. 330 B.C. is identical. This type also occurs in contemporary variations on a fragmentary red-figure skyphos by the Marsyas Painter found in Eleusis (Fig. 15) and on a fragment of a votive relief from Eleusis (Fig. 16), where the pose of the figure is reversed.⁶² On the Louvre relief, Demeter holds a phiale and a scepter; the same attributes may originally have been held by the goddess on the Mondragone relief, whose arms are in a comparable position.⁶³ Both on the Louvre relief and on the red-figure skyphos,

60. Clinton 1992, pp. 29–37; cf. Binder 1998, pp. 137–139. On the later association of the *Homeric Hymn* with the exclusively Eleusinian/Attic festival of the Great Mysteries, see Clinton 1994, p. 164.

61. Clinton 1992, pp. 34–35. The cult of Demeter *Phrearrhoos* attested by an inscription on one of the Roman Imperial-period seats in the Theater of Dionysos at Athens (*IG II²* 5155) is another indication of this important relationship of the goddess with wells:

Δήμητρ[ος] Φρεαρπό[υ], as suggested first by Svoronos 1901, p. 254, n. 1.

It is not certain whether this cult of Demeter had any connection with the Attic deme of Phrearrhioi. For the cult of the Eleusinian deities in Phrearrhioi, see Vanderpool 1970; Whitehead 1986, p. 386, no. 94. For the deme and the likelihood that its name was derived from the region's numerous wells, see Traill 1986, pp. 145–146.

62. For the Louvre relief Ma 752, see n. 25, above. Eleusis Museum 5062:

Peschlow-Bindokat 1972, p. 153, no. R48, fig. 41; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 875, no. 380, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi). Skyphos fragment Athens NM 11037: *ARV²* 1475, no. 8; Metzger 1965, p. 240, no. 13; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 877, no. 397, pl. 592, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); Clinton 1992, p. 138 (Eumolpos: Vase Painting), no. 6.

63. Bonanome (1995, p. 53, fig. 28) suggests that the figure was gesticulating conversationally.



Figure 15. Fragmentary red-figure skyphos (Marsyas Painter) showing Triptolemos, Kore, and Demeter. Athens NM 11037. Photo courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens

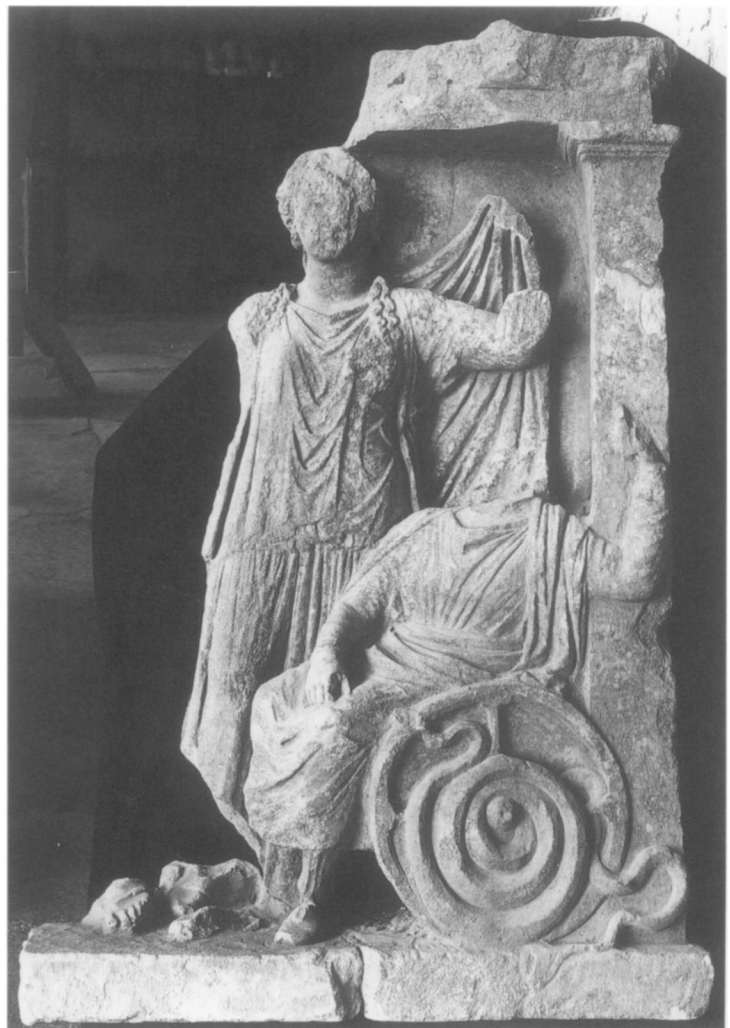


Figure 16. Fragment of a votive relief showing Demeter and Triptolemos. Eleusis Museum 5062. Photo courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (neg. D-DAI-ATH-Eleusis 76)

Demeter is accompanied by Kore, who is depicted in a type similar to that of the Mondragone relief. Lorenz Baumer has suggested that a common source of inspiration lay behind the two relief compositions.⁶⁴ This Demeter type, also known from statuettes, may derive from a statue of the goddess, as others have argued.⁶⁵ The goddess standing next to Kore on the Mondragone relief is, therefore, clearly a second representation of Demeter.

The polos worn by the standing goddess is not worn by Kore when she appears together with Demeter in 4th-century B.C. scenes, but remains a characteristic of Demeter, as, for example, on the Regina Vasorum (Fig. 9). On that vase, both Demeter and Kore appear twice, the latter once with Demeter and once as Persephone/Thea, although Hades/Theos is omitted. By the same token, the presence of Hades/Theos on the Mondragone relief does not necessitate the presence of his queen,⁶⁶ for reasons that will become clear below.

The standing goddess on the Mondragone relief cannot be Persephone/Thea as queen of the underworld since (1) she is standing next to Kore, who is the identical goddess in the upper world, according to Eleusinian theology, and (2) she is not close to Hades/Theos, who is enthroned in the right half of the composition. The matronly type of the standing goddess, moreover, precludes her identification as Persephone/Thea, who shares a youthful type with Kore (as they are manifestations of the same goddess).⁶⁷ Earlier suggestions that the standing goddess could be Rhea or a personification of Eleusis lack force: Rhea, despite her appearance in the *Hymn*, has nothing to do with Eleusinian cult,⁶⁸ while the use of a well-known Demeter type to represent Eleusis would only have confused the ancient spectator.⁶⁹ Even Hekate, for all her well-known connections

64. Baumer (1997, p. 41) proposes an earlier relief as the source of inspiration. Of potential significance for the original conception is that at least three examples showing this Demeter type—the Mondragone relief, the Eleusis relief, and the skyphos in Athens—also depict Triptolemos in his winged wagon.

65. Bielefeld 1951–1952, pp. 1–2, 5; Baumer 1997, pp. 60–62, 65, esp. nos. G17/B, K3, K10, K12, K14, pls. 22:2–5, 40:1–4, 44:4–6, 45:5, 46:1, Beilage 5 (Demeter Kos-Kyrene type). Bonanome (1995, pp. 70–72) accepts that the standing Demeter on the Mondragone relief draws on Praxiteles' cult group with Kore and Triptolemos, which may have been initially erected in the Ploutonion precinct or the shrine of Triptolemos at Eleusis before it was moved to the Horti Serviliani in Rome (Plin. *HN* 36.23); Filges 1997, pp. 41–43. Bielefeld (1951–1952, pp. 6–9)

associates his putative seated Hestia on the Mondragone relief with a statuary type of this goddess (see n. 16, above), citing the similar statuary type of Demeter seated on a *kiste*, following Kern 1892, pp. 135–138; Eschbach 1986, pp. 71–80, esp. pp. 77–80, pls. 20, 21. Baumer (1997, pp. 63–64), on the other hand, proposes that the seated Demeter on the Mondragone relief was derived from a statuary or relief original.

66. Peschlow-Bindokat (1972, pp. 126–127) identifies the standing goddess on the Mondragone relief as Thea mainly because Theos is present.

67. On a Kerch pelike in the State Hermitage Museum, Paw 8 (St. 1792) (see n. 71, below), where both are depicted, Thea wears the same characteristic fillet or diadem as Kore: Clinton 1992, p. 81.

68. Rhea's lack of association with Eleusinian cult: Peschlow-Bindokat

1972, p. 127, n. 270; Richardson 1974, p. 295; Clinton 1992, p. 82; contra Simon 1997, pp. 105–106.

69. Tiverios (1997, pp. 169–170) posits that the personification of Eleusis may appear frequently in Eleusinian iconography. His identification of the figures at either end of the array of Eleusinian deities on the Regina Vasorum (see n. 46, above; Fig. 9, top) as personifications of Athens/Attica and Eleusis, however, seems especially implausible: the presence of Triptolemos and Athena, who stand for Eleusis and Athens, respectively, in this composition, makes the presence of the above personifications redundant. See Clinton 1994, pp. 168–170, on the Athenization of Eleusinian cult in the late 5th and 4th centuries B.C., and on Eleusis's subsequent loss of identity as a separate place in Attic art and oratory. A personification of Eleusis is identified by an inscription once in early-

with the Eleusinian cult circle, is not a plausible candidate for the matronly figure of this relief.⁷⁰

The proposed double appearance of Demeter on the votive relief from Mondragone can be argued on the strength of parallels in Attic vase painting, even without labels. Demeter depicted twice can be surmised on a Kerch hydria in Bern; on the so-called Regina Vasorum in St. Petersburg, as the first seated goddess on the left (Fig. 9, top) and again in the central scene (Fig. 9, bottom); and on a red-figure pelike by the Eleusinian Painter, also in St. Petersburg, all of ca. 330 B.C. Clinton has also suggested that there is a double depiction on the earlier Niinnion pinax in Athens, of ca. 370 B.C.⁷¹

The depiction of a deity twice in the same composition is an indispensable device when narration is implied or successive stages of an event in myth or cult are represented. On this principle, Clinton accepted that Demeter and Kore appear twice on scenes of the Eleusinian cult circle,⁷² whereas Simon rejected these identifications. Simon's identifications, however, for the most part are not persuasive, especially for scenes such as those on the Niinnion pinax, the Regina Vasorum (Fig. 9), and the pelike in St. Petersburg;⁷³ the presence of so great a variety of mythical and cult characters as she proposes for these scenes would make it difficult for ancient viewers to recognize the main Eleusinian gods as a stable cult group.

Because Eleusinian iconography is based on a mythological narrative in which the main deities appear and reappear in connection with a specific central event—the return of Kore from the underworld—4th-century vase painters depicting Eleusinian arrays of gods employed various iconographic conventions to represent different moments in a single composition, such as foreground and background groups, deities appearing twice, and single figures or groups of figures alluding to incidents in the narrative. Proceeding

5th-century Attic vase painting, on a skyphos by Makron, London, British Museum E 140, ca. 480 B.C.: *ARV*² 459, no. 3; *Paralipomena* 377; *Beazley Addenda*² 243; Schwarz 1987, p. 39, no. V58, fig. 12, pl. VI; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 720, no. 1, pl. 549, s.v. Eleusis (D. Gontikas); *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 873, no. 344, pl. 580, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); Clinton 1992, pp. 124, 138 (Eumolpos: Vase Painting), no. 1, pp. 193–194, figs. 51–54; Clinton 1994, p. 166, n. 50. The only known 4th-century example of Eleusis inscribed, as a seated woman holding a torch and with a diadem on her head, associated with a figure resembling Eleusinian Ploutos but labeled as *Eniautos* (the Year), is on an Apulian loutrophoros by the Painter of Louvre MNB 1148 in Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86 AE 680: Clinton 1992, p. 50, n. 108, p. 161, fig. 4.a.

70. Hekate and Eleusis: Clinton 1992, pp. 116–120. He prefers, however, to associate Hekate with the Thesmophoria festival, and thinks that she was not prominent in 4th-century Eleusinian iconography.

71. Kerch hydria in Bern, Abegg-Stiftung 3.127.73: see n. 42, above. Regina Vasorum: see n. 46, above. Red-figure pelike in St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, Paw 8 (St. 1792): *ARV*² 1476, no. 1; *Paralipomena* 496; *Beazley Addenda*² 381; Metzger 1965, p. 40, no. 35, pl. XXIV; *LIMC* IV, 1988, pp. 877–878, no. 404, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); Clinton 1992, pp. 81–82, 134 (Eubouleus: Vase Painting), no. 1, pp. 172–173, figs. 20, 21. Niinnion pinax: see n. 56, above; on Demeter represented twice, see Clinton 1992, pp. 78–84. For a narrative parallel, compare the double depiction of a

victor at different moments on 4th-century Panathenaic amphoras: Valavanis 1990, pp. 345–348; Clinton 1992, p. 82, n. 106.

72. Clinton 1992, pp. 73–75, 78–82.

73. For the vase paintings and the Niinnion pinax, see n. 71, above. Simon (1966, p. 82) identifies the goddess carrying the torches in several depictions sometimes as Kore and sometimes as Hekate. She also recognizes the female figure wrapped in a mantle in different scenes on the two sides of the St. Petersburg pelike (see n. 71, above) once as Aphrodite and once as Eileithyia: Simon 1966, pp. 76, 82–83; 1997, pp. 105–106. Finally, she identifies the torch-bearing males commonly interpreted as Iakchos and Eubouleus in various scenes as Eumolpos and Keryx: Simon 1966, pp. 89–90; 1997, pp. 103–105; contra Tiverios 1997, p. 169, n. 31.

from the myth, Eleusinian theology favored double appearances of deities such as Kore (the daughter of Demeter) and Persephone/Thea (the same goddess as queen of the underworld), or Plouton (the agrarian aspect of the underworld god) and Hades/Theos (the same god as ruler of the underworld). An illuminating parallel for the appearance of these pairs in iconography is the Late Hellenistic monumental votive relief of the priest Lakrateides, which has inscriptions identifying all of the figures.⁷⁴

Not only does Eleusinian theology prescribe the depiction of a deity twice in the same composition, but other exceptional Attic votive reliefs also depict specific individuals more than once. For example, Archinos appears three times on the relief he dedicated to Amphiaraos at Oropos; this mid-4th-century relief depicts a succession of episodes involving his cure by Amphiaraos and his worship of the hero.⁷⁵ Another possible example is the late-5th-century relief dedicated by Xenokrateia to Kephissos, on which the god Kephissos may be depicted twice, once among the gods in the background and once as the divine *kourotrophos* who receives Xenokrateia's son Xeniadēs.⁷⁶ In these reliefs the composition develops on two levels, foreground and background, enabling the multiple presentation of an individual—precisely what occurs in the depiction of Demeter on the Mondragone relief.

Although the double appearance of Demeter does not correspond to Eleusinian theology in the way that Kore/Persephone's would, it can be explained on the basis of related parallels, especially the Niinnion pinax, in terms of the depiction of different narrative moments. Demeter is seated on the Kallichoron/Parthenion well addressing Triptolemos, and also appears standing beside Kore after she has returned from the underworld. Both female divinities standing in the background, then, signify the return of Kore to Demeter, which marks the founding of the Great Mysteries at Eleusis. In the foreground, the seated Demeter's gesture toward Triptolemos can be better understood as showing him the triumphant reunion of mother and daughter and the institution of the mysteries. Demeter seated on the Mirthless Rock on a slightly later red-figure hydria in Bern makes a similar gesture to indicate her reunion with Kore after the latter's return; also comparable are Demeter's gesture on the votive relief with

74. On the relief (*IG* II² 4701) see n. 11, above; Clinton 2005, pp. 265–266, no. 239, pl. 120, fig. 239:1–3. Another case is the 4th-century Lysimachides relief (*IG* II² 4683), which shows Kore with Demeter and Thea with Theos, the latter identified by inscriptions: see Fig. 5 and n. 30, above, and Clinton 2005, pp. 89–90, no. 83, pl. 33.

75. Athens NM 3369: Ridgway 1997, pp. 195–196, pl. 49; Comella 2002, pp. 132–133, 216, no. Oropos 5, fig. 134.

76. Athens NM 2756 (*IG* II² 4548):

Kaltsas 2002, p. 133, no. 257, with fig.; no explicit description. Scholars have hesitated to accept the idea that Kephissos is depicted twice, once in the center of the composition between Xenokrateia and her son Xeniadēs, and once as the male figure behind him, as first proposed by Walter 1937, pp. 102–103, 106–107, fig. 1. Edwards (1987, pp. 310–338) reviews all proposed identifications; on pp. 320–321, he identifies the figure with one foot lifted, receiving the boy Xeniadēs, as Kephissos and the frontal figure between the gods in the second plane as the hero

Echelos, who was worshipped in the same sanctuary of the deme Echelidai. Echelos is paired with the Nymph Iasile on another contemporary double-sided relief from the sanctuary, Athens NM 1783: *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 674, no. 1, pl. 533, s.v. Echelos (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); Edwards 1987, pp. 339–369, no. 4; Kaltsas 2002, p. 134, no. 258, with fig. This is not the case on the Xenokrateia relief, where the two male figures in question are identical; their superimposition may moreover be significant.

Eleusinian deities from the Athenian Asklepieion (Fig. 6) and Epione's gesture on the relief from Epidauros (Fig. 7).⁷⁷ The scene on the Mondragone relief seems to illustrate the point in the mythological narrative at which Demeter reveals her sacred rites to Triptolemos, who represents the group of Eleusinian kings mentioned in the *Hymn* (*Hom. Hymn Dem.* 473–479).⁷⁸

Kore, in contrast, is depicted only once on the Mondragone relief: she has returned from the underworld and holds the two torches that denote her *anodos*. She does not appear here as Persephone/Thea, consort of Hades, for she is no longer in the underworld. Hades/Theos appears enthroned, attended by a young god. These divinities turn toward each other in a close compositional pattern, separate from the rest of the Eleusinian deities. They seem to be conversing with one another and are clearly part of a third group in the relief—a group that is located in the underworld and includes one more god on the far right.

The god in chitoniskos and chlamys standing before Hades/Theos and talking with him should be, for reasons of iconography and of Eleusinian cult context, either Hermes or Eubouleus. It was Eubouleus who escorted Kore back to the upper world, lighting her way with his torches, according to the mythology of the Eleusinian cult. In Eleusinian vase painting, Eubouleus appears next to Theos and Thea. Eubouleus was thus a dark god, whose presence may have symbolized departure.⁷⁹ The god on the Mondragone relief, however, lacks torches and wears his chitoniskos with a mantle, which would be unusual for Eubouleus in 4th-century iconography.⁸⁰

The garments of the standing god, on the other hand, are appropriate to Hermes,⁸¹ who is first of all Hermes Psychopompos, as seen in the return of Kore on a well-known red-figure bell krater by the Persephone Painter in New York, ca. 440 B.C.⁸² Hermes Psychopompos, a god of transitions, has good reason to be in a group with Hades/Theos, since he has access to the underworld. On the Mondragone relief, Hermes might have held a metal *kerykeion* in his left hand,⁸³ which would suffice to identify him in

77. For the Bern hydria, see n. 42, above; for the Asklepios reliefs, see nn. 36 and 38. On the relief Athens NM 1332, Demeter seems to introduce Asklepios, whose cult had recently come under state control (see Aleshire 1989, pp. 14–15, 94–95), to the worshippers (*IG II²* 4359; public physicians?), whereas on the relief Athens NM 1426 Epione may be presenting her family to the adorants on the right who pray for offspring. Bonanome (1995, p. 73), on the other hand, suggested that her putative Epione on the Mondragone relief addressed both Triptolemos and the Eleusinian divinities in the background.

78. Rather than a full chorus of Eleusinian kings as in the *Hymn*,

Triptolemos is usually depicted as the sole messenger of the mysteries. Cf. Clinton 1992, p. 81.

79. Clinton 1992, pp. 56–61, 71–73.

80. Eubouleus sometimes wears a mantle or chlamys before the mid-5th century B.C., when his type was not yet standardized in Eleusinian iconography: Clinton 1992, pp. 71–72, 135 (Eubouleus: Vase Painting), nos. 12–13, pp. 184–186, figs. 37–41.

81. Clinton (1992, p. 137, n. 5) identifies the figure on the Mondragone relief as Hermes, suggesting Eubouleus only tentatively.

82. MMA 28.57.23: *ARV²* 1012, no. 1; *Paralipomena* 440; *Beazley Ad-denda²* 314; *LIMC* V, 1990, p. 339,

no. 637, pl. 251, s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert); Bonanome 1995, p. 112, n. 44, fig. 55.

83. The left hand, now missing, could have had a hole for the metal insertion. Hermes on the New York bell krater provides a parallel: see n. 82, above. The *kerykeion* of Hermes overlapping a metal scepter held by Hades/Theos is not a problem (so Bonanome 1995, p. 119). Cf. the attributes of Dionysos and Demeter in the middle of the relief frieze on the Regina Vasorum (see n. 46, above; Fig. 9): Clinton 1992, p. 79, fig. 9. The god's left forearm was carved separately and attached: Bonanome 1995, p. 97, figs. 49, 50.

this context. It should be noted that Hermes Psychopompos, in particular, may appear without winged boots and petasos, as here.⁸⁴

Even though Hermes Psychopompos is a more likely identification than Eubouleus for the god standing opposite Hades on the Mondragone relief, these two gods are in fact interchangeable in Eleusinian cult context. On the New York bell krater showing the return of Kore, for example, Hermes appears in the traditional role of Eubouleus,⁸⁵ but this depiction dates to the 5th century, when Eleusinian iconography had not yet been standardized. Consequently, Hermes Psychopompos as depicted on the Mondragone relief belongs to an earlier cultic and iconographic tradition that was quite likely not associated exclusively with the sanctuary of Eleusis.⁸⁶ Hermes is connected with the journey to the underworld generally in Attic funerary iconography, and as such may be associated with the return of Kore.

If my proposal that the Mondragone relief depicts Hermes Psychopompos in the underworld is valid, then his presence in front of Hades clearly reflects his role as narrated in the *Hymn* (*Hom. Hymn Dem.* 334–385, 407–409), when he descends to the underworld and takes Kore back to her mother on Zeus's orders. Specifically, the conversation between Hermes and Hades/Theos on this relief corresponds to the statement in the *Hymn* (334–339) that Hermes was sent by Zeus to Hades in order to propitiate him and bring Kore back to Earth. In this interpretation, the scene on the right half of the relief corresponds on another level to the scenes on the left that show the reunion of Demeter and Kore and the establishment of the mysteries at Eleusis.

Hermes is also an important divinity in the panhellenic festival of the Thesmophoria, which Clinton believes is based on the cult myth of the *Homeric Hymn*.⁸⁷ A similar link to this festival and its aetiological myth as articulated in the *Hymn* has also been noted for the seated Demeter on the left side of the Mondragone relief, who addresses Triptolemos from the Kallichoron/Parthenion well.

The identification of Hermes on the Mondragone relief has additional significance for a group of similar Attic votive reliefs possibly from the City Eleusinion (late 4th century B.C.), on which a male figure of the same type may be identified as Hermes, as Filges has proposed.⁸⁸ The figure on the reliefs from the Eleusinion in Athens appears next to a seated Demeter

84. Cf. Hermes on the relief column drum from the Artemision at Ephesos (ca. 340 B.C.), which may show the departure of Alkestis from Hades, London, British Museum 1206: *LIMC* V, 1990, p. 335, no. 591, pl. 247, s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert).

85. Clinton 1992, pp. 71–73; for the New York krater, see n. 82, above.

86. Clinton (1992, p. 71, n. 41) associates the presence of Hermes in the scene of the return of Kore with the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* and the Thesmophoria. Cf. Hermes and Eubouleus framing the reunion of Deme-

ter and Kore on the mid-4th-century lekythos, Sofia Archaeological Museum 7721: see n. 55, above.

87. The cult of Hermes at the Thesmophoria: *Ar. Thesm.* 297–301. See Clinton 1992, pp. 31, 33.

88. Two reliefs are in the Agora Museum, S 1251 (see n. 42, above) and S 1646 (see n. 55, above); see also *Agora* XXXI, pp. 218–219, nos. 7–8, pl. 38. A third relief was found on the Acropolis, Acropolis Museum 2661: Pingia-toglou 2001, p. 212, n. 6, fig. 3; Filges 1996, pl. 14:1–3; Filges 1997, p. 63.

and standing Kore, and holds Eleusinian Ploutos in his arms, but has no other attributes.⁸⁹

On the Mondragone relief, the composition is closed on the right by the standing Dionysos, who faces left and rests his right hand on the back of Hades' throne. Dionysos wears his characteristic Thracian costume—chitoniskos, *nebris*, and boots—and his long hair falls on his shoulders. He may also have carried a painted thyrsos in his left hand, which hangs down by his side. Dionysos is a familiar figure in Eleusinian vase painting, as he was himself initiated into the mysteries, and may therefore appear here as a representative of the initiates.⁹⁰ In this way he is similar to Iakchos, who, although a different deity of the Eleusinian circle, normally represents the procession of the initiates to Eleusis. These two deities have many iconographic similarities, but they are clearly distinct individuals who can even coexist in the same scene, as on the Regina Vasorum (Fig. 9).⁹¹

That Dionysos and Iakchos are interchangeable in art has made it difficult for scholars to identify the god on the Mondragone relief correctly. Nevertheless, the distinction can be made here on the basis of the *nebris*, which is a defining attribute of Dionysos in Eleusinian vase painting and is attested on other 4th-century votive reliefs with Eleusinian deities, as, for example, on the left fragment of a relief from Eleusis (Fig. 17), a relief in Chalkis, and another in Würzburg.⁹²

89. Pingiatoglou's identification (2001, pp. 212–222) of this figure as Triptolemos, worshipped in the City Eleusinion, is not supported by his iconography. Clinton (1992, pp. 56–57; *LIMC* VII, 1994, pp. 417–418, nos. 14–15, s.v. Ploutos) identifies him as Eubouleus, clad only in a chitoniskos, and suggests that he was closely related to Ploutos in Eleusinian cult. Pingiatoglou (2001, p. 211) observes that the figure also wears a chlamys. On the other hand, Triptolemos has a standard depiction in Eleusinian imagery: even in the 5th century B.C., standing without his winged wagon (Pingiatoglou 2001, pp. 218–219), he always receives the sheaf of grain from Demeter and the scene is clearly that of his departure. For the suggestion that the great Eleusinian relief, Athens NM 126, portrays Ploutos standing and handing the stalks of grain to Demeter, rather than Triptolemos, see now Clinton and Palagia 2003. Although there is no documentary evidence for Hermes carrying the infant Ploutos (Pingiatoglou 2001, p. 216), this pairing reflects an interesting phenomenon in Attic iconography common to various sacred children. Ploutos, in this case, assumes the iconographic charac-

teristics of Erichthonios, born from Ge and given to his stepmother Athena, in an Eleusinian context on a mid-4th-century B.C. Kerch hydria from Rhodes, Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 2676: *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 877, no. 403, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); p. 174, no. 28, pl. 98, s.v. Ge (M. B. Moore); Clinton 1992, p. 133 (Ploutos: Vase Painting), no. 3, p. 178, fig. 29; Metzger 1995, p. 9, fig. 2; Pingiatoglou 2001, p. 217, n. 23. Likewise, on the votive reliefs from the City Eleusinion, Hermes carries the infant Ploutos assimilated to the infant Dionysos.

90. Clinton 1992, pp. 81–84, 123–125; he argues for an independent cult of Dionysos outside the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis and discusses Dionysos's portrayal as an initiate in Eleusinian scenes. The literary record is late, however: the pseudo-Platonic *Axiokhos* (371e). For what may be Dionysos's most profound association with the Eleusinian cult, see Metzger 1995, p. 22.

91. Iakchos's assimilation to Dionysos was stressed by Graf (1974, pp. 51–58, 60–61, with reference to the Mondragone relief). Differences between the iconographic types of Dionysos and Iakchos: Clinton 1992, pp. 65–68.

Regina Vasorum: see n. 46, above, and, especially for Iakchos and Dionysos on this vase, Clinton 1992, pp. 68, 78–79, 169, figs. 9, 17.

92. Distinctive iconography based on the *nebris*: Clinton 1992, p. 67. E. Simon (*LIMC* V, 1990, pp. 612–613, s.v. Iakchos) does not distinguish between Dionysos and Iakchos when they lack attributes such as thyrsos or torches. The *nebris*-wearing god of Eleusis Museum 5068 (see n. 29, above) has been identified as Iakchos: Vikela 1997, p. 232. Chalkis Museum 337: *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 375, no. 45, s.v. Hades (R. Lindner et al.); *LIMC* V, 1990, p. 612, no. 3, s.v. Iakchos (E. Simon); Clinton 1992, p. 137 (Iakchos: Sculpture), no. 4 (Dionysos); Bonanome 1995, pp. 179–182, fig. 91. Relief in Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum H 4010: *LIMC* V, 1990, pp. 612–613, no. 4, pl. 419, s.v. Iakchos (E. Simon). Other examples of Dionysos with the *nebris*: Bonanome 1995, pp. 172–186, figs. 87–92. Filges (1997, p. 65) traces the figure of Dionysos/Iakchos on the Mondragone relief and the relief Eleusis Museum 5068 back to a Praxitelean group in a temple of the Eleusinian deities near the Pompeion in Athens (Paus. 1.2.4).



Figure 17. Left fragment of a votive relief showing Demeter, Kore, and Dionysos. Eleusis Museum 5068.

Photo E. Gehnen, courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (neg. D-DAI-ATH-1996/331; detail)

Support for the identification of the god on the relief as Dionysos also comes from the iconographic context. Iakchos leads processions of initiates, but here no mortals are depicted. Iakchos, moreover, is not known to have a close relationship with Hades, while the god on the Mondragone relief leans on Hades' throne in the underworld. On the basis of a parallel offered by a contemporary Apulian volute krater by the Darius Painter (Fig. 18), the god depicted is very likely Dionysos. The figure on the krater—the same type as the god on the relief—is followed by his *thiasos* and shakes hands with Hades, who is seated in a naiskos. On the other side of this naiskos, in which Hades and Persephone are depicted as a couple, stands Hermes, as on the Mondragone relief.⁹³

This scene, unique in vase painting, has been convincingly interpreted as the recognition of Dionysos by the gods of the underworld following eschatological Dionysiac-Orphic doctrines, according to which Dionysos intercedes with deities of the underworld on behalf of his devotees to obtain

93. Toledo Museum of Art 1994.19 (ca. 330 B.C.): Trendall and Cambitoglou 1992, p. 508, no. 41a1; Moret 1993, pp. 293–318, figs. 1:a–d, 2; *LIMC*

VII, 1994, p. 315, no. 70, pl. 265, s.v. Pentheus (J. Bāzant and G. Berger-Doer); Johnston and McNiven 1996, pl. 1; Schmidt 2000, pp. 92–99, pl. 15.

Avagianou (2002a, pp. 93–95, n. 106, figs. 12, 13) suggests that Hermes Chthonios is portrayed.

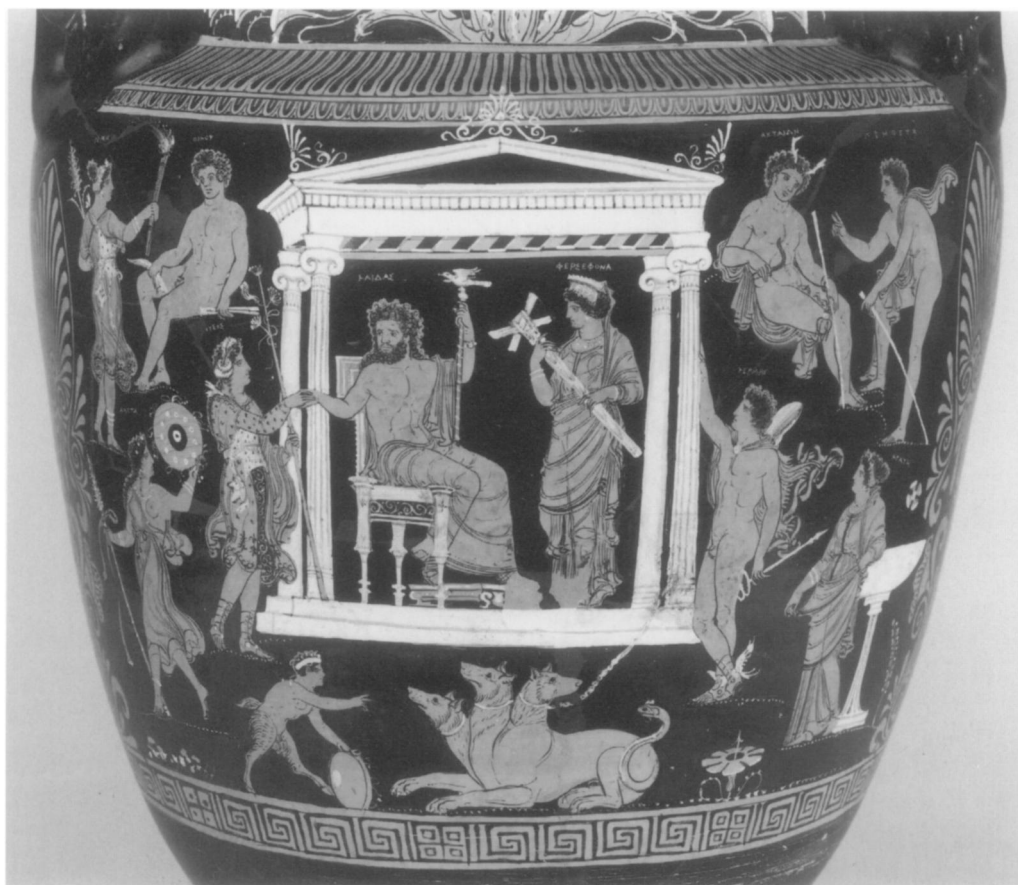


Figure 18. Apulian volute krater (Darius Painter) showing Dionysos, Hades with Persephone, and Hermes. Detail, side A. Toledo, Museum of Art 1994.19. Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey, Florence Scott Libbey, and the Egypt Exploration Society, by exchange. Photo courtesy Toledo Museum of Art

benevolent treatment for them.⁹⁴ This association is also supported by the so-called Dionysiac-Orphic lamellae found in graves of initiates from the late 5th B.C. to the 1st century A.D. in South Italy and mainland Greece, as well as on Mytilene and in Crete—but, notably, not in Attica.⁹⁵

The close correspondence between the scene on the right half of the Mondragone relief and the Apulian vase just discussed conflicts to a certain degree with the Attic-Eleusinian repertory on its left half. The prevailing view in modern scholarship is that the cult of Eleusis in Attica contained no trace of Dionysiac-Orphic beliefs in the Classical period.⁹⁶ The non-Athenian element in the Attic votive relief found at Mondragone—the

94. Moret 1993, pp. 316–318; Graf 1993, p. 256; Johnston and McNiven 1996, pp. 27–36; Schmidt 2000, pp. 93–94, 98–99. Dionysos here first offers a parallel to Orpheus, who is often depicted next to Hades on other late-4th-century Apulian vases, e.g., a volute krater in Munich, Antikenslg. 3297 (ca. 320 B.C.): *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 385, no. 132, pl. 220, s.v. Hades (R. Lindner et al.); an amphora in Bari, Coll. Perrone 14 (340–330 B.C.):

LIMC VII, 1994, p. 84, no. 21, pl. 59, and in general, p. 102, s.v. Orpheus (M. X. Gareizou); *LIMC* IV, 1988, pp. 384–387, s.v. Hades (R. Lindner et al.); Schmidt 1991, esp. pp. 32–33.

95. Johnston and McNiven 1996, pp. 30–33; Tzifopoulos 2002; Cole 2003, pp. 200–213. Also in connection with the Apulian krater and its interpretation, Gavrilaki and Tzifopoulos 1998, pp. 353–355; Schmidt 2000, pp. 93–94. Cf. Mertens-Horn 2005, pp. 52–54,

comparing Dionysos in the underworld on the Toledo krater with Dionysos meeting Hades and Persephone on the Lokrian pinakes: Bottini 2005, pp. 172–173, with figs. (M. Cardoso). See Tzifopoulos 2002, esp. pp. 152–153, n. 12; Cole 2003, esp. pp. 200–205, table 8.1, on the diffusion of the so-called Dionysiac-Orphic lamellae. On the term “Orphic” for these lamellae, cf. Edmonds 2004, pp. 29–110.

96. Graf 1974, pp. 65–67, 75–78.

singular relationship between Dionysos and Hades/Theos—can thus be attributed to the personal choice of the dedicant.⁹⁷ We may therefore assume that he or she was probably a non-Athenian initiated into the Dionysiac-Orphic Mysteries, as well as a devotee of Eleusis.

It should be stressed that although the descent of Dionysos to the underworld in the parodos of Aristophanes' *Frogs* was well known to Athenian audiences from the late 5th century on, and so may have influenced the Athenian artist who made this votive relief representing Dionysos leaning on Hades' throne, a familiarity with *topoi* based on the poetic Dionysiac-Orphic tradition in Athens is insufficient to forge an Athenian link between the two separate mystery cults, the Eleusinian Mysteries and the Dionysiac-Orphic Mysteries.⁹⁸

We can now review the iconographic elements of the Mondragone votive relief that contribute to the complexity of its composition and reflect the special character of the dedication. Triptolemos is portrayed with his hands resting on his lap, and it is not clear which characteristic attribute he held—a scepter or a sheaf of grain. Although his legendary mission of spreading the knowledge of wheat cultivation is implied by the winged wagon on which he sits, the relief does not depict the corresponding departure scene.⁹⁹ In this respect, the Mondragone relief more clearly reflects the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, in which the mysteries established by the goddess are commemorated at the very end of the poetic narrative.¹⁰⁰ The festive, ritual reunion of Demeter and Kore in the background is the very reason for Demeter's teachings to Triptolemos as she sits on the Kallichoron/Parthenion well.

A third level of the composition is created by the three gods set apart on the right, deities who do not interact with the gods on the left half of the relief. That this group is in the underworld is indicated by the presence of the enthroned Hades/Theos. Hades/Theos receives both Dionysos and

97. The votive relief Chalkis Museum 337 (see n. 92, above) shows Plouton, not Hades (so Bonanome 1995, p. 179), standing with a cornucopia next to Dionysos. See *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 375, no. 45, s.v. Hades (R. Lindner et al.; Hades-Plouton?); Clinton 1992, p. 137 (Iakchos: Sculpture), no. 4 (Plouton). For Hades distinct from Plouton in art, Clinton 1992, pp. 62–63, 105–113; *LIMC* VII, 1994, pp. 416–420, s.v. Ploutos (K. Clinton).

98. Dionysiac-Orphic cult myths known in 4th-century B.C. Attica: Graf 1974, pp. 68–78, who, however, rebuts Simon 1966, pp. 78–86, concerning the association of the two mystic circles in the Lesser Mysteries at Agrai. Dionysos's journey to the underworld in Aristophanes' *Frogs* and the Eleusinian connection: Graf 1974, pp. 40–50. In contrast, Edmonds (2004, pp. 111–158)

plays down all cultic associations in Aristophanes' text, emphasizing that the poet used traditional myth and ritual to express his political ideas.

99. The iconography of the mission of Triptolemos (the departure scene) is especially popular in 5th-century Attic vase painting, e.g., the skyphos by Makron, London, British Museum E 140 (ca. 480 B.C.): see n. 69, above; a phiale by the Aberdeen Painter in Paris, Louvre G 452 (ca. 450 B.C.): *ARI*² 991, no. 33; Schwarz 1987, p. 46, no. V94, fig. 22, pl. XII:2; *LIMC* VIII, 1997, p. 962, no. 101, pl. 645, s.v. Persephone (G. Güntner). Cf. the fragmentary 4th-century skyphos by the Marsyas Painter, Athens NM 11037 (Fig. 15): see n. 62, above.

100. Clinton 1992, p. 36; Binder 1998, p. 138.

Hermes, who persuades him to let Persephone return to the upper world to be united with her mother, according to the panhellenic tradition of the *Homeric Hymn*.¹⁰¹ Dionysos comes from a completely different cult tradition, and is there to intercede with Hades for the salvation of his initiates' souls, as on the so-called Dionysiac-Orphic lamellae.

ELEUSINIAN CULT IN CAMPANIA

As discussed above, the votive relief from Mondragone was manufactured in an Attic workshop in the decade 340–330 B.C. The types of the gods portrayed, as well as the composition as a whole, draw on the Eleusinian iconographical tradition and its conventions, exemplified principally by vase painting. On Attic red-figure vases depicting the Eleusinian circle, we find a similar combination of scenes before and after the return of Kore from the underworld and the double appearance of a goddess in the narrative.¹⁰² Nevertheless, the specific choice of gods depicted on the Mondragone relief and the ways in which they are portrayed create certain iconographic oddities and lead to interpretative ambiguity. These unconventional elements can be attributed to the influence of a literary source, which seems to have contained the aetiological myth of the panhellenic festival of the Thesmophoria and references to the Eleusinian Mysteries,¹⁰³ as well as to the influence of concepts associated with the eschatology of the Dionysiac-Orphic Mysteries.

The relief's unique iconographic scheme can be connected to a circle of individuals who had been initiated into both the Eleusinian Mysteries and the Dionysiac-Orphic Mysteries outside Attica. The connection affords new insights into the diffusion of the cult of Eleusis to the periphery of the Greek world in the 4th century B.C. In this context, it is important to confirm that Campania was the place where the relief was originally dedicated. There are significant obstacles to the idea that the Mondragone relief was first dedicated at an Attic shrine and subsequently transported to Italy in the Late Hellenistic or Roman Imperial period. To the best of my knowledge, the Romans never pillaged the sanctuary at Eleusis,¹⁰⁴ nor does the City Eleusinion in Athens seem a plausible site for the original dedication, since the iconography of the few votive reliefs known to have come from there is simple and uniform.¹⁰⁵

The search should therefore turn to Italy, to the region of Campania, where the Mondragone relief came to light.¹⁰⁶ A great number of

101. Panhellenic elements in the *Hymn* were probably intended to appeal to worshippers of Demeter or communities of Eleusinian initiates outside Attica: Clinton 1986; Foley 1994, pp. 175–177.

102. I follow Clinton with regard to the connection of 4th-century Eleusinian votive reliefs with Eleusinian vase painting; contra Simon 1997, p. 103.

On this relationship see also Metzger 1995, p. 22.

103. The impact of the *Homeric Hymn* on Attic art: Simon 1997, p. 99.

104. Roman respect for Eleusis: Clinton 1997. In the late 4th century A.D., the Goths destroyed Eleusis by fire (Picard 1931, pp. 28–29, n. 6); this seems an unlikely occasion for salvaging and transporting a votive relief to Italy

to decorate a Campanian villa.

105. Reliefs from the City Eleusinion: *Agora* XXXI, pp. 217–220, nos. 1–13, pls. 36–39, representing mainly Demeter, Kore, and Triptolemos, and possibly Hermes and Hekate.

106. Clinton (1992, pp. 64, 137) proposed Lerna in the Argolid or Cumae in Campania as the original location of the Mondragone relief.

imported Attic vases depicting Eleusinian scenes have been found in the ancient cemeteries of Campania and Etruria, leading some scholars to hypothesize the existence of societies of Eleusinian cult initiates among the indigenous Hellenized communities of these regions.¹⁰⁷ Remarkable similarities do in fact exist between the composition on the Mondragone relief and those appearing on imported Attic vases. The Regina Vasorum, an Attic relief hydria found in a grave at Cumae (Fig. 9), offers a particularly close parallel.¹⁰⁸ Finally, the Mondragone relief's combination of Eleusinian deities with Dionysos is echoed in the parallel appearance of Triptolemos's mission with Dionysiac themes on Attic vases exported to Etruria and Campania.¹⁰⁹

How, then, did the Mondragone relief end up in Campania? Attic votive reliefs found outside Attica fall into three categories: (1) ancient loot from mainland Greece used to adorn Roman villas and gardens on Italian soil;¹¹⁰ (2) those collected from Greece in more recent times and now in private and public collections throughout Europe; and (3) a small number exported in the Classical period to the periphery of the Greek world. It is to this last group that the Mondragone relief surely belongs, along with an Attic votive relief showing a scene of Eleusinian initiates excavated at Pantikapaion (Kerch), dated to the early 4th century B.C., and another Eleusinian relief of the late 5th century B.C. found at Catania, which is most likely of Attic origin but carries a Doric dedicatory inscription.¹¹¹ The export of Classical reliefs from Attica to the ends of the Greek world is an unusual phenomenon that may have been limited to the Eleusinian cult circle. It is conceivable that on a relief such as that found at Mondragone the iconography is exceptional because it was designed to conform to the devotional requirements of the local buyer—implying that these reliefs were exported as special orders.

107. Metzger 1965, p. 30, who also refers to the Mondragone relief; De La Genière 1988, pp. 164–167. The sacred architecture at the entrance of the sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros at Contrada Gaggera near Selinous is strikingly similar to the entrance to the sanctuary at Eleusis: specifically, the late-5th-century B.C. monumental propylon of the Demeter Malophoros sanctuary shows affinities with the slightly earlier propylon at the sanctuary of Eleusis (Giraud 1991, pp. 62–85, fig. 36); Miles 1998, esp. pp. 52–53, with figs. 7, 20; Hinz 1998, p. 148, fig. 136.

108. The Regina Vasorum (see n. 46, above) as an Attic product: Gabrici 1913, pp. 695–702, pls. C–CII; Courby 1922, pp. 200–201 (both stressing the commercial relations between Athens and Campania in the Classical period, especially from ca. 340 B.C.); Clinton

1992, p. 80, n. 98. Zervoudaki (1968, p. 36, no. 77, p. 63) suggests that the hydria could be either Attic or a Campanian imitation. Cf. the contemporary Attic relief hydria, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 146717, from the cemetery of ancient Neapolis at Castel Capuano: Zervoudaki 1968, p. 36, no. 76, pl. 18:2; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 877, no. 395, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); Zevi 1994, p. 155.

109. For this combination already ca. 475–450 B.C., perhaps reflecting the local aristocracy's eschatological beliefs, see De La Genière 1988, esp. pp. 164–167; Simon 1997, p. 97. The juxtaposition of Dionysos and Triptolemos's scenes on Attic stamnoi exported to Italy: De La Genière 1988, with figs. 1–4 (Louvre 10798: *ARV*² 208, no. 59) and 7–8 (Louvre G 187: *ARV*² 1028). Evidence for Dionysiac mystery cult

in South Italy: De La Genière 1987, pp. 58–61; Isler-Kerényi 2005.

110. Kunzt 1994; Baumer 2001, pp. 89–90.

111. Kerch relief, now in St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum Pan 160: Peschlow-Bindokat 1972, p. 151, no. R12, fig. 39; Saverkina 1986, pp. 154–155, no. 69, with figs.; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 867, no. 270, pl. 579, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); Baumer 1997, pp. 151–152, no. R59, pl. 37:3. Catania relief, Catania, Museo Civico del Castello Ursino, no inv. no. (found 1930): Libertini 1937, pp. 721–726, fig. 6; Peschlow-Bindokat 1972, p. 150, no. R5, fig. 35; Neumann 1979, pp. 57–58, pl. 32a; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 865, no. 229, pl. 577, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); Baumer 1997, pp. 136–137, no. R34, pl. 32:4; Comella 2002, pp. 93, 206, no. Catania 1, fig. 88.

It can thus be argued that the Mondragone relief was exported from Attica in the Late Classical period to be dedicated in a sanctuary in the region of Mondragone, possibly at nearby Cumae or its colony Neapolis. In both of these cities of Campania, literary and archaeological evidence from the Archaic period to Roman times suggests the existence of thriving cults of Demeter. These were not only cults of the panhellenic Demeter Thesmophoros, but were also influenced by the specific cult of Eleusis in Attica.¹¹²

An obvious objection, however, is that in sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore in South Italy and Sicily, other kinds of dedications (plain pottery and clay figurines) are normally in evidence, but not marble votive reliefs.¹¹³ An alternative possibility, therefore, is that the Mondragone relief was dedicated by an Italian circle of Eleusinian initiates, very likely also initiates of the Dionysiac-Orphic Mysteries, at a domestic shrine, a type of cult activity that seems to have been particularly characteristic of this region in Classical times.¹¹⁴ A corresponding phenomenon is the fact that Attic vases decorated with Eleusinian themes found in South Italy come from graves rather than sanctuaries.

Regardless of whether its cultic context was civic or domestic, the Mondragone relief, dedicated in Campania in the 4th century B.C., is crucial for our understanding of the expansion of the cult of Eleusis to the periphery of the Greek world, a phenomenon that seems to have intensified from that time onward.¹¹⁵

112. A sanctuary in the region of Mondragone has tentatively been proposed as the place of dedication: Metzger 1965, p. 36, no. 14. An Italian sanctuary to an unknown deity was in use from the 7th to the 3rd centuries B.C. at a site called Panetelle on the coast near Mondragone: Frederiksen 1984, p. 39, n. 44; Bonanome 1995, p. 209. Literary evidence of the Roman period for the cult of Demeter Thesmophoros and Eleusinian Demeter at Cumae and Neapolis: Hinz 1998, pp. 181–182. Both Miranda (1985, pp. 392–393) and Giangliulo (1986) stress the analogy with the mysteries of Demeter at Eleusis, which increases the likelihood of Attic cult influence in the region. Terracotta figurines from the sanctuary of Demeter on the acropolis of ancient Neapolis (S. Aniello a Caponapoli) from the 5th to the 3rd century B.C.: Borriello and De Simone 1985, esp. p. 161, on the possible im-

pact of Attic cult; Giangliulo 1986, p. 144, n. 109; Giampaola 1994, p. 63, figs. on pp. 137–141. The great Roman temple on the acropolis of Cumae, commonly known as the Temple of Jupiter, has been reidentified as a temple of Demeter Thesmophoros founded in the Archaic period: Pagano 1987; De La Genière 1988, p. 164. Diffusion of Eleusinian cult from Neapolis into the interior of Campania: Breglia and Doria 1986, p. 159. Hellenized Italian sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore in Campania: Bonanome 1995, pp. 209–210 (Cales; Teano); Hinz 1998, pp. 181–182.

113. Characteristic dedications in South Italian sanctuaries: Hinz 1998, pp. 48–49. See Doepner 2002, for typical dedications in the sanctuaries of Magna Graecia; on pp. 170–173 she distinguishes between typical and exceptional dedications depending on the intention of the individual dedicant.

114. Hinz 1998, pp. 237; see also pp. 108–109 for an example from Syracuse. Cf. Bonanome 1995, p. 210, n. 57, who suggests that the relief was reerected in a domestic shrine at the Roman villa excavated at Mondragone. The Dionysiac Mysteries as a non-institutionalized *telete* practiced by local or family groups: Cole 1980, p. 236; 2003, p. 206.

115. Clinton 1994, pp. 169–170. The Eleusinian cult in Rome from the Late Hellenistic period onward is briefly discussed in Clinton 2003, pp. 59–60. Copies of the great Eleusinian relief, Athens NM 126, have been found mainly in Roman Italy: Schneider 1973, pp. 110–118, figs. 13, 14, pls. 32–40; Ridgway 1981, p. 138, n. 19; Micheli 2002, pp. 92–109, figs. 9–13, 15, 16; Bottini 2005, pp. 152–155, no. 19, with fig. (E. La Rocca).

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