

A BRONZE PAIL OF ATHENA ALALKOMENIA

(PLATES 31-34)

THE remarkable archaic Greek bronze vessel published here (Pl. 31, a) was purchased in Mantinea in Arcadia in the spring of 1957 and donated to the Museum in Tegea where other antiquities from the same region have their abode. It had been found by a local shepherd some distance to the north of the ruins of Mantinea but, unfortunately, the exact location of the discovery could not be ascertained.¹

The major part of the vessel is preserved, including about half of its upper profiled edge and one attachment for the handle which passed through its upper ring. The whole of this ring is still filled with iron and it is evident that the missing handle was made of this material.

The carefully proportioned body has a height of 0.241 m. to the upper edge of the lip. Its largest diameter, 0.215 m., is slightly smaller than the total height and exactly the same both at the outer edge of the lip and at the greatest width of the body which, in turn, occurs precisely half way between that edge and the bottom of the vessel, 0.12 m. distant from both. The upper face of the lip inclines outward slightly to allow overspilling liquid to run off, as it were, from an architectural cornice. The proportion of diameter to height, the rounded bottom and the contraction of the width under the lip combine to give the impression of an elastic curvilinear rhythm to the generally ovoid form.

The vessel is made in two parts of hammered sheet bronze (0.001 m. thick), the bottom section (exactly one-fourth, 0.06 m., of the height) overlapping the main body and being fastened to it by bronze rivets whose flat sheet heads once completely blended with its smooth surface. Its rim is plastically treated with a vertical face

¹ On the occasion of a visit to Mantinea in April 1957, we saw the vessel lying in a field near the northern enclosure wall of a farmhouse at the northwestern corner of the classical town. A very old shepherd brought it to us from this spot where he had deposited it after having found it "long ago" in the northern part of the district of Mantinea and "far away," as he said pointing to that region. Enquiries to determine a more precise indication of its provenance led nowhere. It was my impression that the man really did not remember either the exact site or the circumstances of the discovery, as he was not aware that the object was antique or had any value. He had taken it with him, battered as it was, because a metal container might come in handy at some time.

I am indebted as always to my wife, who shared the discovery and did cautious initial cleaning of the vessel, for help and advice. Christos Karousos kindly supervised its complete cleaning in the Athens National Museum and provided me with drawings made by A. Papaliopoulos. The handsome photographs in this article were made by Alison Frantz. For the photograph of the pail from Olympia (Pl. 34, a) I am indebted to E. Kunze and for permission to publish it to the German Archaeological Institute in Athens.

(0.004 m. high) receding obliquely downward from the lip (0.007 m. wide) at an angle of 60 degrees. Under this face, a slightly higher cyma recta rises steeply between two horizontal projections.

The handle attachment (0.083 m. high, 0.093 m. wide) was carefully cast to fit exactly the profiles of the rim and the curve of the upper part of the vessel and to rest on the surface of the lip (Pl. 31, b). The attachment, so far as it overlaps the vessel, is precisely one-third its height. The handle attachment was thus designed and made for this particular vessel, doubtless in the same workshop. The ring (0.048 m. in outer diameter and 0.006 m. in thickness) is equipped with a short bar which projects inward to prevent the heavy handle from falling down on the vessel. The handle attachment is riveted to the body through two holes provided at the center of the engraved volutes which form part of its decoration. The rivets are of the same type as those used in the lower part of the body with flat, very large sheet heads which interfere with its ornamentation and are not correctly placed. One wonders—where everything else was so carefully made—whether the handle had not come off at one time in antiquity and been rather crudely riveted on again.

The three-lobed handle attachment has engraved decoration, with a massive palmette in the lower lobe and two volutes above, while the upper center shows an angularly stylized “lotus” flower. The attachment has its own projecting upper profile decorated with an Ionic cymation (egg and dart) between two rows of pearls. A corresponding and identical attachment, of course, existed on the opposite side, and its projecting bar prevented the handle from hitting the other half of the vase.

This vessel is a welcome addition to our very limited knowledge of the pails and buckets used in ancient Greece.² It is, indeed, a rare example of the *ἀντλείον* or *κάδος*, the two generic names, seemingly, for such containers used to draw water from a well, spring or fountain basin.³ The specific name for this particular type, unlike those provided with flat bottoms or feet common in Northern Greece and Italy, seems to have been *gaulos*,⁴ inasmuch as that term is also used for a beehive to which its shape, when inverted, is similar. There are, to my knowledge, only two other early

² For general discussions of various types of pails, see: Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, IV, pp. 1357 ff.; K. Schumacher, *Beschreibung der Sammlung antiker Bronsen, Karlsruhe*, Karlsruhe, 1890; Leonard, *R.E.*, s.v. *situla*; B. Schroeder, *Griechische Bronzeaimer, 74th Winckelmanns-Program*, Berlin, 1914; E. Pernice in F. Winter, *Die hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji*, IV, Berlin, 1925, pp. 21 ff. For the “non-Greek” Italic type: F. v. Duhn in Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, XII, Berlin, 1928, pp. 182 ff.

³ *Ἀντλείον* from *ἀντλείν*, to draw water from wells as people did in their homes in Athens: Aristophanes, *Proagon*, Meineke frag. 9, Koch frag. 470; Epilykos, *Koraliskos*, Meineke and Koch frag. 5. *Κάδος*: Menander, *Messenia*, Körte frag. 269 (Meineke, *Anatithemene* or *Messenia* frag. 1, Koch, *Anatithemene* or *Messenia* frag. 30); Leonard, *R.E.*, loc. cit. For further references see D. A. Amyx, *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, pp. 187 note 4, 188 note 12.

⁴ *Γαυλός*: Herodotos, VI, 119. When the *γαυλός* was used as a milkpail (*Od.* IX, 223), it must have been tied onto the animal or put onto a stand while the milking was done.

Greek examples known thus far. The oldest of the three is probably one found in Delphi,⁵ of slightly smaller dimensions, which also had an iron handle (without attachments) passing through holes beneath its unarticulated upper lip. Probably later in development, but still more primitive than the pail from Mantinea, is the only intact Greek bucket of this form preserved, one found in an early archaic layer at Olympia (Pl. 34, a).⁶ It is almost identical in size with our pail. Its simple unmoulded projecting lip, handle attachments and fittings, though still without decoration, are ancestors of the more ornate forms of the vessel from Mantinea. Here, too, the handle passes through rings with inner stops but, unlike those from Delphi and Mantinea, it is made of bronze instead of iron. Such handles as well as the attachments preserved in other instances where the vessel itself is lacking show, as Furtwängler has pointed out, that the type was very common in Olympia.⁷ One such attachment with handle ring, in Olympia, retains a palmette decoration,⁸ simpler and cruder than that from Mantinea (Pl. 33, a). We should restore our pail with a similar handle forged in iron and provided with an upper ring for the fastening of a rope or chain. Metal chains at this point are preserved, in some instances, on pails found in Etruria and iron chains used in bronze *situlae* are documented by Vitruvius.⁹ How such a vessel was used to draw water is seen in the representation of an Etruscan version of the story of Amymone on a fourth-century B.C. Etruscan bronze *situla* of ovoid type. Here a pail is suspended on a rope which passes through a hole in the handle and, at the other end, is wound around a cylindrical object, undoubtedly of wood which releases the pail into the depths as it is turned around and, conversely, draws it upward (Pl. 33, b).¹⁰

The type of vessel represented by the three archaic pails of Delphi, Olympia and Mantinea was used elsewhere, too, as the discovery of a fragmentary handle attachment with ring in the sanctuary of Athena in Lindos¹¹ shows (Pl. 33, c). While its palmette is broken away, the horizontal bar above it, though without ornament, has upper and lower mouldings that correspond to the ornamentation of this member on the pail from Mantinea. This example may have been exported from a Peloponnesian

⁵ *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, Paris, 1908, p. 92, No. 432 (Inv. 3067), fig. 312. Ht. 0.21 m.

⁶ A. Furtwängler, *Bronzen von Olympia: Kleine Schriften*, I, Munich, 1912, p. 395; *Olympia*, IV, Berlin, 1890, p. 139, No. 868, fig.; Daremberg-Saglio, IV, fig. 4477. Ht. 0.245 m.; diam. 0.25 m. (the scale 1:3 given in the illustration in *Olympia*, *loc. cit.*, is obviously wrong).

⁷ *Olympia*, IV, Nos. 869 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 140, No. 874, pl. 51.

⁹ G. Gozzadini, *Di ultime scoperte nell' antica necropoli a Marzabotto, nel Bolognese*, Bologna, 1870, pl. 14, figs. 6, 8; Schumacher, *op. cit.*, pl. 9, fig. 11; A. De Ridder, *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre*, II, Paris, 1915, pl. 102, No. 2826 (from Montefiascone); Zannoni, *Scavi della Certosa*, pl. 102c, Nos. 4, 10. Vitruvius, X, 4, 4.

¹⁰ *Gazette archéologique*, VII, 1881-1882, pp. 7 f., pls. 1-2.

¹¹ Ch. Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I, Berlin, 1931, col. 226, No. 778, fig. 26, dated before 525 B.C.

workshop, as export of such pails to Magna Graecia and Etruria may also have occurred, if handles of the type reported to exist in the Naples Museum¹² really belonged to pails of our form. This, however, seems to be uncertain inasmuch as such handles could have been used on vessels of other shape, too. But descendants of our type of bucket do occur in Etruria in the fifth century B.C., if smaller in size and varied in shape and decoration: two pails found in Bologna¹³ and Montefiascone¹⁴ are more oval and elongated, while one from Marzabotto has a pointed lower end.¹⁵ Closest to the Greek prototype is a small pail from Bologna¹⁶ which, like those of Montefiascone and Marzabotto still preserves part of a chain and thus was actually used to draw water (Pl. 33, d). Its small size and use of bearded masks as handle attachments suggest that this variety of descendant of the Greek *gaulos* was called *vávvos*, the "dwarf," and, in Latin, *barbutus*, the "bearded one," terms described as equivalent.¹⁷ Such nomenclature indicates that the type was quite commonly used, in spite of the fact that in Greece it did not find its way into tombs—why should the deceased be provided with a vessel with which to draw water?—and occurs only in sanctuaries. A later example of the *gaulos* appears on a relief from the Mausoleum of Gjölbäschitrysa, where a young man draws water from a well in an unclear context.¹⁸

Otherwise, examples of the ovoid pails survive in Etruria beyond the classical age, especially the variant with a pointed lower end.¹⁹ From the Ptolemaic age on in Egypt²⁰ and still later elsewhere, another more elongated and cylindrical descendant of the Greek *situla* with rounded bottom occurs in the cult of the Egyptian Gods. But more direct rounded, footless and more globular descendants of the archaic *gaulos* of Greece are found, too, down to the late Roman Republic (Pl. 33, e)²¹ and this form

¹² Furtwängler, *Kleine Schriften*, I, p. 395. B. Schroeder, *loc. cit.*, rightly leaves these handles unrelated to specific forms. A handle of this type passing through rings equipped with stops is used, e. g., on a handsome fifth-century B.C. pail in the shape of a bronze amphora with a lid from Gela in the Museum at Syracuse (*Mon. Ant.*, XVII, 1906, cols. 451-452, fig. 321).

¹³ Zannoni, *op. cit.*, pl. 73, No. 16 (bottom missing but obviously rounded and footless).

¹⁴ De Ridder, *loc. cit.*

¹⁵ Gozzadini, *op. cit.*, pl. 14, No. 6.

¹⁶ Zannoni, *op. cit.*, pl. 102e, No. 4. Schroeder, *op. cit.*, p. 19, note 7, has already related this to the Greek prototype. For the use of mask attachments, see *ibid.*, *passim*.

¹⁷ Festus, 184, 25 f. Lindsay and 185, 8 Lindsay. Varro, *L.L.*, V, 119, Leonard, *loc. cit.*

¹⁸ Schroeder, *op. cit.*, p. 1, fig.; F. Eichler, *Die Reliefs des Heroons von Gjölbäschitrysa*, Vienna, 1950, p. 58, B 7, pl. 19.

¹⁹ Schroeder, *op. cit.*, p. 14, fig. 11, 4; p. 20, fig. 19, note 9. *Situla* from Perugia, 4th-3rd century B.C., L. A. Milani, *Il R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, II, Florence, 1912, pl. 121. The famous *situla* from Bolsena belongs to the third century B.C.; H. Heydemann, *3. Hallisches Winckelmanns-Program*, 1879, pl. 4, fig. 3, p. 99, No. 63; Milani, *op. cit.*, pl. 24; E. Q. Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca*, Milan, 1935, pl. 315, fig. 7.

²⁰ F. v. Bissing, *Metallgefäße* (Cairo, *Cat. gén.*), pp. 9 ff., Nos. 3447 ff.

²¹ *Situla* from Boscoreale in Berlin: Schroeder, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 ff., fig. 22. It seems questionable whether one should call this an archaistic revival. It is more likely that the old type continued

re-emerges in the second century after Christ in a Gallo-Roman bronze pail recently discovered at Tillemont (Pl. 33, f).²²

The bucket from Mantinea, thus, is the most elaborate representative of a long line of development that started in archaic mainland Greece. In another respect, too, it adds to our knowledge. It is the first example of an archaic Greek bronze vessel which is composed of two separate parts riveted together. Furtwängler, in his still fundamental discussion of Greek bronze vessels,²³ saw in this technique a distinctive Italic feature and denied that it ever occurred in Greece. But the riveting together of a vessel made in separate hammered sections is now documented in Greece for the Bronze age²⁴ and the bucket from Mantinea shows that this technique continued in use in the archaic period. Under the circumstances, its use in a prototype of the Italic *situla* found in a Greek city in Sicily²⁵ points to the introduction of the technique into Italy by Greek craftsmen of the archaic age.

For the date of our bronze vessel within the archaic period, to which it obviously belongs, only the ornament of the attachment offers specific indication (Pl. 31, b). Its combination of palmette, volutes and flower is commonly known in the second half of the sixth century B.C. alike in the decoration of vases and architectural terracottas.

without interruption through the intervening period. An object in the Naples Museum in which Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, recognized a neoclassical revivalist pail remains enigmatic: *Museo Borbonico*, IV, pl. 12, fig. 1. Enquiries about this object made with the Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Campania elicited the following bewildering statement: "L'oggetto infatti non solo non è fotografato, ma non è nemmeno tra quelli compresi nella Collezione dei Piccoli Bronzi. Finora ogni ricerca nei depositi è risultata vana, ma si pensa che questo vaso possa essere, insieme ad altri, nella sezione tecnologica, sita nel cosiddetto Braccio Nuovo. Presentamente però l'accesso a questi locali è impossibile, causa il parziale crollo del soffitto."

The upper part, including the lip, palmette handle attachments, rings with stops and handle with upper ring for the chain, seems to correspond to our type. The palmette, to judge from the drawing, is of good fifth-century style and the lip is decorated with an egg and dart. But the vessel as drawn ends slightly beneath its largest diameter in a flat bottom on clumsy feet, an unheard-of shape, if this ending is original. One wonders whether this is not an original Greek fifth century B.C. pail of our type and whether it has been tampered with in later antiquity or in modern times.

²² *Fasti Archaeologici*, VI, 1951 (1953), p. 434, fig. 162. This rather baroque transformation of entirely unclassical or archaistic character with fluting and a handle wiggling like a snake attests the unbroken development of a basic type. It is possible that buckets used by the Roman army had that old Greek form. But in the representations of buckets used for drawing water appearing on Trajan's Column (Scenes IV and XII), the lower end is not visible and could have had either a foot or a flat bottom, continuing another type of Greek pail which already occurs in the archaic period: *C.V.A.*, Belgium, Brussels, I, III c, pl. 1, 3; J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford, 1942, p. 221, No. 60 (Onesimos).

²³ *Kleine Schriften*, p. 396. Where later writers on *situlae* who have referred to this statement got the idea that Greek archaic pails were cast, not hammered (Daremberg-Saglio, *loc. cit.*, Leonard, *loc. cit.*), I do not know. Furtwängler is not responsible for such nonsense.

²⁴ Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, London, 1929, pp. 12 f., fig. 2; *B.C.H.*, LXXX, 1956, p. 283, fig. 8.

²⁵ *Situla* from Leontini: *Bollettino di Paleontologia Italiana*, XXXVIII, pp. 30 ff.

But I have been unable to find an exact analogy for the arrangement, proportion and type of upper flower in Greek ornament of the period. What distinguishes it is the peculiar, angular, simplified flower with an arrow-shaped center between two laurel leaf forms, though this is undoubtedly a transformation of a three-lobed bud or flower. This feature, as well as the large size of the volutes in proportion to the palmette, is somewhat anticipated in painted imitations of metal attachments beneath the handles of Rhodian amphoras of the Fikellura group between 570 and 540 B.C.²⁶ But in relief attachments and their painted imitations on vases, the volutes invariably move downward over the palmette, while on the bronze pail they roll outward in the opposite sense, as they often do on architectural terracottas. A not too distant antecedent of our palmette with its slightly articulated outline within the continuous outer contour of the attachment and its separation of the volutes and the wide, double-lined arc between them is found in the relief imitation under the vertical handle of a Chalcidian hydria datable *ca.* 540-530 B.C. (Pl. 34, b).²⁷ On the other hand, painted imitations of palmette attachments on Attic vases of the decade between 520 and 510²⁸ show palmettes close to the type of the bronze pail (Pl. 33, g) and at times rudiments of the bud between the volutes.²⁹ Therefore, our bronze pail should probably be dated about 520 B.C.

If the bronze pail from Mantinea is an important example of a rare form of archaic vessel, its importance is enhanced by the dedicatory inscription preserved on one side of its lip (Pl. 32). This inscription is carefully incised in archaic lettering. Its beginning, at the left, is destroyed along with the portion of the lip. But its end, at the right, near the extant handle-ring is intact, and that it ended here is evident from the lack of any further trace of letters on the well preserved surface (0.085 m. long) of the lip on its other side beyond the handle. Inasmuch as the text, as we shall see, ends at the right with an abbreviation and the spacing is rather wide at the left, it seems certain that it began at the left close to the handle and had a total length of *ca.* 0.24 m., of which more than two thirds (0.17 m.) is preserved:

.....ΙΛΟΣΥΝΕΘΥΣΕΤΑΘΑΝΑΙΑΙΤΑΛΛΑΛΨΟ

The σ has the form \lesssim , the θ has a cross and for κ , koppa is used. Only the upper part

²⁶ Examples: *C.V.A.*, Great Britain, 9, Oxford, 2, pl. 6, fig. 2 (dated by Beazley between 575 and 550 B.C.); similar *ibid.*, Great Britain, 13, British Museum, 8, pl. 5, figs. 1-2; *ibid.*, Italy, 9, Rhodes 1, II D, pl. 4, figs. 1-2, both dated between 550 and 525 B.C.

²⁷ A. Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, Berlin, 1927, pl. 22, No. 9; P. Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasenbilder*, Berlin, 1927, pl. 17, fig. a. For the obvious metal prototype, see Rumpf, p. 140.

²⁸ See, for example, *C.V.A.*, Germany, 12, Munich 4, pl. 188, fig. 3, No. 2300 and Germany, 3, Munich 1, pl. 52, fig. 6, *ca.* 510 B.C., with remnants of the upper flowers; *ibid.*, United States of America, 10, San Francisco collections, 1, pl. 9, 1 f., with wavy contour, while our palmette still has the solid outer lines of the earlier tradition (Smith, *ibid.*, p. 27). All slightly later than ours.

²⁹ See the preceding note.

of the second letter which theoretically could be an α or δ is preserved, and the upper bar of the tenth letter. Seven or eight letters are missing at the left and two more in the otherwise preserved text. But the reading leaves no doubt about them:

.....ιλος ὑνέθυσε τ' Ἀθαναία τ' Ἀλαλκο(μενία)

The dialect form ὑνέθυσε = ἀνέθυσε, equivalent to ἀνέθηκε, is known from other Arcadian inscriptions³⁰ as is the form Ἀθαναία.³¹ -ιλος is evidently the end of the dedicator's name which I do not venture to restore.

The bronze pail, thus, was dedicated to Athena in a local sanctuary by a man whose name ended in -ilos. This sanctuary undoubtedly was situated to the north of the archaic city of Mantinea—the general region in which the vase was discovered—where Pausanias, many centuries later, still saw a spring of Alalkomenia, πηγή Ἀλαλκομενίας (VIII, 12, 7).³² I have, accordingly, restored the form Ἀλαλκο(μενία) for the epithet of Athena at the end of the dedication. We learn from this inscription that in Mantinea in the archaic age Alalkomenia was an epithet of Athena, while previously it has been believed that it was the name of a different and independent deity.³³ We also know that the spring mentioned by Pausanias was situated in or near her sanctuary, so that the surname of the goddess still adhered to it when, in his time (to judge from his silence), the sanctuary had been abandoned.

The coincidence that we possess a pail of the type used to draw water that was dedicated in a sanctuary connected with a spring leads to the conclusion that this vessel was given for use in the rites of that sanctuary. The use of water pails in sanctuaries in connection with sacrificial rites is documented in Greece as early as the Mycenaean age (on the Sarcophagus of Hagia Triada) and the discovery of such pails or fragments of them in the sanctuaries at Delphi, at Olympia and of Athena at Lindos attests the same practice. In a later source, Plautus' *Rudens* (lines 438, 459 ff., 467 ff.), we have a graphic illustration of their function.³⁴ Here, what is called in the Latin translation an *urna*³⁵ is part of the equipment of the sanctuary of Aphrodite. The priestess, in order to obtain water for the rites, dispatches a woman

³⁰ ὑνέθυ[σε] = ἀνέθυσε *I.G.*, V, 2, 554-555 and [ἀνέ]θυσε(?) *ibid.*, 101.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 280.

³² On the location of the spring within this general region, see G. Fougères, *Mantinee* (*Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises*, 78), Paris, 1898, pp. 269 ff.; J. G. Fraser in *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, IV, London, 1898, p. 222; Pausanias, *Graeciae Descriptio*, ed. Hitzig-Blümner, III, 1, Leipzig, 1907, p. 153.

³³ Fougères, *loc. cit.*; *R.E.*, s.v. *Mantinee*, col. 1332, No. 6 (Bölte).

³⁴ I am indebted to my colleague Lionel Casson for calling my attention to this passage and pointing out its striking analogies.

³⁵ The translation "pitcher" given by the translator of the Loeb edition is nonsensical. A pitcher cannot be used to draw water from what is described as a deep well. The Greek text may have read ἀντλῖον for which there seems to be no Latin equivalent.

with a pail to a deep well situated near by but not in the sanctuary itself. The pail is sacred to the goddess (*sacram urnam Veneris*, lines 473, 475) and, what is more, it bears an inscription—which may be a dedicatory inscription or simply read something like *ἱερὸς εἰμὶ Ἀφροδίτης*³⁶—designating it as divine property and making its theft a very perilous enterprise because the pail would “sing out” to whom it really belonged: *nam haec litteratast eaque cantat cuius sit* (lines 477-478). The pail from Mantinea inscribed with a dedication to Athena Alalkomenia and used to draw water from a spring near to or in her sanctuary furnishes a visual illustration of Plautus’ amusing comic scene or, rather, of his Greek source. The remote ancestors of the Arcadian shepherd who could not see the dirt-covered inscription and could not have read it, even if he had seen it, or have understood that he was taking away divine property from the site would have been forced to respect that divine ownership even if they found the pail negligently abandoned at the spring.

As our inscription shows, Athena Alalkomenia was worshipped in Arcadia in the archaic period and the spring near Mantinea was related to her and not to an independent goddess, Alalkomene, brought by hypothetical immigrants from Alalkomenai in Boeotia.³⁷

As in regard to the relationship between Athena and the name of her town, Athens, modern scholars have now accepted the derivation of the name of the town Alalkomenai in Boeotia from the name of the goddess who was called by Homer Athena Alalkomeneis³⁸ and who was worshipped in Chios as Athena Alalkomene,³⁹ so we now meet her in Mantinea as Athena Alalkomenia (cf. also, Ἀλαλκομένηα as an epithet of Athena in Photios’ *Bib.*, p. 144b l. 24 Bekker; Ἀλαλκομενία in Steph. Byz. and as the name of a “heroine,” Paus. IX, 33, 5; Ἀλαλκομενίη as epithet of Hera, *Et. Mag.*, 568). This epithet, as Aristarchos had already recognized, refers to the armed Palladion goddess who is “defender” of cities.⁴⁰ In fact, the Boeotian sanctu-

³⁶ For inscriptions which designate ownership by the divinity of a sanctuary without indication of the dedicator references will be given in my forthcoming volume 2, part II of *Samothrace, Excavations* (Bollingen Series, LX).

³⁷ As Fougères, *loc. cit.* tried to prove.

³⁸ This stand was already taken with specific reference to the Spring of Mantinea by C. O. Müller, *Orchomenos und die Mynier*, Breslau, 1844, p. 208, note 1, who also was the first to see essential aspects of the problem of Athens (*Kleine Schriften*, II, Breslau, 1848, pp. 135 ff.). The discussion of H. Usener, *Götternamen*, Bonn, 1896, pp. 235 ff. remains fundamental. See also *R.E. s.v.* Alalkomenai, Alalkomeneis, Alakomenia, Alalkomenion (curiously, without reference to Mantinea); L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, I, Oxford, 1896, p. 308; Roscher in *Ausführliches Mythologisches Lexikon*, I, col. 685 A.; G. Finsler, *Homer*, Berlin, 1914, p. 222; U. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, 2nd ed., I, Basel, 1956, pp. 230, 235, note 2; M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, I, Munich, 1941, pp. 487 f.; K. Kerényi, “Die Jungfrau und Mutter der griechischen Religion,” *Albae Vigiliae*, N.F., Heft 12, Ascona, p. 28.

³⁹ *B.C.H.*, I, p. 281.

⁴⁰ For the derivation from ἀλαλκεῖν and ἀλκή see note 38.

ary claimed to possess the original Palladion and we may assume that the goddess of Mantinea was visualized by her worshippers as this type of active warrior goddess, a type early documented, too, in the archaic art of Arcadia.⁴¹

The various forms of the epithet all have the same meaning and, as an epithet, it might be transferred in special cases to other divinities such as Hera (*Et. Mag.*: Ἀλαλκομενίη) or Zeus (*ibid.*, Ἀλαλκομενιεύς), or to a hero, Ἀλαλκομένιος or a Praxidike (Ἀλαλκομενία, Suidas).

But there is no reason to accept a repeatedly voiced theory that this eloquent name originally designated an independent divinity only later absorbed by Athena.⁴² Outside Boeotia, the epithet is documented for Athena only and as such it occurs in the wide area from Arcadia to Chios. It seems to be a proper epiklesis of hers, invoking her as armed protectress of cities. Already occurring in Homer's *Iliad* and found, too, in regions not touched by the Doric invasions, but Greek in derivation and meaning, the epithet Alalkomenia and its related forms may well be an "Achaean" surname of the Palladion goddess who was already worshipped at that time on the Acropolis of Mycenae and who was generally called by her pre-Greek name, Athena or Athanaia. From the latter was derived the name of the city of Athens. Her epithet created the names of Alalkomenia and Alalkomenion in Boeotia and of the Alalkomenian spring in Mantinea.

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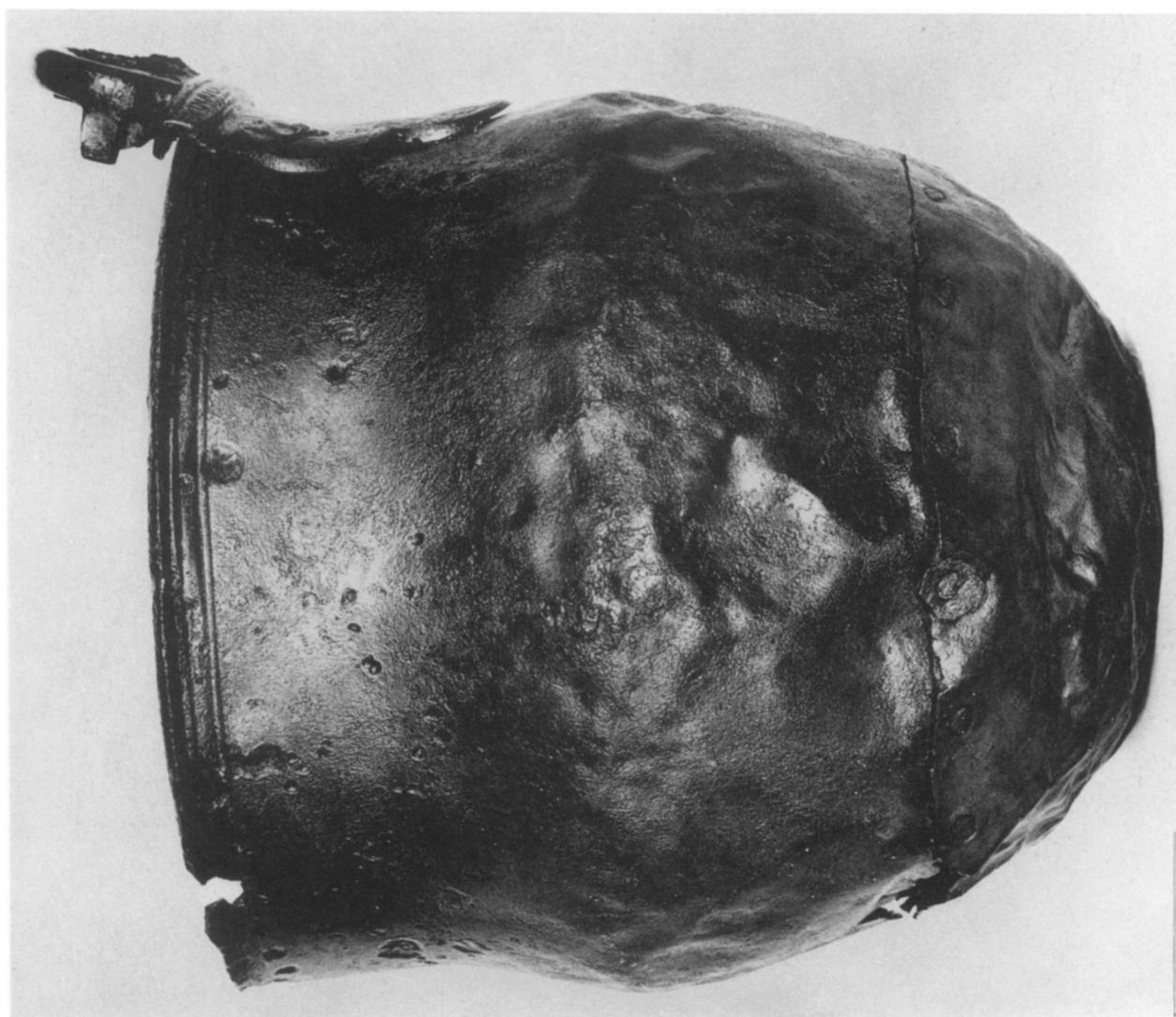
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⁴¹ *B.C.H.*, XLV, 1921, pl. 12.

⁴² Fougères, *loc. cit.*; Usener, *op. cit.*; Nilsson, *loc. cit.*

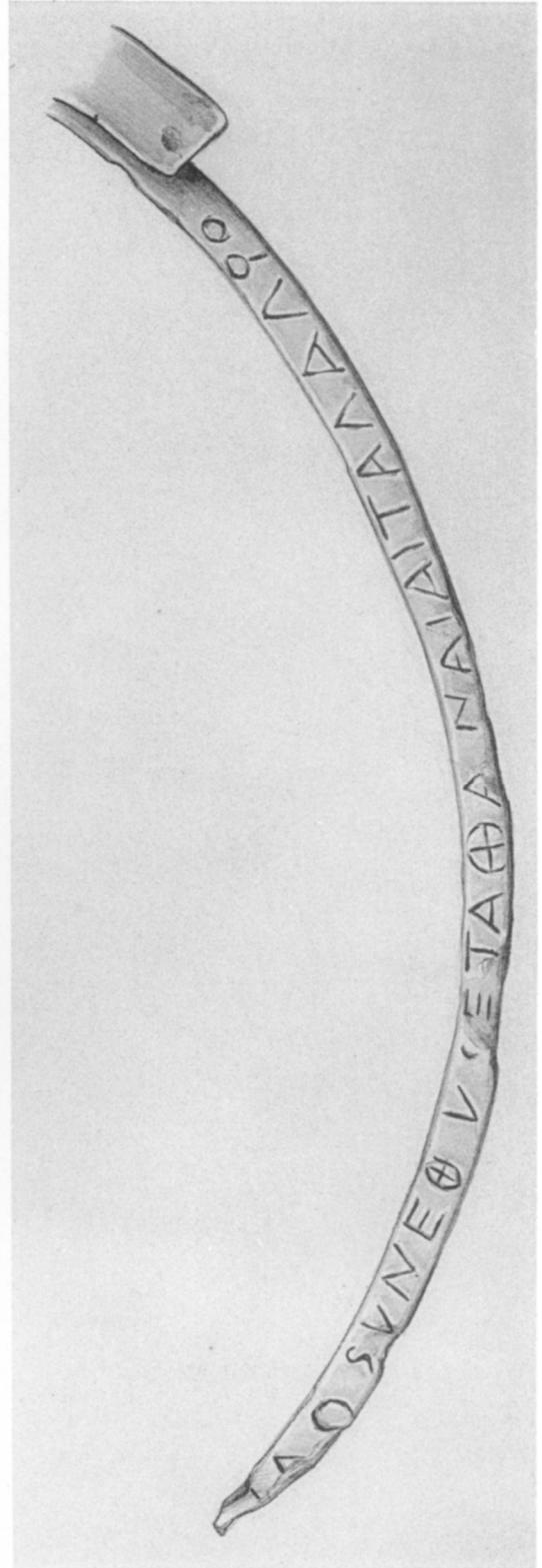
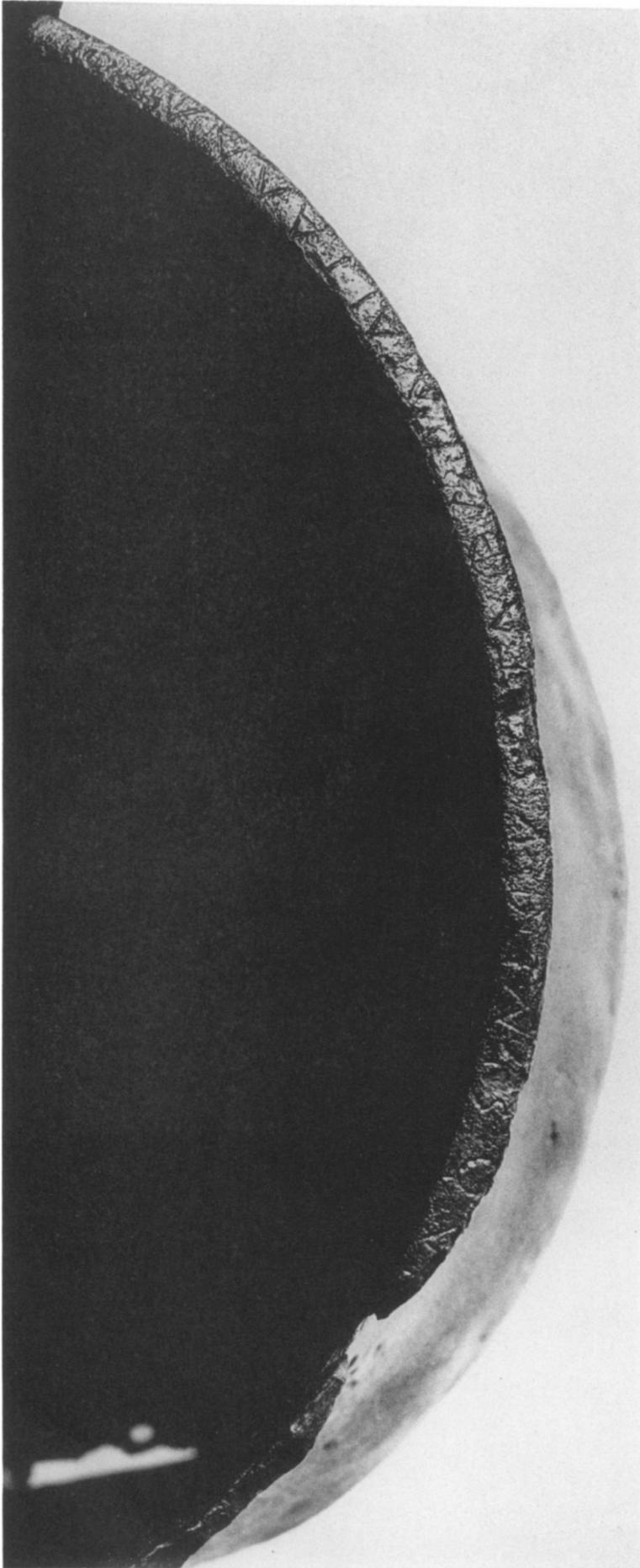


b. Handle Attachment of Bronze Pail from Mantinea



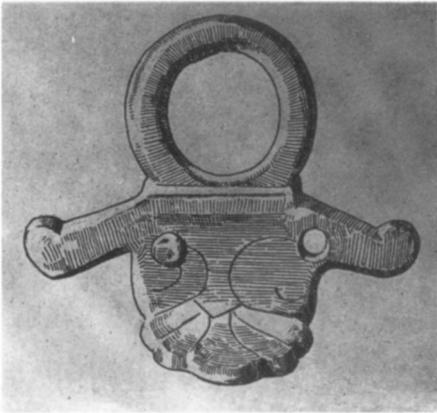
a. Bronze Pail from Mantinea

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Inscription on Rim of Bronze Pail from Mantinea

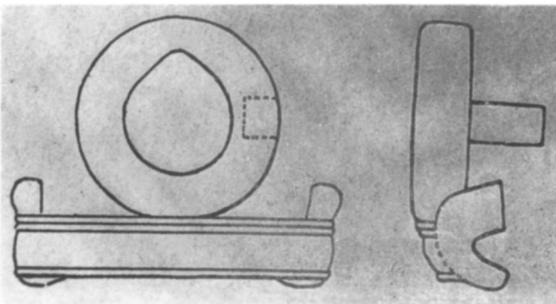
KARL LEHMANN: A BRONZE PAIL OF ATHENA ALALKOMENIA



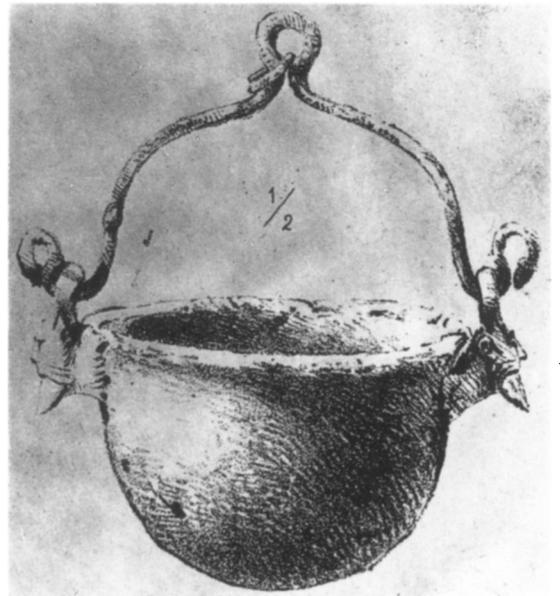
a. Handle Attachment from Olympia



b. The Story of Amymone on an Etruscan Situla



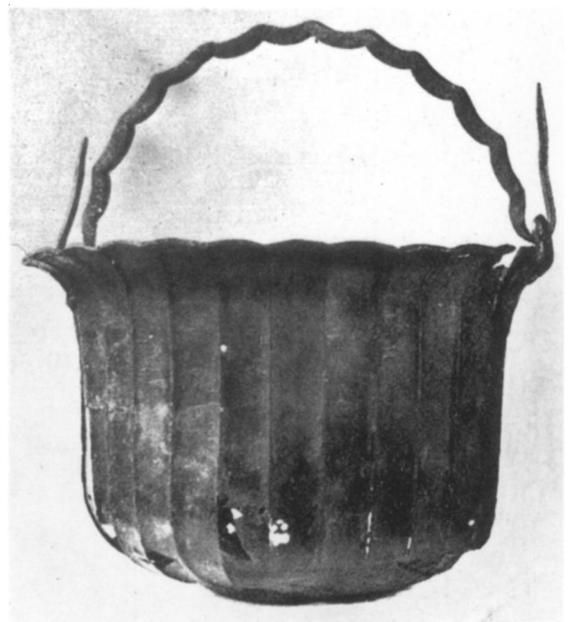
c. Handle Attachment from Lindos



d. Pail from Bologna



e. Situla from Boscoreale

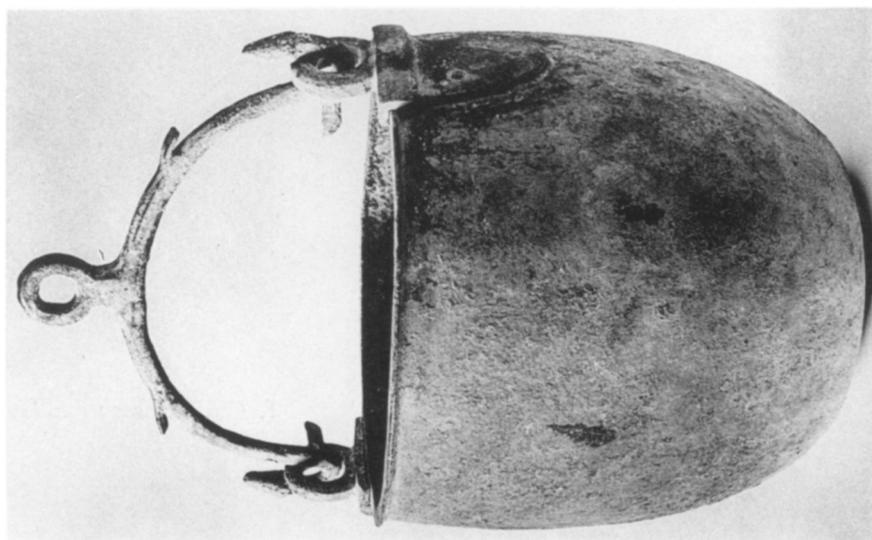
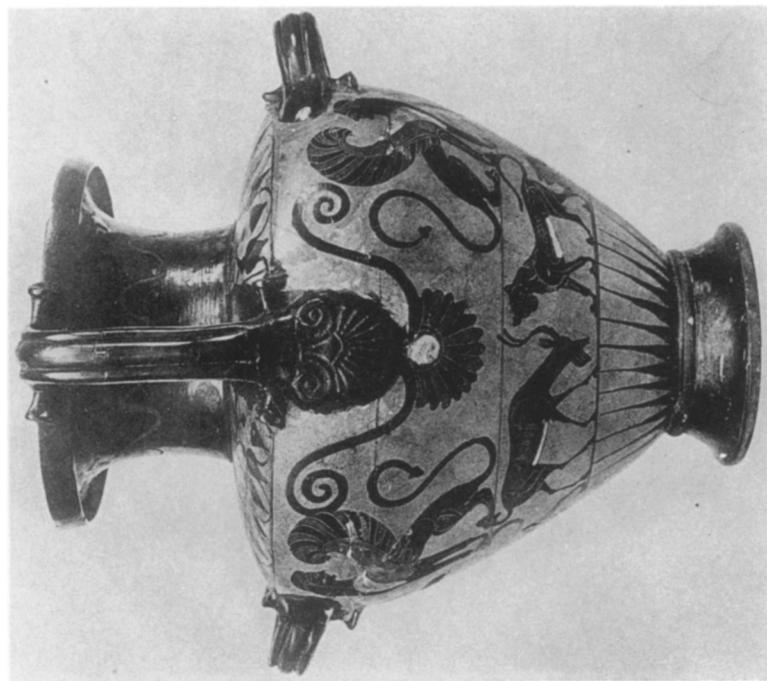
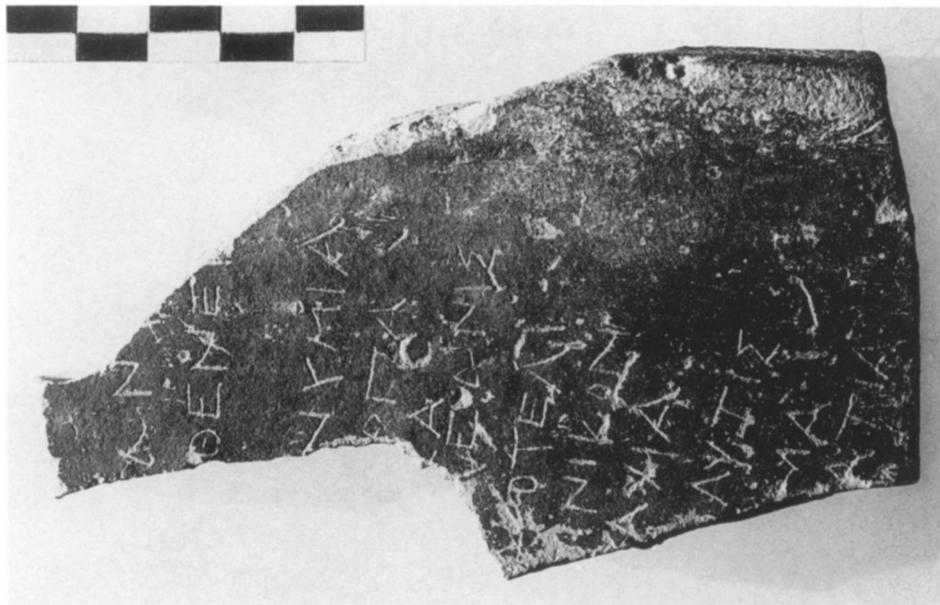


f. Gallo-Roman Pail from Tillemont



g. Painted Handle Attachment on Amphora,
Munich 2300

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a. Bronze Pail from Olympia

b. Chalkidian Hydria, British Museum B 75

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COLIN N. EDMONSON: A GRAFFITO FROM AMYKLAI