The Figure of Hades/Plouton in Greek Beliefs of the Archaic and Classical Periods

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Abstract

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The main aim of this work is the presentation, characterisation and review of the image of the Greek underworld deity, Hades/Plouton in Greek beliefs of the Archaic and Classical periods, on the basis of comparison of the preserved literary and epigraphic testimonies with the remains of material culture, and the reconstruction of the most coherent possible image of the god, claimed by scholars to be of little importance to Greek beliefs and to have no cult. The present dissertation liberates the god from long-standing scholarly misconceptions and returns him to his proper place within the Greek pantheon. Its main scholarly contribution and originality can be summarised as follows: (i) Hades is mainly an agricultural deity with a clear cult environment and has more in common with the world of the living than that of the dead; (ii) Hades influenced the representation of other male deities connected with earth: his main attribute, paradoxically the cornucopia or 'horn of plenty', appears for the first time in Greek art in the 6th century BC as exclusively his, and is later ascribed to other deities; (iii) Hades and Plouton were the same deity (Plouton – an Attic instantiation – spread throughout Greece with Attic literature and the Eleusinian cult of Demeter and Kore), sharing the same myths, and both, through the properties inscribed in their names (invisibility in Hades' and corn in Plouton's), referring to the earth; both names are products of the conceptualisation of the world of the dead; (iv) contrary to the prevailing scholarly view, the multiplicity of Hades' names is not exclusively the result of euphemism (which I propose to see rather as a by-product): the nomenclature is more complex and depends principally on cultic or mythological contexts and local tradition. My work not only reconstructs the repertoire of Greek ideas and opinions on Hades and the character of his cult, but also advocates a new understanding of the notion of Greek deity, as metonymy: Hades is representative of a wider class of deities who are concrete and abstract at the same time (like Gaia [the Earth], Uranos [the Sky], Okeanos [the Sea]): they denote a place, a god, a property of something, a form of matter.

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Preface

This work would not have achieved its shape without the support, advice and simply the belief of several people whom I was extremely fortunate to meet during my struggles with Hades. Among them I am deeply indebted to Professor Robert Parker, supervisor of this thesis, for many discussions ranging over the entire argument, for his extreme generosity with his time, for his openness towards my ideas, and for his patience and encouragement; his vast knowledge proved invaluable to me.

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Finally my greatest thanks are to my parents and grandmother for reasons too various to mention, and to my brother who has never doubted that this path should not be changed...

Introduction

...la tombe est faite pour savoir;
Tu verras; aujourd'hui, tu ne peux qu'entrevoir;
Mais, puisque Dieu permet que ma voix t'avertisse,
Je te parle.
V. Hugo, *Les Contemplations*
XXVI – Ce que dit la bouche d'ombre

Hades/Plouton came into being in scholarship for the first time in 1884 in a dissertation by T.P. Sophoulis entitled *Hades in der antiken Kunst*. Since then he has been fading with time, turning into entries in the encyclopaedias and dictionaries, or short summaries, giving way to one of the most prominent streams of scholarship, *i.e*. Greek beliefs regarding life after death, in which for some unknown reason he has so far been denied a place.

Therefore, the present work is to some extent a study of a certain oblivion, because its main aim is the presentation, characterisation and review of the image of Hades/Plouton in Greek beliefs of the Archaic and Classical periods on the basis of confrontation of the preserved literary and epigraphic testimonies with the remains of material culture (the iconography of vase painting, tomb-wall painting, sculpture). But why actually bother with Hades at all if in the perception of scholarship to date the god appears so insignificant to Greek beliefs and his worship can be said to be 'among the minor phenomena of Greek polytheism and to never attain any great significance for Hellenic religious history or civilisation'[1]. Because, firstly, as Farnell noticed himself (in the

[1] Farnell (1896-1909) iii.280, cf. Linder, Dahlinger, Yalouris in *LIMC* (1981-) iv.1: 389, *s.v. Hades*, Henrichs in *OCD*[4] *s.v. Hades*, Gantz (1993) 70.

longest treatment of the cult of the nethergod so far: 9 pages!), the assumptions regarding this deity were shaped according to the 'present state of knowledge'[2], which might have significantly changed since the beginning of the 20th century in the light of new excavations and archaeological finds as well as the increased interest of scholarship in various areas related (directly or not) to this god. Secondly, scholarly contradictions in the understanding/perception of the deity prove that there exist significant gaps in the portrayal of the nethergod, which should be taken into account and granted a proper investigation. Evidence concerning this deity were at best treated separately, within single categories, according to the needs of a given study, and such treatment of the matter, usually based on some kind of presupposition, led scholars, in my opinion, to numerous misunderstandings and caused erroneous interpretations if not misconceptions; no coherent and comprehensive presentation of the subject has been proposed so far. Last but not least, it is a shame that a god who partook in the division of the world (an event important *sub specie eternitatis*, at least mythologically), who got as his portion the realm of the dead, so prominently explored in scholarship (leaving its ruler aside without explanation), and who is apparently present as a figure in the Eleusinian cult and the cultic surroundings of the two goddesses, has never received a proper study which would bring together the accessible evidence and provide thorough interpretation.

It seems that the scholarly contradictions have their source in names for the nethergod, never properly analysed; the – deliberately or otherwise – assumed interpretations of given names create further interrelated discrepancies, which have significant implications for our understanding of representations of the nethergod in material

[2] Farnell (1896-1909) iii.280.

culture, of the idea of the deity itself emerging from myths and mentions in written sources belonging to various genres, of names (for instance, through the prism of euphemism), and finally, of the cult itself.

Let us briefly present scholarly views on the matter. Sophoulis saw the difficulty in representing the nethergod in his dualistic nature: as Gott der Erdfruchtbarkeit (Plouton) and König der Schatten (Hades) simultaneously; he ascribed the scarcity of his representations to the fact that they did not belong among the favourites in Greek art[3]. Nilsson claimed that the nethergod as Hades had almost no cult and few myths, and owed his existence above all to his identification with Plouton, who belongs to Demeter's circle[4]. Clinton claimed even that 'it was natural (for the Greeks) to think of Hades as different from Plouton' and that 'originally the pairs (Hades-Persephone, Plouton-Kore) were distinct'[5], though he did not support this claim with any ancient evidence. The understanding of the nethergod in scholarship balances the two extreme positions: the existence of two separate figures of Hades and Plouton, and of a dual-nature deity. Neither of these ideas has been explained or proved sufficiently and convincingly so far; the evidence seems to be used in servitude to the prior assumption.

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[3] Sophoulis (1884) 1: 'Die Darstellungen des Gottes der Unterwelt gehören nicht zu den beliebsten Gegenständen der griechischen Kunst; wir haben nur wenige Monumente, besonders in der statuarischen Kunst, die uns Hades vorstellen. Zu der geringen Zahl der Monumente mit Hades tritt auch noch die geringe Entwicklung seines Typus. Dies erklärt sich aber aus dem Charakter des Gottes, dessen dualistische Natur eine klare Vorstellung nicht leicht möglich macht'. Cf. Linder in *LIMC* (1981-) iv.1: 370, 389, *s.v. Hades*.

[4] Nilsson (1941-50) 452: 'Hades hat in dieser Eigenschaft fast keine Kulte und wenig Mythen; das meiste in dieser Beziehung verdankt er der Identifizierung mit Pluton, der dem Kreis der Demeter angehört und in diesem Zusammenhang zu besprechen ist'. Cf. Roscher (1924-37) cols. 1782-87, *s.v. Hades* (*iii Beinamen)*, Dahlinger in *LIMC* (1981-) iv.1: 369 *s.v. Hades*, Henrichs in *OCD*[4], *s.v. Hades*.

[5] Clinton (1992) 62-63. He fails, however, to prove that in iconography Plouton was normally distinguished from Hades, and he admits himself (p. 105) that 'when a context is missing or unclear, an attribute (e.g., a sceptre) is sometimes not sufficient to allow certain identification'; he tried to solve the problem of the cornucopia held either by Hades or Plouton through its fullness or emptiness, but this does not seem to be justified, especially given that the content or its lack is not always clear (see section I 2.1). None of the specific and distinctive features noticed and listed by him (like, for instance, white hair in Plouton's case and bare-chestedness in Hades') in the representations of artificially divided Hades and Plouton prove to be true, useful, or justified in the light of the analysis provided in the present work.

A common tendency among scholars is to explain the two names in terms of development from Hades to Plouton, who, as claimed by Henrichs, 'during the 5th c. BC became Hades' most common name in myth as well as in cult'[6]. However, Henrichs fails to acknowledge that the 5th-c. BC sources in which Plouton occurs are purely Attic, which cannot in itself serve as an argument for 'the most common name'. Henrichs explains that 'after Homer Hades is not only the god of the dead, but also the god of death, even death personified', that the god 'was perceived sometimes as eater of corpses (though he bases this assumption on a passage, Sophocles' *Electra* 542, which does not support it). This opinion is shared by many scholars who look for the source of the development in fear and (hence) tabooing of the god of the dead, resulting in a euphemistic treatment of the deity in onomastics[7].

Nevertheless, the present work argues that such a development of Hades into Plouton never took place. Furthermore, in the light of the evidence, both literary and iconographic, Hades and Plouton appear as the same deity, expressing essentially the same idea of the nethergod, but functionally addressing different aspects of the deity. Like all other names, these two are also telling and they fall into the categories of 'making invisible' and 'giving life' (respectively). The analysis carried out in this work shows that this conceptualisation is only seemingly polar because the variety of the

[6] *OCD*[4], *s.v. Hades*. Cf. Nilsson (1941-50) 453, Gantz (1993) 72-3.

[7] Farnell (1896-1909) iii: 'It was natural to Greek superstition, as has been already observed, to avoid the mention, wherever possible, of the personal names of chthonian powers and to substitute for them appellatives which were generally euphemistic' (281). 'And the name 'Hades' was one of this sort' (282); cf. Roscher (1924-37) col. 1782, *s.v. Hades* (*iii Beinamen*): 'Finster und dunkel wie sein Reich und seine Bahausung dachte man sich auch den Charakter des Gottes. Die homerischen Beiwörter (...) charakterisieren in treffender Weise das Gewaltthätige, Fruchtbare und Finstere seines Wesens, und deshalb war er auch *βροτοῖσι θεῶν ἔχθιστος ἁπάντων* (*Il.* 9.159). Es war natürliche Folge dieser Vorstellungsweise, dass sich allmählich eine gewisse Scheu vor dem Gotte einstellte, die darin zum Ausdruck kam, dass man ängstlich vermied, das Widerwärtige seines Wesens rückhaltslos auszusprechen. Man nahm daher zu Umschreibungen seines Namensund euphemistischen Beiworten siene Zuflucht, welche, z. T. durch Lokalkulte hervorgerufen, gewisse Nebenseiten seines Wesens bezeichneten. Cf. Wüst in *RE* (1951) cols. 998-1000 s.v. *Plouton*.

god’s names reflects the complexity of his nature and that the multiaspectual set of his properties exist in a certain mutual exchange. The idea of the nethergod was consistent, since all the extant names gravitate towards the idea of 'earth', conceptually understood as source (e.g., of crops, life) and home (of the living and the dead). Most of the preserved names appear both in literary (mythical) and cultic contexts. To do justice to the 'most popular names', let us summarise the outcome of the analysis of them carried out in the third part of this thesis.

Hades is the oldest among the known names and its features place the god among primeval deities such as Ge, Ouranos, Okeanos, whose names denote both the god and the matter, as if intrinsically connected. The name seems to appear in cultic contexts in at least four regions (Elis, Triphylia, Mekistia, and Boeotia), which allows us to suppose that not much is preserved rather than that the name was systematically avoided. Plouton, in turn, according to the analysis carried out in this part of the thesis, enters Greek religious thought only in the 5th c. BC (his earlier existence cannot be traced): he belongs to Attic culture and appears together with its rise. Therefore, he owes his popularity to the Eleusinian cult of the two goddesses and to Attic drama, with which he spread throughout the Greek world. The name 'Plouton' literally means 'one rich in corn', but it does not imply giving because Plouton, if not well-disposed, may keep his riches far away from the living; moreover, according to the Attic conception discussed in the present work, the dead are said to change into corn; hence the name alludes to the netherworld as well. Let us also remember that Sophocles did not present him as a kindly deity (cf. Eumenides) and that Plouton has no mythological origins or myths different than Hades; he simply stands for Hades in Attic tradition. Thus, he does not expand the properties of Hades, nor does he add any new value to the god's nature.

Plouton, therefore, is not a euphemistic name: it is simply an Attic name referring to a specific property of the god seen through the prism of the Eleusinian/Attic cult of the two goddesses, *i.e*. to the wealth embodied in corn, the essential trait inscribed in the name *Plouton* in the same way as invisibility (or everything that is hidden in the earth) is present in the name *Hades*. Finally, the polyvalence of the nethergod's names is clearly visible in Zeus *Chthonios*, who (through the meaning of the epithet) encompasses both sides of the nethergod's nature and is referred to in all known contexts.

The present work proposes, therefore, that the euphemistic features should be treated as a byproduct in the case of the nethergod because the variety of his names seems rather to be a result of the god's very nature, oscillating between the two above-mentioned aspects of earth. Different appellations, originating in local or regional traditions, point to specific features of the deity favoured in a given area; the extant names sharing the idea of the nethergod are not common to all Greek *poleis*, their rituals or cultic habits. From the usage of the god's names it cannot be inferred that any of them was tabooed; they refer each to a specific property of the nethergod and the choice of the name seems to be determined by the context and the intended effect within it.

Considerations canvassed in the other parts of this work lead to and confirm the outcome of the analysis carried out in the third part, devoted to the names of the nethergod. The three further thematic parts concern iconography of the nethergod, his portrayal in the written sources, and his cult.

As has been mentioned above, on the scholarly view from Sophoulis' dissertation onwards the nethergod was not of great interest to ancient painters and sculptors, and hence he did not develop any specific iconographic features[8]. The iconography discussed so far has been treated in different ways, either according to the 'understanding' of the idea of the nethergod as two separate deities (Sophoulis and Clinton) or without regard to that supposed distinction (as in *LIMC*). The *LIMC* treatment seems more useful because it aims at objectivity in considering the representations, dividing them according to the cultures in which they originated (Greek, Roman, Etruscan) and listing them thematically according to the accompanying deities or myths. However, it follows the assumptions of other scholars, and though it does not impose an extreme division between Hades and Plouton, it does not give any explanation or interpretation of the representations included either; it rather serves as a general reference list. The first part of the present work, focusing on the ways in which Hades/Plouton is represented in Greek material culture, broadly understood (sculpture: statues, votive reliefs, Locrian pinakes; pottery: Attic, Apulian, Etruscan; tomb paintings), follows the *LIMC* grouping of the representations of the nethergod around themes of myth or cultic surroundings in the case of Attic pottery; otherwise, it is divided into regions, and according to the type of material. It aims to present and discuss the iconography of the nethergod, his main attributes and their general usage. The analysis carried out in this part confirms that there is no particular difference in the iconography of the nethergod, whether he is identified/inscribed as Hades or as Plouton. The deity's attributes, the key and the cornucopia, seem to be standardised and independent of any particular Greek myth, but clearly connected and reflecting the nethergod's nature; it seems that his iconography had an impact on the representation of

[8] See n. 3.

other chthonic deities rather than being inspired by them. Though most of the representations of the deity belong to the myths preserved in the literary sources, there are also examples of scenes which do not refer to any known mythological event and are hard to interpret; they might have belonged to some unpreserved or modified (perhaps local) stories: the scenes of the nethergod being carried by Herakles (here interpreted in the context of the Ilissos cult) constitute the most prominent example. A new interpretation of the Underworld palace scenes depicted on Apulian red-figure pottery, classified by scholars as reflecting afterlife beliefs[9], has also been proposed: namely, that they reflect scenes from Attic tragedy, and do not seem to be under 'Orphic' influence. Furthermore, the variety of places/regions from which all the representations discussed in this part come seems to indicate that not much has been preserved rather than that the nethergod hardly occurs in artistic representation or was not a favourite subject. It seems, contrary to the scholarly assumptions presented above, that the figure of the nethergod was definitely of interest to Greek painters and sculptors: his portrayal was vivid and it usually carried specific meaning.

The second part of this dissertation is devoted to the written sources. It considers literary texts as well as epigraphic testimonies, from Homeric times till the end of the 4th c. BC, incorporating accounts by later authors where useful (*i.e.*, to provide additional information or explanation of the argument, or to verify the continuity of a thought or motif). On the basis of these sources the god's mythological manifestations are discussed, as well as the ways in which his persona was marked, the probable roles attached to him in Greek thought, and his properties (both distinctive ones and those shared with other gods). The notion of syncretism of the nethergod with other gods,

[9] Smith (1972), Pensa (1977), Johnston S.I., McNiven T.J. (1996), Bernabé (2009).

discussed by Wüst[10], does not seem to be justified and the present study proposes seeing certain features of the god(s) as generic rather than a result of development or transfer of properties. The analysis undertaken here makes it possible to present a portrayal of this unique deity as represented in literature and to grasp the general feelings evoked by him, as depicted in texts. The outcome of the analysis of the written sources shows that the nethergod's literary portrayal is consistent. We may assume that he existed as a kind of reversal, opposition, and negative reflection of what belongs to the world of the living. His most prominent feature remains the permeability between himself and the Underworld. Furthermore, having defined the boundaries between the fictitious image and the actual place/spheres of activity that he might have had in the reality of Greek beliefs, I point out the linking elements, which shed some light on the cultic aspects to be discussed in the final part of the thesis.

The last part is devoted to discussing Hades/Plouton's cult. It focuses on the god's three main cultic constellations, as expressed in the figures he is associated with or their absence: individual cult, cult with Demeter and Kore, and cult with other deities (Herakles, Semnai Theai, and Athena). In this part the character and nature of his cult are discussed, as well as the question to what extent the image of the god which emerged through the analysis of different types of evidence in the previous parts is confirmed, complemented, or contradicted by what we see through the prism of the cultic enviroment. It should be emphasised that the evidence presented and analysed in this part concerns only cult places and regions where the presence of the nethergod is attested by inscriptions from the 4th c. BC at the latest, or where the cult surroundings are so evident (for instance by well-established cult of Demeter and Kore in a given

[10] Wüst in *RE* (1951) cols. 1001-1003 s.v. *Plouton*.

region) that they minimalise the risk of misinterpretation; only in such circumstances is later evidence taken into consideration. Hence, cult places such as Acharaka in Caria, though very peculiar and of great interest for the subject in general, are not discussed in this work because the earliest clear evidence regarding the nethergod's cult there comes from Strabo[11]. The analysis of the extant material concerning the cult of the nethergod proves that, contrary to the scholarly opinions mentioned above, he not only received cult both individually and together with various associates, but also participated significantly in the most important cults of the Greek world, *i.e*. those of Demeter and Kore.

There are two matters which are not discussed in the present work and whose omission may seem odd at first sight and demand some justification: the Underworld and afterlife beliefs. The present work is concerned with the god himself, and the discussion of his kingdom is therefore limited to its immediate connection to the god in terms of general ideas, homonymia, or related figures. Characters such as Charon[12] or Hermes are therefore not taken into consideration because they rather belong to the conception(s) of the Underworld, as they are directly connected with the dead and not with the god himself. The decision not to include a detailed discussion of the Underworld was also dictated by the fact that conceptions of the Underworld and a thorough analysis of its elements and 'inhabitants' would demand a separate study, which the scope of this work and its word limits do not allow. Afterlife beliefs, on the other hand, are not discussed in the present work because none of the analysed sources indicates a clear connection of

[11] Nissen (2009) hypothesises that the cult of Plouton and Persephone in the Maeander valley was at least as early as the 3rd c. BC, but in the light of the evidence presented and discussed by her the claim does not seem justified. She bases her argument on two undated inscriptions, one of which comes from Sarapieion C and thus is probably not earlier than the foundation of the temple itself, *i.e.* early 2nd c. BC (Hamilton 2000: 196).
[12] The best study of this figure has been written by Sourvinou-Inwood (1995).

the nethergod with the idea of an 'afterlife' beyond the fact that he reflects his kingdom, the invisible kingdom of the dead who turn into nothingness. Though there are some allusions to his punitive role, they still seem to concern the living rather than the dead, and, above all, they belong to myths which in this case are not mirrored by his cult: he does not seem to be worshipped in connection with the dead or with any ancestral cult. Hades/Plouton is the king of corpses in literary tradition, but this tradition does not express any hope for an afterlife, and certainly not for the form of post-mortem salvation present in the so-called 'Orphic' discourse[13]. Although it is true that his name occurs on the gold leaves, not much can be said about his role within these beliefs except that he is the consort of Persephone. His role as lord of the dead (obtained by lot, let us remember) and judge seem to belong to myth (not to beliefs of any kind, or at least it is not possible at present to prove it either way) and as such it is analysed in the second part of this work.

The evidence collected and analysed in the present work consists of literary, epigraphic, visual, and archaeological testimonies, which belong mostly to the Archaic and Classical periods; later evidence, as has been mentioned above, is taken into consideration only if it provides some additional information concerning the cult or illustrates the development or continuity of a certain idea. The evidence is extremely difficult to interpret because it is scarce, scattered, and ambiguous, as well as immersed in literary and artistic convention, which does not always prove to be easily recognisable. Additionally, we have to be aware that most of our evidence comes from Attica and, therefore, the picture of the god has to remain incomplete, if not distorted. Another problem which has to be mentioned is the evidence that comes from parts of

[13] On the 'Orphic' gold leaves: Bernabé A., Jiménez A.I. (2007), Graf F., Johnston S.I. (2013); on Orphism in general: Edmonds (2013).

Italy that are hellenised, but still indigenous in character, where it sometimes proves impossible even to assess the degree of acculturation, leaving aside the difficulty of recognising manifestations of cultural trends and preferences interpreted, supplemented, and changed by local beliefs. But, although the road to Hades is said to be well-trodden, who said that it should be one or simple...

I

Iconography of the God of the Netherworld

According to *communis opinio,* the nethergod was not of great interest to ancient sculptors and painters and that is why he didn't develop any specific type of representation[1]. On the one hand, it is not surprising that a god who is widely acknowledged to be the grim lord of the dead seems to be *persona non grata* in the world of images motivated by *élan vital*: after all, life loves life autotelically. On the other hand, isn't it deceptively simple to think that he slips through the representations in art, as if left unsaid, leaving an impression that he is only a decorative element occasionally evoked by the scenery depicted? We need to examine how he appeared in ancient eyes and what (religious?) feelings he evoked; for a detailed analysis of his representations in art may provide some information about the place he had in ancient thought and shed some light on his cultic character as well.

It is important to enquire whether ancient artists differentiated somehow between Hades and Plouton on the basis of their attributes or roles. The issue will also be whether his attributes and roles were standardised somehow and depended on each other or only on the myth they referred to. Although on vases as in myth the gods appear in a narrative situation rather than in cult, the form of representation and chosen scenery, which usually are in close relationship, remain meaningful. Furthermore, the myths chosen or the emphasis on certain of their elements may allow us to grasp the specific aspect of

[1] Sophoulis (1884); Farnell (1907) 280-288; Carpenter (1997) 72.

the figure of the nethergod concealed, forgotten or even lost somewhere between modern stereotypical approaches or classifications and what was passed over in silence by the ancient authors.

For the purpose of clarity in this part I have applied the following system based on the occurrence of the names of the god in the epigraphic evidence: I use Hades and Plouton when the name is confirmed by an inscription; otherwise, I refer to the god as Hades/Plouton or with periphrastic terms such as the nethergod, etc.

1. Representations in Sculpture

1.1 Mentioned in literary sources

The ancients tell us almost nothing about the image of the Lord of the Underworld. It is hard to imagine how he appeared in ancient eyes; however, Pausanias several times refers to his *agalmata* in various places. What is more, mentioning the temple of Semnai Theai, close to the Athenian Areopagus (1.28.6), he specifies the *agalmata* of other gods which are standing there, among them the underworld gods (*θεῶν τῶν ὑπογαίων*): Plouton, Hermes and Ge, which do not arouse fear (*φοβερός*)[2] by their appearance, in his opinion. It is hard to date the statue of Plouton, as it has not been found[3]; we can perhaps assume that it was not made before Skopas' life (*ca*. 370-330

[2] This could indicate that there existed representations of Plouton which did incite fear; at least in the case of the Erinyes Pausanias says that Aeschylus described Erinyes with snakes in their hair (*πρῶτος δέ σφισιν Αἰσχύλος δράκοντας ἐποίησεν ὁμοῦ ταῖς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ θριξὶν εἶναι*). In other cases of the nethergod's representations, which Pausanias certainly saw himself, he does not make any such remarks. However, this fact could possibly also suggest that he expected Plouton to be fearful only in certain contexts.

[3] For the cult of Plouton with the Semnai Theai at Athens see section IV 4.1.

BC), who is said to have created two of the Semnai Theai (Clem. Alex. *Protr*. 4.47.3). We know that the altar of these deities existed earlier (Paus. 7.25.2, Thuc. 1.126.11), but it seems likely that the first statues which appeared in the temple represented the Semnai Theai, not accompanying deities. The presence of the cult of Plouton at this time (4th c. BC) in the surroundings is confirmed by his shrine in the city Eleusinion and inscriptions[4]. Furthermore, Eschbach[5] claimed, even if only hypothetically, that this *agalma* of Plouton was the prototype for the statues from Piraeus[6] (fig. 53) and Kallipolis[7] (fig. 55), both dated to the late 4th c. BC and both representing a semi-naked Hades/Plouton with a cornucopia in the left hand (the other attribute is missing, but could have been a sceptre or a *phiale*). This could be treated as confirmation of the actual presence of the *agalma* of Plouton in the 4th c. BC or even before.

The god of the dead had more *agalmata*, but Pausanias tells us nothing specific about their appearance: *e.g*., the *xoanon* of Plouton in the temple of Demeter Mysia in Argolis (2.18.3), the *agalma* in Corinth as Zeus *Chthonios* (2.2.8). Although we have an inscription from a round altar or possibly a part of an unfluted column-shaft found in the vicinity of the sanctuary of Demeter Mysia (modern Phychthia) and devoted to the chthonic deities, dated to *ca*. 470 BC[8], it is impossible to date this *xoanon,* as it has not survived.

As far as the Corinthian *agalma* is concerned, in 1908 a figure of a sitting god, half-damaged above the lap, was found near the place indicated by Pausanias. It could be

[4] *IG* II^2 1933-5, *IG* II^2 1672.168-69; Miles (1998) 101, Parker (1996) 246, n. 99, 250, Köhler (1872) 106-7. For discussion see section IV 2.1.
[5] Eschbach (1986) 24-26.
[6] Dresden, Antikensammlungen Zug. Nr. 1698; Eschbach (1986) pl. 7.1.
[7] Delphi, Museum inv. 11 424; Eschbach (1986) pl. 7.2.
[8] IG IV 496, Jeffrey (1955) 70-1.

understood as a figure of the nethergod because of the reliefs of wheat-stalks which are on the sides of the throne, and the preserved lower part of Kerberos, rather than, as Johnson suggested[9], Sarapis, in whose iconography wheat-stalks never appear. What is more, in the immediate vicinity was the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, where the nethergod could also have been worshipped[10]. On stylistic grounds it should probably be ascribed to the same period as the statue of Hades/Plouton (3rd c. BC) from the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Kos[11] (3rd c. BC) or the statue of the nethergod with Kerberos from Syracuse[12] (2nd c. BC). Interestingly, a huge rectangular base decorated on three sides with a relief in archaising style (as early as the Augustan period)[13] was found to the north-west of the temple of Hermes in the Corinthian agora, near the find spot of the Corinthian statue; whether the base was connected with the statue is hard to say given that they were made at different times, though the representations correspond. The relief on the base represents a bearded male figure with a cornucopia in his left hand and a *phiale* in his right; on the other sides of the base there are female figures carrying wheat, poppy seed-pods and a torch. It seems justifiable to interpret the reliefs as depicting the nethergod with the two goddesses.

According to Pausanias, Plouton also appeared on the base of Apollo's statue, the so-called Amyklaean altar (3.19.4), on its front *façade*[14], in the company of Demeter, Kore and other gods, who are carrying to heaven Hyacinthus and Polyboea. The altar was made by Bathykles, so it can be safely dated to the 6th c. BC[15]. A half-naked Hades/Plouton with a cornucopia in the company of Persephone, Poseidon and

[9] Johnson (1931) 31.
[10] See section IV 2.3.
[11] *LIMC* IV, 2: 5, 210; see also section IV 2.6 (iv).
[12] *LIMC* IV, 2: 6, s. 210
[13] According to Williams (1975) 24.
[14] For the archaeological finds and the polemics on the figural representations on the altar and its reconstructions see Faustoferri (1996).
[15] Ibidem: 54-56.

Amphitrite may have also appeared on the base relief of the statue of Athena Parthenos representing the birth of Pandora, made by Phidias and dedicated in the Parthenon in 438 BC[16]. It should be highlighted that the reconstruction of this side of the relief is made only on the basis of similarities with three later reliefs recognised as deriving from the same original: a Neo-Attic relief in the Palazzo del Drago (Villa Albani) in Rome, dated to the Hadrianic period[17], a relief found in the Asklepieion in Corinth, dated to Roman times[18], and a Neo-Attic marble base of a candelabrum in the Lateran, dated to the Augustan period[19].

1.1.1 Plouton with a key

Pausanias saw a relief depicting Plouton with a key on the table of ivory and gold in the Heraion in Olympia (5.20.2-3); the table, according to Pausanias, was made by Kolotos, pupil of Pasiteles – if true, we can safely date it to the 1st c. BC[20]. Pausanias tells us that Plouton is holding a key, with which, as it is said, he closed the Underworld so that nobody could exit from it: ἐπὶ δὲ <τῇ> κλειδὶ – ἔχει γὰρ δὴ ὁ Πλούτων κλεῖν –, λέγουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὸν καλούμενον Ἅιδην κεκλεῖσθαί τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος καὶ ὡς ἐπάνεισιν οὐδεὶς αὖθις ἐξ αὐτοῦ. Although at first sight a key in Plouton's iconography may seem bizarre, since the key as an attribute is encountered rather in connection with Aiakos (Apollod. 3.159.10) and the epithet κλειδοῦχος is ascribed to him[21], the nethergod is represented with it together with Persephone in a *tympanon* of the so-called

[16] Leipen (1971) 50 n. 1.
[17] Ibidem, fig. 66.
[18] Carpenter (1933) 65-6, fig. 23.
[19] Becatti (1951) pl 10, figs. 26-28.
[20] *BNP* s.v. *Pasiteles*.
[21] *IG* XIV 1746, *PGM* 1264. Once it is given also to Persephone: *PGM* 1403 (Περσέφασσα κλειδοῦχε). For Aiakos see section II 1.4.1.1.

tomb of Palmettes in Mieza (Lefkadia, 3th c. BC; fig. 56)[22]. The idea of Plouton closing the Underworld with a key is also confirmed by the 18th Orphic *Hymn*: Πλούτων, ὃς κατέχεις γαίης κληῖδας ἁπάσης. A funerary inscription from Athens (4th c. BC), which calls the nethergod κοινὸς ταμίας[23] seems to refer indirectly to this attribute too. The meaning of the key in the case of the nethergod may indicate a mystery in which the Underworld is veiled. In a passage in Sophocles' *Oedipus Coloneus* (1050-3), the golden key said to be put by the Hierophant on the mouth of the initiates refers to the mystery of the Eleusinian initiations: οὗ πότνιαι σεμνὰ τιθηνοῦνται τέλη | θνατοῖσιν ὧν καὶ χρυσέα | κλῃὶς ἐπὶ γλώσσᾳ βέβακε προσπόλων Εὐμολπιδᾶν. It is interesting that the motif of a golden key, connected with the closure of the Underworld, appears in both contexts: funerary and Eleusinian. It is particularly appealing to see it through the prism of Cicero's statement that after initiation into the *Eleusinian Mysteries* one could live happily and die with more hope[24]. Worth mentioning is also that the most prominent myth of the Eleusinian Mysteries, *i.e*. the abduction of Kore by Hades, was also depicted on the wall of the so-called chamber of Persephone in the same grave complex of the Great Tumulus at Aigai[25] as the tomb of Eurydike, in which the nethergod together with Persephone in a chariot are represented also on the throne backrest.

[22] Descamps-Lequime (2011) 514 fig. 160.
[23] *IG* II^2 11169 (=*SEG* 59 308, *CEG* 593, *GVI* 1889).
[24] Cic. *De leg*. 2.35-6; see also Soph. fr. 837 (Radt): ὡς τρισόλβιοι | κεῖνοι βροτῶν, οἳ ταῦτα δερχθέντες τέλη | μόλωσ' ἐς Ἅιδου· τοῖσδε γὰρ μόνοις ἐκεῖ | ζῆν ἔστι, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοισι πάντ' ἔχειν κακά.
[25] Kottaridi (2007) 27-45.

1.2 Extant sculptures

1.2.1 Votive reliefs

Apart from the statues of the nethergod disussed in the previous section, there are some votive reliefs dated to the 4th c. BC on which he appears. Usually he is half-naked and is holding a cornucopia and a *phiale* in his hands. Unfortunately, his name occurs only once as Plouton on the relief (fig. 57)[26] from the so-called *temenos* of Pankrates by the Ilissos, in the inscription: [...]η εὐξαμένη ἀν[έθηκεν Πλ]ούτωνι. The scene depicts Pluton bearded, with a headband, seated on a rock in a himation which leaves the right shoulder and the larger part of the torso bare, holding a cornucopia filled with ὀμφαλωτὰ πόπανα in his left hand, a *phiale* (seen from the inside) in his right, which he somehow extends towards the worshippers, who approach him from the left side of the relief with right hands raised in a greeting gesture; the last visible figure is a fragmentarily preserved child. The same representation schema appears on another relief from the same place (fig. 58)[27], but with an inscription reading ΘΕΩΙ, which directs the attention in a natural way to the Eleusinian deities[28].

Similarly, in the so-called Lysimachides relief from the Ploutonion in Eleusis (350-325 BC; fig. 59)[29] a figure whose representation strongly resembles that of the nethergod[30] is called θεός in the inscription[31]. The sculpture shows us a half-naked, bearded god reclining before a table, holding a vessel in his left and a *rhyton* in his raised right hand.

[26] Vikela (1994) A2, pl. 2. It is worth noticing that in fact the same representation of the god occurs also on the relief A4. See also Comella (2002) 119. For the cult of the nethergod by Ilissos see section IV 4.3.
[27] Vikela (1994) A11, pl. 9.
[28] Clinton (1992) 114-115; Parker (2005): 335.
[29] Athens NM 1519, Kaltsas (2002) 230.484; Parker (2005) 335-336, fig. 24; LIMC IV, 1: Demeter 385, 2: 589.2; Comella (2002) 129.
[30] Cf. Clinton (1992) 114-115; Parker (2005) 335. For the name see section III 4.3.
[31] IG II/III^2 4683.

Next to him is sitting a goddess (inscribed θεά). On the opposite side of the relief we see Demeter and Kore sitting in the company of an attendant by an iconographically identical table. This representation could indicate that the pair called *Theos* and *Thea*, belonging to the Eleusinian Mysteries, should be identified as Hades and Persephone. Their names don't appear for some reason[32] in the Eleusinian cult, but it seems that there is no better suggestion, especially given that, as netherworld rulers, they constitute a very important part of the Eleusinian myth. Moreover, the relief attests the duality of Kore/Persephone's existence: appearing in this relief twice (as the daughter of Demeter and as the wife of the nethergod), she functions both in the over- and underground context, in a double role. If we compare this representation with the one abovementioned from the sanctuary by the Ilissos, the connection between *Theos* and the nethergod can be easily recognised, even though the Ilissos reliefs are inscribed Plouton/*Theos* and the Lysimachides one is believed by scholars to represent *Theos*-Hades[33]. It should be highlighted as well that on two Ilissos reliefs there occurs a goddess (although not indicated by inscription) near a person resembling Plouton/*Theos* who seems to be her partner[34]. In this light it appears that the names of the god of the Underworld can be used interchangeably in this case rather than purposefully differentiating between his roles or appearance.

Probably similar in general to the above-mentioned Ilissos representations are two partly preserved reliefs: one from Melos (fig. 62)[35], the other one of unknown provenance (fig. 60)[36], both dated to the 4th c. BC and representing Hades/Plouton

[32] Perhaps from fear of naming the unutterable or what should not be said; cf. Eur. *Hel*. 1306-7, Plat. *Crat*. 403a.
[33] Clinton 1992: 114-115, Parker (2005): 335.
[34] Vikela 1994 : 78, Pl. 3, 7 (A3, A8).
[35] Berlin, Pergamonmuseum, inv. 726: Mitropoulou (1977) 170, fig. 85, Bemmann (1994) B2.
[36] Athens, National Museum, inv. 3218: Mitropoulou (1977) 171, fig. 87, Bemmann (1994) B3, fig. 15.

bearded and half-naked, seated facing towards the right, unpreserved part of the relief. He is holding a full cornucopia in his left hand and a *phiale* in his right.

Hades/Plouton appears also on a votive relief from Tegea[37] (4th c. BC; fig. 61). He is sitting half-naked on the left side of the relief with a cornucopia in his left hand and a sceptre in his right, facing the two Eleusinian goddesses standing next to him. Demeter has a torch in her right hand and a sceptre in her left; Kore is holding a torch in her left hand and a *phiale* in her right, as if she were pouring a libation into the earth. Behind the goddesses there are two small female figures, presumably priestesses. The first one is holding an *oinochoe* in her left hand, and a small vase on her head; the second one is holding a pail. In the company of these goddesses the nethergod occurs also on a votive relief from Kyrene[38] (300 BC; fig. 63): he is standing half-naked with a cornucopia in his left hand, between Demeter with torches on his right and Persephone with a *phiale*, pouring a libation, on his left. Together with Persephone he is facing Demeter. The rest of the right side of the relief is broken. The only thing that makes the association of the male figure with Hades/Plouton unsure is the fact that he is beardless and younger than on other relief representations[39]. Nevertheless, it is rather improbable that this figure is Iakchos, as he never appears with a cornucopia,[40] or Ploutos, who is always represented as a boy[41].

[37] Athens, National Museum, inv. 1422: Mitropoulou (1975) 68-9, fig. 50, Bemmann (1994) B4, Comella (2002): 144-5.
[38] Edinburgh, Royal Museum of Scotland, inv. 1956, 364: Schauenburg (1955) 58-9, fig. 15, Bemmann (1994) B7, fig. 21.
[39] However, he appears beardless on Apulian vases and Locrian pinakes: see section I 3.1-2.
[40] Schauenburg (1955) 59. He also proposed to associate this person with an undefined god or hero holding Ploutos on the relief found in the Athenian Agora (Athens, National Museum, inv. S 1646): ibidem 57, fig. 14. However, without any other testimony Hades/Plouton could not be excluded. LIMC IV, 1: Demeter 270 (raczej nie), 308 also claims that the figure is Plouton.
[41] Of varying age (from infancy to early adolescence): Clinton (1992): 50, 103-4, 133-4.

Very interesting is the semicircular relief in the form of a cave from Megara[42] (*ca*. 380/370 BC; fig. 64). In the centre appears a table with Achelous' mask on the top. Around the table seven gods are represented: in the centre a half-naked Zeus with a sceptre in his right hand is sitting on a throne; to his right Pan is sitting, and next to him female and male figures[43]. On the left side of Zeus Persephone[44] is standing with torches, next to her the nethergod is sitting with an empty cornucopia in his left hand and a *patera* in his right; then one more female figure appears[45].

Another very unusual representation of Hades/Plouton occurs on a relief from Oreos on Euboea (4th BC; fig. 65)[46] which shows three figures in a building. On the right a worshipper is standing, looking at the gods to his right. Next to him Dionysos is standing, in a short *chiton* and *nebris* and with an ivy-wreath on his head. He is holding a *thyrsos* in his left hand and a *kantharos* in his right. Next to him half-naked Hades/Plouton is standing with a full cornucopia in his left hand. The right arm of the nethergod is, unfortunately, broken. There is also a fragment of an inscription preserved: ΣΑΣΑ ΤΟΙΝ ΘΕΟΙΝ, which was a dedication to the Eleusinian deities, who were probably presented on the left, unpreserved part of the relief.

[42] Berlin, Pergamonmuseum inv. 679: Muthmann (1968) Pl. 11.1, Bemmann (1994) B 5, Dumas (1998): 134-7, pl. 10.3, Comella (2002): 146-7, fig. 149
[43] The female figure can be interpreted as Demeter - Effemberger (1970): 87-93, a not-known local divinity - Blümel (1966): 63, as Ge Meter - Muthmann (1975): 125. The male figure in turn as Diokles - Effemberger (1970): 87-93, Megaros - Furtwängler (1883) as quoted by Daumas (1998): 135, as Dionysos - Muthmann (1968): 32f, a local hero - Blümel (1966): 63, or a local water deity - Güntner (1994): 72f.
[44] Kore - Blümel (1971): 193, Muthmann (1968): 36; Artemis Soteira - Comella (2002): 147.
[45] Demeter - Blümel (1971): 193, Muthmann (1968): 36. Nymph Sithnides - Effemberger (1970): 87f, Güntner (1994): 72f.
[46] Chalkis Museum, inv 337: Daux (1964) Pl. 19, fig. 1, Bemmann (1994) B6.

A fragment of a votive relief from Thebes (fig. 66)[47] presents most difficulty in interpretation, especially because only a part of it is preserved, one with very significant attributes. In the building on the left naked Herakles is standing with a lion skin hanging from his arm. He looks as if he was receiving a big cornucopia or handing it over to the standing figure he is facing. Unfortunately, the two figures in front of him are preserved only fragmentarily: the half-naked male figure and Herakles are holding a cornucopia together (as if signing/confirming a pact); next to this male figure another person, usually considered as female, is sitting in a long *chiton* or *himation* (only the lower part from the lap down is preserved). The association of the cornucopia with the nethergod is not surprising[48]. However, in the case of Herakles it is not so clear what it could express, as the only myth about his receiving it is connected with the battle with Acheloos, after which Heracles is said to have received a horn of abundance in return for the one belonging to Acheloos, which he had broken (Apollod. 2.148, Diod. 4.35.3). There is a late testimony in the *scholion* to Statius' *Thebais*[49] (mentioned by Gantz[50]) that he took the cornucopia to the realm of Hades, which sheds some completely new light on our archaeological evidence, even if it is hard to explain it (because the scholiast leaves us without further clarifications). On the relief appears also a *thyrsus* directed towards the earth with its upper end; hence, these two figures are interpreted as the nethergod and Persephone or Dionysos and Ariadne[51]. It seems, however, that the former couple is more plausible here, as Dionysos appears in the 4th c. BC neither half-naked nor with cornucopia.

[47] Thebes, Archaeological Museum, inv. 48: Bemmann (1994) B8, fig. 13, Vollkommer (1988) 44, fig. 56.
[48] See section I 2.1.
[49] Σ St. *Theb.* 4.106.
[50] Gantz (1993): 456.
[51] For discussion of these figures and their probable interpretation see Bemmann (1994) 29 n. 74.

There are two ambiguous representations of the nethergod from the Greek islands. The first is a votive relief found in the Dodekatheon on Delos (fig. 67)[52]. According to Bruneau, it represents three figures: Persephone standing on the left with a sceptre, Demeter seated in the middle of the scene with a sceptre or a torch and the nethergod half-naked (?) on the right. Unfortunately, only the upper part of this relief is preserved and there is little to support this interpretation apart from the fact that the triad was worshipped on Delos. The other relief, found on Rhodes (fig. 68) and attributed to the Archaic period, represents a figure of a sitting man/god, very similar to the representation of Hades/Plouton on vases discussed below[53]. It is probably a dedicatory relief rather than a funerary one, as has been assumed[54]. The man is sitting on a kind of *diphros*, with a short sceptre and a *rhyton*/small cornucopia. He has been interpreted as a dead man or Dionysos, but it is highly unlikely that Dionysos would appear with a sceptre, especially with a short one, and at such an early period: it is more probable that it is the nethergod.

1.2.3 Votive figurines

Several small votive figurines representing an enthroned god wearing a *pilos* were found in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth and dated to the 4th c. BC (fig. 69)[55]; unfortunately, in most cases their upper part or only the head is preserved, which prevents us from identifying the god with certainty. Nevertheless, similar figurines were

[52] Bruneau (1970) 282, 285, 440; Bruneau and Ducat (2005) 216-17.
[53] See 2.4.1: Beazley 302171 London BM 1848.6-19.3, New York 07.286.41.
[54] Fraser (1977) n. 26, fig. 16b.
[55] Merker (2000) 79-80, 332-333, C 278-9 pl. 23. I believe that a bearded head C280 (p. 114, pl. 23) should similarly be interpreted as Hades. For the cult see section IV 2.3.

also found in the *Thesmophorion* on Thasos where the nethergod was worshipped along with the two goddesses; this may support the identification proposed.

The nethergod seems to be represented also on a figurine of blue marble with an inscription Ἀϊδεύς[56] across its thighs (*IG* V 1, 214; fig. 70), which was found at Magula (in the immediate vicinity of Sparta, on the south-west side of the acropolis)[57]. Although the inscription is dated to the 5th BC by *IG*, it seems that it should be dated to the 6th BC because the figurine is a good example of Archaic art[58]. The figurine represents a male god fully wrapped in a long garment seated on a throne, on the arms of which his forearms rest; on either side of it there is a seated dog. The head of the figurine is broken but in its neck a dowel hole is visible. The body is very thick and the chest well developed which led some scholars to the assumption that the figurine actually represents a goddess[59]. I cannot see, however, the reason for such an interpretation: the chest of the Magula figurine does not betray any female characteristics[60].

[56] For discussion of the name, see section II 4.1.2.
[57] Tod & Wace (1906) 194-5, fig. 69. For the cult see section IV 2.5.
[58] De La Genière (1993) 154 dates it to 4th c. BC without any particular reason. Cf. Richer (2012) 61-2.
[59] Richer (2012) 61-2.
[60] For a good example of a representation of a male bearded figure on a Laconian *pinax*, which might have been easily confused with that of a woman without visible head owing to the female shape of chest; see Salapata (2014) pl. 7a.

1.3 Summarising remarks

It is worth noting that the nethergod always appears in sculpture half-naked, usually with a full cornucopia (only on the relief from Megara is he holding an empty one[61]) and a *phiale* or a sceptre. What is more, in most cases he is represented in the company of the Eleusinian goddesses[62], even if other gods also appear. Although usually it is hard to explain on the basis of the preserved written sources why the other gods are represented with him, it could perhaps testify to his importance as a member of the Greek Pantheon[63], especially given that, as it seems, his occurrence is not random, but in each case has some justification. It might also be significant that he appears on reliefs representing somebody's death or birth, as in the case of the unpreserved Amyklaean throne or the base relief of the statue of Athena Parthenos. What is more, all the preserved cases of votive reliefs representing the nethergod are dated to the 4th c. BC, a pattern which is probably connected with the general increase of votive reliefs at this time.

The fact that all these representations come from such different places may indicate that not many have been preserved rather than that the theme hardly occurs in ancient art.

[61] Available pictures do not allow us to interpret the contents clearly.

[62] Although, as far as I know, we have no preserved reliefs with a clear rape of Persephone from mainland Greece, some of the representations of this type can be indicated, even if they only use the motif in an allegoric way. The type is in fact very similar to the one represented in Locrian pinakes or on the vases from Magna Graecia (see the sections below). Worth noticing are especially two among them: 1) a double-relief from the sanctuary of Kephisos (Phaleron, 430/390 BC), dedicated to Hermes and Nymphs (*IG* II/III^2 4546B) - Comella (2002): 70-71, fig.61-62; on one side we can see Echelos and Basile (inscribed) in a chariot driven by Hermes. Echelos in this relief can probably be identified with the heros of the demos Echelidae (*BNP*: s.v. *Echelidae*, Roscher (1884-6): s.v. *Echelos*); Basile as a goddess is testified only for Athens (*RE* s.v. *Basile*) and has there perhaps a *hieron* and a *temenos* (*CIA* IV 1, 53a, Plat. *Charm*. 153a, name attested also by Soph. *Iph*. 310 Radt); it is not impossible that the name does not refer to a separate goddess, but means simply Persephone. 2) A relief from Rhodes (Aphandu, 5th c. BC) - Comella (2002): 89, Kekule von Stradonitz (1905): 1-18 represents a scene very similar to the previous one (but in the place of Hermes a worshipper is standing with his left hand raised in a greeting gesture); the figures in the chariot are identified by Kekule (p. 7f) as Hades and Persephone.

[63] For his belonging to the twelve main gods see Plat. *Leg.* 828b-d, Σ Apoll. Rhod. 173 Wendel (cf. Dion. Byz. *Anaplous Bosporou* 14 Güngerich).

On the basis of the sculptures discussed it is possible to think that the nethergod had rather positive connotations in Greek eyes: his association with fertility (shown by his presence with the Eleusinian goddesses and a cornucopia) is stronger than with the Underworld and the dead, although a key as his attribute certainly indicates the presence of the latter in his imaginarium too; his representations are kindly and majestic, not fearful.

2. Hades/Plouton in the eyes of Attic vase-painters

It seems that Attic vase-painters depicted the god of the Underworld only in specific scenes: at the banquet of the gods, at the assembly of the gods and in two situations most explored in ancient art: in the circle of the Eleusinian deities and together with Herakles, usually as a witness of the abduction of Kerberos. There seem to be no distinctive features which would allow us to identify the nethergod with certainty in individual representations. His general appearance and the attributes (*i.e.*, sceptre and *phiale*) he holds in the pictures are not very different from those also associated with other deities. The only object whose frequency of occurrence makes it characteristic for the god of the Underworld seems to be the cornucopia.

2.1. The Cornucopia and its possible meanings

In its basic meaning the cornucopia indicates fertility, abundance, generosity and is the major attribute of male earth deities[64]. According to Pherekydes[65], the cornucopia (*κέρας ταύρου*) has a power to supply meat (*βρωτός*) or drink (*ποτόν*) in abundance if one prayed for it. Two vases from Nola (5th c. BC; figs. 1-2)[66] confirm it as an attribute of the nethergod in an exceptional way: they contain the earliest representations of him with a cornucopia on vases and at the same time they are the first testimonies of the appearance of a cornucopia in art[67]. It should be highlighted that there is no agreement between the literary sources and the archaeological evidence in this case, as the literary sources connect the cornucopia with the myth of the suckling of Zeus by the goat Amaltheia[68] or with the fight between Herakles and Acheloos, after which Herakles is said to have obtained the *κέρας Ἀμαλθείας* in return for Acheloos' horn, which was broken by Herakles in the struggle[69].

There are some general problems with the interpretation of the cornucopia held by the nethergod because it looks very much like a drinking horn[70], especially when it is empty. Such is the case of an Athenian red-figure cup from Vulci (450-400 BC; fig.

[64] From this point of view a relief in the British Museum in which a goddess too is holding a cornucopia is very interesting: Schauenburg (1955) 44, fig. 7.
[65] Apollod. 2.148.6-10 (*FGrH* 3 F 42): *Ἀμάλθεια δὲ ἦν Αἱμονίου θυγάτηρ, ἣ κέρας εἶχε ταύρου. τοῦτο δέ, ὡς Φερεκύδης λέγει, δύναμιν ἔχει τοιαύτην ὥστε βρωτὸν ἢ ποτόν, ὅπερ <ἂν> εὔξαιτό τις, παρέχειν ἄφθονον*. Cf. Ar. *fr*. 707: *ἡ μὲν πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀμαλθείας | κέρας † σὺ μόνον εὖξαι καὶ πάντα παρέσται* (in Phot. *α* 1105 Hoeschel: *Ἀμαλθείας κέρας· τὸ πάντων ἐπιτυγχάνειν, ἐπειδὴ οἱ εὐχόμενοι τῇ οὐρανίᾳ αἰγὶ ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν*).
[66] Naples, Archaeological Mus. H3091: BA 207533, *LIMC* IV 2 Hades 77, Schauenburg (1958) fig. 1, Bemmann (1994) A1; Paris, Louvre G209: *ARV*[2] 648.25, *LIMC* IV 2 Hades 20, Schauenburg (1955) fig. 4, Bemmann (1994) A2.
[67] Bemmann (1994) 19: it is worth noting that the cornucopia as an attribute of Zeus (only in his chthonic aspect) appears for the first time in the 4th c. BC. Moreover, the nethergod is almost never depicted with a cornucopia on black-figure vases: two Panathenaic vases constitute the only exceptions (Eschbach 1986: 19, pl. 5.1, 2, 3).
[68] Call. *Hymn* 1.42. The horn of plenty was named *κέρας Ἀμαλθείας* after her in literature.
[69] Apollod. 2.148, Diod. 4.35.3-4.
[70] Schauenburg (1955) 52.

3)[71], where the banquet of the gods is depicted on the outside, whereas Plouton is on the inside, reclining with a *phiale* and a cornucopia; Persephone is seated on a *kline* with a pomegranate. If we are allowed to interpret this kind of image layout in vase-painting in this way, Plouton with Persephone seem to occupy the central position at the banquet, while the rest of the gods encircle them. It could be seen also as a kind of wedding banquet due to the pomegranate held by Persephone, which was given to her in order to bind her to the world of the dead (*HDem*. 372)[72]. In fact, the nethergod usually appears with a cornucopia in scenes where Persephone is also present[73] or in the Eleusinian context[74].

Sometimes the cornucopia is so huge that the nethergod is holding it with both hands, as in the case of a *pelike*, probably from Attica (440-430 BC; fig. 16)[75]. This depiction is in fact quite isolated, also because the nethergod, standing in front of Demeter with a plough and a sceptre, seems to be pouring something out from the full cornucopia, something which resembles a solid substance. Bemmann proposed that the scene could represent sowing a freshly ploughed field[76], but the shape of what the nethergod is depicted as pouring from the cornucopia seems to indicate a very thick liquid substance, so perhaps we are dealing here with *πανσπερμία* or *πέλανος*[77]. The latter is especially interesting because it is offered also to the dead[78]; however, in the *Persae* the Queen

[71] London, BM E82: BA 217212, *ARV*[2] 1269.3, Immerwahr (1990) 114.787; other representations with the cornucopia: empty: BA 205401 (fig. 4), 207405 (fig. 5), 213756 (fig. 6), 215292 (fig. 7), 28188 (fig. 8), 218099 (fig. 9), 218149 (fig. 10), 231110 (fig. 11); full: BA 207533 (fig. 1), 30254 (fig. 12), 215772 (fig. 13), 30263 (fig. 14), Athens, Archaeological Mus. inv. 16346: Schauenburg (1955) 38, fig.1; hard to decide: BA 7972.
[72] For discussion of the myth see section II 1.3.
[73] BA 207533 (fig. 1), 207405 (fig. 5), 205401 (fig. 4).
[74] BA 215772 (fig. 13), 215292 (fig. 7), 213756 (fig. 6); see section I 2.4.1.
[75] Athens, Archaeological Mus. 16346; a similar representation of a huge cornucopia may be found on a *hydria* from Nola (450-400 BC) London, BM E183: BA 215772 (fig. 13), *ARV*[2] 1191.1.
[76] Bemmann (1994) 23 (A6), 159 suggests that it is a cloth, which seems unlikely.
[77] I am grateful to Dr Scott Scullion for drawing my attention to this solution.
[78] Cf. A. *Cho*. 92, Eur. fr. 912 (Kannicht),

says that (after a nightmare) she approached the altar because she wished to pour a rich libation (*θῦσαι πέλανον*) as sacrifice to the deities averting evil (*ἀποτρόποισι δαίμοσιν*)[79]. It is worth mentioning in this context that on Delos (among sacrifices connected probably with the *Thesmophoria*) the nethergod and Demeter get an expiatory sacrifice (*ἐχθυσία*)[80]. If we juxtapose all this with Phokylides' remark that the field is the cornucopia[81] and with the representation on the vase in question, on which Hades/Plouton is pouring a sacrifice from a cornucopia before Demeter with a plough, we may suppose that the scene depicts what farmers should do before ploughing and sowing, *i.e*. sacrifice to Demeter and Zeus *Chthonios*[82] who, if well-disposed, will avert famine and provide good crops. The role of the nethergod in it is additionally enhanced by these two testimonies: he has his share of the Earth (*Il*. 15.187-193) and, as a fertility/vegetative god, contributes to its abundance as well[83], which becomes particularly appealing if we take into consideration the interdependence between life and death and a kind of interchange between them, subtly rendered by Heraclitus: *ζῶντες τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον, τὸν δὲ ἐκείνων βίον τεθνεῶτες* (B62 Diels-Kranz)[84].

The meaning of the fullness or emptiness of the cornucopia held by Hades/Plouton is disputable and probably not determinable at all, as it seems to vary even in the same context. The frequency of appearance of these two types is similar and both of them are attested early[85]; therefore, there are no reasons to claim a development of the cornucopia from empty to full. What is worth noticing is that in sculpture the nethergod

[79] Aesch. Pers. 202-4: *σὺν θυηπόλῳ χερὶ | βωμὸν προσέστην, ἀποτρόποισι δαίμοσιν | θέλουσα θῦσαι πέλανον, ὧν τέλη τάδε*.
[80] *I.Délos* 372 A.105 (200 BC), see section IV 2.6 (iii).
[81] Phoc. 7.2 Diehl: *ἀγρὸν γάρ τε λέγουσιν Ἀμαλθείης κέρας εἶναι*.
[82] Hes. *Op*. 465; see scetions III 4.1-2.
[83] See sections II 1.2-3, III 2, 4.1-3.
[84] See as well Eur. *Fr*. 638 (Kannicht).
[85] Bemmann (1994) 160.

usually holds a full one (apart from one case from Megara[86]). On the one hand a possible interpretation could distinguish between the aspects of the god on the basis of the stress put on his nature: the fertility (agriculture) expressed by fullness of the cornucopia would be contrasted with the infertility (death) expressed by its emptiness; in the Eleusinian context[87], for instance, the emptiness of a cornucopia might indicate his connection with the dead, the unproductive period of the year or infertile land. On the other hand, the cornucopia may be only seemingly empty and it might be understood as a drinking horn. Even if Hades/Plouton is not connected with wine[88], it seems that the horn could be filled with any kind of liquid as, according to the above-mentioned passage from Pherekydes (n. 64), a cornucopia may also contain drink in abundance. It is worth mentioning that the nethergod never appears with a cornucopia in scenes with the abduction of Kerberos.

2.2. Herakles context

The motif of the abduction of Kerberos by Herakles from the Underworld is very popular in Attic vase-painting. The story depicted on the vases is usually close to the myth told by ancient authors[89]: there are no signs of any fight or quarrel between Herakles and Hades/Plouton; Herakles simply takes the dog away[90]. However, there is a

[86] See section I 1.2.1.
[87] See section I 2.4.
[88] See, however, section III 9.
[89] Unfortunately, we rarely get to know the whole story and are bound to reconstruct it from partial allusions: *Il*. 8.367-9, *Od*. 11.623-5, Bacch. fr. 5, Arist. *Ran*. 468, Ps-Apoll. 2. 122, 125.
[90] Only in the version by Pseudo-Apollodorus (2.125) does Herakles ask Hades/Plouton to allow him to take Kerberos away, to which Hades/Plouton agrees on the condition that he proves himself able to overpower the dog without a weapon.

scene on an Athenian red-figure cup from Vulci (525-475 BC; fig. 17)[91] in which Hades/Plouton and Herakles seem to pull Kerberos each in his own direction, but the vase is damaged in some places, which makes a detailed analysis of the scene impossible. On the remaining representations the nethergod is sitting (usually in his palace signalised by a column)[92] or standing[93], accompanied by Persephone and/or Hermes, quite indifferently observing the abduction of Kerberos by Herakles, who occasionally appears together with Athena, which is consistent with Homer: in the *Odyssey* Herakles tells Odysseus the story of his 12th labour highlighting that he was guided by Hermes and Athena (*Od*. 11.623-5). In one of these representations on an Athenian black-figure amphora from Cerveteri (550-500 BC; fig. 25)[94] Herakles seems to be greeting the Rulers of the Underworld. Hades/Plouton is standing with his back to him, with only his head turned back to him. Persephone seated in front of Hades/Plouton seems to be returning the greeting gesture by raising her left hand. Since the nethergod also has his left hand raised and since he is standing in front of Persephone, both he and Herakles seem in fact to be greeting her. The kindness and hospitality with which Herakles was received in the realm of the dead is quite surprising when we take into consideration other encounters of the nethergod and Herakles, especially the fight at Pylos, where the god was hurt by the arrow of Herakles[95]. The aggressive words of Aiakos to Dionysos disguised as Herakles in the *Frogs* (468f) can

[91] Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau-Museum 233: BA 201142, *ARV*[2] 137.1.
[92] Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Museum L308 (fig. 18): BA 320029, *ABV* 267.19, LIMC IV 2 Hades 146; Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Museum K1802: BA 46246, LIMC IV 1 Hades 147A; New York, Metropolitan Museum 41.162.178 (fig. 19): BA 305534, *ABV* 509.155. A probably unpublished black-figure skyphos from Hermione (525-500 BC; Nauplion, Archaeological Mus., fig. 20) is interesting; on it Hades/Plouton is not a witness of the abduction of Kerberos, but seated on the other side of the vase, he observes the labour of Sisyphos, whereas Herakles is approaching Kerberos, standing behind Hades/Plouton's chair. Another similar representation of Hades/Plouton appears on a black-figure amphora (550-500 BC; London BM 1848.6-19.3 (fig. 21): BA 302171; *ABV* 373.176).
[93] St. Louis (MO), 3274 (fig. 22): BA 301753; Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, S80.AE.86: BA 14584; Amiens 3057.225.47A (fig. 23): BA 302870; Toledo 50.261 (fig. 24): BA 701; Amsterdam XXXX41649: BA 41649; Taranto XXXX8479: BA 8479; LIMC VIII 1 Persephone 266.
[94] Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 372: BA 302102, *ABV* 368.107.
[95] *Il*. 5.396-7; see sections II 1.1, IV 1.1.

confirm that relations after the abduction of Kerberos were strained. A clear interpretation of these scenes on the basis of known versions of myths remains impossible.

Among the most interesting representations of the nethergod with Herakles are those either depicting a half-naked, bearded (sometimes white-haired) Hades/Plouton carried by Herakles[96], or the two shaking hands[97], or the two looking at each other[98]. We know two[99] scenes in the *tondi* of *kylikes* in which Hades/Plouton with an empty cornucopia is being carried by Herakles. Some light is shed on these representations by a scene on the body of an Athenian krater (400-300 BC; fig. 10) showing Herakles, dressed in a lion skin (we can assume this from the lion-like cap on his head), carrying a white-haired, half-naked bearded god with an empty cornucopia[100]. They are led by a naked Hermes in a cloak with a caduceus, and a *petasos* on his head; he looks as if he were leading them by an inviting gesture of his raised right hand with the caduceus. What is more, Herakles is led by Hermes through water (a sea? river?), which is indicated by the fish and waves depicted below them. Herakles' and Hermes' feet are immersed in the water, which can be interpreted as their crossing it or emerging from it[101]. This very dynamic picture is complemented by two figures: a seated female with a sceptre on the left, looking towards them, and a naked youth with an animal (deer, panther?) skin on his

[96] Berlin, Pergamonmuseum 31094: BA 218149 (fig. 10); Paris, Cabinet des Medailles 822 (fig. 11): BA 231110.
[97] Benevento, Museo del Sannio 635 (fig. 12): BA 30254, Schauenburg (1986) fig. 37, Bemmann (1994) A13, *LIMC* V, 1: Herakles 3488-3492 (the first is early classical of the representations is early classical, the rest date from *c*. 400-375).
[98] Athens, P. Kanellopoulos 140 (fig. 14): BA 30263, Schauenburg (1986) fig. 41, Bemmann (1994) A14.
[99] It is possible that there are three, but the third is broken; some scholars claim this one is of Dionysos.
[100] Berlin, Pergamonmuseum 31094: BA 218149, *ARV*^{2} 1446.2, 1693, Parker (2005) 422, fig. 29; the same scene, but Hades/Plouton depicted with black hair and with laurel wreath around the head, on an Athenian cup: Paris, Cabinet des Medailles 822 (fig. 11): BA 231110, *ARV*^{2} 1521, *LIMC* V 2 Herakles 3497, Vollkommer (1988) 45, fig. 58.
[101] A similar situation is depicted on the Attic red-figure bell-krater (New York, MM 28.57.23: BA 214158), where we see the *anodos* of Kore-Persephone from the Underground in the presence of Hermes.

back, standing in front of them with his left hand raised in a gesture as if he were greeting them or taking off a wreath from his head. These figures could indicate two shores as both are above the water (at least in comparison to Herakles and Hermes), but there are fish all around.

The only myths known to us in which Herakles and Hades appear together are connected with the hero's 12th labour[102] and a fight at Pylos mentioned in the 5th book of the *Iliad* (*Il*. 5.396-7), during which Hades is said to be hurt by Herakles and to go to Olympos to be healed; only in the latter story do we hear about Hades' journey. At first sight, all these scenes on vases representing the nethergod being carried by Herakles might seem to be a simple, perhaps local, development of the myth about the fight at Pylos, despite Homer's statement that Hades went to Olympos alone[103]. Yet neither Homer nor any other ancient author mentions Olympos in connection with any river or sea; nor do the vase representations in question allow us to specify where the god is being carried. The water motif *might* be explained by its connection with the Underworld, but this is unconvincing, since, according to my analysis, the fight between Hades and Herakles in the *Iliad* happened at Pylos in Elis during Herakles' sack of the city[104]. Furthermore, even if we decide to consider the alleged fight between the lord of the dead and the hero during his 12th labour (though attested to only by *scholia* to these lines of the *Iliad*)[105] as a possible context for the scene in question, the water motif in the vase representations does not seem to indicate a journey from the Underworld, or even the Underworld itself. We may accept this conclusion since (i) the fish depicted

[102] See section II 1.1.
[103] *Il*. 5. 398-9: ὃ [Hades] *βῆ πρὸς δῶμα Διὸς καὶ μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον | κῆρ ἀχέων ὀδύνῃσι πεπαρμένος*.
[104] See Sekita (forthcoming), sections II 1.1 and IV 1.1.
[105] Hades' wounding by the hero in the lines of the *Iliad* in question was interpreted as happening during the hero's 12th labour only by Σ *Il*. 5.395-7 (Erbse): *φασὶν Ἡρακλέα ἐπιταχθέντα ὑπὸ Πλούτωνος ἄνευ ἀσπίδος καὶ σιδήρου χειρώσασθαι τὸν Κέρβερον, τῇ μὲν δορᾷ χρήσασθαι ἀντὶ ἀσπίδος, τοῖς δὲ βέλεσι λιθίνας ἀκίδας κατασκευάσαι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν νίκην πάλιν ἐναντιουμένου τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ὀργισθέντα τοξεῦσαι αὐτόν.*

seem to be alive whereas, if Pausanias is to be trusted[106], the fish in the Acheron river depicted by Polygnotus were dead (and no ancient testimony provides us with information about any living creatures in the Underworld waters); (ii) the only connection of the Underworld with water comes from the *Odyssey*, in which the land of the dead is situated at the very end of the deep-flowing Oceanus, where the land and city of the Cimmerians are (*Od*. 11.11-14) – and not only are there good reasons to suppose that Odysseus is here traveling to Thesprotia to the oracle of the dead[107], but also the Attic tradition is consistent that the Underworld is underneath the earth[108].

In the light of the discussion above we seem to be missing something important from Herakles' mythical repertoire. Nevertheless, several elements in these representations, such as the cornucopia, Herakles and the nethergod together, and the river (?), may suggest a connection with the representations on the votive reliefs from the sanctuary of Pankrates and Palaimon by Ilissos, where the nethergod was worshipped together with Herakles for an unknown reason[109]. On these votive reliefs too Herakles is represented with the horn of plenty; perhaps the hero obtained the cornucopia for some reason connected with his carrying of the nethergod, as depicted on vases. This would explain some other representations of the hero with cornucopia in the presence of the nethergod: on an Athenian red-figure bell-krater (425-375 BC; fig. 14)[110] we see Herakles depicted with the full cornucopia, Persephone with torches, and the nethergod seated with a sceptre. Very interesting also is a representation on a bell-krater from Campania from

[106] Paus. 10.28.1: *ὕδωρ εἶναι ποταμὸς ἔοικε, δῆλα ὡς ὁ Ἀχέρων, καὶ κάλαμοί τε ἐν αὐτῷ πεφυκότες καὶ <ἰχθύες· ἔστι δ'> ἀμυδρὰ οὕτω δή τι τὰ εἴδη τῶν ἰχθύων <ὡς> σκιὰς μᾶλλον ἢ ἰχθῦς εἰκάσεις.*
[107] For discussion see West (2014) 122-7; for the landscape see Fouache & Quantin (1999) 29-59.
[108] See section II 1.2. It is true, however, that lakes were considered to be the entrances to the Underworld (cf. Alkyonia through which, according to Paus. 2.37.5, Dionysos brought his mother back from the Underworld), but Herakles is nowhere said to enter or leave it through water.
[109] See sections I 1.2.1 and IV 4.3.
[110] Athens, P. Kanellopoulos 140: BA 30263.

the Hope collection (at present in Eton), referred to by Schauenburg[111], on which Herakles is talking to the nethergod before he takes him on his back; this scene is probably connected with the one just mentioned.

Although we do not know any myth which could explain the scenes depicted on the above-mentioned vases, it is very probable, judging from the results of recent research, that the old man with the cornucopia is the Lord of the Underworld, and not Melikertes-Palaimon[112] or Dionysos[113], as used to be assumed. Above all, Melikertes-Palaimon has iconographically nothing in common with the nethergod[114]: he usually appears with a dolphin and never with white hair[115].

2.2.1 Why not Dionysos?

As we have seen in the previous sections, in some cases there exists a possibility of interpreting an empty cornucopia as a drinking horn. This may lead to the question of the identity of the person who is holding it. It has seemed plausible that such a figure should be interpreted as Dionysos rather than Hades/Plouton because there is no reason for the nethergod to be connected with wine, apart from the fact that a cornucopia contains everything in abundance[116].

[111] Schauenburg (1958) 56 n. 40.
[112] Vollkommer (1988) 45. For recent views see Parker (2005) 422f.
[113] Tagalidou (1993) 135. For reasons see below.
[114] For discussion of Palaimon (I believe a homonymic name) on the reliefs from the temple by the Ilissos see sections I 1.2.1 and IV 4.3.
[115] LIMC VI 1, 437-444 Melikertes.
[116] However, see section III 9; for cornucopia: I 2.1.

There are, however, some representations of what is probably the nethergod surrounded by a Dionysiac scene or elements, as in the case of the Faliscan *skyphos* (fig. 15) mentioned by Schauenburg[117], on which an old wreathed man is represented in a sitting position, with a short sceptre in his right hand and a cornucopia in his left. He is faced by a Satyr with a *tympanon* and behind him there is a statue of Hermes with a caduceus. What is more, near the Satyr a crane is standing and below the old man we can see a *protome* of a panther[118]; its presence is not confusing if we compare it with other Italian vases, where Hecate is holding it on the leash, standing next to the nethergod and Persephone[119]. The reverse of the vase represents a dancing Maenad and Satyr; in the bottom left corner a drinking horn is lying. In fact, as long as Dionysiac elements are complemented by Eleusinian, representations of the nethergods in such a context should not perplex us[120].

Nevertheless, the main argument contra Dionysos is that he is never depicted with white hair, even if he is presented as an old man on a late sarcophagus[121]. Also he never holds a short sceptre, nor does he appear half-naked in vase-painting of the 4th c. BC. What is more, he does not occur in art carried by Herakles, but led by him, drunk[122]: he can be carried only by Satyrs[123]. However, the most important point is that he does not appear

[117] Schauenburg (1955) 38, fig.1.
[118] It is not a *protome* of a dog, as Bemmann suggested (1994) 34. Also her remark on the crane as an animal connected with the nethergod seems to be wrong because the crane is dedicated to Demeter (Porph. *De Abst*. 3.5.25). Although it is not impossible that both these elements are only decorative, this seems implausible especially in the case of the *protome*; a crane appears also on a votive relief from the temple by Ilissos: see section IV 4.3.
[119] Naples 709, RVA II: 533. 284, pl. 196. It should be mentioned as well that lions, leopards, panthers (in physical form resembling dogs) represented on funeral *stelai* or as a grave monument are thought to be protectors of the dead: Vermeule (1972) 49-59, Collignon (1911) 88-92.
[120] Clinton (1992) *passim*; for ambiguity of Dionysiac imagery see Carpenter () 105-118.
[121] Pochmarski (1990) pl. 32.1 R7 (LIMC III Dionysos 857), 32.2. R11, 33.1 R14 (LIMC III Dionysos 858), 33.2 R19.
[122] LIMC III Dionysos 578, 579, 580, 581, 583, 584.
[123] LIMC III Dionysos 262, 263.

with a cornucopia, but with a drinking horn[124], which is in fact smaller than the horn of plenty depicted on the vases where we should consider it as an attribute of the nethergod.

2.3 Assembly of the gods

We see the nethergod among other gods several times, but only one representation can be interpreted through mythology: an Athenian black-figure cup from Vulci (575-525 BC; fig. 26)[125], which probably shows the division of power over the Earth between Zeus, Poseidon and the nethergod[126]. In this scene he has no specific attributes which could indicate his person; however, his head is turned away here, which seems to refer to the trait described in lines of Sophocles in the Ajax (608): *τὸν ἀπότροπον ἀΐδηλον Ἅιδαν*. As we will see later[127], the gesture combined with the quotation may indicate the very aspect of the nethergod, his invisibility or rather what-should-not-be-seen, as even the gods hold this kingdom in abhorrence. A similar gesture, a kind of renunciation, could be seen in the scenes where the nethergod has his head drooped (figs. 21, 51). This metaphorical thinking offers a simple way of representing the invisible, ideal for a god who normally stays underground. If we agree with this interpretation of the nethergod's gesture, we may assume that turning one's head

[124] LIMC III Dionysos 281, 282, 286, 288, 291, 295, 299, 301, 303, 304, 328, 330, 332, 363, 385, 393, 400, 401, 414, 416, 420, 429, 436, 442, 450, 469. Only once is he depicted with a cornucopia (LIMC III Dionysos 480), but this representation is too ambiguous to be considered as a counterexample.
[125] London, BM 1867.5-8.1007: BA 302436; other representations of the gods' gatherings with Hades' participation, hard to interpret: Bochum S258 (fig. 4): BA 205401; Paris G370 (fig. 5): BA 207405; New York, MM 08.258.21 (fig. 27): BA 214585.
[126] *Il*. 15.187-193; see also section II 1.2.
[127] See section III 1.

backward in the language of art was probably the most inventive manner of picturing an invisible being[128].

2.4 The nethergod in the Eleusinian context

There are many representations of Hades/Plouton on vases depicting the Eleusinian mythological circle, where, apart from the Lord of the Dead, Demeter, Persephone, Triptolemos, and Dionysos also appear, sometimes accompanied by Eros, Hermes, Hecate or Herakles with Athena. On none of the Attic vases is the so-called abduction of Persephone compatible with the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, where Persephone tells Demeter that Hades carried her off in his golden chariot against her will and despite her cries (l. 431-2)[129]. It is closer to that depicted on Apulian vases, where there is no sign of violence, lack of agreement to what has happened or even rape; on the contrary, known illustrations show us a happy marital couple, perhaps in a wedding procession[130]. It should be pointed out that the so-called abduction scenes occur in vase-painting only during the 6th and 5th c. BC; what is more, we have no black-figure examples[131].

[128] In scholarship the subject of representation of invisibility in vase painting is rarely approached. The invisible could manifest itself in the division of the pictorial field into two spheres: usually the upper register is reserved for gods (the invisible) and the lower one to the visible world (Lissarrague 2008: 20), or in the so called 'regard *aphanès*' which could mean either a figure not directly visible in the painting, but whose presence is suggested in some other way to the spectator (e.g. by inscription), or by a face hidden behind other objects (e.g. hair, a horse) so that it is impossible for the spectator to have visual contact with the painted figure (Chazalon 2008: 27-28).

[129] Of course, she passed over in silence the fact that when he had offered to her the power over everything alive and the highest honour among the immortals and mortals as a marital gift, she leapt up in delighted joy (l. 370-1). Probably the Sicilian myth was the closest version of these events to what was presented on the vases, as we can read in Diod. 5.2.3-5.5.1. See also section II 1.3.

[130] For examples of the wedding procession similarly depicted see Oakley, Sinos (1993) fig. 62-7, 69, 71, 74, 77, 80-1,99.

[131] Metzger (1951) 32. The only exception may be found on a black-figure *oinochoe* fragment (525-475 BC; fig. 30) BA 7863 Basel HC912; however, due to fragmentary preservation, it is almost impossible to identify the depicted figures: there appears only a part of a torso of an abductor and a lower part (hips and laps) of a woman carried by him – Schefold (1981) fig. 370.

Apart from thematically coherent scenes (such as the so-called abduction of Persephone and the departure of Triptolemos, which will be analysed below), the nethergod also appears in representations that are difficult to interpret due to the lack of mythological context. Most problematic is an Athenian black-figure amphora (575-525 BC; figs. 28-29)[132] on which we find a seated Persephone with women and the nethergod with youths, as there is no myth which could explain these scenes; the nethergod is never referred to as *kourotrophos*[133]. Noteworthy too is a minimalist picture on an Attic black-figure neck-amphora (*ca*. 520 BC; figs. 31-32)[134], showing below the neck busts of a man with white hair and a woman facing each other, with eyes on both sides of the representation. The pair may be recognised as Hades/Plouton and Persephone, especially because on the reverse of this vase there is a similar scene with two women, perhaps the goddesses Demeter and Persephone, who are often depicted together with this pair. Sufficient evidence can be found, for instance, on a red-figure amphora from Trachone (450-400 BC; fig. 7)[135], where we see Plouton with a full cornucopia and a sceptre, together with Persephone (inscribed *Pherephatta*) holding two torches, both approaching Demeter with a sceptre. Another representation with Eleusinian goddesses on a cup fragment from Eleusis (550-500 BC; fig. 33)[136] shows Hades/Plouton standing between them without any attribute apart from a snake which is depicted near his legs; goddesses, seated on *diphroi*, are holding flowers in their right hands.

[132] Hannover 1967.11: BA3271.
[133] For Kore/Persephone as *kourotrophos* see Th. Hadzisteliou Price (1978) 128, 142, Parker (2011) 231.
[134] New York 1974.11.1a,b.
[135] Piraeus 343: BA 215292; *ARV*^{2} 1154.38bis; Immerwahr (1990) 112.773; Fink (1963) 133-6, pl. 13; Webster (1972) 67. The other side of the vase shows a sale of olive oil in the presence of Athena.
[136] Eleusis, Archaeological Mus. 2534: BA 44273; LIMC IV 2 Demeter 303; Oakley, Palagia (2010) 284, fig. 7, pl. 22B.

There are two further very interesting vases which could be compared. On the body of a *hydria* from Vulci (550-500 BC; fig. 18)[137] Demeter is shown mounting a chariot, by which stand Apollo with *kithara* and Artemis facing him; in front of the chariot are depicted Hermes and a woman. The same scene seems to appear on the body of an Attic black-figured *lekythos* (*ca*. 520 BC; figs. 34-35)[138]. More important still is the upper shoulder which differs in them: on the *hydria* Hades/Plouton is depicted on the right, with a sceptre, sitting on a stool; before him stands Athena facing Hermes who looks at Herakles with Kerberos, behind whom is probably depicted Iolaos with a spear and Persephone. If we take into consideration the positions (on the opposite sides of the scene, facing the centre) of Hades/Plouton and Persephone in this representation, the arrangement finds its counterpart in that on the *lekythos*' upper shoulder (fig. 34-35), where on each side, as if in a mirror reflection, appears a man presented in the same way as Hades/Plouton on the *hydria*. On the basis of this comparison it can be assumed that on the *lekythos* the figures depicted on the opposite sides of the scene should be interpreted as 'Hadeses/Ploutons'. The scene which is located between the figures of the nethergod on the *lekythos* is more difficult to interpret because in the middle there is a man riding a horse; before and behind him there is a man with his left hand raised. The men look as if they were greeting Hades/Plouton and at the same time leaving him. Although this scene is difficult to understand, when compared with the tomb paintings from Etruria[139]this doubling effect might be explained in a symbolic, though quite speculative, way: either as the last journey or as a metaphor of birth and death; they are so close to each other that they can almost be considered as one.

[137] BA 330029.
[138] New York 07.286.41.
[139] The motif of a man riding a horse to the Underworld or in the Underworld, sometimes accompanied by other persons, is popular in Etruscan tomb painting: Tomba del Barone (6th c. BC), Tomba dei Giocolieri (6th c. BC; where we find in the main wall a similar male figure enthroned with a sceptre as on the vase), Tomba delle Iscrizioni (*ca*. 520 BC), Tomba del Letto Funebre (5th c. BC), Tomba del Morente (6th c. BC), Tomba del Pulcinella (6th c. BC), Tomba dei Pigmei (4th/3rd c. BC), Tomba dei Tori (6th c. BC); Steingräber (1962), (2002).

2.4.1 Abduction/wedding scenes

On fragments of an Athenian red-figure *skyphos* (Eleusis 624; fig. 36)[140] we can see a naked and bearded Hades/Plouton who is carrying off Persephone in a chariot, which is disappearing partly beneath the earth. She is embracing his neck with her right arm; her left arm, decorated with a serpentine bracelet, is stretched out, perhaps in an appeal to Demeter (?). This very elaborate scene on the vase looks like a very dynamic moment caught in a snapshot. The image is accompanied by those of Demeter, Eros (inscribed) with torch and Hermes; fragmentarily preserved female figures (in their lower part only) may suggest the presence of Athena (identified by spear), Artemis and Hecate as well. This is probably a unique representation of Kore's *kathodos*, additionally emphasised by elements characteristic in the 5th c. BC of erotic or wedding scenes (*i.e*. Eros and torches, etc.)[141]. On an Athenian red-figure *hydria* (475-425 BC; fig. 37)[142] in turn there is a wedding of Hades/Plouton and Persephone with a wreath in her hand, on a chariot; there are also other figures: Demeter with a torch and a *phiale* standing at an altar, and Hecate. The wedded pair in a chariot, Hades/Plouton and Persephone, are also depicted on an Athenian black-figure white ground *lekythos* (525-475 BC; figs. 38-39)[143] with Dionysos, Herakles, Hermes and a woman with torches (Demeter? Hecate?) facing the chariot.

[140] Eleusis, Archaeological Mus. 624: BA 7971 (Schefold 1981: fig. 372; LIMC IV, 2 Hades 110; Roscino 2007: fig. 1); a similar motif with Persephone carried off by Hades/Plouton in a chariot: Basel HC912 (fig. 30): BA 7863 (Schefold 1981: fig. 370); Eleusis, Archaeological Mus. 1804: BA 41125.
[141] Roscino (2007) 134.
[142] Würzburg H4307: BA 214708.
[143] Berlin F 1998: BA 390244.

One of the most interesting scenes is the representation on an Athenian red-figure amphora (475-425 BC; fig. 1)[144], where the nethergod with a full cornucopia and a sceptre is chasing Kore/Persephone with his right hand extended as if he were trying to grip her hand/forehand, which she is reaching towards him. On the one hand, this gesture somehow excludes an abduction or any coercion: it may even suggest that she 'wants' to be caught; this scene resembles running as Persephone's body movement may indicate[145]. On the other hand, if we take into consideration the fact that the gesture of holding somebody's forearm (χεῖρ ἐπὶ καρπῷ) was used to indicate control or possession of one person by another, in scenes of escort and, especially, in scenes of abduction and repossession[146] and that this gesture is present in representations of the wedding ritual[147], we can understand the representation on the Athenian red-figure amphora as a simple presentation of an Athenian counterpart of the Spartan rite of abduction in marital ritual[148]. There is no violence in the sense that the woman is not held around her waist and lifted, and that nothing is happening against her will. However, holding somebody by their forearm, which indicates a passive, submissive role of the one held, suggests a form of coercion, even if not in a direct way[149]. Thus, the scene of Hades/Plouton chasing Persephone may be seen, as in the case of Apulian vases, as a voluntary abduction.

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[144] Naples, Archaeological Mus. 3091: Schauenburg 1958: 49, fig. 1.

[145] It should be noticed that very similar to the representation of Persephone is a figure of the 'fleeing maiden' (490-480 BC; Eleusis, Archaeological Mus. 5235) from the pediment of the Sacred House in the Eleusinian sanctuary, which might have been part of a bigger scene – maybe of the one depicted on the vase.

[146] Cf. *Il*. 18.594; see also Neumann (1965) 59f.

[147] Oakley, Sinos (1993) fig.82-7, 91, 94, 97, 106, 110, 118.

[148] For the Spartan abduction rite see Lupi (2000) 86-90, Scott (2011) 413-24; contrast Kulesza (2008) 135-166.

[149] Here arises the question of the motif of abduction in the Athenian marital ritual, which seems to me plausible due to the gesture of holding the woman by her forearm, which is perhaps a traditional or mythical remnant. See also Sourvinou-Inwood (1973), Scutton Jr. (1981), Jankins (1983), Oakley, Sinos (1993) 12-13. Worth noticing especially is Jenkins' point (p. 142, see also Neumann 1965: 64) that 'the bride's status is akin to that of the soul who has departed the world of the living but not yet entered that of the dead; by placing his hand on the wrist of the bride, the groom is seen to steal her away in the manner that Hermes leads away the departing soul'.

2.4.2 Departure of Triptolemos and libation scenes

More conventional are scenes with Hades/Plouton and deities from the Eleusinian circle, where the main subject is the departure of Triptolemos[150]. In this type of scene the nethergod usually appears in two configurations juxtaposed on the opposite sides of a vase. They show Triptolemos in a winged chariot, driven by a snake, surrounded by Demeter with torches or grainstalks and Persephone (always inscribed on Eleusinian vases as *Pherephatta*)[151] with an *oinochoe*. The first configuration, an example of which is a red-figure *stamnos* from Orvieto (440-430 BC; fig. 41)[152], presents a *dadouchos* with two torches, standing between Persephone on the left and Hades/Plouton with a sceptre on the right; both the gods are facing him, his face is usually turned towards the nethergod. In the second Hades/Plouton appears in scenes of libation, as on an Athenian red-figure *stamnos* from Vulci (500-450 BC), where we see him with a sceptre and a *phiale* between two altars; at one of them Persephone is standing with *oinochoe* making a libation, at the other Demeter with two torches[153]. The reverse of this vase presents Triptolemos with a sceptre and a *phiale* between Demeter with an *oinochoe* and a sheaf

[150] Perhaps the representations of these scenes might have been influenced by Sophocles' tragedy entitled *Triptolemos* (fr. 596-617 Radt).

[151] The only example of a vase on which she is inscribed *Kore* is a fragmentarily preserved *phiale mesomphalos* (490 BC; Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AE.18.1-9; 85.AE.185.1-3; 81.AE.213 (fig. 40): LIMC IV, 1 Hades 28). P is seated, with only his head preserved, among other gods, including Demeter and Kore with a child on her lap.

[152] Florence, Mus. Arch. 75748: *ARV*^{2} 1028.8; LIMC IV, 2 Hades 24; Clinton (1992) fig. 36. Other similar, in my opinion, representations of Hades/Plouton: Munich, Antikensammlungen 2685 (fig. 42: red-figure kylix from Vulci, *c*. 450 BC: Hades/Plouton white-haired, with a sceptre in his right hand, behind him Persephone with a flower; *ARV*^{2} 837.9; Clinton 1992: fig. 37), London, Leventis Collection: Sotheby, sale catalogue, 13-14.12.1982, p. 61, no. 219 after Clinton (1992) 135, figs. 38-39 (fig. 43-44: red-figure kylix of unknown provenance: Hades/Plouton represented on both sides of the vase – A: Triptolemos in a chariot between Hades/Plouton with a sceptre on the left and Persephone with a sceptre and an *oinochoe* on the right; B: *dadouchos* with two torches between Hades/Plouton with a sceptre on the right and Persephone with a *phiale* on the left – what is most interesting in this representation is that the figures of the gods are symmetrical).

[153] Paris, Louvre G187 (fig. 45): BA 203793; *ARV*^{2} 199.100; other scenes of Triptolemos departing with the same deities are depicted but without libation: Würzburg L197 (fig. 46: black-figure amphora from Vulci: additional deities are Dionysos and Hermes; BA 404; LIMC IV, 2 Hades 32); Reggio Calabria, Mus. Naz. 4001 (fig. 47: black-figure amphora fragment from Locri, 575-525 BC, with inscription *Ploutodotes*: additional deities are Athena, Herakles, Hermes; BA 310415; *ABV* 147.6, 147, 714).

of corn and Persephone with a wreath. It is clear that the two sides of the vase are each other's reflection in a way. There are also libation scenes without an altar, as on a red-figure *hydria* from Nola (450-400 BC; fig. 13)[154], where Hades/Plouton appears with a full cornucopia and a sceptre, facing Persephone, who is holding an *oinochoe* and passing to him a *phiale*. This scene mirrors somehow a representation of Hades/Plouton on a red-figure volute krater from Sicily (490-480 BC; fig. 48)[155], although he appears there only with a sceptre (without a cornucopia) and Persephone is passing to him both an *oinochoe* and a *phiale*. On a red-figure footed *dinos* (*c*. 470 BC; fig. 49-50)[156] a similar pair (like Hades/Plouton and Persephone in a libation scene on the volute krater) is distinguished from other gods by their elaborate clothing; the god is inscribed *Theos* and thus the goddess, although not inscribed, is probably *Thea*, whereas two other gods, facing the departure of Triptolemos and with their back to them, resemble much more Hades/Plouton and Persephone, especially given that the goddess is inscribed *Pherephatta*[157].

It seems that this scene has as it were two dimensions and that these pairs of gods are somehow a mirror reflection of each other in a way which is confirmed, for instance, by the Lysimachides relief from the Ploutonion in Eleusis, analysed above[158]: a differentiating factor is probably the aspect of the roles in which they are presented: as the god and the goddess of the Underworld present in the Eleusinian cult (in the case of the Lysimachides relief inscribed *Theos* and *Thea*) or the gods of abundance and fertility (Hades/Plouton and Kore/Persephone) evoked symbolically by the

[154] London, BM E183: BA 215772; *ARV*^{2} 1191.1.
[155] Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 68.101: LIMC IV 1 Hades 35; Clinton (1992) fig. 48.
[156] Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 89.AE.73: Clinton (1992) figs. 43-47.
[157] Among other gods depicted on the vase we see Demeter, Akalamites (inscribed), Hippothoon (inscribed) and Eleusis (inscribed).
[158] See the sculpture section.

mythological context of the departure of Triptolemos. This duality of existence of Hades/Plouton and Persephone is enhanced perhaps by their representation also in libation scenes on *lekythoi*. On a white ground *lekythos* (500-450; fig. 51)[159] the nethergod is sitting on a chair with his head melancholically drooped, holding a *phiale* and a sceptre; Persephone with a torch is standing in front of him. The scene may be a kind of prefiguration of the libation to the dead; Hades/Plouton being the Lord of the dead may be seen as embodying the Underworld itself[160]. Worth our attention are also two red-figure *lekythoi* from Eretria which show a similarly depicted Hades/Plouton (white-haired with a sceptre, on the right on both vases) and Persephone: on one of them (470-460 BC; fig. 52)[161] the Netherworld couple is facing each other and Persephone is holding a torch; on the other (*ca*. 460 BC)[162] she is holding an *oinochoe* and a *phiale* and is leaving the nethergod, looking at him, as if after making a libation.

2.5 Summarising remarks

On the majority of Attic vases Hades/Plouton wears a *himation* and a long *chiton*. Rarely does he appear on black-figure vases half-naked: twice on Panathenaic vases (392/1 BC)[163] and once only with his right arm bare[164]. On red-figure vases he occurs half-naked much more frequently, also in an Eleusinian context[165], contrary to Clinton's opinion[166]. His hair and beard are in most cases black; only on a few representations are

[159] Berlin 3276: BA 209258; *ARV*[2] 750.
[160] See sections II 1.2, 2.1, III 1.
[161] Athens, Archaeological Mus. 1301: BA 19896; LIMC VIII 2 Persephone 171.
[162] Athens, Archaeological Mus. 1641.
[163] Eschbach (1986) 19, pl. 5.1, 2, 3.
[164] BA 302102.
[165] BA 213756.
[166] Clinton (1992) 105.

his hair and beard white[167]. The colour of his hair seems to testify to his age, even though in fact only two of these representations show him clearly as an elderly man, with his head bald in the upper part and white otherwise[168]; in the rest of the white-hair representations he is usually depicted in his *akme*. As far as I know, there is no evidence for white hair used for someone who is not old. His main attributes remain the sceptre and the cornucopia[169], which can be assumed as characteristic for his representation not only because of the frequency of their occurrence, but also because they appear as his attributes for the first time on black-figure pottery as well as on red.

Representations of him on Attic vases, even if occurring in many different contexts, may show us scenes known to the Greek audience from popular myths, such as the division of power over the Earth between Zeus, Poseidon and Hades, the abduction of Kerberos by Herakles, the departure of Triptolemos. Sometimes they catch our attention with a detail, as in the case of the red-figure cup from Vulci[170], where we see Plouton with Persephone on a *kline* in a central position at the banquet of gods. This scene draws our attention to the marriage between the underworld gods (which may be indicated by the pomegranate held by Persephone, given to her in order to bind her to the world of the dead: *HDem*. 372). Moreover, through the focus on this detail an important point is emphasised: namely, that there are no scenes with the abduction of Persephone *sensu stricto* depicted on the vases; this is surprising, as the abduction is the central motif of the Eleusinian myth. Instead of that, there are representations showing a happy married couple in a wedding chariot, accompanied by Demeter, Dionysos, Eros, Hecate, Hermes

[167] Black-figure: BA 302870, 301753, 302171, 9024563; Red-figured: BA 215292, 215772, 30263, 218099, 218149, Clinton (1992) fig. 37, Schauenburg (1955) fig.1.
[168] BA 302870, 302102.
[169] Oxford, AM G544: BA 7972; Benevento 635: BA 30254; Vathy XXXX 28188: BA 28188; Cambridge (MA) 1959.187: BA 213756.
[170] BA 217212; Immerwahr (1990): 114.787.

and Herakles; it seems that the 'marital aspect' of the abduction of Persephone was of greater interest to the Attic painters than the abduction itself. Very close to the Eleusinian circle are also the libation scenes in which Hades/Plouton is represented in the company of two goddesses. Representations of the nethergod are not surprising in this type of scene due to the fact that he was also worshipped with the two goddesses; they rather confirm his importance and actual presence in this cult.

The representations of the Lord of the Netherworld on Attic pottery are inscribed once as Ploutodotes[171], once as *Theos*[172], once as Hades[173] and twice as Plouton[174]. The fact that different inscriptions occur in scenes where he is accompanied by more or less the same deities, especially from the Eleusinian circle, leaves no doubt that we are dealing with the same god called by different names. Apart from that, as we will see later[175], Plouton seems to originate in Attica and (together with Ploutodotes and *Theos*) certainly evokes associations with the Eleusinian cult (the nethergod as Plouton and *Theos* was certainly worshipped at Eleusis[176] and appears in vase representations together with Demeter and Kore/Persephone; the name is motivated by the context and does not seem to be a result of euphemism[177]). This conclusion can be confirmed by the occurrence of Persephone (always inscribed as *Pherrephatta*, appearing either with *Plouton*, *Hades*, *Theos* or *Ploutodotes*) [178] in most of these representations; as far as I know, she is only

[171] BA 310415.
[172] Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 89.AE.73.
[173] BA 214585.
[174] At a symposium (red-figure kylix from Vulci, *c*. 450-400 BC), holding a sceptre and an empty cornucopia, with Persephone on a *kline* (other figures on the outside of kylix: Dionysos with Ariadne, Ares with Aphrodite, Satyr named Komos, Zeus with Hera, Poseidon with Amphitrite, Ganymede): Beazley 217212, Immerwahr (1990): 114.787; on a red-figure amphora from Trachone (*c*. 450-400 BC) holding a sceptre and a full cornucopia: BA 215292.
[175] See section III 2; for *Theos* III 3.
[176] See section IV 2.1.
[177] For discussion of euphemism in the case of the nethergod see section III 10.
[178] BA 215292, 217212, 214585.

once inscribed Kore on the vases[179]. Furthermore, Hades does not seem to be out of place on the vase which bears his name inscribed either: he is represented in the upper register of the red-figure calyx krater (*ca*. 475-425 BC) with a sceptre, among other deities and heroes (Apollo, Tityos, Artemis, Zeus and Giant with a stone, Hermes with a stone, Herakles, Theseus and Perithoos, Hermes, Meleagros, a man and youths, a woman with an alabastron, Persephone). This seems to be a gigantomachy scene: a purely mythological battle without cultic associations or local influences. The only reference is a myth, known throughout the Greek world.

3. Hades/Plouton as seen in Italy

3.1 Apulian vases

A remarkable and noticeable difference in the representation of the nethergod exists on Apulian vases, where he appears not only as a figure completing the scene, but first of all as its main protagonist. The red-figure Apulian vases were found in great numbers in indigenous tombs and were apparently made for funerary purposes.

It is still a matter of discussion how far the representations on the Apulian vases reflected Greek myths or culture and to what extent indigenous people adapted them (purposefully?), transforming them into something new which was uniquely their own, if it was at all. Nowadays Carpenter's statement[180] is widely accepted: the Italic people were 'hellenised' in the same way that Greeks were 'orientalised' in the 7th c. BC – in

[179] Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AE.18.1-9; 85.AE.185.1-3; 81.AE.213; *LIMC* IV, 1 Hades 28.
[180] Carpenter (2010) 337.

the sense that both adapted external influences to create something new. The important issues (which I cannot fully address here) that lurk behind this are of the degree of social and/or cultural integration, adherence to traditions and identities as well as rethinking and redefining them on the basis of available evidence. Furthermore, scholars usually pose the question about the degree of hellenisation, but they never ask about its source. Nevertheless, what concerns us here are the representations of the nethergod which are usually considered by scholars as proof of the existence of specific beliefs regarding the afterlife, namely the Orphic. But before we move on to them, we should raise some general issues and problems connected to the area in question and Apulian vases themselves.

Some general problems in research appear at the very beginning. Since the end of the 8th c. BC the land of Apulia, by the ancients called Iapygia, was shared by three cultures that are not clearly distinct, even archaeologically[181]: the Messapians to the South, the Daunians to the North, and the Peucetians between them. Everything that can be proved on the basis of written texts comes from Greek and Latin writers. So we have only one, sometimes hostile, point of reference/perspective, which, to make things worse, is rather inconsistent in using the names of native peoples (sometimes names applied to the people appear without particular indication of the place, apart from saying that they live in Italy). These three cultures were supposed to use the same, Messapian, language[182], but since they left almost no written evidence, our knowledge of them is based almost entirely on archaeological finds, above all the tombs. Anyway, it should be pointed out that the inscriptions on vases (including those produced in indigenous workshops) are in Greek not Messapian. The imagery is taken from Greek myths and (broadly understood)

[181] De Juliis (1988) 10-35.
[182] Hamp (2003) 115.

culture, even if sometimes details, like for instance clothes, betray Italic overtones. Here other questions emerge: for whom were representations such as figures and buildings on the Apulian pottery inscribed and why? If the target was the Greeks, was their own mythical imagery so exotically transformed that it was almost impossible to decipher for themselves? If it was the Italic people, was it a sophisticated means of acculturation and for what reasons?

Many studies of Apulian vases begin reflection on the subject with two wrong assumptions: that they were produced in Taranto and that they were principally made for Greek colonists[183]. In consequence it appears that Taranto was the mediator between Italic people and the Greeks and a centre of diffusion of Greek culture. In fact, none of these assumptions is based on solid textual or archaeological evidence.

First of all, it should be noticed that most of the more than 10,000 Apulian vases listed in Trendall and Cambitoglou's catalogues come from Italic sites rather than from Taranto and that almost all the pottery was found in tombs rather than on habitation sites. Although most of the additional vases in the supplements appeared on the antiquities market, were of unknown provenance and obviously came from illegal excavations, it might be safely assumed that they were excavated in the rural Italic sites rather than in the urban area of Taranto. As to the latter, the assumption that the Apulian vases were produced in Taranto and that they were made for the Greek market is based on Trendall's hypothetical theory[184] that 'the necropolis is deeply buried beneath the modern city and barely capable of scientific excavations', which would explain why comparatively few such vases have been found in Taranto itself. However, emergency

[183] De Juliis (2010) 25, (1988) 98-116.
[184] Trendall in RVA, p. xlvii.

excavations over the past century[185] have shown that out of 12,000 tombs only 1,296 contained Apulian red-figure vases, which indicates that his statement cannot be sustained any longer.

As to the mediatory role of Taranto, even if the city was the only Greek settlement in the area, this region of Italy did not appear to the Greeks as *terra ignota*, as may be judged from the earliest specimens of Greek pottery found in Apulia, safely dated to the 9th/8th c. BC and in Taras to the early 8th c. BC[186], which indicate some pre-colonisation contacts all over Apulia. Moreover, both the technique and style of the painting and many of the shapes of the pots are those perfected in Athens, and it is more than likely that the earliest painters were themselves Athenians[187]. An increase in import of Attic vases is noticeable at the end of the 5th c. BC and probably at the same time the first workshops appeared in the main Italic centres[188]: Ruvo di Puglia, Ceglie del Campo and Rutigliano, where rich concentrations of Attic pottery have been found (overall, they appear on 40 Italic sites as well as at Taranto)[189]. What is more, the exchange of goods and culture, demonstrated by rich tomb contents found at many sites, seems to be more complicated than the model that stresses the intermediary role of Taranto assumes: the indigenous economic centres, such as Ruvo, Ceglie del Campo, Gravina, Rutigliano and Canosa, had contacts or trade relations not only with Greek colonists, but also directly with mainland Greeks and the Etruscans both from Etruria and Campania[190]; it is highly probable, for instance, that the Attic vases came to the Peucetian settlements through the

[185] Graepler (2002), Hoffmann (2005) 19.
[186] D'Andria (1995), Yntema (2011).
[187] Carpenter (2010) 337, (2009) 35-36, Macdonald (1981) 159-167.
[188] For statistics of localisation see Robinson (1990).
[189] Mannino (1997) 391.
[190] De Juliis (2010) 162ff, Ciancio (2010) 291-297, Carpenter (2009) 28, 33, Montanaro (2007) 511.

ports on the Adriatic coast[191], such as Etruscan Spina. Recent studies point to interactions between the Athenians and the Peucetians resulting in the production of indigenous shapes made in Attic workshops, some painted by identifiable Attic painters[192].

The next unfortunate conviction in scholarship concerns burial customs. It is widely believed that the example of Apulian red-figure pottery shows that the funerary customs of the indigenous people were completely different from those of Greek colonists. We can agree with this conviction only on condition that we ignore some details, perhaps not visible at first sight, which indicate a different way of using the same motifs rather than dissimilar ones.

The assumption regarding stark differences in funerary customs between the Greeks and the indigenous people is based on two factors: the position of the corpse of the deceased in the grave and the size of the offerings made. The Greeks buried the deceased in the supine position, whereas the Italic people with the legs flexed[193]. The vases found directly in Greek tombs are small (*oinochoai*, *lekythoi*, *skyphoi*, *lekanides*, *pelikai* and calyx kraters) and with representations of daily life rather than of *naiskoi* or mythological scenes, unlike the ones placed in non-Greek graves (mainly volute kraters, *hydriai*, *loutrophoroi*, big *lekythoi* with elaborate decoration). On the other hand, judging from the fragments of huge vases such as calyx and volute kraters found in the nekropoleis of Taranto outside graves, it may be assumed that here the huge vases were probably used as tomb markers, *semata* (fig. 71)[194]. That is why, perhaps, we do not

[191] Carpenter (2003) 4.
[192] Jentoft-Nilsen (1990), Todisco and Sisto (1998), Colivicchi (2006).
[193] Carpenter (2010) 336.
[194] Hoffmann (2005) 19ff).

find any of them in tombs, which does not mean that the Tarantines didn't like the shape. Vases as grave markers in Taranto should not surprise, as in Mainland Greece they were very popular from the geometric period on. Interestingly, the Italic peoples seem to be more conscientious in 'parroting' mainland Greek (or Attic, in fact) funerary customs than the Tarantines: when at the end of the 5th c. BC the production of marble *lekythoi* and *loutrophoroi* as grave markers increases in Attica, the Italic people use these shapes (and big sizes) in ceramics in greater numbers as grave goods. The explanation again could be that the Italics were in direct contact with mainland Greeks and prioritised following the customs present there more than the Tarantines.

We should also look from a different point of view at what most scholars see as an obscure, baroque extension of Attic red-figure pottery – the Apulian vases. In fact, the peculiar history of Apulian red-figure pottery is not a simple extension of Attic. It could, perhaps, be regarded as parallel to the Attic white-ground *lekythoi*: both were produced for funerary purposes, appeared in one region, had quite similar funerary decoration and their occurrence was limited to a very short period[195]. However, there are also differences: the most important is that while both these types are found in graves and both represent *stelai* or offerings at the grave, the Apulian vases also depict *naiskoi*: in a sense resembling the palaces or temples[196] in which also rulers of the Underworld are represented, although they mainly symbolise the grave itself, through the way that the deceased is depicted in it, i.e. painted white.

An analogy, I believe, can be found in funerary *stelai* in mainland Greece, which evolved into a form imitating a *naiskos*, symbolically including the deceased in the

[195] Apulian vases: 430-300 BC and Attic white-ground *lekythoi*: 470-400 BC.
[196] Brandes-Druba (1994) 75-91.

sphere of *sacrum*, especially given that in the Classical period its form deepened remarkably and the figures depicted so far in relief became separate sculptures in fact (fig. 72) [197]. The figures of the deceased represented on the Apulian vases in the *naiskoi* seem to be three-dimensional: they are usually standing with their bodies turned towards the observer at an angle of 45^{o} (resembling statues rather than reliefs). What is striking is that sometimes we may have an impression that even the *stelai* depicted on Apulian pottery have their (so to speak) prototype in real marble *Attic stelai* (fig. 73)[198].

However, it should be pointed out that *stelai* were almost not used in Apulia as grave markers. In fact, only in Taras, *naiskoi*, even if they were not depicted on the vases found (or maybe because of that), were erected to mark the tomb during the period 330-250 BC (with the largest concentration around 300 BC[199]). The scenes presented in their *tympana*, due to their fragmentary preservation, in most cases are hard to ascribe to a specific deity or myth, but in the case of the underworld couple they seem to reflect the scenes occurring also on the Apulian red-figure vases.

The issue how close the contacts were between the Greeks and the Italic people will probably remain unsolved, at least until there emerges some new archaeological evidence. Anyway, it should be noticed that the process of 'hellenisation' could have spread simultaneously directly from Taranto and Athens as well as indirectly through the Etruscans (who, in fact, absorbed Greek culture in the 5th c, BC according to their own purposes). And, perhaps, here lies a hint to the solution for this hard to interpret, exotic, hybrid imagery.

[197] Clairmont (1993-95) 2.464.
[198] Montanaro (2007) xxviii 56.1.
[199] Carter (1975) 21-22, see section I 3.3.

In the Apulian representations the nethergod is called Hades twice[200] and it seems that his role as the ruler of the Underworld is highlighted rather than that of the bestower of goods in abundance; once, however, on a red-figure bell-krater from Gravina (end of the 5th c. BC)[201], we see him depicted with a cornucopia, reclining on a couch, white-haired and half-naked. On the right (behind him) Persephone is standing, on the left naked Herakles with a club is approaching the couch. Most often the nethergod appears with the bird-crowned sceptre and a *phiale* in the company of Persephone and Hermes. The difference in his representations, in comparison to the images on Attic pottery (mainly with a cornucopia), manifests itself also in the fact that he usually occurs half-naked, he does not appear at the assembly of gods, and even if Herakles with Kerberos is depicted, the stress lies somewhere else: here the hero is an element completing the picture rather than the main subject. On the Apulian vases there emerge two main thematic representations in which Hades/Plouton is identified: the abduction of Persephone and the palace scenes.

3.1.1 Abduction scenes

The representation of the abduction of Persephone on Apulian red-figure pottery is generally not the abduction *sensu stricto*, as known from the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, but, as in the case of Attic pottery, there are no signs of violence; in fact, there are only three representations which may indicate the rape (fig. 74)[202]. Persephone on

[200] Johnston, McNiven 1996: 33, RVASupp. 2.1 17b: 147, Pl. XXXV, 2 (LIMC IV: 381, Hades 85, Pl. 214, 4).
[201] Ciancio (1997) T21.
[202] Bari, Macinagrossa collection 26 (RVA II 57: 871, Pl. 331,4, 333,2, 334,3), the fragment from Taras – Amsterdam 2588 (RVA I 39: 42) and the volute-krater in private collection in Münster (RVASupp. II, 2 22a3: 274).

these scenes is held firmly by the nethergod around the waist, but she does not seem to be dragged by him against her will. On the vase from Taras she is even resting her arm on his forearm. It is more likely that the *hydria* from the Macinagrossa collection as well as the volute krater represent the abduction, as Persephone has her arms raised as if in a gesture of crying for help; however, it should be noted that the scenes on all the vases are completed by Erotes (Aphrodite is present only on the *hydria*), who are not mentioned in the myth known from the Homeric *Hymn*.

On most of these representations Persephone seems to be waving goodbye to her mother or taking leave of her with a handshake when she is leaving with the nethergod, as on the *hydria* of unknown origin[203]. Here, Hades/Plouton is calm and looks as if he were waiting until the two goddesses bid goodbye. He is embracing Persephone with his left hand, in which he is holding a sceptre; his sad face (as if he regretted that they have to leave) is turned towards Demeter. On the fragment of a *loutrophoros*[204] and on the volute krater[205] we find other scenes of reluctant farewell. On both Demeter with a cross-bar torch is standing next to the chariot with her arms outstretched towards Persephone as if they were about to kiss each other goodbye. The nethergod does not tear her by force away from her mother, but (as on the previously mentioned representations) patiently waits, looking towards Demeter. On the *loutrophoros* fragment there are also depicted a dove with a wreath and Eros above the chariot, holding a fillet, a wreath and a *phiale*, which could indicate love and a happy marriage by choice rather than by force. Moreover, both scenes take place at night, which is suggested by the depicted stars and the figures with torches in front of the chariot:

[203] RVASupp. II, 2 E1: 353 (LIMC IV: 382, Hades 90 Pl. 215,3).
[204] RVA II 62: 501.
[205] RVASupp. I 117a: 175, Pl. XXXV, 1-2. The scene depicted in the lower register might have indicated a rape scene at first sight, as we see there girls playing, but it takes place at night, as suggested by the stars, whereas the actual rape took place during the day.

Hermes on the volute krater and Hecate on the *loutrophoros* fragment. There are two representations[206] on which the nethergod and Persephone are accompanied by Hermes in the chariot and seem to drive very fast, which is highlighted by his himation flapping in the wind. In these scenes, even if Demeter is standing in the lower register with both her arms raised (in one of them she is holding a cross-bar torch) and looks as if she were searching for her daughter in despair, Persephone is standing calm, holding her veil, next to Hades/Plouton, and not looking toward her mother; the abduction is not entirely clear. In fact, an overwhelming majority of the representations[207] show the nethergod with Persephone in the chariot as if they were just married. They are driving the chariot embracing each other, looking into each other's eyes; only on one volute krater (fig. 75)[208] Persephone is looking back, pehraps still bidding her mother good bye. The scenes are usually completed with Hermes (leading the chariot with caduceus), Hecate (standing behind the chariot with two torches) and Eros or Erotes (with a *phiale* and wreaths or a fillet above the chariot)[209]. The most significant of all the representations of the so-called abduction of Persephone on Apulian red-figure pottery is a dish in a private collection in Vienna (fig. 76)[210], which confirms that the myth depicted on Apulian pottery might have had nothing to do with abduction. We see there Hades/Plouton with Persephone in a driving chariot; they are standing next to each other embracing surrounded by a nimbus, turned to the right. Their external hands are raised as if they were greeting the world; Persephone is resting her head on her hand, which she is leaning on the nethergod's shoulder. Eros with a fillet occurs above the chariot and Kerberos is running next to it. Kerberos is probably the most confusing figure in

[206] RVASupp. I 281a: 83, Pl. XVII, 1-2 (LIMC IV: 384, Hades 116, Pl. 219, 3), RVA I 66: 427 (LIMC IV: 384, Hades 115, Pl. 219, 1).
[207] RVA II 57a: 871 (LIMC IV: 382, Hades 89, Pl. 215, 2), RVA II 68: 502 (Bendinelli 1919: 185-210), RVA I 5: 193, Pl. 60, 4 (LIMC IV: 381, Hades 84, Pl. 214, 3), RVA II 51: 51 (Smith 1972: Pl. 14), RVASupp. II, 1 17b: 147, Pl. XXXV, 2 (LIMC IV: 381, Hades 85, Pl. 214, 4).
[208] RVASupp. II, 1 17b: 147, Pl. XXXV, 2 (LIMC IV: 381, Hades 85, Pl. 214, 4).
[209] On the pelike (RVA II 68: 502) Eros is placing the wreaths on the heads of the pair.
[210] RVASupp. II, 1 331b: 164 (Linder 1984: Pl. 6-7).

this depiction, as he is said to be the guard standing at the entrance to the Underworld (Hes. *Th*. 769-74). There is, of course, a possibility that the scene is located in the realm of the dead, but it is hard to believe that the intention of the painter was to show a journey of the lord of the dead around his realm, especially given that most elements (such as stars and flowers) indicate rather the upper-world, even if it is true that representations of the Underworld were mainly created in the image of the world of the living[211].

In short, none of the existing representations indicate a rape; they rather tell us something different, something which was passed by in silence by the ancients. They are connected with the return of Persephone to the underworld or are a sign of the wedding procession, during which Demeter, as the bride's mother, follows the chariot carrying a torch, and Hecate marches in front.

3.1.2 Palace scenes

The palace scenes depicted on Apulian red-figure pottery provide some information about the nethergod as the ruler of the dead and his realm. He is always depicted in the centre of the representation, surrounded by figures connected with the underworld (fig. 77): the Danaids[212], Theseus and Peirithoos[213], Kerberos (usually together with Herakles

[211] Cf. other representations of the Underworld on the Apulian pottery discussed below; see also sections II 1.4.
[212] RVASupp. I 23a: 152 (Schauenburg 1984: Pl. 103, 1; LIMC IV: 386 , Hades134, Pl. 221, 1, RVA II 19: 864 (Pensa 1977: Pl. 9), RVA II 117: 930 (Keuls 1974: Pl. 13), RVA II 22a: 865, Pl. 325, 1, RVASupp. II, 2 22a2: 274.
[213] RVA I 54: 424 (Pensa 1977: Pl. 7), RVA II 23: 865.

trying to drag him out)[214], the judges of the underworld[215], Sisyphus[216] and Hecate[217]. The palace is well-constructed, with four or more columns, usually ionic[218] (once an ionic column occurs as *pars pro toto*)[219], and the goods (shields, banquet table, etc.) depicted in it indicate the high status of the owner; what is more, sometimes the palace can be located by a lake or a river[220]. In most of the representations the nethergod occurs sitting on a throne with a sceptre, sometimes also with a *phiale*, and Persephone is accompanying him standing or sitting next to him with her cross-bar torch; Hermes completes the scene.

A very interesting representation of the nethergod together with Persephone in the palace appears on a volute crater from Naples (fig. 78)[221], where a young, beardless, half-naked[222] Hades/Plouton is depicted enthroned with the sceptre; before him Persephone is standing with a cross-bar torch. It should be pointed out that, contrary to the Attic representations, the nethergod occurs three times as a young, beardless figure[223]. Furthermore, on Apulian vases the underworld couple appear also outside the

[214] RVA I 54: 424 (Pensa 1977: Pl. 7), RVA II 284: 533, Pl. 196 (LIMC IV: 387, Hades 154, Pl. 224, 1, RVA II 282: 533 Pl. 194, RVA I 81: 431, Pl. 160, 1, RVA I 82: 431, Pl. 160, 2.
[215] RVA II 282: 533 Pl. 194.
[216] RVA II 282: 533 Pl. 194, RVA I 82: 431, Pl. 160, 2.
[217] RVA II 19: 864 (Pensa 1977: Pl. 9), RVA II 22a: 865, Pl. 325, 1, RVA II 10a: 798, RVA II 23: 865, RVASupp. II, 2 22a4: 274, RVA II 284: 533, Pl. 196 (LIMC IV: 387, Hades 154, Pl. 224, 1, RVA II 282: 533 Pl. 194, RVA I 81: 431, Pl. 160, 1.
[218] Sometimes the depictions of the palace are very elaborate: e.g., ceiling-beams are clearly shown, on the roof there are palmette acroteria, capitals are replaced by a caryatid on an acanthus column and the pediment is decorated with a mask flanked by Scyllae (RVA I 82: 431, Pl. 160, 2) or the front columns have sphinx capitals (RVA I 81: 431, Pl. 160, 1).
[219] RVASupp II, 2 40g: 279 (Schauenburg 2002: 13-15, fig. IIa, IIc).
[220] RVA I 82: 431, Pl. 160, 2, RVA I 81: 431, Pl. 160, 1, RVA I 54: 424 (Pensa 1977: Pl. 7), RVA II 284: 533, Pl. 196 (LIMC IV: 387, Hades 154, Pl. 224, 1, RVA II 282: 533 Pl. 194.
[221] RVA I 54: 432 (Pensa 1977: Pl. 7).
[222] In palace scenes Hades/Plouton rather used to appear full-draped: RVA II 45: 733, Pl. 271, 1, RVASupp. I 23a: 152 (Schauenburg 1984: Pl. 103, 1; LIMC IV: 386 , Hades134, Pl. 221, 1), RVA II 19: 864 (Pensa 1977: Pl. 9), RVA II 117: 930 (Keuls 1974: Pl. 13), RVA II 22a: 856 Pl. 325, 1, RVA II 10a: 798, RVASupp. II, 2 22a3: 274, RVA II 75: 503, RVA 23: 865, RVA II 23: 865, RVA II 16: 863, RVA II, 2 22a2: 274, RVA II, 2 22a1: 274, Pl. LXXI, 2, RVA II 17: 263, pl. 323, 3-4.
[223] For the other representations see the abovementioned hydria in Bari, Macinagrossa collection 26 (RVA II 57: 871, Pl. 331,4, 333,2, 334,3) and the volute-krater in a private collection in Münster (RVASupp. II, 2 22a3: 274).

palace, but the (so to speak) palace convention is observed: they are sitting or standing close to each other, with the above-mentioned attributes, talking, passing on a *phiale*[224] or listening to Orpheus[225].

On these vases, as on the *stelai,* there often appears the motif of *dexiosis* – a handshake between the nethergod and the one who is visiting him: Dionysos (fig. 79)[226], Amphiaraos (fig. 80)[227], Orpheus (fig. 81)[228]. As in the case of the funerary *stelai*, here too it is difficult (if not impossible) to state whether the *dexiosis* expresses a parting or a greeting, congratulations or wishing a good journey to the other world, the unity between the dead and the living or the border between them, or simply consent to the situation taking place[229].

(i) Amphiaraos

It is worth noticing that guests are never depicted in the palace together with the rulers of the underworld; the only figures who are granted this honour are Hermes[230] and Amphiaraos[231]. It is quite interesting that the hero of the war of the Seven against Thebes, who was swallowed up together with his chariot by the earth before he was overtaken by his enemy[232], also occurs on the Apulian representations, as he was not depicted together with the nethergod on Attic vases. It might be that the Apulian

[224] RVA II 45: 733, Pl. 271,1.
[225] RVA II 46: 733.
[226] Johnston, McNiven: 1996L 33, Schmidt 2000: 86-99.
[227] RVA II 22a: 865, Pl. 325,1; 23: 865; 16: 863; RVASupp. II 22a1-4: 274, Pl. LXX, 2.
[228] RVA I 81-82: 432; RVA II 17: 863 Pl 232, 3-4 ; 293: 763, Pl. 284,1 ; 46: 733; RVASupp. II 40g: 279.
[229] Cf. Schmidt 2000: 86-88, who differentiates between the handshakes, on which basis she states who stays in the Underworld and who is leaving and divides the representations into Tableau-Typus and Begrüssungs/Dialog-Typus.
[230] Smith 1972: Pl. 3.
[231] Lohmann 1986: Pl. 12.
[232] Hes. fr. 9 (West), Pind. *Nem*. 9.16ff, 10.7ff, *Ol*. 6.13ff., Ps-Apoll. *Bibl*. 3.76, Paus. 1.34.2., 9.14.4.

representations reflect this episode of the war, as before being immortalised by Zeus[233] he should have visited the realm of the dead. We would have probably known more about this myth if the plays (*Epigoni*, *Amphiaraos* and *Eriphyle*) by Sophocles had not been preserved only fragmentarily.

It should be pointed out that Amphiaraos somehow belongs to the realm of the dead, even if only through his gift as a seer, because we see him in the palace of the nethergod and he is never standing outside it; even Dionysos was not honoured in this way[234]. Moreover, he is treated as somebody welcome and equal: on most of the representations he is shaking the hand of the nethergod[235]. A few times we see him talking to Hades/Plouton, who seems to be very engaged in the talk, as he is gesticulating energetically[236]. Only once does he appear without him, but standing before Persephone seated on a throne in the palace, and there they also seem to be talking about something[237]: maybe he visited the underworld several times. It is also hard to say whether he is about to leave the realm of the dead or if he has just arrived there because the scenes do not make it clear: in one picture he seems to be taking off his helmet, which may indicate that he is going to stay there for a while (fig. 82). Although his ontological status is unclear (it is hard to decide whether he is a god or a hero)[238], the remark in Sophocles' *Electra* (840-41) that he ὑπὸ γαίας πάμψυχος ἀνάσσει leaves no doubt that he has a special role in the Underworld. It is not clear how this phrase should be understood since it is hard to imagine that we should interpret Amphiaraos through these lines as equal to the nethergod himself. Another passage, similarly bizarre in

[233] Pind. *Nem.* 9.57, *Ol.* 6.21, Cic. *de Divin.* 1.40.
[234] See section 3.1.3c.
[235] RVA II 22a: 856 Pl. 325, 1, RVA II 10a: 798, RVASupp. II, 2 22a3: 274, RVA II 75: 503, RVA 23: 865.
[236] RVA II 23: 865, RVA II 16: 863, RVA II, 2 22a2: 274, RVA II, 2 22a1: 274, Pl. LXXI, 2.
[237] RVASupp. II, 2 22a4: 274.
[238] Ustinova (2002) 267-269.

meaning, is when Odysseus addresses Achilles with the words (*Il*. 485-6): *νῦν αὖτε μέγα κρατέεις νεκύεσσιν | ἐνθάδ' ἐών*. Both phrases may simply be manifestations of quite a sophisticated manner of addressing a hero who is certainly beyond the category of ordinary mortals; on the other hand, bearing in mind Amphiaraos' prophetic abilities, we may perhaps conclude that the rule over souls belonged to heroes. The nethergod, at least till the end of the Classical period, is always addressed as the lord of corpses[239].

(ii) Orpheus

Orpheus as a visitor in the realm of the underworld is not a surprise. We know from the myth that he descended there to fetch Eurydike and in fact the myth is attested as known in the 5th c. BC[240]. This myth is depicted on one of the volute craters (fig. 83)[241]: Orpheus is depicted holding a kithara, with Eros behind him, next to him Eurydike is standing and Orpheus is holding her hand. They are standing in front of Hecate (with two torches and a panther) and seated Persephone, who is stretching her right hand towards them as if in a gesture of allowing the return of Eurydike to the world of the living. Half-naked Hades/Plouton is standing with his sceptre in deep concentration and is observing the situation calmly.

On the Neapolitan volute krater (fig. 84)[242] we can see the nethergod and Persephone dining in the palace: they are facing each other; the god is represented half-naked with the sceptre and a *kantharos*, whereas Persephone with a cross-bar torch passes to her husband a tray with food. Both seem not to pay attention to Orpheus playing before the

[239] See section II 2.1.
[240] Eur. *Alc*. 357-362. It could have been known, of course, earlier, but unfortunately, no evidence of this survives prior to the 5th BC: probably Aeschylus *Bassaridai* (frs. 23-24 Snell) mentioned this myth as well, especially if Pseudo-Eratosthenes read it (see *Katast*. 24).
[241] RVA II 284: 533, Pl. 196 (LIMC IV: 387, Hades 154, Pl. 224, 1).
[242] RVA I 82: 432.

palace. What is interesting, even if Carpenter's argument that scenes of sympotic type indicate Dionysos rather than Hades/Plouton, is that none of the ancient sources ever mentions that Orpheus sang in the Underworld before Dionysos. Similar representations, on which the nethergod and Persephone pay attention to each other rather than to Orpheus, are not numerous[243]. Usually they talk to each other or maybe also to Orpheus, singing outside the palace[244], or listen to him in silence[245]. In two of these representations Orpheus is not singing with a kithara, but holding something (a scroll?) in his hand; he rather seems to be talking to the rulers of the Underworld sitting on a *kline* among pillows next to each other, with their heads turned towards him[246].

(iii) Dionysos

Dionysos occurs only once together with the Underworld couple on the volute krater in Toledo Museum[247]. Hades, half-naked, with a bird-ended sceptre, seated on his throne, is shaking hands with Dionysos standing outside the palace on the left. Next to Hades Persephone is depicted with a cross-bar torch which she is holding in both hands. The scene is completed by the figures from the Euripidean *Bacchae* (Agaue, Pentheus, Actaeon) on the right and companions of Dionysos (a satyr Oinops and two maenads: Persis and Acheta) on the left; all figures are inscribed. From the myth we know that Dionysos visited the Underworld only once in order to take his mother Semele to Olympus[248], and this is probably depicted on this krater.

[243] RVA II 17: 263, pl. 323, 3-4: Hades/Plouton with the sceptre and Persephone with a cross-bar, both sitting on a kline next to each other, seem to look somewhere up, while Orpheus is standing lower, next to the pediment of the palace.
[244] RVA II 282: 533, Pl. 194, RVA I 81: 431, Pl. 160,1.
[245] RVASupp. II, 2 A2: 351, RVASupp. II, 2 A1: 351, RVASupp. II, 2 40g: 279, RVA II 293: 763, Pl. 284, 1.
[246] RVASupp. II, 2 A1: 351, RVASupp. II, 2 A2: 351.
[247] Johnson, McNiven: 1996.
[248] Diod. 4.25.4, Apollod. 3.5.3, Plut. *De sera num. vind*. 27.566a, Plut. *Quaest. Gr*. 12.293 cd, Paus. 2.31.2, 2.37.5, schol. Ar. *Ran*. 330.

3.1.3 Summarising remarks: Orphica non grata

Discussions of funerary imagery depicted on the Apulian vases often start with the assumption that in one way or other it reflects Orphic beliefs in the afterlife. Since such beliefs were never depicted on Greek vases, in the case of the Apulian vases this imagery is treated as a distinctively Southern Italian element. In fact the funerary imagery on the Apulian vases does not reflect any specific beliefs, it shows rather a conception of the Underworld (and it is the Greek conception). It is true that many of the funerary elements present on the Apulian vase paintings as well as some myths connected with the journey to the Underworld may *prima specie* lead to this assumption, but a careful analysis of the representations clearly shows that all of them belong simply to the sphere of myth, not to some specific, in this case 'Orphic', beliefs. Of course, this is not to say that these representations were not symbolically involved in the religious sphere, reflecting certain hopes of their owners for the afterlife, but my impression is that they contain mythical motifs/scenes taken from or inspired by Greek tragedies (we know that Taras was fond of Greek theatre and that many scenes from tragedy were indeed depicted on Apulian vases, as has been proved by Taplin)[249], which do not point to 'Orphic' initiations and therefore cannot serve as linking elements with the so-called ‘Orphic’ gold leaves (especially given that none of them was found in Apulia).

Apulian funerary imagery is expressed most clearly in the so-called Underworld palace scenes presented above, which we have divided into four groups. The first simply depicts the Underworld couple always in the centre of the representation, surrounded by

[249] Taplin (1993) 12-20, (2007).

figures connected with the Underworld. The other three types provide us with more information about a particular myth depicted on them, *i.e*. the motif of the journey to the Underworld and a *dexiosis* – a handshake between Hades and the one who is visiting him: Dionysos, Amphiaraos, Orpheus.

All the Orphic theories are usually based on the representation on a volute krater in Toledo Museum, where Dionysos appears before the palace of the rulers of the dead, shaking hands with Hades, but nothing here suggests the authority which Dionysos has in the Underworld or that this authority could be beneficial to his worshippers, as Johnston and McNiven argued[250]. If we take into consideration other personages inscribed and completing the scene, *i.e*. the figures from Euripides' *Bacchae*, it is quite clear that the representation shows us Dionysos coming to the Underworld for his mother Semele. The figures on the right (Agaue, Pentheus and Actaeon) point to Semele and their offence towards her.

The remaining two types of representation show the gesture of *dexiosis* between the lord of the dead and heroes: Amphiaraos and Orpheus. First of all, the palace scenes with these two heroes are the most popular and comparable in number (Orpheus: 12 vs. Ampharaos: 9). Depictions of Amphiaraos in the palace of Hades are completely uninteresting to Orphic-fans, as Amphiaraos is not a personage involved in 'Orphic' matters and because the scenes clearly show us a mythical situation in which Amphiaraos, after being rescued by Zeus from unavoidable death in battle by opening the earth before his chariot, went down to Hades' realm; the myth that appears, for instance, in fragmentarily preserved tragedies of Sophokles (*Epigonoi*, probably as well

[250] Johnson, McNiven (1996) 25.

in *Amphiaraos*). It is worth noticing that guests are never depicted in the palace together with the rulers of the Underworld; the only persons who are granted this honour are Hermes and Amphiaraos. And they both somehow belong to the realm of the dead.

The scenes containing Orpheus are those that have attracted most attention. Orpheus is depicted singing before the underworld couple, but again we cannot assume that he is doing so because he has authority in the Underworld and would like to provide/ensure a blissful afterlife to initiates. No, he is singing there to regain his wife, Eurydike, and this is clearly visible on one volute krater in the Neapolitan Museum (fig. 83)[251]: Orpheus is depicted holding a *kithara*, with Eros behind him, next to him Eurydike is standing and Orpheus is holding her hand. I believe that all the other representations of Orpheus singing before the palace of the rulers of the Underworld should be interpreted according to this myth. This may even apply to the most famous representation, that on the amphora from Basel (fig. 85), which is always said to show Orpheus singing before the dead person, holding a scroll, which may be interpreted and always has been as a kind of 'Orphic' gold tablet or Derveni Papyrus. But, first of all, why would Orpheus have to sing before the dead? And secondly, to my knowledge, there is no representation in art where a hero stands in front of a seated mortal. Furthermore, the building is a palace, not a *naiskos*, which is indicated by the ceiling, where we see beams, as well as the shield hanging on the wall. That is why, I believe, it is an elliptic scene in which Orpheus is singing before Hades, enthroned as usual and especially on Attic pottery, holding a short sceptre, which is at this time his familiar attribute. It is also noticeable that the fingers of the hand holding a sceptre are presented in the typical gesture of talk, visible also in his case in other palace-scenes. As to the scroll, it might

[251] RVA II 284: 533, pl. 196; LIMC IV 2 Hades 154.

be explained in a different way: as inscribed with permission to take Eurydike away or something else (for instance, verses of the song) that Orpheus gave Hades in exchange. This attribute, I must admit, is odd and hard to interpret, but, as we have seen, it might have appeared in other palace scenes too with Orpheus. What may remain strange is Hades' white hair, attested in Attic pottery, but almost never present in that from Apulia; almost, because a recently found bell krater from Gravina, mentioned above, clearly shows us that it also occurred on Apulian vases. The other, more risky, interpretation might be that the Basel amphora presents a relief or a stele, as the figures are painted white, which occurs in Apulian pottery in representations of *stelai* and is generally used in Greek vase-painting to depict a statue. Although we hardly know any mythological representations on Greek *stelai*, the representation on this vase may be related to the *naiskoi* mentioned above in Taranto, where mythological scenes were frequent. If we agree that the palace scenes on Apulian pottery had their origin in myths transferred to Apulia by means of Greek tragedies, one may wonder to what extent this hypothesis can be sustained in the light of the 'bare' type of palace scenes, representing only the Underworld couple, usually accompanied by Hermes. Apart from the obvious guess that any myth including the motif of the Underworld could have been alluded to through this kind of representation, I believe an assumption could be risked that the scene might have been taken from Sophokles' *Triptolemos* or one of the Aeschylean tragedies exploring the Eleusinian myth about the abduction of Kore, since the scenes depicted on the Apulian vases seem to reflect lines from the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* (342-6): *τέτμε* [Ἑρμῆς] *δὲ τόν γε ἄνακτα δόμων ἔντοσθεν ἐόντα | ἥμενον ἐν λεχέεσσι σὺν αἰδοίῃ παρακοίτι | πόλλ' ἀεκαζομένῃ μητρὸς πόθῳ· † ἣ δ' ἐπ' ἀτλήτων | ἔργοις θεῶν μακάρων μητίσετο βουλῇ. † | ἀγχοῦ δ' ἱστάμενος προσέφη κρατὺς Ἀργειφόντης…*

Summing up, in 5th/4th c. BC Apulia we are dealing with a cultural and ethnic mixture forming a hybrid shape highly reminiscent of the so-called 'Greek culture'. There is no evidence which could prove unambiguously indicative of religious identity or the specific type of belief that Orphism apparently implied. Apart from vase-painting, it is impossible to indicate to what degree Italic people were influenced or just inspired by Greek thought as archaeological evidence is not sufficient or decisive in this matter. In fact, instead of a static dichotomy, we should think in terms of fluidity and multiplicity of identities that interact among each other, blurring the boundaries until they finally become almost unnoticable. Therefore, the tomb contents do not reflect religious identity, but rather something which may be called a social identity: one determined by prestige, fashion or simply caprice. It seems that in this area identity had no static form, permanently ascribed to the inhabitants: it might have been easily contested, negotiable and subject to change.

3.2 Locrian pinakes

Representations of the nethergod can be easily found also among the religious figural scenes depicted on the votive clay plaques called Locrian *pinakes*, destined to be hung on the walls of Persephone's temple or on the trees of her *temenos*. Most of them were found in the sanctuary of Persephone situated on the hill of Manella at Locri Epizephyri[252], which (according to Diodorus Siculus) was 'the most famous and sacred

[252] Atti, III: 3; However, it should be pointed out that many fragments of *pinakes* in general (sometimes in local production) come from the area connected with Lokri Epizephyri in cultural and political aspect, such as Medma, Scrimbia (Hipponion): Montesanti (2010): 122-138, as well as from Sicily (Francavilla): Spigo (2000a, 2000b); Hinz (1998): 202-212. Some were found in local houses and graves: Zuntz (1971): 165.

sanctuary among all in Italy' (27.4.3)[253]. The nethergod appears in scenes belonging to two categories: the abduction scenes and the scenes of homage (?). However, we assign his name to the bearded figure only on the basis of interpretation of the attributes and of Persephone's company – his name is inscribed on none of them.

3.2.1 'Homage' scenes

The nethergod is depicted in 15 types[254] of *pinakes* with the 'homage' scene (fig. 86) dated to ca. 480-470 BC, enthroned, with Persephone sitting next to him[255] or in front of him[256]. He is presented half-naked, wearing a *himation* which covers the lower part of his body[257] or falls down along his left arm[258]. His hair is bound with a ribbon[259] or braided in a very elaborate hairstyle[260]; sometimes he is also crowned with leaves/myrtle[261], flowers[262] or spherical elements[263] and once he is wearing a diadem[264].

Some attributes held by him (apart from sceptre[265] and *phiale*[266]) do not appear elsewhere in his representations. These are: the goose[267], the pomegranate[268], the

[253] For the cult see section IV 3.2.
[254] Atti, III: 21, it contains one third of all the types in this group.
[255] Atti, III: when he appears in the foreground (his profile visible, either on the right or the left) in the scene, Persephone can be placed either on his left (8/13-16, 18, 20-21, 32) or on his right (8/4); in the cases when he is in the background she is sitting next to him, only on his right (8/ 10, 11, 31).
[256] Atti, III: 8/ 1, 2, 3
[257] Atti, III: 8/ 2, 4, 14, 18
[258] Atti, III: 8/ 1. 3?. 10?. 11. 13. 15, 16, 20, 21, 31, 32
[259] Atti III: 8/13, 15
[260] Atti III: 8/ 4
[261] Atti III: 8/ 21, 8/31, 32
[262] Atti III: 8/2
[263] Atti III: 8/16
[264] Atti III: 8/10
[265] Atti III: a sceptre with a sphinx (8/2) at the end or a siren (8/3)
[266] Atti III: always held in his right hand 8/ 4, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 31
[267] Atti III: 8/1, 14, 15; in type 8/14 it could be a dove as well. What is more, due to the fragmentary preservation, it is hard to decide who of the Underworld gods is raising the bird above which Hermes is

kantharos[269] (8/10, 32), the ear of wheat[270] or a bough of some plant, very probably fennel[271]. In some cases he does not have any attributes at all in his hands[272]. It seems that no organising or unifying system of these attributes exists which would combine them to form groups or would reflect the frequency of their occurrence.

The 'gifts' which are presented to the nethergod and Persephone in the 'homage' scenes only in one case resemble sacrificial offerings: a cock and a ram given by Hermes[273]. Other gods approaching the Underworld deities usually hold their typical attributes rather than 'gifts' or offerings[274]. The fact that there is no reason for Hermes to hold any attributes to identify him other than the ordinary and most popular ones (the caduceus, the petasos and the winged sandals), all of which are present in the picture, testifies that

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holding a necklace/crown with spherical objects (see Atti III: 185) or, perhaps, a wreath; the dove appears sitting on the *thymiaterion* in type 8/13.

[268] Atti III: always in his left hand 8/4, 20; in type 8/20 it could be an apple as well.

[269] Atti III: always in his right hand: 8/10, 32

[270] Atti III: always in his left hand: 8/13

[271] *Atti* III: 8/31; it is difficult to interpret this plant, but it seems implausible that it is a bluebottle (see Atti III: 22, n. 139); I believe that it is fennel: it is said to be as popular and as much cultivated as wheat, especially in Italy where the giant fennel is still very common. Furthermore, its shadow looks very much like the plant represented in the nethergod's hand on the *pinakes*.

[272] He has his fist clenched (left hand, 8/11, 16) or covered by the *himation* (left hand, 8/ 1, 2), or rests it on his lap (right hand, 8/3)

[273] Atti III: only with ram: 8/2, 10, 13, 14, 16; with ram and cock: 8/11, 15, 18; in type 8/14 behind Hermes is standing a woman with a big *alabastron* in one hand and with a big ball (fruit?) bound with ribbons forming a cross. Cardosa identified her as a mortal (see Atti III: 15), but she could be interpreted as a goddess as well.

[274] Dionysos is holding a kantharos (8/20) or a kantharos and a branch of vine (8/21); Apollo is holding a lyre and a scroll (?): 8/1, but in the case of type 8/1 I would consider a figure of Orpheus as well: first of all, the figure is standing half-naked between the two deities enthroned, looking at Hades/Plouton, and seems to be singing (the lyre is raised); secondly, Apollo is more distinctly represented on type 8/33 as a naked figure, standing before one of the deities (perhaps Persephone; not preserved) with a bow and a lyre (lowered). I can see a similar problem in type 8/29, which represented a warrior fully dressed and outfitted, with a cock in his raised right hand, standing before Persephone, identified as Ares or a mortal; judging from the Apulian representations (RVASupp.2.2: 274, 22a4), it could equally well be Amphiaraos. Redfield (2003): 372 is apt to interpret this figure as a *phylax* present in the verses of the gold tablet from Hipponion, but, first of all, the *phylakes* on the Hipponion tablet are two and they guard the water of the lake of Mnemosyne against the souls of the not-initiated – not accompanying the soul of a deceased to the sacred meadows of Persephone, as Redfield's interpretation presupposes. What is more, contrary to his interpretation again, drinking water from the lake of Mnemosyne is the first stage of the 'great journey', not the last one; cf. 474 F (Bernabé).

the animals held by him are offerings, not attributes[275]. Type 8/4 presents the greatest difficulty with interpretation of the scene. A female figure is standing before a tripod, separating her from the enthroned nethergod and Persephone, on which a *kantharos* and a *thymiaterion* are put. This scene resembles a cultic activity more than a 'homage' in fact, as the female figure is carrying a little covered box[276] in her left hand, and her right arm she is probably holding (the palm is not preserved) above the *thymiaterion* in a gesture of making an offering of incense. Twice the nethergod and Persephone are enthroned in their palace or in a temple, which is indicated by ionic columns or a fragment of a building; this could refer to the palace scenes on the Apulian vases analysed above.

3.2.2 Abduction scenes

The nethergod, according to the iconographical type in which he appears in the above-mentioned 'homage' scenes, can be identified in 8 types of the abduction scenes (fig. 87)[277] as well. All of them belong to the time of *ca*. 480-450 BC[278]. The category of abduction scenes can be divided into two subcategories: the scenes which represent the

[275]The animals carried by him could (but do not necessarily) refer to the fertility of the Underworld deities. Especially if the Locrian cult was connected with divine marital ritual, they may have been a symbol of the future happiness prayed for by the newly-wed couple. Hermes' connections with fertility are attested by Hesiod (*Th*. 440), but he is also considered a protector of sacrificial animals (Hom. Hymn *In Merc.* 567, *Il*. 14.490, 16.180, Hes. *Th*. 444).
[276] According to Atti III: 100, it is a *pyxis*.
[277] As a bearded mature man: Atti I: 2/1 (preserved only fragmentarily), 18-19, 24, 26-27 (27 hardly preserved), 30. On the other part of the pinakes from this group (26 types) we see as an abductor a naked youth – this type of representation does not exclude Hades/Plouton of course, see below.
[278] For more detailed chronology and discussion, see Atti I: 260-265.

nethergod with Persephone on a chariot[279] and the scenes which depict the nethergod carrying off Persephone[280]. Among the latter, only two types refer to the 'expected' abduction format by Persephone's gesture of fright or calling for help with raised arms[281].

However, it should be noted that, similarly as in other representations of the so-called abduction in Greek art already mentioned, hardly any signs of violence can be seen; the impression prevails that the victim is cooperating with the abductor rather than trying to free herself from his grip. Signs of violence, such as a basket of fruits or flowers thrown upside down by Persephone, can be seen in other scenes of this type which represent the so-called 'young abductor'[282]; the identity of this figure is still a matter of controversy[283]. It could be that Orsi was right in considering the figure as a different iconographical type of the nethergod himself (this seems to me the more probable solution); in some representations he is completely naked except for a cloak[284], like the so-called 'young abductor', and the only difference which can be seen between these two figures is that Hades/Plouton has a beard. Seemingly, the fact that there exist

[279] Atti I: 2/24 (they are standing next to each other, she is holding a cock), 26 (same as the previous, but Hades/Plouton is embracing her and she is holding a cock and an ear of wheat), 27 (same, but she is holding none of the mentioned attributes and has her hand raised as if in a gesture of greeting).
[280] Atti I: 2/1 (fragmentarily preserved: Hades/Plouton is mounting the chariot holding Persephone by the wrist and looking at her), 18 (same, but Hades/Plouton is carrying Persephone on his shoulders, she is looking backwards, with her left hand raised, perhaps in a gesture of farewell, above them Eros with a wreath is flying), 19 (same, but Hades/Plouton is embracing Persephone round her waist, she is turned back to him, with one hand raised in a gesture of greeting or farewell and the other placed on her head).
[281] Atti I: 22 (Hades/Plouton is driving a chariot and embracing Persephone who has both her hands raised as if in a gesture of calling for help, but she is looking into his eyes), 30 (Hades/Plouton is standing in a chariot with a cock in his hand and Persephone, with both her hands raised, as if in a gesture of calling for help, is lifted to him by a young man).
[282] Atti I: 2/ 2, 4-9, 13, 16; some of the scenes with the 'young abductor' represent a 'cooperation' scheme as well: 2/ 3, 12, 15, 17, 20, 21, 25, 28, 29, 32.
[283] The most important hypotheses: Thanatos (Quagliati 1908: 158-9), different iconographical type of Hades/Plouton (Orsi 1909: 29), Hermes (Richter 1949: 184-5), one of the Dioskouroi (Zancani Monuoro 1954: passim), a pre-Greek hero (Prückner 1968: 73-74), an ideal representation of a bridegroom (Sourvinou-Inwood 1973: 14); for more detailed proposals of interpretation see Atti I: 248-256.
[284] Atti I: 2/ 1, 18-19, 22.

representations depicting the nethergod and the 'young abductor' together (fig. 88)[285] in one scene excludes the possibility of identifying the young one with the mature. However, it does not rule out the identification of the young male figure with the nethergod in the scenes where he appears alone; when they are together, the young man may simply be a different person[286].

3.3 Sculpture of the Tarantine *naiskoi*

Naiskoi in Taras were erected to mark tombs during the last few decades of the 4th c. BC, but started to disappear at the beginning of the 3rd c. BC. As Polybius mentioned (8.28), the necropolis was located within the city walls, so the general appearance of the many little, probably very brightly painted, temples might have been quite unusual or even strange to a haphazard visitor. They were decorated with figurative sculpture in the *tympana* as well as in places where sculpture usually occurs on the traditional Greek temple, but figures could also appear on the base of the *naiskos*[287]. From the monumental friezes of the Tarantine *naiskoi* only fragments survive (fig. 89), among them some representations of the nethergod. One of the reliefs represents Hades/Plouton half-naked, sitting on a throne next to Persephone and facing Herakles, who is approaching, probably to take Kerberos away[288]. The reliefs depicting the 'abduction of Persephone' show it at several different moments. The nethergod appears there as the

[285] Atti I: 2/ 30.
[286] See the examples of the Apulian vases analysed above with the representations of young Hades/Plouton abducting Persephone: I 3.1. R. Schenal Pileggi (Atti I: 2.256) proposed that the bearded man on the 2/30 is Dionysos, but without, as it seems, any conceivable argument.
[287] Carter 1975: 15.
[288] Carter 1975: 45, Pl. 10a-c (31).

central figure, once with Persephone on his shoulders[289], then on a large acroterial group in the chariot with Persephone[290], and then on a relief representing perhaps the nethergod's chariot, waiting beside a typical Tarentine grave[291]. The scenes presented on these reliefs, due to their fragmentary preservation, in most cases are hard to ascribe to a specific deity or myth, but in the above-mentioned representations of Hades/Plouton they seem to reflect the scenes occurring on the Apulian red-figure vases.

3.4 Figures from Morgantina

Several standing male figures (early 3rd c. BC; fig. 90), of impressive size and quality, were found in the deposits of the sanctuary of Persephone in Morgantina (four pieces were found in rooms with altars, two in the inner room of the North Sanctuary)[292]. The figures represent a youthful half-naked god, wearing a wreath, probably holding a phiale in his extended right hand, and with a turquoise snake coiled round his left hand, 'slightly extended from the drapery at the hip'[293]. At first sight the god resembles Apollo *Musagetes* or a young Dionysos, as observed by Sjöquist[294], but Bell persuasively argued that the snake is not a typical attribute of either of them in Italy, contrarily to Hades[295]. The figures have been associated by scholars with another mysterious find in the sanctuary: a dedication on a pithos rim to an otherwise unknown Elaielinos[296]. It is

[289] Carter 1975: 83, Pl. 50 (290).
[290] Carter 1975: 39-40, Pl. 1, 2a-d (1).
[291] Carter 1975: 64-65 (167).
[292] Bell (1981) 88, nos. 295-99, Sjöquist (1958) pl. 31, fig. 22.
[293] Bell (1981) 88.
[294] Sjöquist (1958) 159.
[295] Bell (1981) 89. For the extant monuments with snake as an attribute of Hades see section I 3.5.
[296] For the name see section III 9.

true that the snake is present in the iconography of the nethergod in Italy and that there the god happened to be represented as a beardless youth[297], but since there is no other evidence allowing the interpretation of the male figure as Hades, apart from the above ambiguous elements and the speculation that the youthful god must have been Persephone's *paredros*, we must admit we are a bit lost.

In the sanctuary at San Francesco Bisconti at Morgantina, inside temple B, a large head of a male bearded god (*ca*. 350 BC; fig. 91)[298] was found; the findspot supports its identification as belonging to Hades. The head bears extensive traces of original polychromy (blue on the beard and red in the hair); apart from that, the hair is elaborately modelled, with each curl attached by hand. The eyes are deep-rimmed, which may suggest that they might have had metal lashes. The sanctuary itself, considered to be a *thesmophorion*, is situated outside the city walls, near a necropolis and natural springs; there are good reasons to believe that it functioned from the second half of the 6th c. BC onwards and that Hades was worshipped there together with the two goddesses[299].

3.5 The Etruscan view

Etruscan art shows the nethergod in connection with the dead rather than presenting him as a fertility or vegetation deity. The earliest inscribed attestations in ancient art of the Etruscan Underworld ruler, *Aita* or *Eita*, come from two Etruscan tomb paintings: from

[297] See sections I 3.1-2.
[298] J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 85.AD.105.
[299] Caruso (2014) 52-3.

Settecamini near Orvieto (Tomba Golini I, *ca*. 4th c. BC; fig. 92)[300] and Tarquinia (Tomba dell'Orco II, *ca*. 340/20 BC; fig. 93)[301]. We can consider him as an Etruscan interpretation of Greek Hades not only due to the fact that his name reflects the name of his Greek counterpart (*Haides*), but also because his identity is connected with the Greek god, as is confirmed by the fact that he is usually depicted with his spouse, Persephone; both of them are indicated by inscriptions[302]. Here is not the place to present all the theories regarding the identity and ethnicity of the Etruscans and how much of Greek culture they absorbed. However, it should be highlighted that in the 5th c. BC Etruria was under strong influence from the Greeks and their impact on Etruscan culture was clearly visible[303], not least in substitution of the native names of gods with Greek counterparts.

The fresco from the Golini tomb in Orvieto shows Hades and Persephone sitting at a banquet among the family of the deceased. Hades is depicted bearded, half-naked in a wolf-cap, sitting with a sceptre or a spear around which a snake is wound. He is holding his left hand on the shoulder of Persephone, who is sitting next to him fully-dressed, resting her right hand on his lap; in her left hand she has a sceptre crowned with a bird. They are looking at each other and seem to be talking. It is rather hard to interpret this and similar banquet scenes in Etruscan tombs as banquets at the funeral, where the deceased is depicted for the last time, among his still-living family. It seems more plausible that the frescos represent the Platonic "drinking forever and ever" (*Resp*. 363c) in the Underworld rather than preparations for a funerary feast[304]; this is

[300] *LIMC* IV 2: 226.5, Pallotino (1952) 97.
[301] *LIMC* IV 2: 226.6, Pallotino (1952) 111.
[302] Tomba Golini I: *eita-φersipnai* (*CIE* 5090); Tomba dell' Orco II: *aita-φersipnei* (*CIE* 5364).
[303] Cf. Haynes (2000) 238-9.
[304] Cf. Krauskopf (2006) 70.

highlighted by the presence of the Netherworld dwellers, although they don't seem to take an active part in the banquet[305].

The wall-painting in the Tomba dell'Orco II[306] is in certain details very close to the Homeric description of the Underworld (with a few additions later recurring in Vergil) and the events connected to it. In the centre of the occurrences represented in the whole tomb complex, on the wall of the corridor linking the two chambers (probably from the 3rd c. BC), we have the bloody blinding of Polyphemos, inscribed *Cuclu* (Kyklops)[307]. Certainly, Polyphemus' presence in the Netherworld is striking and his connection to this landcape or the *Nekyia* is still open; however, Weber-Lehman's interpretation is quite convincing[308]. The problem is that the figure of Odysseus himself is hardly visible on the wall now[309] (right side of the entrance wall), if at all (all we can see are ambiguous remnants), and the interpretation cannot be proved with certainty. At all

[305] Krauskopf (2006) 12-13.

[306] A very detailed description of the tomb and the history of scholarship in Weber-Lehmann (1995) 72-100, pl. 21-24.

[307] According to Weber-Lehman's (1995: 84-5) explanation, the Etruscans didn't know Polyphemos' name (which even in Homer was probably introduced only to differentiate him from the other *kyklopes*; they are the ones who address him in that way: *Od*. 2.403; see also *Od*. 2.347, 364, 475, where Odysseus addresses Polyphemos as *kyklops*) and this is why they inscribed him just *Cuclu* (the name, however, derived from Greek as well). Despite this, the representation of Polyphemos' blinding in the tomb seems to be closer to the Homeric description than examples from Greek art.

[308] Weber-Lehman (1995) 86. She pointed out that all the scenes represented on the walls of the tomb are connected in a broad sense with Odysseus' *Nekyia*, even if some details differ slightly: to her the cave of Polyphemos depicted in the tomb may embody the tomb itself. It is hard to believe at all events that Polyphemos is supposed to be a dweller in the Underworld (the only mention of this can be seen in Eur. *Cyc*. 397: Ἄιδου μαγείρος); she sees him as an element which embodies the reason for Odysseus' journey to Hades, and regarding his symbolic connections (also in the structure of Odyssey), this is not so extraordinary. Weege (1921: 28) also saw him as a probable element of that world, but interpreted him as monstrosity incarnate; van Essen (1930: 305), on the basis of Ov. *Met*. 14.202, treated him as a symbol of death.

[309] Apart from him, to the right of the entrance to the tomb there are remnants of two figures (Perimedes and Eurylochos?, *Od*. 11.23) and a black/grey animal (male), which was interpreted by Torelli (1983: 13) as Kerberos led by Herakles (similarly to the Apulian vase representations), and by Messerschmidt (1930: 87) as Kerberos of the entrance to Tartaros to which a woman is led by Vanth. Weber-Lehman in these remnants of figures sees a black ram (or an ox: a sacrifice of an ox in Odysseus' *Nekyia* is rarely represented in art, but it exists on the sarcophagus from Torre San Severo; see below) led by Odysseus and his comrades for sacrifice. Judging from the position of the hand on the animal, it is rather probable that it is a sacrificial animal and not Kerberos, who is usually led on a chain (Cristofani 1988: 198); what is more, the vestment of the figure resembles a regal coat from the Apulian representations (Weber-Lehman 1995: 90-1), and the colour of the skin is red so it excludes a female figure – therefore, Odysseus' *Nekyia* is more than probable.

events, the scenes represented in the painting take place in the Underworld, as is testified by more common, well known elements from Homer's description[310]. The front wall, visible from the entrance to the tomb, presents the Lord of the Dead himself, accompanied by Persephone. Quite surprisingly, they are not enthroned in their palace, contrary to our expectations arising from the Apulian representations, but in a cave. What is more, Hades (inscribed *Aita*) is enthroned on a rock, wearing a wolf-cap[311] again; in his raised left hand he is holding a black snake and he is stretching forward his right hand towards Geryon[312]. He looks as if he were going to throw a snake at the latter, who is standing in front of him[313]. Near Hades, in the depth of the cave, Persephone is standing, resting her left hand lightly on the lap of the nethergod, her hair tied behind into a *krobylos*, which is held by a diadem of snakes. Both of them are looking left at Geryon, who turns to depart, but is casting a look at the Underground rulers and seems to be listening to what Hades is saying. The scene is quite complicated in interpretation, as we have no mythical reference to a possible conversation between Hades and Geryon; on the other hand, it seems implausible that the Etruscans made him a slave or servant of the nethergod. In this tomb too, as in the Golini Tomb, there is probably a scene of a banquet in the Underworld; for we see the remnants of *klinai* and

[310] We see personages present in the 11th song of the *Odyssey* at Odysseus' *Nekyia* (if not talking personally to Odysseus, then at least mentioned in the stories of the interviewed shades): Teiresias, Aias, Agamemnon, Sisyphos, Teseus and, perhaps, Perithoos. There are also monsters depicted, either Etruscan (Tuchulcha, Vanth) or Greek: Hydra, Geryon with, probably, Orthos. Contrary to appearances, the latter three are not accidentally incorporated in the story, nor are they an Etruscan invention: Hydra and Geryon possibly do not come from the Homeric song, but they appear in Vergil's vision of the Underworld (*Aen*. 6. 281, 289): see Helbig (1870: 26), Weber-Lehmann (1995: 96). Most probably, there existed a source after which Homer, the Etruscan painters and Vergil patterned their conception of the Underworld landscape.

[311] Weber-Lehmann (1995: 80) interprets it as a lion-cap, but it seems highly improbable, as there is nothing in the representation which could suggest a lion.

[312] Krauskopf (LIMC IV 1: 395.6) interprets the gesture of H's stretched right hand as a commanding gesture. On the other hand, it could equally be a gesture of conversation, as it is often interpreted on Apulian representations. Steingräber (1985: 330) concludes that it is highly probable that the scene taking place in Hades might have been influenced (at least in part) by a Greek or South Italian model of the Nekyia.

[313] Weber-Lehmann (1995: 95) pointed out that this gesture (as well as H's clothes) resembles Zeus' throwing of lightning.

kylikeion on the wall perpendicular to the one with the scene with Hades and Persephone. Furthermore, a winged youth, interpreted by Weber-Lehmann as Eros[314], with an *alabastron*, may indicate that the banquet (as on many Etruscan tomb paintings) has wedding/erotic connotations.

The wolf/dog-cap is probably the most recognisable attribute of Hades in Etruscan art, as it appears in representations of him very often and in the earliest examples. We find it even on coins from Populonia[315] and Vetulonia[316] from *ca*. the 4th c. BC: he appears there as a profile bust with a wolf-cap; on the reverse there occurs a donkey and a plant difficult to identify. A similar representation of Hades can also be found on the red-figure *oinochoe* from Cerveteri (4th c. BC; fig. 94)[317], where we see busts of Hades in his wolf-cap and Persephone looking at each other. Busts of Hades in a wolf-cap together with Persephone appear also on a stucco-relief in the Tomba dei Rilievi in Cerveteri (4th c. BC)[318], separately on the pillars on each side of the main funeral niche. We can also find many representations of him with a wolf-cap as a young man (without a beard), but all of these testimonies come from later times, mainly from the 3rd and 2nd c. BC[319]. Very interesting is also a sarcophagus from Torre San Severo[320] (Orvieto; fig. 95), dated around 300 BC, showing the slaughter of Trojans by Achilles in front of a tomb, in the presence of Hades and Persephone, the ghost of Patroklos and female demons[321]. Hades appears here bearded, half-naked, in a wolf-cap, holding a sceptre

[314] Weber-Lehmann (1995) 99.
[315] Defosse(1972) pl. VII, 1. LIMC IV 1: 21.
[316] Defosse (1972) pl. VII, 2.
[317] Paris, Louvre K 471. Defosse (1972) pl. LIMC IV, 2: 227.11.
[318] LIMC IV, 1: 396.12.
[319] Defosse (1972) 496. LIMC IV, 1: 397.22-25.
[320] Van der Meer (2004) 29-33, *H73*; Krauskopf (1987) 64. LIMC IV, 1: 396.10. Cagiano de Azevedo (1970) pl. 3-4; the best picture of the sarkophagus in Messerschmidt (1930) 67, fig. 3.
[321] Other sides of the sarcophagus present the slaughter of Polyxena by Neoptolemos in the presence of the ghost of his father, Achilles, again in front of the tomb; Odysseus with Kirke and his companions partly transformed into beasts; Odysseus' Nekyia (sacrifice); the *tympana* present the head of Acheloos

with a snake wound around its end. Behind him Persephone is standing with a snake diadem.

There arises a question whether the wolf-cap worn by Hades in the tomb paintings is connected with the *κυνέη*, the mythical helmet made of dog-skin, which was believed by the Greeks to belong to Hades[322] and to render the wearer invisible. This identification seems more likely in the light of the fact that scholars find it difficult to decide whether this cap is a dog or a wolf cap[323]. It is not without a certain importance that the wolf is a species within the genus of the dogs (*canis lupus*) and might have been perceived as such also by the ancients. In fact, there is no reasonable argument which could help in understanding the connection between the wolf/dog and Hades[324]. For some reason this animal was connected with the Underworld[325] by the Etruscans. We have a bronze statuette of a wolf/dog from Crotona with a votive inscription on it: *ś:calustla* (TLE^2 642). The inscription can be read in two ways: 1) "[it] is a gift for Calu"[326]; 2) "[it] belongs to Calu/is in the realm of Calu"[327]. The interpretation of this

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flanked by two male naked demons (on one side bearded) holding snakes: van der Meer (2004) 30-1, figs. 7-8.

[322] *Il*. 5.845, cf. Hes. *Sc*. 227, Ar. *Ach*. 390, Pl. *Resp*. 612b. See also Krauskopf (1987): 61-7; Richardson (1977): 95, n. 29.

[323] The inscription on a phiale from the Belvedere temple in Orvieto (TLE^2 270): *tinia calusna* ("to Zeus of the Underworld"); the inscription on the lead tablet from Magliano (TLE^2 359b): *calusc malaχ θanras* ("an offering for Thanr and Calu"; in plural form **calusur* can be seen in the following inscription from Musarna (TLE^2 172): *avils LX lupuce munisvleθ calusurasi* ("at the age of 60 he went alone to the Underworld", and from Tarquinia (TLE^2 99): *calusim lupu me(i)ani munnicleθ* ("he went to the Underworld in due time"). Pfiffig (1975: 320) thinks that it is reasonable to understand Calu as a counterpart of Aita and Thanr – of Persephone.

[324] Some scholars have pointed out that the wolf's eye seems to be looking at the viewer and the appearance of H thus becomes more intense and frightening: see Weber-Lehman (1995) 95, n. 104-105.

[325] We can easily find the motif of dog sight in the dreadful goddesses Keres/Erinyes, who are hound-eyed (*κυνώπιδες θεαί*: Eur. El. 1252-5) or even called hounds (Eur. *El*. 1342-6) and belong to the Underworld as well. The connection of wolves with death can be explained also in a very simple way when we take into consideration the fact that the Etruscans were not a pastoral civilisation *sensu stricto*; they lived from trade or hunting rather than from husbandry. The areas in which they lived (especially in northern Italy) were very densely forested and since there were no cattle or sheep to hunt for, wolves might have attacked people, as is indicated by the bronze finds from the Regolini-Galasi Tomb in Cerveteri (Necropoli di Sorbo). Therefore, it is not surprising that wolves can connote a violent and unexpected death and the association between them arose probably in times immemorial.

[326] Pfiffig (1975) 320.

and other inscriptions leads to the conclusion that Calu had been the original Etruscan name of the native underworld deity/power or/and had indicated the place, as in the case of Greek Hades[328]. In the process of absorbing Greek culture it might have been transformed into/interpreted as Greek Hades (*Aita*). What is more, Calu appears on the sarcophagi as a half-man half-wolf or just as a wolf[329]. It is not easy to judge whether Calu as, say, an incarnation of Aita can be treated as his cultic name or not; we have no evidence for Aita's cult in fact and this would explain it somehow. On the other hand, the Greek god of the Underworld never occurs in animal form in ancient art and Calu may be simply a daemon of, for instance, violent death[330] who preserved the indigenous features of the Etruscan god.

Our attention is attracted by the general Etruscan approach to death and the detailed representations of underworld scenery, especially by the paintings depicting the ways to the Underworld, the moment of arriving there as well as the whole repertoire of various Etruscan underworld deities with the nethergod among them. It is odd that the myth of the abduction of Persephone is not explored by Etruscan art at all, contrary to the rest of Italy, where a vivid interest in it can be observed, as shown above (*e.g*., Locri, Apulia). Only one vase, a red-figure *stamnos* from Vulci (*ca*. 2nd quarter of the 4th BC; fig. 96)[331] seems to relate to this subject. We can see there the nethergod bearded (from his hair above the forehead stick out two snakes, which seem to be hissing) with Persephone in a chariot, in front of which the upper part of Hermes is visible, as if he was emerging from the ground underneath and was looking at the departing or approaching chariot. It is disputable, however, what exactly the painting presents: whether the subject is the

[327] Defosse (1972) 499.
[328] Pfiffig (1975) 319-20; Simon (1985) 155.
[329] LIMC IV, 1: 397-8.26-8. Detailed analysis in Defosse (1972) 490-99.
[330] Defosse (1972) 499.
[331] Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano 14963. LIMC IV 2.225: 1.

abduction of Persephone or rather her peaceful annual return[332]. There exists another possibility as well: they may be driving to 'greet a new guest', as on many other vases.

We find this subject on two red-figure neck-amphorae from Orvieto (4th c. BC; fig. 97)[333] repeating each other with some variations. The figural representations on the vases show an aged man, fully dressed, conducted by two Charu(n)s over ground infested by snakes. From the opposite side Persephone with a sceptre ending with a pomegranate appears in a chariot drawn by a pair of creatures with heads and necks of crested snakes and with legs of a bird of prey. Behind her we see the nethergod, half-naked and wreathed, with a sceptre ending in a thyrsus-like way; he is about to mount the chariot, followed by a goddess holding a scroll inscribed with her name (*Vanth*)[334]; under the handle Kerberos is sitting. Worth noticing is the fact that, given the picture's essence (consisting in the presence of daemons, bird- and snake-like monsters), it should be shrouded in death and fear, but it is not; in fact, Charu(n)s are physically terrifying, but friendly, and the nethergod himself appears to be greeting his new guest.

Similar representations can be found on the red-figure volute-krater from Orvieto (4th c. BC; fig. 98)[335]. The half-naked, wreathed nethergod occurs with a pomegranate-ended sceptre with a snake wound around it, stretched forward; he is standing in a chariot followed by Vanth and escorted by Charu(n) with a hammer. The whole procession is approaching the dead figure: an elderly man with bald head, lying in a mule-cart, which is perhaps arriving in the Underworld.

[332] Beazley (1947) 47, del Chiaro (1970) 292-4, pl. 73.1.
[333] Mus. Faina, Orvieto 19 and 21 (2645, 2647 respectively), LIMC IV 2: 227.9; Beazley (1947) 170.4, 5. Krauskopf (1987) pl. 11.b.
[334] Etruscan goddess or daemoness of death; the scroll she often holds in the figural representations is meant to contain the record of the dead: his deeds, offices he has held and his pedigree.
[335] Orvieto, Mus. Faina 20 (2646). LIMC IV 2: 228.14. Beazley (1947) 169.1

Quite different, not free from difficulties in interpretation either, is a representation of the nethergod on a red-figure hydria from Vulci (4th c. BC; fig. 99)[336]. We can see there a boy painting/decorating a tomb and behind his back a half-naked Hades[337] occurs in a chariot; however, we cannot say whether the scenes interact within one space of meaning and the god is going to carry the nude youth off or the contrary: Hades' presence is evoked by the tomb as a symbolic 'entrance' to the Underworld. On the shorter side of the sarcophagus from Tarquinia (4th c. BC)[338] we see a kind of door, perhaps to the Netherworld, in the background of a scene representing the nethergod bearded, enthroned on a rock, before whom Hermes-Turms is leaning; next to Hermes a woman is waiting, probably the deceased to whom the monument belongs. The gesture of leaning can be compared to the gesture of holding by the chin, represented on the handle of a bronze vessel from Spina (4th c. BC)[339] and signifying obedience. The nethergod wreathed, with snakes in his hair[340], and Hermes-Turms are sitting next to each other and Hermes is holding his chin; the reverse of the handle represents Tinia (Zeus) and Hermes in the same arrangement. The stress in this scene is probably put on Hermes belonging not so much to both the upper and the lower world, as to the way between them. Of course, it may also indicate that Tinia and Aita in Etruscan beliefs are of equal importance.

[336] *LIMC* IV, 1: 397.19. Haynes (2000) 320, fig. 255. Beazley (1947) 47.2.
[337] This is probably the most plausible identification, see Beazley (1947) 47. We should also pay attention to one of the Tarantine reliefs (see section I 3.3) presenting (similarly to the vase) a chariot of Hades/Plouton next to the grave.
[338] Mus. Arch. Firenze 5882, LIMC IV, 1: 396-7.15. Krauskopf (2006) 52, n. 153.
[339] Ferrara, Museo Nazionale 12127. Krauskopf 45-47, 55-59, Pl. VIII, a.b. *LIMC* IV, 1: 396.13.
[340] Krauskopf (2006: 46 and n. 129) pointed out that his hairstyle strongly resembles the snake-wreath of Gorgo in the 6th or 5th BC.

3.5.1 Summarising remarks

It seems that Etruscan representations of the nethergod pay much more attention to his characteristics as an underworld ruler than to his other aspects, such as fertility, or his being an earth-deity. It is easy to see that he is somehow bound to the dead, although it is hard to find any eschatological meaning in his representations, apart from the banquets in the Netherworld. Sometimes one can have an impression that the underworld deities and daemons serve as necessary complements of the funeral scenery – a deeper level of the visible world stimulated by imagination. What is more, fearsome characters appear only on the way to the realm of the dead and stay in fact between the worlds. This seems to be the only plausible explanation for depicting such emotionally different scenes as blue (dead?) monsters with fright-evoking faces and with legs of birds of prey beside a beautiful funeral feast (the scenes exist next to each other, but the daemons never join the banqueters, in contrast to Aita and Persephone). It is tempting to assume that this differentiation between the way to it and the Underworld itself reflects an actual attitude towards death: fear belonged to the moment of transition, great joy awaited beyond.

The main attributes of the nethergod represented in Etruscan art may confirm his belonging to the lower world: the snakes, the wolf-cap and the sceptre with a pomegranate/snake ending. Here he is always enthroned on a rock, similarly to representations on votive reliefs, and contrary to, for instance, Apulian vase painting or the Locrian pinakes, where he is seated on a throne. The landscape and attributes may indicate a strong position of this deity as ruler of the underground part of the world and at the same time limit his role to that world alone. The same happens in the case of

Persephone: she appears together with him in the same scenery and nothing brings to mind, for instance, the myth of abduction. The role of Persephone in Etruscan representations is in fact limited to that of wife of the nethergod; her aspects such as vegetation deity or Demeter's daughter are not perceptible at all[341].

Through the Etruscan image of the afterlife we see an adaptation of vivid Greek themes and schemata of representation, supplemented by original Etruscan elements and views. It seems that the transformation of the Etruscan conception of the Underworld began by absorbing Greek myths: the most distinctive details are clearly Greek. It should be pointed out that these representations in art are even more faithful to the general picture of the nethergod in a broadly understood 'Greek tradition' than the Greek ones are[342]. Representations of the nethergod are on the one hand connected with the Homeric description and the heroes of the Trojan war; on the other, they are linked very strongly simply with the dead.

4. General conclusions

The analysis of so many various examples of contexts in which the nethergod is represented shows that it is not difficult to imagine how he appeared in ancient eyes, although the ancients tell us almost nothing in words about the image of the Lord of the Underworld. At first sight it may seem that he did not develop any characteristic type of representation. Certain elements of his portrayal (such as, for instance, the

[341] It is also hard to say if Persephone had a direct Etruscan counterpart: Krauskopf (2006) 68; for similarities to Thanr: Pfiffig (1975) 319.
[342] Cf. Weber-Lehmann (1995) 84-85.

landscape/architectural context) are sometimes presented in an unusual, unexpected way, but their very presence is meaningful and should not be overlooked; the differences lie in detail and they belong perhaps to the local manner of representation or some characteristic local emphasis or conception, such as (for instance) the so-called palace scenes: in Attic pottery these are signalised only by a column (whereas in Apulian vase-painting elaborate and richly decorated palaces or temples as well as their *pars pro toto* are standard). Sometimes the stress is placed on different things/aspects, as in the case of the abduction of Kerberos: on Attic pottery the nethergod is a subsidiary figure determined by the underworld scenery; primarily we are being shown Herakles' heroic deeds, which do not shed any light on either belief or disbelief. By contrast, it is the motif of the abduction of Kerberos that appears as subsidiary and in a different context on Apulian vases. It is not without reason that such elements changed their place. The scenes were meant to present different things, but they certainly were not simply pictures from literature. We do not, though, find as strong a thematic variety as may appear at first sight between the Greek and the Italian representations.

The myths which we are able to identify on the vases occasionally differ from those known from the literary sources: it is hard to decide whether the stress was differently placed or we are dealing with a different version of one myth. The painters do not care even about the fact that in myth the nethergod leaves his realm only twice: when he abducts Kore and when he is wounded by Herakles (we may add a third case if we include the division of power over the Earth and a fourth when he helps the gods in the *gigantomachia*), whereas the vases regularly show us the banquet of the gods with him as a main figure of the scene. Either their authors ignore the traditional myths and give free rein to their imagination, or they have some really valuable new elements of these

myths to show us. We may speculate about the content, as in the case of the red-figure cup from Vulci[343], where we see Plouton with Persephone on a *kline* in a central position at the banquet of gods. The scene seems to refer to the marriage between the underworld gods, but the real meaning of such scenes will probably remain beyond our perception.

The myth of the so-called abduction of Persephone is the most interesting. It emerges that in Greek art there are no unambiguous traces of a violent abduction which would correspond to any of the myth's versions known to us[344]. To some extent violence may be seen in the abduction scenes on the Tarantine *naiskoi*, Apulian vases and Locrian *pinakes*, through Kore/Persephone's stretched arms or a *kalathos* lying upside down. But in most cases, even if we assume that the scene presents the act of abduction and not, say, the annual return of Persephone to the underworld (which in many cases seems to be more plausible), we do not have the impression that anything happened against Persephone's will. What is more, for some reason the motif of the so-called abduction of Persephone also appears in tomb paintings (even in post-classical times)[345] and in the *tympana* of Tarantine *naiskoi* marking tombs. Nevertheless, in the light of the evidence (or rather of its absence) it is hard to decide whether the abduction is a symbol of death as something sudden, unexpected, unwanted, but at the same time planned or destined, or just a sign generically associated with death.

On one of the Tarantine reliefs the nethergod is depicted as if he was lurking near the tomb; in this case, as in the analogical representation on an Etruscan vase, his presence seems to be somehow evoked by the tomb, as though it were the meeting-place of the

[343] BA 217212; Immerwahr (1990): 114.787.
[344] Hes. *Th*. 912f, Paus. 1.38.5, 2.35.7, 6.21.1, 9.31.8, Bacch. *fr*. 47, Diod. 5.2.3-5.5.1.
[345] Tinkoff-Utechin (1979) 13-26, pl. I-III.

two worlds, the boundary between them. This enhances his role as the ruler of the Underworld rather than as the bestower of goods in abundance, but, of course, it does not exclude the latter. His figure seems as if balancing between life and death, constituting them as existing in a natural cause-and-effect relationship, but with a strong emphasis on the "death" part. His presence on vases with Eleusinian themes could be understood in this way as well; this aspect of his representations is also not surprising given that he was worshipped with Demeter and Kore.

His agrarian and fertile aspect is certainly highlighted by the cornucopia, which appears in Greek art for the first time as his attribute; this may indicate that representations of Hades/Plouton had a strong impact on the general appearance of other chthonic deities rather than the other way round. What is more, the cornucopia also occurs as his attribute in underworld scenery on one Apulian vase[346] and, although the cornucopia does not clearly appear in an underworld context on Attic or Etruscan pottery[347], it shows again that these two aspects of his figure were linked[348]. It seems that for the Greeks he must have evoked some positive (even if only in the sense of being human) connotations, which is especially emphasised by, perhaps intentionally euphemistic, representations of him as "kindly", majestic or even melancholic. Only Pausanias' remark (1.28.6) that the *agalma* of Plouton does not inspire awe by its appearance indicates that fear was somehow connected with him: that there existed (or at least should have) some terrifying representations of him.

[346] Ciancio (1997) T21, figs. 144-145.
[347] However, in the case of Attic pottery, because many representations of Hades/Plouton with cornucopia have no precise indication of the scenery, we can assume that some of them too are set in the underworld.
[348] This representation can also confirm that we are dealing with Hades/Plouton as one god, as he is never inscribed Plouton on Apulian pottery, even if depicted with cornucopia.

Moreover, he is not anonymous in Greek art. On Attic vases he is inscribed as Hades once, as Plouton twice, once as Ploutodotes and once as *Theos*; on Apulian pottery we find him only twice named Hades and never Plouton. The fact that in the representations where he is accompanied by the same deities he is once called Hades and the other time Plouton (and that on both Apulian and Attic pottery Persephone is always inscribed as Pherephatta, whether in the company of Hades or Plouton) leaves no doubt that we are dealing with the same god referred to by different names[349].

Judging from the preserved testimonies, such as vases, *agalmata*, reliefs, which appear over several centuries, we can safely assume that the nethergod was of some importance as a subject in Greek art. The fact that all these representations come from places so different may indicate that not many of them have been preserved[350] (or they still wait to be discovered) rather than that the theme hardly occurs in ancient art. It is true that many representations of him stem from imagination rather than cult, but we cannot forget that just a thin line separates belief and imagination.

[349] For names of the nethergod see part III.
[350] Perhaps 1-3% in the case of vases (I owe this statistic to Dr Thomas Mannack).

II

Portrayal of the nethergod in written sources

The analysis of many various contexts in which Hades/Plouton is represented in ancient art proves that the lord of the dead was indeed, contrary to the scholarly *communis opinio*, of some specific interest to ancient sculptors and painters and that his persona might have had some influence on the development of representation of other 'chthonic' deities, not exclusively in art. Furthermore, his presence in art does not make the impression that he was only a decorative element, occasionally evoked by the scenery depicted, but rather a fully shaped figure with distinct features. Last but not least, it proves that Hades and Plouton were regarded as one and the same nether deity. It is, thus, important to turn our attention to the written testimonies and check whether some threads detectable in art may be followed and offer guidance also here in identifying certain motifs which are developed, alluded to or ignored.

We should examine the myths and contexts in which the lord of the Underworld occurs in literature and epigraphic testimonies to be able to decide whether here too we are dealing with one god or several separate divine beings, constructs which emerged through the development of religious perception or imagination. Furthermore, we should analyse the elements on which the emphasis is put in literary descriptions, which may allow us to grasp the specific aspect of the figure of Hades/Plouton concealed, forgotten or even lost somewhere among modern stereotypical approaches or

classifications. Another question concerns the roles ascribed to the god, his general place in the Greek pantheon with the interrelations he is involved in, and his importance (if at all) for the living.

I shall also ask to what extent the literary portrayal (essentially anthropomorphic?) of the nethergod may serve as a satisfactory reflection of the religious notions of the time, and to what extent we are entitled to talk about the god's presence in Greek beliefs at all. It is important to analyse the names and epithets of the lord of the dead and consider whether they belong to a specific context, which may shed some light on specific cultic features, or whether their occurrence was determined by literary tradition.

All the above should allow us to grasp the probable nature of this divine being and see how the factors determining his shape confirm or refute Socrates' statement that 'people are unduly afraid of Hades' (Plat. *Crat.* 403a-404b).

1. Mythological perspective/ account

The god of the Underworld[1] has no myth of his own in the sense of being the main protagonist of a story; some dim traces of such a role may be seen in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* as not only is he an acting figure there, but also for the first time in ancient literature we hear his voice (l. 360-9)[2]. The importance of this fact is even greater if we realise that the god is not only 'told' to us, but he takes part in this telling independently

[1] I speak of 'the god of the underworld'/'the nethergod' when the precise name used is not relevant to the discussion. When the choice of a specific name is particularly relevant, I note it in brackets.
[2] He probably speaks once again only in Aristophanes' *Frogs* (ll. 1414, 1467, 1479-80, 1500-1513/4, 1524-7)

(to the extent, of course, to which we are theoretically entitled to talk about the independence of protagonists) through direct speech. Even if his words remain within a purely narrational situation, they are not without significance: they are spoken in a marital bed (ἐν λεχέεσσι: l. 343) and are directed at Persephone – he never speaks to the dead or to the other gods, which might be expected. Even if the narrational situation allows for the introduction of direct speech, as in the case of the abduction of Kerberos, it never occurs, but the god's words/orders are reported by the narrator himself: they are, as it were, ascribed to him, and not performed. No other deity appears so taciturn.

There are only a few other mythical stories where he flashes by and, in fact, representations in art show us the plots in much more detail than literary testimonies. The events in which his presence is marked, apart from the abduction of Kore/Persephone, are connected with the theogony[3], the succession myth[4] and the abduction of Kerberos[5]. Even if there existed some other stories, which might shed light on his vague personality, they bleached in time and memory and we shall probably never retrieve them.[6]

[3] *Il*. 15.187-9, Hes. *Th*. 453-7, Apollod. 1.4.5 (referred as Plouton).
[4] *Il*. 15.187-193, Hes. *Th*. 881-5, Plat. *Grg*. 523a (referred to as Plouton).
[5] *Il*. 8. 367-9, *Od*. 11.623-5, Stesich. 206 (*PMG*), Pind. *fr*. 249a/256? (Snell-Maehler), Bacchyl. 5.56-70, Ar. *Ran*. 468, Callim. *fr*. 515 (Pfeiffer), Euph. *fr*. 121 (Page), Apollod. 2. 122-126 (referred to as Plouton, Hades appears as a place).
[6] Here should be mentioned especially the myths of the *katabaseis* of Dionysos, Theseus with Peirithoos, Orpheus and Amphiaraos, or the tales of those who were given permission to leave the realm of the dead (Sisyphos, Protesilaos and Eurydike), in which he might have appeared as well (perhaps appearing as compassionate, as he is indeed depicted in Apulian pottery quite often: see section I 3.1), but because of the fragmentary preservation of testimonies about them we are unable to reconstruct the plots in greater detail.

1.1 Abduction of Kerberos

The abduction of Kerberos, the second most exploited in Greek vase painting (after the Eleusinian circle) among motifs involving Hades/Plouton, is also mentioned several times in literature, usually by Herakles himself. The story, attested for the first time by Homer in the *Iliad* (8.367-9), can be partly reconstructed from the episodes referred to by ancient authors, but, apart from the general reason for which Herakles was bound to enter the realm of the dead (known to us as his 12th labour commanded by the Delphic Oracle to be performed for Eurystheus, king of Mycenae, as penance for killing his own children[7]), we cannot reconstruct in detail the picture of what happened in the lower world[8]. The known passages quite neutrally point out that Herakles took the monstrous dog away without any problem. The absence of fight[9] in all these transmitted versions of the story, however, seems quite odd when we take into consideration the aggressive words of Aeacus in *Frogs* (468f) expressing the unpleasant feelings remaining after the abduction of Kerberos as well as other encounters of the lord of the dead with Herakles,

[7] Apollod. 2.4.12; cf. Eur. *HF* 17-21 for a different motive: Apollodoros' version is probably older, see Gantz (1993) 382.

[8] For the representation of this event in vase painting, see above I 2.2. Euripides (*HF* 606-614) tells us that when carrying off Kerberos, Herakles also brought back Theseus (619) and was initiated into holy mysteries (613: *τὰ μυστῶν δ' ὄργι' εὐτύχησ' ἰδών*). The latter may be confirmed by a fragmentary text (Kerényi [1967: 83] suggested that it is a fragment of a speech) on a papyrus dated to the 2nd c. CE (Vogliano 1937: 176-7), in which Herakles explains why he did not need to be initiated in the Eleusinian Mysteries (because he had already been initiated in the Underworld). On the other hand, according to Apollodoros (2.5.12) and Diodorus Siculus (4.25.1), he was initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries in preparation for his descent to the Underworld: see Barlow *ad loc*. The Greek of the earliest testimony (Eur. *ad loc.*) is not decisive as to whether Herakles was initiated before descending to the Underworld, as Diodorus and Apollodoros claimed, or during his visit, as in the papyrus testimony. Very interesting and plausible seems to be Parker's interpretation (1996: 98-100), according to which he was initiated before the abduction in order to gain Persephone's favour and this might have been why he received Kerberos peacefully rather than seized him by force, which is confirmed by vase-painting representations of the myth; an allusion to Herakles' initiation before entering the realm of the dead may be seen in a fragment of *Peirithoos* by Euripides or Critias (fr. 2 Snell-Kanicht): *ἵνα πλημοχόας τάσδ' εἰς χθόνιον | χάσμ' εὐφήμως προχέωμεν*. However, we hear from Euripides that he obtained the dog by force and not from the goddess herself. On the other hand, it is very interesting that, according to Herakles' father (Eur. *ad loc.*), Persephone is the ruler in whose power it is to give him Kerberos, which may be an allusion to the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, where the power of ruling is given to Persephone by Hades as a marriage gift (even if Hades/Plouton is still present in the tragedy as the main ruler in the realm).

[9] *À propos* the two representations in vase painting (one lost, unfortunately) which indicate that a fight might have happened then, see section I 2.2.

especially the one from a curious story told by Dione (*Il*. 5.395-402). According to her words, Hades was wounded at Pylos among the dead (ἐν Πύλῳ ἐν νεκύεσσι) by the hero's arrow, which was driven into his shoulder (ὀϊστὸς ὤμῳ ἔνι στιβαρῷ ἠλήλατο) and distressed his spirit (κῆδε δὲ θυμόν); he was forced to go to Olympus to be cured by Apollon. What is interesting is that the emphasis is put on Hades' physical suffering – he is pierced with pains (ὀδύνῃσι πεπαρμένος), grieving in his heart (κῆρ ἀχέων) – but also on his immortality, marked out by the generalisation in the last line: οὐ μὲν γάρ τι καταθνητός γε τέτυκτο. The battle at Pylos ἐν νεκύεσσι might have been a part of a well-known mythological event: Heracles' sack of Elis. Hades, who was worshipped at Pylos in Elis, stood for the Eleans against the hero; we are told by Pausanias (6.25.2-3) that out of gratitude for Hades' help the Eleans built a temple for the god, probably in the Elean agora.[10]

1.2 Theogony and the succession myth

The sons of Kronos were three, as we learn from Hesiod (*Th*. 453-7), and born in the following order: Hades[11], Poseidon and Zeus, and the periphrastic term Κρόνου υἱός,

[10] For detailed discussion see Sekita (forthcoming); for Hades' cult in Elis see section IV 1.

[11] Hades, according to Hesiod, was born as the fourth (first male) child of Kronos and Rhea; Apollodoros (1.4.6) confirms that; Homer (*Il*. 15.187-9) is the only source who presents a different order: Zeus, Poseidon and Hades, but this may be treated as *licentia poetica*. On the other hand, not only do Hades and Zeus exchange places in Homer and Hesiod, but this happens analogically also to Hestia and Hera: in Homer Hera is the oldest goddess born to Rhea (cf. *Il*. 4.59) and Hestia must have appeared as the youngest (even if Homer in fact never mentions her at all; perhaps this is because she was not a clearly established deity to him and so close to Hera that the conflation was a natural consequence – cf. *HAph*. mentioned below), whereas in Hesiod it is the other way round. Even if it has to remain in the sphere of speculation, the similarities or, better, the axis of symmetry between Hera and Hestia is visible in the same way as in the case of Zeus and Hades (on the conflation of the latter pair see section III 4.4); it is subtly highlighted in the Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite* (21-32), where Hestia is called the first- and last-born child of Kronos. It is possible that 'last-born' may allude to Kronos' vomiting, but there is no reason to think that the god also swallowed his female descendants (cf. *Il*. 14.295-6 and Gantz's interpretation of

although most frequently used for Zeus, is applied to all of them in literary sources[12]; some epithets of Hades confirm his belonging to this generation and family of gods: πατροκασίγνητος, αὐτοκασίγνητος, ὁμόσπορος (*HDem*. 31, 80, 85, 364). As a result of the division of rule over the world among the three brothers (*Il*. 15.187-193)[13], Hades obtained the realms of gloom as his share (ζόφον ἠερόεντα), but the misty darkness is not his exclusive allotment, as in his words Poseidon highlighted that the earth and Olympos are a domain ruled by all three (γαῖα δ' ἔτι ξυνὴ πάντων καὶ μακρὸς Ὄλυμπος).

The last verse of Poseidon's speech about the allotment might seem puzzling. First of all, only from the *Iliad* do we learn that all three brothers have a share in the Earth and Olympos (where the abode of Zeus is usually situated)[14]; secondly, the phrase seems to contradict what was said earlier in the passage: that they divided everything among themselves. They divided in fact only what was, as it were, possible to divide[15]; earth and Olympos had necessarily to remain common.

The equal division is confirmed by Poseidon's enumeration of facts which were to support his right to active participation in the Trojan war; and even if his speech is in a tone of exaggeration originating in anger, his argument directs our attention to the three most important things: cult, origin and sphere of activity. According to Poseidon's words, they are ὁμότιμοι (which may indicate that they are equally important, powerful

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these verses – 1993: 57). What is more, Hera as a protector of marriage and *oikos* seems to share a lot with Hestia (who in fact is mythologically almost unnoticeable).

[12] Hes. *Th*. 660 (Zeus), *Il*. 13.345 (Zeus and Poseidon), *HDem*. 18, 32 (Hades).

[13] Hes. *Th*. 881-5, *HDem*. 85-7 (referred as Aidoneus: see section III 4.1.1), Plat. *Grg*. 523a (referred to as Plouton: see section III 4.2), *SH* 990 (referred as Agesilas: see section III 4.6), *HOrph.* 18.6 (referred to as Plouton); according to Σ Apoll. Rhod. 1.308, the allotment took place in Klaros: for Sikyon see Her. *Hom*. *All*. 41.5 (and West's note to *Th*. 536 for Mekone as an old name of Sikyon).

[14] Cf. Hes. *Th*. 884.

[15] See Janko *ad. loc*.

or worshipped), they drew (ἔλαχε) lots[16] (which highlights a just division); as there is not one highest ruler, they settled by this division their main domains in an egalitarian, classically fraternal, fashion[17], while their importance on Olympos (rather vague in later tradition) is not subject to change. This does not mean that they must stay there and, apart from Zeus, they apparently do not, but that they have equal rights to do so – this is proved, for instance, by Hades going there after being wounded by Herakles or by his depictions on vases among other gods at gatherings without any proper mythological explanation[18]. Assuming a different point of view, we may seek the explanation also in the fact that Olympos also apparently belongs to earth, which is common (ξυνή) to them: earth is indeed their mother and grandmother and cannot be divided as such; and in this sense everything that belongs to her belongs also to them. And by her they are united not only as rulers, but also in activity; even if their spheres of activity are different, they are directed to and rooted in the earth[19].

It is true that later tradition ascribes to them clearly limited 'kingdoms', but this is only an apparent articulation; in fact, the division of these 'kingdoms' appears to develop dichotomously, with Poseidon left aside[20]. For none of the ancients says anything in

[16] Cf. Plat. *Grg.* 523a; according to Hesiod, the gods after the Titanomachy unanimously chose Zeus to be their king and paid honours (*timai*) to him. It should be noticed that Plato pointed out that the division of power over the world was preceded by the overthrow of Kronos. For the parallels of the division of power over the world by lot in Babylonian tradition see Burkert 1992: 88f (and 90 n. 6) and Gysembergh (2013) 49-64. However, importantly, only the verse about drawing lots has parallels in other traditions. On the division of *timai* see Parker (2011) 84-6.

[17] Cf. Sissa and Detienne (1989) 18-19, 134. The triple division is equal only in appearance – Zeus dominates. Poseidon wants to intervene in the Trojan War, despite Zeus having forbidden this. He tries to do so, with Hera acting as his accomplice, distracting the attention of her husband. But as soon as Zeus awakens from the amorous slumber that has closed his eyes, the audacious Poseidon is forced to give way and bow to a will that brooks no disobedience.

[18] For Herakles' fight with Hades see n. 10; for representations of the gatherings of the gods with Hades see section I 2.3.

[19] For Hades' epithets connected with earth see section III 4.1-3.

[20] Oosten (1985) 29 argues that 'in many cases gods who lost their former importance became gods of the sea' – and he sees Varuna in Indian religion and Thetis, the Titaness who became a Nereid as similar to Poseidon; rivalry between Zeus and Poseidon is very clear in the *Iliad*, where Zeus forces his brother to withdraw from intervention in the Trojan war (*Il.* 15.168-218).

detail about the realm of Poseidon: we learn only about the realms of Zeus and Hades, *i.e.* of the living and the dead[21]; the explanation might be that in some sense people do not tend to furnish a space they will never inhabit (such as the sea); and the Underworld in the Greek conception is a kind of mirror reflection of the world of the living[22]. What is more, due to what happens in the succession myth, Hades obtains, in fact, much more than his brothers and more than could be presumed on the basis of Poseidon's words (although he did not say that they divided the world into equal parts): for sooner or later everything in sky, earth and sea belongs to him or more precisely to his wife, who bound him to the world of the living even more tightly[23].

The unique character of Hades' kingdom is expressed by the fact that his *domata*[24] are in the earth, under the surface, as we learn from the *Iliad* passage where Aidoneus shouts at Poseidon lest he should break up the surface of the earth and show to the whole world what is hidden beneath[25]. It is confirmed also by expressions such as ἔδυν δόμον Ἄϊδος εἴσω (*Il*. 11.263) or Ἀΐδαο δόμους ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης ἔρχεαι (*Il*. 22.482-3)[26]; and visible more explicitly in funerary inscriptions where earth is equated to the Underworld: κείμεθα γῆς ἀφανεῖς[27] because χθὼν/γῆ/γαῖα καλύπτει[28] the dead, or

[21] Note, however, that we do not learn much about the kingdom of Zeus; we hear only that his palace is extremely luxurious, *Od*. 4.71-5: φράζεο, Νεστορίδη, τῷ ἐμῷ κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ, | χαλκοῦ τε στεροπὴν κατὰ δώματα ἠχήεντα | χρυσοῦ τ' ἠλέκτρου τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἠδ' ἐλέφαντος. | Ζηνός που τοιήδε γ' Ὀλυμπίου ἔνδοθεν αὐλή, | ὅσσα τάδ' ἄσπετα πολλά· σέβας μ' ἔχει εἰσορόωντα.
[22] Untill the 5th c. BC the Underworld is only Greek, cf. Vermeule (1979) 29-30.
[23] See section II 1.3.
[24] For the meaning of the name *Hades* as the Underworld see section III 4.1.
[25] *Il*. 20.61-5: ἔδεισεν δ' ὑπένερθεν ἄναξ ἐνέρων Ἀϊδωνεύς,| δείσας δ' ἐκ θρόνου ἅλτο καὶ ἴαχε, μή οἱ ὕπερθε | γαῖαν ἀναρρήξειε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων,| οἰκία δὲ θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι φανείη | σμερδαλέ' εὐρώεντα.
[26] Other examples from the *Iliad* highlighting the downward direction are: κατελθόντ' Ἄϊδος εἴσω (6.284); Ἄϊδος δὲ κατῆλθον (7.330); Ἄϊδος δὲ κάτεισι (20.294); οὗ μ' ἄχος ὀξὺ κατοίσεται Ἄϊδος εἴσω (22.425); cf. Eur. *Heracl*. 592. For other examples, and the formula 'houses of Hades' see section II 2.1.
[27] *CEG* 520.9 (*ca*. 370-360 BC, Attica); for Hades' property of making invisible/annihilating, etc. see section III 4.1. Very interesting also is *CEG* 558 (*ca*. 350? BC, Attica), where we notice a parallel to the lot of Herakles: [*sōma*] ὑπὸ γῆι κεῖται, ψυχὴ δ' ἐν Ὀλύμπωι.
[28] *CEG* 76 (*ca*. 500-480? BC, Attica), 543.8 (*ca*. 350? BC, Attica), 519.2 (*ca*. 375-350? BC, Attica), 539.1 (*ca*. 350? BC, Attica), 551 (*ca*. 350? BC, Attica), 570 (*ca*. 350? BC, Attica), 571 (*ca*. *post* 350? BC,

ἐντὸς γῆ κατέχει[29] the dead. What is more, we hear the earth receives (ὑπεδέξατο) the dead ἔντιμον χθονίοισι θεοῖς,[30] and the connection between the Underworld and earth is explicitly expressed by the phrase: γαῖα δέδεκται πολυδέγμονι δ' ἐστὶ παρ' Ἄιδηι[31]. Quite often there also occur expressions to the effect that the dead are hidden/covered (κεύθω)[32] by earth, but this is not surprising since the Underworld is γαίης ἐν κευθμῶνι (Hes. *Th*. 158)[33]; to say nothing of the fact that some of the inscriptions tell us clearly that ἐκ γαίας βλαστὼν γαῖα πάλιν γέγονα[34]. Even if all these are mainly poetic metaphors, very rarely occurring in prose, the most important fact is that the earth and the Underworld seem to be thought of as co-existing.

As we have seen, the kingdom of the dead and the earth share common features and properties; let us then look at the location of the Underworld itself. The placement of the kingdom of Hades can be inferred from the cosmic order perceptible in the *Iliad* (8.13-16)[35] as situated immediately below the surface of the earth, as might be assumed:

Attica), 593 (*ca*. 346/5-338? BC, Attica), 601 (4th? c. BC, Attica), 611 (4th? c. BC, Attica), 620 (4th? c. BC, Attica), 643 (*ca*. 350-300? BC, Thessaly), 666 (*ca*. 350? BC, Amorgos), 715 (4th/3rd? c. BC, Cyprus).

[29] *CEG* 479, 534 (*ca*. *ante* 350? BC, Attica), 549.1(*ca*. 350? BC, Attica), 580 (*ca*. *post* 350? BC, Attica), 618 (4th? c. BC, Attica), 628 (*ca*. 350? BC, Euboea), 701(4th? c. BC, Knidos).

[30] *CEG* 595 (*ca*. 335/4? BC, Attica), 633 (ὑπὸ κόλπους; 4th/3rd? c. BC, Boeotia); the verb is also frequently used for Hades as he also receives the dead: see sections II 1.4.2.1 and 2.3.

[31] *CEG* 483 (4th? c. BC, Attica).

[32] *CEG* 739 (4th/3rd? c. BC, Taman); *Od*. 3.16 (ὅπου κύθε γαῖα), Aesch. *PV* 570 (ὃν οὐδὲ κατθανόντα γαῖα κεύθει), cf. Eur. *Hec*. 325 (ὧν ἥδε κεύθει σώματ' Ἰδαία κόνις). For Hades' property of hiding/covering and the 'cap' of Hades see section III 4.1. Cf. also *Il*. 23.244 (εἰς ὅ κεν αὐτὸς ἐγὼν Ἄϊδι κεύθωμαι), Soph. *Ant*. 911 (μητρὸς δ' ἐν Ἄιδου καὶ πατρὸς κεκευθότοιν), *Aj*. 635 (Κρείσσων γὰρ Ἅιδᾳ κεύθων ὁ νοσῶν μάταν).

[33] Aesch. *PV* 219-20 (ἐμαῖς δὲ βουλαῖς Ταρτάρου μελαμβαθὴς | κευθμὼν καλύπτει τὸν παλαιγενῆ Κρόνον) Eur. *Hec*. 1-2 (Ἥκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας | λιπών, ἵν' Ἅιδης χωρὶς ᾧκισται θεῶν), *Hipp*. 732 (Ἡλιβάτοις ὑπὸ κευθμῶσι γενοίμαν). Note also that the dead are frequently called as οἱ ἔνεροι (*Il*. 15.188, Hes. *Th*. 850, Pl. *Resp*. 387c; cf. *Il*. 20.61: ἄναξ ἐνέρων, Aesch. *Pers*. 629: βασιλεῦ ἐνέρων), οἱ νέρτεροι (Aesch. *Pers*. 619), οἱ κάτω (Soph. *Aj*. 865, *Ant*. 75).

[34] *CEG* 482.2 (4th? c. BC, Attica). The idea was not foreign/unknown to Greek thought as it is confirmed by Xenophanes (fr. 23, Diels): ἐκ γαίης γὰρ πάντα καὶ εἰς γῆν πάντα τελευτᾶι. On the concept of the dead covered with earth/ belonging to Demeter/ becoming corn after death see sections III 4.4.1-3.

[35] ἤ μιν ἐλὼν ῥίψω ἐς Τάρταρον ἠερόεντα | τῆλε μάλ', ἧχι βάθιστον ὑπὸ χθονός ἐστι βέρεθρον.| ἔνθα σιδήρειαί τε πύλαι καὶ χάλκεος οὐδός,| **τόσσον ἔνερθ' Ἀΐδεω ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης.** See also Kirk's comm. *ad loc*.

'in earth itself'[36]. According to Zeus' words, where (ἦχι) is the deepest abyss (*βάθιστον βέρεθρον*) under the earth (*ὑπὸ χθονός*), there (*ἔνθα*) are also iron gates (*σιδήρειαί πύλαι*) and a bronze threshold (*χάλκεος οὐδός*) as far under Hades as Ouranos is from Ge (*τόσσον ἔνερθ' Ἀΐδεω ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης*)[37]. Tartaros then seems to be a special place under Hades in the underworld geography, or belonging to it in the same sense/way in which heaven belongs to earth: Tartaros and Ouranos are two edges/limits of the world, its top and bottom; interestingly, Tartaros has *σιδήρειαί τε πύλαι καὶ χάλκεος οὐδός* and Ouranos is both *σιδήρεος*[38] and *χάλκεος*/*πολύχαλκος*[39]. All this may indicate a direct mirroring of the world of the living in the world of the dead, which finds its reflection in a similar organisation and characteristics of the space in each as well as specification of the depth at which Tartaros is found: first under the earth, second at the same distance from the Underworld at which heaven is from earth. This means that the Underworld is localised directly under the surface of the earth; there is no mention of a space in between them. Both are localised also in the middle of the universe, so to speak. Furthermore, a description of the levels of the universe given by Hesiod offers a parallel: Tartaros is in the earth[40], again as far underneath as heaven is from her[41]. Hesiod, however, focuses on a different perspective on space: first he tells us about an anvil falling down and that the length of time it takes from heaven to earth is the same as that from the surface of the earth to Tartaros (again we hear about the

[36] Cf. *CEG* 543.8-9 (*ca*. 350 BC, Attic, Piraeus) *θνήισκω καί με χθὼν ἥδε καλύπτει ἡ πᾶσιν κοινὴ τοῖς ἀπογιγνομένοις* (cf. Soph. *El.* 137-8: *ἐξ Ἀΐδα παγκοίνου*), 482.2 (4th BC, Attic): *ἐκ γαίας βλαστὼν πάλιν γέγονα*.
[37] *Il*. 8.14-16: *ἦχι βάθιστον ὑπὸ χθονός ἐστι βέρεθρον, | ἔνθα σιδήρειαί τε πύλαι καὶ χάλκεος οὐδός, | τόσσον ἔνερθ' Ἀΐδεω ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης*.
[38] *Od*. 15.329 (=17.565): *ὕβρις τε βίη τε σιδήρεον οὐρανὸν ἵκει*.
[39] *Il*. 17.425: *χάλκεον οὐρανὸν ἷκε δι' αἰθέρος ἀτρυγέτοιο*; *Il*. 5.504: *οὐρανὸν ἐς πολύχαλκον ἐπέπληγον πόδες ἵππων*; *Od*. 3.2: *οὐρανὸν ἐς πολύχαλκον, ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι φαείνοι*.
[40] Cf. Hes. *Th*. 158.
[41] Hes. *Th*. 721-2: *τόσσον ἔνερθ' ὑπὸ γῆς ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης· | τόσσον γάρ τ' ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς τάρταρον ἠερόεντα*.

edges/borders of the world as a whole);[42] then he moves to a description of the space around Tartaros, so changing the direction of analysis from vertical to horizontal. We hear that Tartaros is a great chasm (*χάσμα μέγα*)[43], encircled with a bronze wall and the darkness poured around it in three circles (726-7: *ἀμφὶ δέ μιν νὺξ | τριστοιχὶ κέχυται περὶ δειρήν*), also the edge of the huge earth (731: *πελώρης ἔσχατα γαίης*)[44]. Hesiod says that above Tartaros grow the roots of the earth and of the barren sea (727-8: *αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε | γῆς ῥίζαι πεφύασι καὶ ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης*): this is also there (*ἔνθα*), where are the sources and limits (*πηγαὶ καὶ πείρατα*) of the dark earth, and of murky Tartaros, of the barren sea and of the starry heaven, of everything one after another, painful, mouldy, things which even the gods hate[45], and there (*ἔνθα*), where are located, full of wailing, houses of Hades and Persephone, guarded by the fearful dog[46]. It is true that Hesiodic *ἔνθα* does not give us a geographical 'address', but it is precise enough to let us imagine the structure of the Underworld.

Tartaros (or better its limits) is like Ouranos: made of bronze and iron, which means it is solid and lasting; the symmetry between the two is also visible in the equal distances between them and the centre, the surface of the earth itself. It seems, therefore, that what is below is just a reflection, we can say even *εἴδωλον*[47], of what is above because

[42] Hes. *Th*. 723-5: *ἐννέα γὰρ νύκτας τε καὶ ἤματα χάλκεος ἄκμων | οὐρανόθεν κατιών, δεκάτῃ κ' ἐς γαῖαν ἵκοιτο· | [ἶσον δ' αὖτ' ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς τάρταρον ἠερόεντα·] | ἐννέα δ' αὖ νύκτας τε καὶ ἤματα χάλκεος ἄκμων | ἐκ γαίης κατιών, δεκάτῃ κ' ἐς τάρταρον ἵκοι*.
[43] Hes. *Th*. 740-1: *χάσμα μέγ', οὐδέ κε πάντα τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν | οὖδας ἵκοιτ', εἰ πρῶτα πυλέων ἔντοσθε γένοιτο*.
[44] Cf. Hes. *Th*. 839-41: *ἀμφὶ δὲ γαῖα | σμερδαλέον κονάβησε καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθε | πόντός τ' Ὠκεανοῦ τε ῥοαὶ καὶ τάρταρα γαίης*.
[45] Hes. *Th*. 736-9: *ἔνθα δὲ γῆς δνοφερῆς καὶ ταρτάρου ἠερόεντος | πόντου τ' ἀτρυγέτοιο καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος | ἑξείης πάντων πηγαὶ καὶ πείρατ' ἔασιν, | ἀργαλέ' εὐρώεντα, τά τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ*.
[46] Hes. *Th*. 767-9: *ἔνθα θεοῦ χθονίου πρόσθεν δόμοι ἠχήεντες | [ἰφθίμου τ' Ἀίδεω καὶ ἐπαινῆς Περσεφονείης] | ἑστᾶσιν, δεινὸς δὲ κύων προπάροιθε φυλάσσει*.
[47] Cf. *εἴδωλα* of the dead in the Homeric Underworld which seem to support this hypothesis. We may push this idea even further: from an anthropological perspective, the surface of the earth separates only life from death, but not the beings – the 'world inside' (if the surface is taken) resembles only what remained from the living world, and in this sense literally it is its negation whereas metaphorically its reflection (*εἴδωλον*). Furthermore, as we will see later (see section III 4.1), the worlds are as if turned backward to each other, in opposition to and negation of each other at the same time.

if we turned the world upside down, it would look the same with this difference that the upper limit will be Tartaros and above the surface of the earth instead of clear air there will waft a dense Night[48].

Furthermore, in the lines introducing the birth of the gods Hesiod calls the broad-breasted Earth the ever immovable seat of all the immortals who possess snowy Olympus' peak and murky Tartaros in the depths of the broad-pathed earth[49]; the surface of the earth is therefore the only point that separates the kingdoms and at the same time paradoxically joins them: it is common to all as Poseidon said in the *Iliad*. The idea of the Underworld is, therefore, from early on included in the concept of the earth: it may be seen also in the enumerations of the parts of the cosmos in early poems: a trinity heaven-sea-underworld never occurs there[50]. Hence the Underworld, which belongs to the depths of the earth, constitutes in fact Hades' very share in her and, especially and more explicitly when his marriage to Kore and her annual return are interpreted metaphorically[51], in what is born in and from the earth. If we add to all this the idea that in the depths of the earth there are sources and beginnings of everything, Kore indeed, symbolically and literally, made him the giver of riches[52].

[48] Judging from the description of Tartaros, the space there is not empty, but filled with a very dense dark air: Τάρταρά τ' ἠερόεντα (Hes. *Th*. 119, 682); cf. *Il*. 8. 477-82 where Zeus tells Hera about the lowest boundaries of the sea and earth, where Iapetos and Kronos (cf. *Il* 14.203) rejoice neither in the rays of the Sun nor in the breezes, but deep Tartaros lies on every side: *σέθεν δ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀλεγίζω | χωομένης, οὐδ' εἴ κε τὰ νείατα πείραθ' ἵκηαι | γαίης καὶ πόντοιο, ἵν' Ἰάπετός τε Κρόνος τε | ἥμενοι οὔτ' αὐγῇς Ὑπερίονος Ἠελίοιο | τέρπονθ' οὔτ' ἀνέμοισι, βαθὺς δέ τε Τάρταρος ἀμφίς· | οὐδ' ἢν ἔνθ' ἀφίκηαι ἀλωμένη.*

[49] Hes. *Th*. 116-119: *αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα | Γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ | ἀθανάτων οἳ ἔχουσι κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου, | Τάρταρά τ' ἠερόεντα μυχῷ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης.*

[50] Burkert's observations (1992: 91 n. 8 with bibliography) point to various divisions of the cosmos into parts: heaven-earth-underworld: *Il*. 15.36f (oath), 3.277-9, *Od*. 5.184f; earth-heaven-sea: *Il*. 18.483 (description of the shield of Achilles), *Od*. 1.52f, Hes. *Th*. 847, *HDem* 33f; heaven-underworld-earth-sea: Hes. *Th*. 736f.

[51] Burkert 1985: 160.

[52] For interpretation of *Plouton* see section III 2.

1.3 Abduction of Kore

The plot of this, perhaps, most important myth for the god of the Underworld as far as its cultic aspects are concerned[53], focuses on the abduction of Demeter's daughter and the subsequent cunning espousal. It is worth noticing that the 'abduction'[54] is quite illusory, since Zeus, Kore's father, gave her to Hades (*HDem.* 3, 79; Hes. *Th*. 913-14) and, in fact, the abduction itself was also part of his plan (*HDem.* 9)[55]; apart from this case, such paternal consent for marriage among gods is never found.

The marriage between Hades and Kore is unique among the gods not only because it resembles human marriage (in terms of the way it happened, the proceedings, organisation, etc.), but also because it could perhaps be seen as the second and the very last 'succession myth' in the traditional cosmogony, focused on the symbolic union of life and death. Kore is the very last descendant in the line Gaia-Ouranos, which is reflected by the couple Demeter-Zeus (as the main and very early domains of these deities are the earth and the sky) and in this 'cosmogonic dimension' she should be seen as the 'successor' with full rights to Zeus' throne. But there is something more hidden beneath Zeus' plan than just to allot her a sphere of activity: she is in fact a kind of 'missing link' closing the cycle because by marriage she unifies the two realms and becomes the queen of the living and the dead as well as of the immortals, which may be

[53] For discussion see part IV *passim*. The earliest version, if Pausanias is to be trusted (7.21.9, 9.29.8), was ascribed to Pamphos, the earliest hymn writer (earlier than Homer, according to Pausanias: 8.37.9); for summary of versions of the myth see Richardson (1974) 74-86.
[54] About abduction in the marital rite see section I 3.2.
[55] Another figure who partially bore the responsibility and is evoked by later sources is Aphrodite: Ov. *Met*. 5.346, Sen. *Herc*. 559, Claud. *RP* I 26, 216; she is also present at the abduction in visual representations.

proved by Hades' promise[56] that by being with him she will be mistress of everything that lives and moves (*δεσπόσσεις πάντων ὁπόσα ζώει τε καὶ ἕρπει*)[57], and has the greatest privileges among the immortals (*τιμὰς δὲ σχήσησθα μετ' ἀθανάτοισι μεγίστας*), while there will ever be eternal punishment (*τίσις*) for those who act unrighteously and fail to propitiate her might/power with sacrifices, performing of holy rites, and making proper offerings. Even if Hades is exaggerating to achieve Persephone's consent to marry him, he cannot promise her something which he evidently cannot give. She is the agent in the actual reversal of the worlds, which may be seen in the alternation of the seasons, as if she were metaphorically giving 'life' to the world she comes into[58].

1.4 Entourage of the lord of the Netherworld

It seems that the realm of the dead was shaped conceptually like the world of the living and it is visibly a Greek realm (we know almost nothing about 'foreigners' in the Underworld); for from various, even very early, ancient authors we hear that this world has gates, the palace of Hades, rivers, lakes, trees and is full of various beings and deities, which were pictured in detail especially in vase painting[59]. Hades is a king,

[56] *HDem*. 364-9: *ἔνθα δ' ἐοῦσα | δεσπόσσεις πάντων ὁπόσα ζώει τε καὶ ἕρπει, | τιμὰς δὲ σχήσησθα μετ' ἀθανάτοισι μεγίστας, | τῶν δ' ἀδικησάντων τίσις ἔσσεται ἤματα πάντα | οἵ κεν μὴ θυσίαισι τεὸν μένος ἱλάσκωνται | εὐαγέως ἔρδοντες ἐναίσιμα δῶρα τελοῦντες*.
[57] The idea is reflected in Persephone's epithets *Παμβασίλεια* (*IG* XII, 5 310; Paros, 2nd c. CE) and *Πασικράτεια* (*IG* 14, 268 =*SEG* 49.1328; Selinus, 5th c. BC).
[58] Rudhardt (1981) 234-9 interpreted the abduction myth as opening of the passage between the worlds through the gap left after immersion of Hades' chariot; however, although the interpretation seems attractive, there are no direct testimonies to confirm it.
[59] For pictures on vases see the previous section; for early references to the landscape of the Underworld see section I 3.1.

which is highlighted by the titles of *(w)anax*[60], *basileus*[61] or *koiranos*[62], frequently ascribed to him in literature, and he has his 'court'. Among those about whom we are informed as if by accident[63], and beside the numberless mass of the dead without names, we hear of the doorkeeper Aiakos, the gardener Askalaphos and the herdsman Menoites as well as (if only much later) of the god's lovers and his children.

1.4.1 Aiakos, Askalaphos and Menoites

1.4.1.1 Aiakos

The first source which attests Aiakos, son of Zeus and Aegina[64], as clearly connected with the Underworld is Critias' *Peirithoos* (fr. 1 Snell-Kannicht) where Herakles meets Aiakos at the gates to the Underworld. It seems that the role of the underworld doorkeeper and servant of Plouton ascribed to Aiakos by Aristophanes in the *Frogs* is a reminiscence of this[65]. Isocrates tells us that Aiakos when alive enjoyed the fairest reputation and after death he is said to sit beside Plouton and Kore, enjoying the greatest honors[66]. Apollodoros (3.159.1-10) assures us that he was the most pious of all men (ἦν

[60] *Il*. 20.61, *HDem*. 357, Soph. *OC* 1559: in Homeric times it designates monarchical authority in an *oikos* or in a kingdom (see Carlier *BNP* s.v. *basileus*).
[61] Aesch. *Pers*. 629: not sufficiently explained etymologically and usually translated as 'king', but, as opposed to *(w)anax*, it always functions as a political title, particularly the title of a person leading a comprehensive political community, such as a *polis* (see Carlier *BNP* s.v.; for political titles as god's epithets see Pleket 1981: 171-83).
[62] *Adesp*. 92 (*PLG*); *LSJ*: Beot. for king, ruler, leader, commander see *Il*. 2.487, 7.234, 2.204 (connected with *basileus*); but generally lord, master, as in *Od*. 18.106, Pind. *Nem*. 3.62, Aesch. *Ag*. 549, S. *OC* 1287, Eur. *Med*. 71; rare in fem.: *OF* 361 Bernabé.
[63] I mean here the *personae* in Aristophanes' *Frogs*: the servants and slaves (both sexes) of Plouton and Persephone, the Scythians who are presented as guards of the Underworld. A servant of Persephone also claims that in the palace there are a female *aulos* player, dancers and a cook (512-518).
[64] Ps.-Apollod. 3.12.6, Paus. 2.29.2.
[65] Rohde (1925) 246-8 n. 13
[66] Isocr. 9.15: Καὶ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον, ἕως ἦν μετ' ἀνθρώπων, μετὰ καλλίστης ὢν δόξης διετέλεσεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ μετήλλαξεν τὸν βίον, λέγεται παρὰ Πλούτωνι καὶ Κόρῃ μεγίστας τιμὰς ἔχων παρεδρεύειν ἐκείνοις.

δὲ εὐσεβέστατος πάντων Αἰακός) and that this is why he is honoured in the company of Plouton and why the keys of his realm were given to him (τιμᾶται δὲ καὶ παρὰ Πλούτωνι τελευτήσας Αἰακός, καὶ τὰς κλεῖς τοῦ Ἅιδου φυλάττει).

As we have already seen, the motif of the key is quite important in the representations of the nethergod[67]; once the epithet 'key-holding' (κλειδοῦχος) assigned to Aiakos[68] is also given to Persephone (Περσέφασσα κλειδοῦχε)[69]. The facts that Plouton was represented with a key as well as that Persephone was also associated with one in some way may indicate the earlier conception that the rulers of the Underworld kept the keys to their realm themselves and the fact that 'holding a key' in Aiakos' case was an office of high distinction[70].

The association of Aiakos with the Underworld judges is testified to only by Plato who says that the hero was responsible for judging the European shades[71]. In the middle of the 4th c. BC Aiakos also appears as one of the Underworld judges on Apulian vases[72]; it seems, however, that these visual representations were highly influenced by Athenian tragedy and if we accept this hypothesis we may assume that he appeared in this role on the Athenian stage even if nothing survives to confirm this[73]. On the other hand, it is surprising indeed that Pindar, the most reliable source of information on Aiakos and the Aiakidai, says nothing at all about a special position held by Aiakos in the Underworld. Polinskaya emphasises how, given the positive connotations of the underworld image of

[67] See section I 1.1.
[68] *IG* XIV 1746, *PGM* 1264.
[69] *PGM* 1403.
[70] Rohde (1925) 247 n. 13 thought that it would be 'hard to believe that the attribution of this remarkable office of distinction to Aiakos was a later invention than the apparently commonplace office of judge'.
[71] Plat. *Gorg*. 524a, *Ap*. 41a. On judges and the conception of post-mortem judgment in the Underworld see section II 2.2.
[72] *LIMC* I 1-3 s.v. *Aiakos*; *ca*. 300 BC he is represented in this role on the façade of a monumental tomb (the so-called 'Great Tomb' in Lefkandia): *LIMC* I 4 s.v. *Aiakos*.
[73] See section I 3.1.

the hero, Pindar 'would have found a way to capitalize on that, if this motif were part of the Aiginetan tradition in his time'[74].

It is true that Aiakos was said by Pindar to have settled disputes for the gods (*Isth*. 8.24) and certainly he had the reputation of an honest judge already in the 5th c. BC, but in the light of the evidence it seems impossible to say which of the roles came first and whether they existed simultaneously or developed one into the other at some point.

1.4.1.2 Askalaphos and Menoites

About Askalaphos, son of Acheron and Gorgyra[75], and Menoites, son of Keuthonymos, we hear mainly from Apollodorus (2.5.12). Both appear in connection with the story of Herakles' stay in the Underworld in order to take Kerberos away. The hero was said to have to wrestle with Menoites, the herdsman of Hades, because he had slaughtered one of his cattle to provide the shades with its blood; Herakles squeezed his torso and broke his ribs, but let him go at the request of Persephone. The events seem to take place in the realm of the dead, but there is another story in which Menoites occurs with the cattle of Hades and, surprisingly, it is on the island of Erytheia[76]. For he observed how Herakles was stealing the cattle of Geryon and then reported the events to the owner (Apollod. 2.5.10). Unlike Menoites, who can also be detected in Stesichorus'

[74] Polinskaya (2013) 161; she also claims that Aiakos was not worshipped as a figure of the Underworld in 5th c. Aigina. Contra: Rutherford (1992) 66-7.
[75] Or by Orphne (Ov. *Met*. 540) or Styx (Serv. *ad Aen*. 4.462).
[76] Gantz (1993) 415 sees the story of Herakles slaughtering the cows as counterpart to the Nekyia of Odysseus and claims that it happened by the entrance to the Underworld (very likely Erytheia), and only then did he talk to Meleagros (in the first of the encounters with the inhabitants of Hades' realm).

Geryoneis[77], Askalaphos clearly belongs only to the later tradition. Moreover, his figure functions as a kind of extension of the myth transmitted in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, as he is said to have testified against Persephone, probably to Demeter, that she had eaten a pomegranate seed given to her by Plouton, and that is why Demeter weighed him down with a rock in the Underworld (Apollod. 1.5.3)[78]. When Herakles removed this rock, Demeter in turn changed him into an owl (Apollod. 2.5.12). According to Ovid (*Met*. 5.534-50), Persephone herself changed him into an owl by throwing water from Phlegethon into his face because he, having seen that she had broken her fast and tasted seven seeds of the pomegranate while wandering among the orchard trees, revealed it and so prevented her return. Again, we cannot be sure if the person to whom the truth was told was Demeter and, if so, what she was doing in the Underworld. What is more, in the Homeric *Hymn* Persephone herself is the witness in her cause before her mother (406-13).

1.4.2 Lovers

Hades hardly compares with his brothers as a great lover, although his abduction of Persephone is the archetypal instance of rape in Greek literature and it is hard to imagine any other story that the chorus of Sophocles' *Trachinae* (497-501) might have had in mind when saying that Aphrodite misled Hades too[79]. As to Hades' lovers, the picture is rather sparing: we only know of two. *Prima specie*, especially if we take into consideration his domain, it might seem odd that the ruler of the dead has lovers at all;

[77] Stes. *fr*. S11-12: Oxy.Pap. 2617 (Campbell).
[78] Euphorion of Chalcis (*fr*.121 (2a) Page *Select. Pap. III*) says that Demeter fastened the rock upon his limbs.
[79] Soph. *Tr*. 497-501: Μέγα τι σθένος ἁ Κύπρις ἐκφέρεται νίκας ἀεί·| καὶ τὰ μὲν θεῶν | παρέβαν, καὶ ὅπως Κρονίδαν ἀπάτασεν οὐ λέγω,| οὐδὲ τὸν ἔννυχον Ἄιδαν,| ἢ Ποσειδάωνα τινάκτορα γαίας. Cf. Liban. 25.6.4 (Foerster), who also alludes to ἔρωτες Πλούτωνος.

in fact, they are 'underground nymphs', not mortal women, and apart from Kore, he is not said to have seduced anybody. On the other hand, in comparison to his two brothers (who fancy even the same sex) it would have been much more strange had he not got any lovers at all. According to mythology, they were two: Minthe, a nymph associated with Kokytos, and Leuke, an Okeanid.

About Leuke the tradition remains silent; we learn only from Servius[80] that she was a daughter of Okeanos, the most beautiful among the nymphs, and that Plouton fell deeply in love (*adamavit*) with her and that is why he carried her off to the Underworld. Interestingly, only here do we hear about some kind of affection of the nether god, as we know nothing about his feelings towards Kore: he does not seem to be driven by passion, nor are we told that the marriage was a result of love (even if later sources see it this way)[81], but perhaps her case resembles nothing more than ordinary human marriage. After Leuke's death, Plouton ordered her, *tam in amoris, quam in memoriae solacium*, to revive as a white poplar in the Elysian Fields. The phrase *apud eum completo vitae suae tempore* indicates that she died in a natural way and, since nymphs were said to live ten lives of *phoenixes*[82], it seems that they were a couple for quite a long time. We do not know whether he was already espoused to Kore or not; but it seems that everything must have happened before the abduction: firstly, because Kore is not mentioned in the story, and secondly, if she had been present in Hades's life at that

[80] Serv. *ad Eclog*. 7.61: *populus alcidae gratissima quia ea velatus ab inferis rediit: quam Homerus ἀχερωΐδα dicit, ab Acheronte ad superos translatam: qua corona usus, duplici colore foliorum geminos labores <superorum> inferorumque testatus est. de hac sane arbore fabula talis est: Leuce, Oceani filia, inter nymphas pulcherrima fuit. hanc Pluton adamavit et ad inferos rapuit. quae postquam apud eum completo vitae suae tempore mortua est, Pluton tam in amoris, quam in memoriae solacium in Elysiis piorum campis leucen nasci arborem iussit, ex qua, sicut dictum est, Hercules se, revertens ab inferis, coronavit*.

[81] For references see note 55.

[82] Hamadryads were said to live 'ten lives of a palm tree' or 9720 years (for sources see *ThCRA* 3.3b.311); Hesiod (*fr*. 304 West-Merkelbach) assures us that the nymphs, daughters of Zeus, live ten *phoenixes* (δέκα δ' ἡμεῖς τοὺς φοίνικας | *νύμφαι ἐυπλόκαμοι, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο*), which, as put by Larson (2001: 30), gives us 'untold numbers of years' in the form of a riddle.

time, Leuke would probably have shared the lot of Minthe, a victim of Kore's jealousy, instead of being given a transformation. Moreover, Okeanids are mentioned as companions, but not rivals, of Kore before her abduction[83].

Although the daughters of Okeanos rarely figure in cult and serve mainly genealogical purposes[84], Leuke betrays some aetiological features too. The word λεύκη itself means 'white poplar'[85], *populus alba*; Servius and the *Suda* claim that she was regarded as an underworld tree[86]. Servius adds (n. 80) that Herakles, *revertens ab inferis*, made himself a crown of its leaves. We learn about the usage of the white poplar as crown from Demosthenes[87], who is telling us about the participants in a Bacchic *thiasos* crowned with fennel and white poplar, but this testimony cannot be regarded as unambiguously referring to the chthonic character of the plant[88], and we have no other evidence for that. The fact that Homer uses the term ἀχερωΐς for what is thought to be the same tree (*Il*. 13.389, 16.482) does not change much either because it points to Acheron[89], which, like Acheloos, is a general name for rivers; so, as noted by Forbes Irving[90], ἀχερωΐς may mean no more than 'river tree', especially given that in Homer it does not appear in the Underworld landscape: in Persephone's groves we find black poplars (αἴγειροι) and willows (ἰτέαι)[91]. Furthermore, Pausanias (5.14.2) claims that Herakles found the white

[83] Cf. *HDem*. 5, 417-23. For other similarities and associations (*e.g*., the appearance of springs in Kore/Persephone's cult) see Larson (2001) 211-213. For Kore herself as a water deity see *HDem*. 99 with Richardson *ad loc*.
[84] Cf. Larson (2001) 7.
[85] Cf. Theophr. *HP* 1.10.1.
[86] Serv. *ad Eclog*. 7.61, *Suda* s.v. Λεύκη, cf. Harpocr. s.v. and Murr (1890) 21-3.
[87] Dem. 18.260: *ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις τοὺς καλοὺς θιάσους ἄγων διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν, τοὺς ἐστεφανωμένους τῷ μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ, τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς παρείας θλίβων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς αἰωρῶν, καὶ βοῶν 'εὐοῖ σαβοῖ'*.
[88] See my considerations on the fennel as an attribute of Hades/Plouton in the Locrian cult: section I 3.2. According to *ThCRA* 3b.312, the poplar was a tree closely connected with the Underworld, and therefore it was associated with heroes and chthonic powers, but this does not seem to be proved by the evidence, which I discuss below.
[89] Cf. Nic. *Alex*. 13: Ἀχερωΐδες ὄχθαι (of the river Acheron in Asia Minor).
[90] Forbes Irving (1990) 265.
[91] *Od*. 10.509.

poplar growing on the banks of the Acheron, a river in Thesprotia (not in the Underworld), and brought it into Greece therefrom. According to him, the Eleans use the wood of white poplar, and no other tree, for sacrifices to Zeus, and they do so because Herakles himself burnt thighbones of the victims upon the wood of the white poplar when sacrificing to Zeus at Olympia. Even if the Eleans are said by Pausanias himself (6.25.3)[92] to be the only people who worshipped Hades, neither he nor his realm is mentioned in relation to this story. But the tree certainly acquired associations with the underworld, even if only because Acheron of *ἀχερωΐς* came to be understood as the underworld river, and, as Servius reminds us, the double colour of leaves of the white poplar indicates that the tree belongs to both worlds: the dual identity is ascribed also to the rivers of the Underworld themselves, among them Styx, the oldest sister of Leuke (Hes. *Th*. 776-7). The colour-name is also meaningful here, as the colour itself may indicate the Underworld or the dead[93], although, since it is connected with the reflectivity of light, it usually symbolises life or purity[94]. But the chronology of these developments – the association of the white poplar with the Underworld and the emergence of Leuke as a figure loved by Hades – is completely vague.

The other lover, Minthe, who according to Strabo[95] (8.3.14) gave her name to a mountain in Pylos[96] near which there was a precinct sacred to Hades and a grove of Demeter, and to a fragrant plant (*hedyosmos*), was trampled by Kore. Strabo does not tell us when Minthe appeared in Hades' life; we do not know whether she was the

[92] For the interpretation of this passage see section IV 1.
[93] White stones may symbolise a grave (*Il*. 23.329); on the so-called 'Orphic' gold leaves there appears a white cypress by the spring in the realm of Hades (*OF* 474-7, *OF* 484 Bernabé); for the white garments for the dead cf. Paus. 4.13.3, *LSCG* 97 A 3.
[94] For testimonies and consideration of this claim see Irwin (1974) 173-87.
[95] Strab. 8.3.14: *πρὸς ἕω δ' ἐστὶν ὄρος τοῦ* Πύλου *πλησίον ἐπώνυμον* Μίνθης, *ἣν μυθεύουσι παλλακὴν τοῦ Ἅιδου γενομένην πατηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῆς κόρης εἰς τὴν κηπαίαν μίνθην μεταβαλεῖν, ἥν τινες ἡδύοσμον καλοῦσι. καὶ δὴ καὶ τέμενός ἐστιν Ἅιδου πρὸς τῷ ὄρει τιμώμενον καὶ ὑπὸ* Μακιστίων, *καὶ Δήμητρος ἄλσος ὑπερκείμενον τοῦ* Πυλιακοῦ πεδίου.
[96] Cf. Phot. s.v. *μίνθα*.

successor of Leuke after her death either. We learn from Oppian[97] that she had been Aidoneus' mistress before he abducted Kore from Etna in Sicily. When Kore became his wife, Minthe complained that she was much more beautiful than Kore and boasted that the ruler of the dead would return to her and banish the other from his palace. In consequence Persephone tore her limbs out and Demeter turned her into dust with her feet. Ovid[98] claims that it was Persephone who turned her form into that of mint. We can assume, taking into consideration Strabo's account, that the myth of Minthe served as a local explanation for the cult of Hades in Triphylia[99], but it seems that aetiological features of the other element of the story (*hedyosmos*) had a more general dimension, as it occurs as one of the ingredients in the Eleusinian *kykeon*; and a special relationship is visible not only between Minthe and Hades, but also between her and the two goddesses.

The myth has been interpreted by several scholars: the most elaborate analysis and the most misleading at the same time was that by Detienne[100]. He offered a structural interpretation, according to which the pairs of oppositions Minthe-Persephone, Minthe-Demeter, Minthe and Hades-Persephone and Hades correspond (respectively) to concubine-wife, mint-cereals, illegitimate liaison-legitimate liaison. Furthermore, ignoring the healthy qualities of mint[101], pointed out by others, he indicated only its features as an aphrodisiac and a cause of infertility, and then identifed Minthe with

[97] Opp. *Hel*. 3. 485-98: *ἐφυρήσαντο δὲ ποίην | τοῖσιν ὁμοῦ μίνθην εὐώδεα, τήν ποτε κούρην | φασὶν ὑπουδαίην ἔμεναι, Κωκυτίδα Νύμφην· | κλίνατο δ' εἰς εὐνὴν Ἀϊδωνέος· ἀλλ' ὅτε κούρην | Περσεφόνην ἥρπαξεν ἀπ' Αἰτναίοιο πάγοιο, | δὴ τότε μιν κλάζουσαν ὑπερφιάλοις ἐπέεσσι,| ζήλῳ μαργαίνουσαν ἀτάσθαλα, μηνίσασα | Δημήτηρ ἀμάθυνεν ἐπεμβαίνουσα πεδίλοις·| φῇ γὰρ ἀγαυοτέρη τε φυὴν καὶ κάλλος ἀμείνων | Περσεφόνης ἔμεναι κυανώπιδος, ἐς δέ μιν αὐτὴν | εὔξατο νοστήσειν Ἀϊδωνέα, τὴν δὲ μελάθρων | ἐξελάσειν· τοίη οἱ ἐπὶ γλώσσης θόρεν ἄτη.| ποίη δ' οὐτιδανὴ καὶ ἐπώνυμος ἔκθορε γαίης,| τὴν ἐνιφυρήσαντες ἐπ' ἀγκίστροισι βάλοντο.*
[98] Ov. *Met*. 10.728, cf. Σ Nic. *Alex*. 375, Phot. s.v. *μίνθα*.
[99] See section IV 1.2.
[100] Murr (1890) , Detienne (1972) ch. 4, Forbes Irving (1990) 268-9, Dalby (2003) s.v. *mint*.
[101] Plin. *HN* 20.53.

Iunx, daughter of Peitho, who intruded into the marriage of Zeus and Hera. Forbes Irving rightly pointed out that the aphrodisiac features (or at least the sweet smell of mint) are inscribed in Minthe's role as a lover, but as to the barrenness, both these relationships of Hades (with Kore and Minthe) are alike. Besides, Minthe gave her name to a specific type of mint, *ἡδύοσμος*[102], which does not cause barrenness, a feature of *καλαμίνθη*[103], so this argument is irrelevant to our story. Minthe's role in Hades' life, even if illegitimate, cannot be considered in terms of (im)morality either (which is attempted by Detienne). On top of that, it was not her who interfered with Hades and Persephone's marriage (which Iunx did in the case of the union of Zeus and Hera); it was Persephone who interfered with the relationship between Hades and Minthe.

There are also some inconsistencies in the myth itself, which for some reason have remained unnoticed in scholarship. The transformation of Minthe seems quite odd and far from the typical scheme present in other similar stories (among them in Leuke's case): in them the transformation is caused by (or involves) a lover, not (as in Minthe's case) a rival or a rival's mother[104]. It should also be noted that Minthe's first and only fault was apparently her arrogant boasting and, in consequence, an offence against Persephone and that is why Persephone trampled on her. However, according to the schemes drawn up by Forbes Irving, she should have been petrified because this is regarded as punishment for a verbal offence[105].

[102] I cannot agree with Dalby's explanation (2003: s.v. *mint*) that *hedyosmos* (sweet smell) was a second and euphemistic name to avoid the meaning of *minthos* (ordure) because even if it may seem an unfortunate association for an aphrodisiac, it has fertilising properties, so the effect is alike.
[103] Hipp. *Reg*. 54.27 (Littré).
[104] For details see Forbes Irving (1990) 128-38.
[105] Forbes Irving (1990) 139-148.

It seems, thus, that the version of the story, at least as transmitted by Strabo (Oppian does not mention the mountain at all because he focuses on the aetiology of the plant's name), is a conflation of two different ones. The local version concerned probably the mountain name (in the mythical scheme it may resemble petrification) and the origins of the cult of Hades; the popular and more general one was about the plant itself. We should notice that in all the versions the emphasis is put on the way Minthe is annihilated (the transformation is as it were a side effect): her members are torn apart or she is trampled over; and we know that mint smells most intensely when squeezed, grated, or pulverised, which probably resembles the form in which the plant was used as an ingredient, *e.g.* of the Eleusinian *kykeon*.

It is hard to point out which features or qualities of *hedyosmos* underlie its underworld associations, but it seems that it was regarded as possessing these on the basis of a quite late (2nd/3rd c. CE) decree from the sanctuary of Dionysos *Bromios* in Smyrna[106]. The inscription gathers circumstances in which one should not enter the *temenos* and temple of *Bromios*, such as giving birth, abortion and death because of the *miasma* caused by all of them; among the more general prohibitions there are approaching the altars in black garments, eating eggs during the *bakcheia*, and sacrificing the heart of the victim on the altars; there is also a requirement to 'keep off *hedyosmos* (which Demeter? levelled with the dust)'[107] and fava beans (linked to the Underworld, according to the Pythagoreans, through the association with souls)[108]. All these are connected with *miasma* and death, and thus, *hedyosmos* as product or consequence of the latter belongs to the Underworld.

[106] Jaccottet (2003) 2.126 (=*LSCG* 84).
[107] Jaccottet (2003) 2.126.14: ἡδεόσμου τ'ἀπέχεσθαι ὃν Δημ[ήτηρ ἀμάθυνεν ...
[108] Iambl. *Vit. Pyth*. 24.109.13.

1.4.2.1 Bride(s) of Hades?

According to Artemidorus, marriage resembles death and is signified by it[109]; some parallels between the rites of marriage and funeral[110] resulted, as it seems, in quite a sophisticated metaphor, detectable in tragedy and funerary epigraphy[111], where the state of dying is presented as the act of 'engagement to' or 'marrying' the lord of the dead by a young woman.

In the funerary epigram of Kleanassa we read that to her *thalamos* there came not Hymenaeus, the preparer of weddings, or Hera with torches, but Hades, rushing in mourning garments with a bloody Erinys[112]; in another epigram that Hades overtook Krokale's maidenhood (*Anth. Pal.* 7.183: Ἄιδης τὴν Κροκάλης ἔφθασε παρθενίην); in an epigram for Klearista we hear that she received not marriage but bridal (ἐπινυμφίδιον) Hades, here probably understood as death[113], as the knot of her maidenhood was loosed[114]. These and many other similar motifs designed to allay sorrow for a lost loved one by a deliberate mythicisation of the deceased and conflation of the two rituals are common in Attic grave epigrams[115]. The explanation may lie in love and death being considered as equally invincible powers[116] or in the similarity of

[109] Artem. *Oneir*. 2.65 (Hercher): Ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ γάμος ἔοικε θανάτωι καὶ ὑπὸ θανάτου σημαίνεται, ἐνταῦθα καλῶς ἔχειν ἡγησάμην ἐπιμνησθῆναι αὐτοῦ. γαμεῖν παρθένον τῶι νοσοῦντι θάνατον σημαίνει. ὅσα γὰρ τῶι γαμοῦντι συμβαίνει, τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ τῶι ἀποθανόντι.
[110] For analysis of the conflation of marriage and funeral rituals in Greek tragedy see Rehm (1994) 11-42.
[111] Note also an Attic custom of putting a *loutrophoros* or its stone image on the grave of a young girl; the woman-shape dolls in the hands of young girls, represented on the funerary stelai, symbolise a gift for Aphrodite (Persephone?), because they did not undergo a marital rite. See Keuls (1985) 129-152.
[112] *AP* 7.188: ἀλλὰ τεοῖς θαλάμοισι γαμοστόλος οὐχ Ὑμέναιος | οὐδ' Ἥρης ζυγίης λαμπάδες ἠντίασαν, | πένθιμος ἀλλ' Ἀίδης ἐπεκώμασεν, ἀμφὶ δ' Ἐρινὺς | φοίνιος ἐκ στομάτων μόρσιμον ἧκεν ὄπα…
[113] For Hades as death see section II 2.1.
[114] *AP* 7.182: Οὐ γάμον, ἀλλ' Ἀίδαν ἐπινυμφίδιον Κλεαρίστα | δέξατο παρθενίας ἄμματα λυομένα.
[115] For modern parallels, e.g. among the Rumanians, dressing an unmarried dead girl in a bridal costume and conducting a marriage procession to the tomb see Rose (1925) 238 and n. 5; for Thracian customs and other Indoeuropean peoples see Janakieva (2005) 14-23.
[116] To some extent the equation of Aphrodite with Hades can probably be seen in Soph. *fr*. 941 (Radt): ἥ τοι Κύπρις οὐ Κύπρις μόνον,| ἀλλ' ἐστὶ πολλῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπώνυμος.| ἔστιν μὲν Ἅιδης, ἔστι δ'

status change resulting from both, or from the necessity to 'fulfil the ritual'. In tragedy this metaphor of the marriage-death confusion seems to result from the specific development of the plot rather than from the 'customary tradition' visible on the tombs.

A very special application of this motif may be found in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*. We learn from Iphigenia's speech that she was deceived by her father, who wanted her to marry Hades, not Achilles (as she had expected): *Ἅιδης Ἀχιλλεὺς ἦν ἄρ', οὐχ ὁ Πηλέως, | ὅν μοι προσείσας πόσιν* (l. 369-70). The wedding rite is contrasted, but not conflated, with those of funeral and sacrifice (in which the play reaches its culmination; but usually sacrifice precedes both the wedding and the funeral): both, come what may, imply death. The construction of the metaphor is thus, as it were, three-dimensional: there are wedding preparations and celebrations (l. 365-8: *μήτηρ δ' ἐμὲ | σέθεν κατακτείνοντος Ἀργεῖαί τε νῦν | ὑμνοῦσιν ὑμεναίοισιν, αὐλεῖται δὲ πᾶν | μέλαθρον*) and the picture starts unfolding the macabre details as she is brought in a chariot to the 'bloody wedding' (l. 371-2: *ἐν ἁρμάτων ὄχοις | ἐς αἱματηρὸν γάμον*), which is meant to be bloody indeed (like the sacrificial feast?). The groom is Hades[117] and Agamemnon takes on the role of Charon, as may be assumed on the basis of the word *ἐπόρθμευσας*[118]. As a result, the trip to Aulis looks like a passage to the Underworld. But the whole event was a trick (l. 371: *δόλῳ*) and the whole metaphor consists in anticipation of the expected (not experienced) death, evoked only by means of words, which serve the general dramatisation of the plot; above all, the speech itself is framed additionally by *νυμφεύματ' αἰσχρὰ* and *αἱματηρὸν γάμον*. What remains hidden till the

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ἄφθιτος βίος | (…) *πάντα τοι συντέμνεται*| *Κύπρις τὰ θνητῶν καὶ θεῶν βουλεύματα*; cf. Eur. *fr*. 524 (Kannicht): *ἡ γὰρ Κύπρις πέφυκε τῷ σκότῳ φίλη*.

[117] Confirmed also in another play by Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, by Agamemnon himself in ll. 461 (*Ἅιδης νιν, ὡς ἔοικε, νυμφεύσει τάχα*), 540 (*πρὶν Ἅιδῃ παῖδ' ἐμὴν προσθῶ λαβών*) and Klytaemestra in l. 1278 (*φεύγει σε πατὴρ Ἅιδῃ παραδούς*).

[118] Cf. Eur. *IT* 266 with Kyriakou (2006) comm. *ad loc*., *Tro*. 568-76, *Alc*. 253.

very end is the real aim of the treachery: the sacrifice. Iphigenia takes the place of the ordinary *proteleia*, usually expected before either of the events (marriage or funeral).

The motif of 'deadly' marital rite is recalled also in the sacrificial imagery surrounding the deaths of Polyxena and Kassandra. Polyxena confesses to Odysseus that she wishes to dedicate her body to Hades (Eur. *Hec*. 368: Ἅιδῃ προστιθεῖσ' ἐμὸν δέμας) rather than to be a slave or a concubine[119]. Moreover, she compares herself to a calf being torn from its mother[120] – an image used also to denote a bride[121], but here certainly enhancing the sacrificial design (e.g., l. 208: λαιμότομόν τ' Ἀίδᾳ). Kassandra, one of the unfortunate infatuations of Apollo[122], also says that she will give herself in marriage to a bridegroom in the house of Hades (Eur. *Tro*. 445: ἐς Ἅιδου νυμφίῳ γημώμεθα). Here too (in both plays: Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* and Euripides' *Troades*), marriage, sacrifice and death exist in a kind of subtle interrelation and conversion of wedding motifs into their sacrificial and funerary counterparts; they accumulate as the plot of Kassandra's fate reaches its bitter and grim irony in the climax. Kassandra calls herself and her husband-*in-spe* 'blessed'[123], which in the story's context has an obvious double entendre[124] as the 'real' bridegroom is Hades. Klytemnestra acts as his 'raging mother' (Kassandra's term in Aesch. *Ag*. 1235: θύουσαν Ἅιδου μητέρ'), who is traditionally in charge of welcoming the newlywed couple in their new home[125]. She expresses her

[119] Cf. Eur. *Hec*. 351-367.
[120] Eur. *Hec*. 205-10: σκύμνον γάρ μ' ὥστ' οὐριθρέπταν | μόσχον δειλαία δειλαίαν | [.....] ἐσόψῃ, | χειρὸς ἀναρπαστὰν | σᾶς ἄπο λαιμότομόν τ' Ἀίδᾳ | γᾶς ὑποπεμπομέναν σκότον, ἔνθα νεκρῶν μέτα | τάλαινα κείσομαι.
[121] Cf. Eur. *HF*. 529-30 and Rehm (1994) 74-5.
[122] Cf. Aesch. *Ag*. 1202-12. Another who refused the god was the Cumaean Sibyl, destined by the god to be an 'eternal virgin' in revenge; in Kassandra's case, the 'revenge' is not consistent: though this is confirmed in Eur. *Tro*. 41-2, 253-4, we learn from the same play that she was raped by Ajax (l. 70) and taken as a concubine by Agamemnon, cf. l. 43-4 (even if both deeds were meant to prove the impiety of both figures) – for discussion see Gantz (1993) 92-3.
[123] Eur. *Tro*. 310-13: ὦ Ὑμέναι' ἄναξ· | μακάριος ὁ γαμέτας· | μακαρία δ' ἐγὼ βασιλικοῖς λέκτροις | κατ' Ἄργος ἁ γαμουμένα.
[124] Rehm (1994) 14, Vermeule (1979) 72-4.
[125] Cf. Rehm (1994) 14-17 (and fig. 6), 48-9.

delight at 'opening wide the gates' to welcome Agamemnon home [126] and metaphorically leads Kassandra through these gates: in fact, the gates of Hades in Kassandra's eyes (*Ag*. 1291: *Ἅιδου πύλας*) – according to her, the palace smells as if it were a tomb (*Ag*. 1311: *ὅμοιος ἀτμὸς ὥσπερ ἐκ τάφου πρέπει*). The chorus of Furies act as the celebrants in the wedding procession and sing the hymn outside the bridal chamber, but they never leave the palace[127]. Kassandra sees herself as a kind of sacrificial victim, a preliminary offering that precedes Agamemnon's burial.[128] The hellish metaphor, or rather the ritual perversion in this case, serves (as in both the above-mentioned cases) to enhance the unbearable irony of the tragic events, which finds its culmination in the words of Hecuba, who (preparing the corpse of Polyxena for washing) calls her daughter 'a weddingless bride and a married virgin' (Eur. *Hec*. *νύμφην τ' ἄνυμφον παρθένον τ' ἀπάρθενον*), lying in a 'marriage bower of Hades' (Eur. *Hec*. 483: *Ἅιδα θαλάμους*).

The conversion of grave into bridal chamber finds its most explicit manifestation in the story of Antigone, who is, as it were, cursed by Kreon to marry somebody in 'the house of Hades'[129]: the caverned rock which becomes her grave is called 'the bridal chamber of the maid and Hades' (Soph. *Ant*. 1204-5: *λιθόστρωτον κόρης | νυμφεῖον Ἅιδου κοῖλον*). As is revealed later on, in the chamber two corpses are lying and the marriage is consummated in the Underworld (*Ant*. 241-2: *Κεῖται δὲ νεκρὸς περὶ νεκρῷ, τὰ νυμφικὰ | τέλη λαχὼν δείλαιος εἰν Ἅιδου δόμοις*)[130].

[126] Aesch. *Ag*. 600-10: *ὅπως δ' ἄριστα τὸν ἐμὸν αἰδοῖον πόσιν | σπεύσω πάλιν μολόντα δέξασθαι – τί γὰρ | γυναικὶ τούτου φέγγος ἥδιον δρακεῖν, | ἀπὸ στρατείας ἄνδρα σώσαντος θεοῦ | πύλας ἀνοῖξαι;*
[127] Aesch. *Ag*. 1186 (*τὴν γὰρ στέγην τήνδ' οὔποτ' ἐκλείπει χορὸς*), 1191-2 (*ὑμνοῦσι δ' ὕμνον δώμασιν προσήμεναι | πρώταρχον ἄτης*).
[128] Aesch. *Ag*. 1277-8: *βωμοῦ πατρῴου δ' ἀντ' ἐπίξηνον μένει, | θερμῷ κοπείσης φοίνιον προσφάγματι.*
[129] Cf. Soph. *Ant*. 654: *τὴν παῖδ' ἐν Ἅιδου τήνδε νυμφεύειν τινί.*
[130] On the basis of this passage the double entendre of Haimon's suicide in lines 1236-9 (*ἐς δ' ὑγρὸν | ἀγκὼν' ἔτ' ἔμφρων παρθένῳ προσπτύσσεται· | καὶ φυσιῶν ὀξεῖαν ἐκβάλλει ῥοὴν | λευκῇ παρειᾷ φοινίου σταλάγματος*), claimed by Rehm (1994: 65), who assumes that 'both the seminal emission of

The symbolic conflation of funeral and wedding rites found its expression outside tragedy only in funerary inscriptions, where, as we have seen, the death of an unmarried girl is called her wedding and the grave itself the bridal chamber of Persephone[131]; in some cases also a young man is said to be married to Persephone[132]. The phrase Φερσεφονείας ἥξω θαλάμους (Eur. *Supp*. 1022) seems to be a common metaphor describing the act of entering the Underworld both in Greek tragedies and Attic grave epigrams. Such expressions may prove that the notion of the Underworld has changed to some extent: for the phrase not only designates a grave, but the Underworld itself[133], as proved by Aeschylus in *Persae* (624): θαλάμους ὑπὸ γῆς. If tomb and underworld are interchangeable in this way, it should not come as a surprise that the ghost of Darius is evoked at his tomb.

Although Persephone met Hades literally (was taken by him and married to him, according to the Eleusinian myth), the metaphor of a young woman's death and Hades' espousal of her has nothing in common with the myth. The metaphor consists simply in the conflation of some similar elements (e.g., the youth of the maiden enhanced by the emphasis on her virginity[134], a veil for the bride and a shroud for the dead, etc.) and acts

male orgasm and the defloration of a virgin on her wedding night' are suggested, is not only unfortunate, but also unjustified.

[131] *CEG* (4th c. BC, Attica): 489, 510, 513, 592, 593, 575; *AP* 7. 182-3, 185, 188, 492, 547. Interesting are especially the later developments of this poetics, where we find that Hades was jealous and that is why he abducted a child or wife (here the metaphor is not limited only to unmarried women): Merkelbach/Stauber 16/43/03-04, 16/45/08, 16/45/11; or even that Persephone was angry because somebody was more beautiful than her (Merkelbach/Stauber 03/06/07) – to some extent a parallel for the myth of Minthe echoes in them.

[132] *AP*. 7.507-8.

[133] Cf. the parallel Sumerian notion in Lisman (2013) 47ff. (*Enki's journey to the Underworld*, l. 301-303).

[134] Although *parthenos* is not a term for 'virgin', but a cultural form for 'unmarried' (for references see Rehm 1994: 159 n. 30), Iphigeneia (for instance) is called ἀταύρωτος in Aesch. *Ag*. 245, which, acc. to Henderson 1987 on Ar. *Lys*. 217, means 'chaste'; on the importance of virginity for marriage see Rehm *ad loc*. and Vérilhac and Vial (1998) 375: both agree that the chastity of a maiden had more to do with the legitimacy of the potential offspring and the future reputation of the *oikos* than with sexual purity *per se*,

performed during both events[135]. The parallels between these rituals are striking, indeed, but contrary to the myth (where Hades is a real bridegroom), here the lord of the dead acts in the narrative descriptions of weddings as death incarnate[136] and is experienced as death, not as the god. The exact meaning of his name in this context is clearly detectable when Pylades tells Orestes that Helen, when faced with death, will be married to Hades (Eur. *Or*. 1109: *ἀλλ' οὐκέθ', Ἅιδην νυμφίον κεκτημένη*), obviously in the sense 'destined to die'. Similarly, Kreon declares that he looks to Hades to break this marriage off (Soph. *Ant*. 575: *Ἅιδης ὁ παύσων τούσδε τοὺς γάμους ἐμοί*) and Antigone herself says that Hades, who puts all to sleep, is dragging her to the banks of Acheron (Soph. *Ant*. 810-13: *ἀλλά μ' ὁ παγ|κοίτας Ἅιδας ζῶσαν ἄγει| τὰν Ἀχέροντος | ἀκτάν*), to whom she will be married (Soph. *Ant*. 816: *ἀλλ' Ἀχέροντι νυμφεύσω*). Hades in these contexts is thus a purely poetical metaphor created on the basis of the fact that marriage, exactly like death, consists in the forceful uprooting of women from the safety they have got used to. A woman on her way to the 'houses of Hades' may also be seen as if she were going to marry him in the sense that marriage was women's natural and usual reason for moving *oikos*. And this fact might have resulted in such a metaphor, especially when the woman was young and unmarried. The figure of Persephone cannot serve here as an explicit parallel or template (even if seeing her as a prefiguration of a maid taken by death when young is tempting) because such a notion is not attested in ancient sources; we are dealing here with a literary convention, not religious thought. Furthermore, ordinary people do not marry gods or have any sort of sexual intercourse with them in Greek cult[137]. There is only one bride of Hades, as is subtly highlighted in the words of the chorus from Euripides' *Alcestis* directed to Alcestis: 'if good people

although the issue is difficult because all we know about it is connected with aristocratic groups, who were serious about it for obvious reasons.

[135] For reference see n. 111.

[136] For Hades as Thanatos or simply the act of death, see section II 2.1.

[137] But note the exception during the Anthesteria: Dem. 59.73, 76.

have any advantage there too, may you have a share in it and sit as attendant beside Hades' bride' (744-6: *εἰ δέ τι κἀκεῖ/ πλέον ἔστ' ἀγαθοῖς, τούτων μετέχουσ'/ Ἄιδου νύμφῃ παρεδρεύοις*)[138]. Alcestis was abducted by Hades literally[139], but not to marry him.

Another linking element clearly visible and repeated in the metaphor is the notion of the youthfulness (or *akme*) of Hades' 'victims'; some comments on it also occur in ancient sources, which point out that Hades delights in such victims. Klytaemnestra asks whether Hades had greater desire to feast on her offspring (i.e., Iphigenia) than on Helen's[140]. Here the god of the dead is, as it were, the recipient of a sacrificial victim, and the escalation of factual despair after the loss of the child is given a macabre touch. Kreusa says that her child is growing up in the houses of Hades[141], although any parallel to the lot of the maiden is hardly visible. Here the emphasis on bitter loss relates less to the child than to the parent, because of children's special importance for aged parents[142]. This is explicitly indicated in the cry of the chorus of Argive women whose sons died at the Theban gates: no one will take care of them in their old age because their children belong to Hades now[143].

1.4.3 Offspring of Hades

Although it seems odd at first glance to think about the 'offspring of Hades', as the grim lord and his realm are hardly associated with any life, an unorthodox tradition (*i.e.*

[138] Cf. the dedication to Plouton and the Nymph (Persephone) from Larisa (4th c. BC): *SEG* 55.609.
[139] Cf. Eur. *Alc*. 259-64.
[140] Soph. *El*. 542-3: Ἢ *τῶν ἐμῶν Ἄιδης τιν' ἵμερον τέκνων | ἢ τῶν ἐκείνης ἔσχε δαίσασθαι πλέον;*
[141] Eur. *Ion* 953: *οὐκ ἤρκεσ'· Ἄιδου δ' ἐν δόμοις παιδεύεται*.
[142] Lacey (1980) 116-18.
[143] Eur. *Supp*. 921-4: *νῦν Ἄιδας τὸν ἐμὸν | ἔχει μόχθον ἀθλίας,| ἐγὼ δὲ γηροβοσκὸν οὐκ ἔχω, τεκοῦσ' | ἃ τάλαινα παῖδα*.

neither Homer nor Hesiod) alludes to his alleged offspring: the Erinyes and Zagreus. It does not seem that they emerged as a late figment of imagination only because they survived in late, quite eclectic thought; some traces may prove that the ancients connected some of these figures with Hades even in very early times.

1.4.3.1 Erinyes

The oldest reference to the parents of the Erinyes comes from the *Theogony*[144], from which we learn that they sprang from the Earth fertilised with the blood of Ouranos after he had been castrated by Kronos; they embodied the curse of the crime they were born of: the attack of a child on the father, which is visible in literary tradition[145]. The same literary tradition also places them alongside Hades and Persephone, but as their servants and executors on their behalf, not as their offspring[146].

The only source which explicitly states the Erinyes are daughters of the Underworld couple are the Orphic *Hymns*: *ἁγναὶ θυγατέρες μεγάλοιο Διὸς χθονίοιο | Φερσεφόνης τε* (70.2-3)[147]. The Orphic *Rhapsodies* remain inconsistent because Prodicus in his commentary on Plato's *Cratylus* refers once to Persephone and Apollo[148] and twice to Hades and Persephone as parents of the Erinyes; for both instances he gives quotations.

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[144] Hes. Th. 176-185: *ἦλθε δὲ νύκτ' ἐπάγων μέγας Οὐρανός, ἀμφὶ δὲ Γαίῃ | ἱμείρων φιλότητος ἐπέσχετο, καί ῥ' ἐτανύσθη | πάντῃ· ὁ δ' ἐκ λοχέοιο πάις ὡρέξατο χειρὶ | σκαιῇ, δεξιτερῇ δὲ πελώριον ἔλλαβεν ἅρπην, | μακρὴν καρχαρόδοντα, φίλου δ' ἀπὸ μήδεα πατρὸς | ἐσσυμένως ἤμησε, πάλιν δ' ἔρριψε φέρεσθαι | ἐξοπίσω. τὰ μὲν οὔ τι ἐτώσια ἔκφυγε χειρός· | ὅσσαι γὰρ ῥαθάμιγγες ἀπέσσυθεν αἱματόεσσαι, | πάσας δέξατο Γαῖα· περιπλομένων δ' ἐνιαυτῶν | γείνατ' Ἐρινῦς τε κρατερὰς μεγάλους τε Γίγαντας*; cf. Apollod. 1.3.1-5.

[145] See the section below.

[146] Cf. *Il.* 9.456-57, 9.566-71 and sections II 2.2-3.

[147] Cf. *HOrph*. 29.6-7: *Εὐμενίδων γενέτειρα* [Φερσεφόνη], *ὑποχθονίων βασίλεια, | ἣν Ζεὺς ἀρρήτοισι γοναῖς τεκνώσατο κούρην*; note that in 69.8 only Hades is mentioned as a parent: *Ἀίδεω χθόνιαι, φοβεραὶ κόραι*; cf. Verg. *Aen*. 7.327.

[148] OF 284 Bernabé (= Procl. *in Plat. Cratyl*. 96, 19 Pasquali): *αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλωνος θαλερὸν λέχος εἰσαναβᾶσα | τέξεαι ἀγλαὰ τέκνα πυρὶ φλεγέθοντα προσώποις* (*προσεχῆ δὲ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔλαχον αἱ ἡλιακαὶ ἀρχαὶ μετὰ τὰς ζωογονικὰς· διὸ καὶ παρ' Ὀρφεῖ ἡ Δημήτηρ ἐγχειρίζουσα τῇι Κόρηι τὴν βασιλείαν φησίν·*); cf. *HOrph*. 70.6-7.

He says that Persephone joined with Hades gave birth to *τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὑποχθονίοις* Εὐ*μενίδας*[149] and again that by the third demiurge (*scil*. Hades) she gives birth to the nine daughters with gleaming eyes, creating flowers[150].

The Orphic quotations are isolated references which seem to be insufficient to prove that the ancients might have seen the goddesses of revenge as daughters of the nether lord; in tragedy they are regarded as children of Nyx (but this genealogy may equally well have resulted from conflation with Keres)[151]. On the other hand, Hades and Nyx were associated in some way through the aspect of darkness they share[152] and it is not impossible that his figure is alluded to by Sophocles when he speaks of Erinyes (*OC* 40) as Γ*ῆς τε καὶ Σκότου κόραι*. The connections of the Erinyes with the Underworld are strong and well established, as may be inferred from their epithets: *κατάπτυστοι κόραι* (Aesch. *Eum*. 68), *ἔμφοβοι θεαί* (Soph. *OC* 39-40), *λωβητῆρες ὑστεροφθόροι* (Soph. *Ant*. 1075), *νερτέρους ἀλάστορας* (Eur. *Med*. 1059), *ἀνωνύμοις θεαῖς* (Eur. *IT* 944)[153]; they appear also in the Underworld on Apulian vases[154]. The connection with the Underworld is expressed best probably in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* (69-73): *γραῖαι παλαιαὶ παῖδες, αἷς οὐ μείγνυται | θεῶν τις οὐδ' ἄνθρωπος οὐδὲ θήρ ποτε – | κακῶν δ' ἕκατι κἀγένοντ', ἐπεὶ κακὸν | σκότον νέμονται Τάρταρόν θ' ὑπὸ χθονός, | μισήματ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων*. The Erinyes here are not only as hateful to mortals and gods as Hades is, but also reflect an infertile/sterile aspect of the gloomy realm; their

[149] *OF* 292 Bernabé (=Procl. *in Plat. Cratyl*. 95, 10 Pasquali): *διὸ καὶ Περσεφόνη καλεῖται μάλιστα τῶι Πλουτῶνι συνοῦσα καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ διακοσμοῦσα τὰ τελευταῖα τοῦ παντός, καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὰ ἄκρα παρθένος εἶναι λέγεται καὶ ἄχραντος μένειν, κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον ζεύγνυσθαι τῶι Ἅιδηι καὶ συναπογεννᾶν τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὑποχθονίοις* Εὐμενίδας.

[150] *OF* 293 Bernabé (= Procl. *in Plat. Cratyl*. 106, 5 Pasquali): *τίκτεν … | ἐννέα θυγετέρας γλαυκώπιδας ἀνθεσιουργούς* (*…κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς Περσεφόνης γόνιμον δύναμιν καὶ προσιέναι καὶ συνάπτεσθαι τῶι τρίτωι δημιουργῶι καὶ τίκτειν, ὥς φησιν Ὀρφεύς·*). Robertson (2010) 102 thinks that the epithet *ἀνθεσιουργός* 'recalls the emblematic flowers in Peloponnesian cults, especially the 'use' of flowers that Pausanias remarks at Sicyon'.

[151] Aesch. *Eum*. 320-3: *μᾶτερ ἃ μ' ἔτικτες, ὦ μᾶτερ Νύξ, ἀλαοῖσι καὶ δεδορκόσιν ποινάν, κλῦθ'*. See also West ad *Th*. 185, 217.

[152] Cf. Soph. *Aj*. 660: *ἀλλ' αὐτὸ νὺξ Ἅιδης τε σῳζόντων κάτω*; see section II 2.1.

[153] Note that Hesiod (*Op*. 154) calls the dead *νώνυμνοι*.

[154] See representations in section I 3.1.

epithets and the general picture of them in literature, in fact, may serve as a sufficient explanation for their identification as offspring of Hades and Persephone in later thought. Additionally, a supporting argument for the association of Erinyes with the Underworld couple is provided by Parker's observation that although Erinyes (Semnai Theai/Eumenides) 'do not, to our knowledge, help plants to grow (…), when enraged they are the vehicles and embodiments of pollution, one symptom of which is agricultural. When pollution is absent, then all things flourish. They represent the moral dimension to fertility, the sense in which a people's flourishing depends on observance of certain rules of conduct'[155].

1.4.3.2 Zagreus

The figure of Zagreus is a dim one as he has no representations in art and, even if he appears in literary texts reasonably early, the preserved passages do not shed much light on him. We hear about him for the first time from the poet of the *Alkmaionis* (fr. 3 West), where he is invoked together with Ge, and both are called the highest among all the gods: *πότνια Γῆ Ζαγρεῦ τε, θεῶν πανυπέρτατε πάντων*. Taking into consideration the fact that the poem was about Alcmaeon, the son of Amphiaraos, the underworld aspect of the deity seems to be quite strong[156]. Furthermore, in a fragmentarily preserved play by Aeschylus, *Sisyphus the Runaway* (fr. 228 Radt), Zagreus is apparently identified as a son of Hades: *Ζαγρεῖ τε νῦν μοι καὶ πολυξένῳ <πατρὶ>*

[155] Parker (2005) 418, see also (1983) 107, 279-80; for cult of the nethergod and Semnai Theai at Athens see section III 4.1.
[156] Cf. Soph. *El*. 841 and section I 3.1; see also Parker (1983) 377. West in his commentary *ad loc*. says that the line may 'come from a prayer in which Alcmaeon called upon the powers of the earth to send up his father'.

χαίρειν[157]. However, Aeschylus is inconsistent in applying the name: in his *Egyptians* (fr. 5 Radt) it is said to designate Hades himself[158].

It has been thought that from Euripides' *Cretans* (fr. 472.11 Kannicht) onwards Zagreus tends to become partly syncretised with Dionysus: the narrator of the fragment informs us that he became a μύστης of Idaean Zeus, a herdsman of night-wandering Zagreus (βουτὰς νυκτιπόλου Ζαγρέως), he accomplished the feasts of raw flesh and held aloft torches of the Kuretes to the Mountain Mother and was raised to the holy estate and named Bakchos[159]. The term *Bacchos* is taken by many scholars as a sufficient argument to link Dionysos with Zagreus[160] given the mention of raw-flesh feasts; but the connection between these lines is not certain and they may be read separately equally well[161]. The identification of the two deities is supported, in fact, only by Callimachus (fr. 43.117 Pfeiffer): υἷαι Διώνυσον Ζαγρέα γειναμένη(?)[162]; nonetheless, neither Euripides nor Callimachus says anything about the parents.

Scholars usually connect this name with the 'Orphic myth' about the origins of Dionysos[163] from Zeus and Persephone[164], but 'Zagreus' is never used in the 'Orphic'

[157] *Et. Gud*. s.v. Ζαγρεύς· τινὲς δὲ τὸν Ζαγρέα υἱὸν Ἅιδου φασίν, ὡς Αἰσχύλος ἐν Σισύφῳ, ἐν δὲ Αἰγυπτίοις οὕτως αὐτὸν τὸν Πλούτωνα καλεῖ.
[158] Although from the play only the name 'Zagreus' is preserved, the gloss in the preceding note confirms it as the name of Plouton.
[159] Eur. *Cret*. fr. 472.9-15 (Kannicht): ἁγνὸν δὲ βίον τείνων ἐξ οὗ | Διὸς Ἰδαίου μύστης γενόμην, | καὶ νυκτιπόλου Ζαγρέως βροντὰς | τοὺς ὠμοφάγους δαίτας τελέσας | μητρί τ' ὀρείῳ δᾷδας ἀνασχὼν | καὶ κουρήτων | βάκχος ἐκλήθην ὁσιωθείς.
[160] So Guthrie (1950) 46.
[161] Cf. similar confession on the so-called 'Orphic' gold leaf from Pherae: *OF* 493 (Bernabé), although the name *Bakchos* is restored.
[162] Only in *Et. Mag*. s.v. Ζαγρεύς do we find an additional note: ὁ Διόνυσος παρὰ ποιηταῖς· δοκεῖ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς μιγῆναι τῇι Περσεφόνηι, ἐξ ἧς χθόνιος ὁ Διόνυσος. Καλλίμαχος υἷα Διώνυσον Ζαγρέα γειναμένη. Suda and Hesych. s.v. give only: ὁ Διόνυσος παρὰ ποιηταῖς.
[163] West (1983) 140, Graf & Johnston (2007) 66-93, Bernabé (2002).
[164] Confirmation of this may be found in *HOrph*. 29.8, 30.6-7, 46-7, where he is called Eubouleus or Dionysos, but never Zagreus.

context and the whole myth seems to be a product of modern scholarship[165]; thus, there is no firm basis for the claim that Zagreus is an 'Orphic' face of Dionysos or that the name alludes to his 'chthonic' aspect: in the early literary tradition the name is clearly connected with the son of Hades or the grim lord himself. Callimachus' passage, even if we accept the gloss which accompanies it, does not exclude Hades as the father either[166]. The etymology of the name itself varies[167], but none of the proposals seems convincing.

1.5 Summarising remarks

The portrayal of the nethergod through the prism of his mythology reveals his very human condition: we hear about his coming into power over the dead, then about his marriage, lovers, children and royal entourage; we are also allowed to penetrate some nooks of his realm, very often having an impression that the world of the living was extended beyond real life. In most of the early myths his picture is mostly static; the only myth in which he takes part very actively is that about the abduction of Demeter's daughter; the only one in which he seems to be a secondary protagonist that about the abduction of Kerberos. His presence in all the myths discussed above, however, seems to be very natural, arising from the cosmic order consisting in alternation and balance. It should be noted that from the 'mortal' perspective all these myths were cardinal: constitutive and aetiological. Furthermore, from very early times the nethergod seems to be inherently connected with his main sphere of activity, the earth itself, and through her with everything that ends and comes into being.

[165] West (1983) 153, Edmonds (1999) 35-73, (2013) 296-9.
[166] For *Zeus Chthonios* see section III 4.1.
[167] For summary of proposals see West (1983) 153 with n. 39.

2. Nature of Hades

As we have seen, according to the mythological contexts, ruling and judging are two main roles ascribed to Hades by the world of the living. They closely depend one on the other and remain in a relation of constant mutual exchange, consequence and supplementation. Therefore, it is necessary to examine his modus operandi within these spheres to grasp manifestations of the god's very nature.

2.1 Lord of the dead

The god of the shades is entitled by ancient authors ἄναξ[168], κοίρανος[169], βασιλεύς[170]. Although the titulature does not seem to be surprising, as these titles are common among other gods as well and reflect the relation between mortals and immortals rather than between members of the divine society[171], what is indeed contrary to expectation is the fact that Hades rules over corpses and not souls. He is the god/lord/king of those below (ἐνέρων)[172], *i.e*. corpses, and he is never said to be the god/lord/king of souls (ψυχῶν) and it seems that if a *psychē* is sent to him it is always by someone else[173]

[168] *HDem*. 17, 342, 357, 430; Il. 20.61 (ἄναξ ἐνέρων), Soph. *OC* 1559 (ἐννυχίων ἄναξ); cf. *Il*. 15.188; Hes. *Th*. 850 (ἐνέροισι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσων).
[169] *PLG Adesp*. 92; *LSJ*: Boeot . for king.
[170] P. Heidelb. 178 =*Adesp*. 925.11 (Campbell), Aesch. *Pers*. 629 (βασιλεύς ἐνέρων). See also section III 7.
[171] Pleket (1981) passim.
[172] *Il*. 15.188, 20.61, Hes. *Th*. 850, *HDem*. 357, Aesch. *Pers*. 629.
[173] Cf. *Il*. 1.3: πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν.

because he himself sends under the earth the mortal bodies (*βρότεα σώματα*)[174]; ruling over the souls seems to belong to heroes[175]. As far as I am aware, the first association of the nethergod (if the interpretation of 'common treasurer' as referring to him is correct) with souls and not with corpses comes from the end of the 4th c. BC[176]: *σῶμα μὲν ἐνθάδε σόν, Διονύσιε, γαῖα καλύπτει | ψυχὴν δὲ ἀθάνατον κοινὸς ἔχει ταμίας*. The metaphor is bizarre and unattested for the god otherwise.

The nethergod's power is frequently highlighted in literature with epithets: we learn that he is *πελώριος*[177] (mighty) among the gods, *κρατερός*[178] (powerful), *μεγάς*[179] (great) and *ἴφθιμος*[180] (strong). But, paradoxically, the titles are given to him by the living, not by the dead, even if his main role, according to the succession myth[181], consists in ruling over the dead, or rather keeping the gates of his realm closed[182] so that nobody could leave it and live again. As we have seen earlier[183], the nethergod sometimes appears with a key in visual representations; according to Pausanias (5.20.3), he closed the Underworld with it so that nobody could leave it[184]. Perhaps even more important was that nobody could see the Underworld because it is terrible to look at even for gods

[174] Pind. *Ol*. 9.33-5: *Ἀΐδας ἀκινήταν ἔχε ῥάβδον, | βρότεα σώμαθ' ᾗ κατάγει κοίλαν πρὸς ἄγυιαν | θνᾳσκόντων*; cf. Sem fr. 1.13-14 (*IEG*): *τοὺς δ' Ἄρει δεδμημένους | πέμπει μελαίνης Ἀΐδης ὑπὸ χθονός*. For the noun *νέκυς* designating a corpse see especially Clarke (1999) 157-228 and Il. 10.349 (*Ὣς ἄρα φωνήσαντε παρὲξ ὁδοῦ ἐν νεκύεσσι κλινθήτην*).
[175] Soph. *El*. 837-41: *Οἶδα γὰρ ἄνακτ' Ἀμφιάρεων χρυσοδέτοις ἔρ- | κεσι κρυφθέντα γυναι- | κῶν· καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ γαίας – | Ἔ ἔ, ἰώ. {ΧΟ.} πάμψυχος ἀνάσσει*.
[176] *IG* II^2 11169 (=*SEG* 59 308, *CEG* 593, *GVI* 1889).
[177] *Il*. 5.395.
[178] *Il*. 13.415; *H.ad Dem*. 404, 430.
[179] Hes. *fr*. 280.19 (Merkelbach-West).
[180] *Od*. 10.534, 11.47; Hes. *Th*. 455, 768, 774.
[181] See section II 1.2.
[182] Pausanias alludes to it (5.20.3), mentioning that Plouton on the relief from the Olympian Heraion is holding a key, with which he closed the Underworld so that nobody could exit from it (see section I 1.1.1).
[183] See section I 1.1.1.
[184] If the Underworld was at any time thought of as a 'treasury', then a metaphor of *κοινὸς ταμίας* as denoting the lord of the dead occurring in the funerary inscription discussed above finds some explanation.

(*Il*. 20.65)[185]. That is why the lord of the dead, after Poseidon's shaking of the earth, was full of fear (ἔδεισεν)[186], jumped down from his throne and shouted (ἐκ θρόνου ἆλτο καὶ ἴαχε) at Poseidon lest he should break up the surface of the earth and show to the whole world what was hidden beneath.

We may risk the assumption that Hades embodies his kingdom of doom (or the other way round: the kingdom is his manifestation)[187] because the underworld, or better deadly, aspect is somehow inscribed in the god's existence. This point is subtly highlighted by Pindar's expression ἄγαλμ' Ἀΐδα (*Nem*. 10.67), a metaphor for a grave marker belonging, or consecrated, to Hades. *Agalmata* were considered as something in which the gods delight, and in which they were mirrored[188]. This expression also reflects the god's actual presence in the world of the living: on the one hand the tomb is also a kind of a cult place, on the other, at this point human life might be considered as, say, a realisation of destiny, since Hades is the lot: ἕτεροι λαχόντες Ἄΐδαν (Pind. *Pyth*. 5.96)[189].

The name of the god appears also in metaphorical descriptions of the moment of death, enclosed in common formulas such as 'going to the houses of Hades'[190] or 'passing the

[185] *Il*. 20. 64-5: οἰκία δὲ θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι φανείη | σμερδαλέ', εὐρώεντα, τά τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ.
[186] Hades can be seen trembling (Hes. *Th*. 850: τρέε) once again when Zeus is killing Typhoeus, and appears so because of the 'unquenchable' clamor and terrible battle strife.
[187] For the problem of the meaning of Hades see section III 1.
[188] In a metaphorical way Apollo is said in Aristonoos' pean to be an agalma of Leto and Zeus, Colin (1909-13) III 2 no. 191.
[189] Graves were, perhaps, also seen as 'entrances' to the Underworld, which may be indicated by deposition of curse tablets in them; cf. the raising of Darius in Aeschylus' *Persae*.
[190] **δόμος** (sg. and pl.): *Il*. 3.222, 6.284, 6.422, 7.131, 7.330, 11.263, 14.457, 15.251, 20.336, 22.52, 22.482, 23.19, 23.74, 23.103, 23.179, 24.246; *Od*. 3.410, 6.11, 9.524, 10.175, 10.491, 10.512, 10.560, 10.564, 11.65, 12.21, 14.208, 15.350, 20.208, 24.264; Ibyc. 282C (P.Oxy. 3538 (xv) fr. 30; Campbell); Sim. in *AP* 7.251.1; Bakch. *fr*. 60.20; Hermip. *fr*. 48 (Wehrli), Theog. 244, 917, 1014, 1124 (*IEG*); Antimach. 97.1 (Wyss); Pind. *Pyth*. 3.11; Adespota 925.11 (P. Heidelb. 178; Campbell); **σταθμός**: Pind. *Ol*. 10.92; **στόμα**: Pind. *Pyth*. 4.44; **μυχός**: Anacr. 50.10-11 (PMG); Adespota 925.10 (P. Heidelb. 178; Campbel).

gates of Hades'[191], sometimes in elliptic form[192]; another way of speaking about dying appears in phrases: 'to be sent forth to Hades'[193], 'to welcome Hades'[194] or 'Hades receives somebody'[195]. There is also some evidence for understanding the god's figure as death incarnate[196], even if Thanatos' figure is present and develops at the same time. It is clearly visible especially in Euripides' *Alcestis*, when the title protagonist feels that someone is taking her and suddenly the figure materialises before her eyes and she sees that it is winged Hades, glowering from beneath his dark brows[197] (it seems significant that Admetus does not see him). In the next lines (268ff) she highlights that Hades is near (*πλησίον Ἄιδας*)[198] and that night creeps darkly over her eyes (*σκοτία δ' ἐπ' ὄσσοισι νὺξ ἐφέρπει*). This is clearly a description of death and Hades is apparently acting here as death incarnate, which is confusing to a certain point because Thanatos also appears in the play not only as a protagonist, but also as the one who leads the soul to the underworld and drinks the blood of the freshly deceased[199]. The conflation is noticeably enhanced by the general appearance of Hades in the tragedy as a winged figure (*πτερωτός*) – typical for artistic representations of Thanatos, but never true of the

[191] *Il*. 5.646, 9.312, 23.71; Theog. 427 (*IEG*).
[192] *Il*.16.856, 20.294, 21.48, 22.213, 22.362, 22.425, 23.76, 23.137, 23.244; *Od*. 10.502; Alc. 1.1.33 (*PMG*); Stes. S39 (P.Oxy. 2617 fr. 29; Campbel), 222B (P.Oxy. 3876 fr. 37; Campbell); Sim. in *AP* 7.25.10; Sol. 24.8 (*IEG*); Mimn. 2.14 (*IEG*); Tyrt. 12.38 (*IEG*); Theog. 802, 906 (*IEG*); Antimach. 11.1 (Wyss); although some scholars raised the possibility that Hades in such expressions designates the Underworld (see Beekes 1998: 18 and *RE* s.v. *Plouton*), it should be pointed out that grammatically it cannot be excluded that the phrases refer to the god himself.
[193] *Il*. 1.3, 5.190, 6.487, 11.55.
[194] Pind. *Isth*. 6.15.
[195] Sem 7.117 (*IEG*).
[196] Sometimes the name seems to be used also as a common noun: see, for instance, Soph. fr. 941 Radt (*Incert.Fab*.): Kypris *ἔστιν μὲν Ἄιδης, ἔστι δ' ἄφθιτος βίος*,
[197] Eur. *Alc*. 259-61 (*ἄγει μ' ἄγει τις· ἄγει μέ τις – οὐχ ὁρᾷς; –| νεκύων ἐς αὐλάν, | ὑπ' ὀφρύσι κυαναυγέσι | βλέπων πτερωτός* – †˝A ˛δας†).
[198] Cf. Eur. *IT* 486 (*Ἄιδην ἐγγὺς ὄντ'*), *Hyp*. 1047 (*ταχὺς γὰρ Ἄιδης ῥᾷστος ἀνδρὶ δυστυχεῖ*), Soph. *OC* 1439-40 (*Καὶ τίς ἄν σ' ὁρμώμενον | εἰς προῦπτον Ἄιδην οὐ καταστένοι, κάσι;*).
[199] Eur. *Alc*. 24-26 (*ἤδη δὲ τόνδε Θάνατον εἰσορῶ πέλας, | ἱερᾶ θανόντων, ὅς νιν εἰς Ἄιδου δόμους | μέλλει κατάξειν*), 870-1 (*τοῖον ὄμηρόν μ' ἀποσυλήσας | Ἄιδῃ Θάνατος παρέδωκεν*); similarly in *Med*. 1109-11 (*εἰ δὲ κυρήσαι | δαίμων οὕτως, φροῦδος ἐς Ἄιδην | θάνατος προφέρων σώματα τέκνων*).

lord of the dead[200], contrary to literature: we know no passage which would prove whether Thanatos was winged or not[201].

The 'thanatic' aspects of Hades are also visible in the often-used phrase ‘to escape Hades’[202], which means simply ‘to avoid death’. Moreover, Hades may catch somebody[203] or the Moira of Hades may be suddenly revealed[204] as well as one may see ‘Hades near their life’[205]. The wildness of the nethergod is expressed by epithets and verbs referring to hunting which present Hades as δημιουργὸς ἄγριος (Soph. *Aj*. 1035), στυγνός βασιλεύς καὶ ἄγριος (Bion 1.52 Gow), who πρόπαντας πανδοκεὺς ἀγρεύσεται (Lycophr. *Alex*. 655). Many literary pictures use Hades’ name to exaggerate the death context by giving it an air of the macabre, exacerbating the atmosphere of terror: we saw above how, according to Klytaemnestra, Hades had a great desire to feast on her offspring[206]. The name of the lord of the dead may also serve as a proper adjective to render the hellish character of an event or of a murderous trait in a figure[207]. Furthermore, interestingly, some attributes of Hades and Thanatos seem to overlap too: blood is shed on earth ξίφεσιν σιδαρέοισιν Ἄιδα (Eur. *Or*. 1399); an iron sword is usually an attribute of Thanatos in art. Thus, the whole picture of Hades-Death suits the Hesiodic description of Thanatos (*Th*. 764-6) very well: τοῦ [Θανάτου] δὲ σιδηρέη μὲν

[200] Shapiro (1993).
[201] But we might assume it, given that Homer pointed out the swiftness of Thanatos and Hypnos (*Il*. 16.671-2: πέμπε δέ μιν πομποῖσιν ἅμα κραιπνοῖσι φέρεσθαι | ὕπνῳ καὶ θανάτῳ διδυμάοσιν). Black-winged are Oneiroi in Eur. *Hec*. 71 (μελανοπτερύγων μῆτερ [Χθών] ὀνείρων), or Nyx in Ar. *Av*. 695 (Νὺξ ἡ μελανόπτερος).
[202] Eur. *Alc*. 957 (πέφευγεν Ἄιδην), *Tro*. 597 (ἔκφυγεν Ἄιδαν), Aesch. *Ag*. 667 (Ἄιδην πόντιον πεφευγότες).
[203] Soph. *El*. 949 (Ἄιδης λαβών).
[204] Soph. *OC* 1220-3 (ὁ δ' ἐπίκουρος ἰσοτέλεστος, | Ἄϊδος ὅτε Μοῖρ' ἀνυμέναιος | ἄλυρος ἄχορος ἀναπέφηνε, | θάνατος ἐς τελευτάν).
[205] Soph. *Ant*. 581 (ὅταν πέλας ἤδη τὸν Ἄιδην εἰσορῶσι τοῦ βίου).
[206] Soph. *El*. 542; similar picture: Eur. *Ion* 1496.
[207] Aesch. *Ag*. 1235 (θύουσαν Ἄιδου μητέρ', although in this case Klytaemnestra might be seen as mother of a groom verbatim, see section II 1.4.2.1), Eur. *Cycl*. 397 (Ἄιδου μαγείρῳ), *Hec*. 483 (Ἄιδα θαλάμους), 1076 (Βάκχαις Ἄιδου), *Ba*. 1157 (νάρθηκά τε, πιστὸν Ἄιδα, ἔλαβεν εὔθυρσον), Aesch. *Ag*. 1115 (ἢ δίκτυόν τί γ' Ἄιδου).

κραδίη, χάλκεον δέ οἱ ἦτορ | νηλεὲς ἐν στήθεσσιν· ἔχει δ' ὃν πρῶτα λάβῃσιν | ἀνθρώπων· ἐχθρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν.

Some physical features of Hades also reflect his deadly aspect. The lord of the dead is μέλας (Soph. *OT* 30)[208], μελαγχαίτας (Eur. *Alc*. 439) or κυανοχαίτης[209] (*HDem*. 347). Κύανεος in early Greek poetry meant simply 'dark' with a 'gleam' or 'lustre': we learn from Plato (*Tim*. 68c) that the colour is composed of 'bright' (λαμπρόν), 'white' (λευκόν) and 'deeply saturated black' (μέλαν κατακορές); the element of 'blueness' becomes associated with it in later poets[210]. It seems worth noticing that dark blue skin is quite commonly associated with a corpse[211]; furthermore, deities connected with earth are always associated with 'darkness'[212]. In the already mentioned passage (Eur. *Alc*. 262) Alcestis noticed that Hades was glowering from under dark-gleaming brows (ὑπ' ὀφρύσι κυαναυγέσι βλέπων), and something sinister is apparently palpable in this glare[213], especially given that αὐγή, first and foremost, signifies the light of the sun and here the gleam/light is κυάνεος; therefore, the eyes of Hades are as sunless as his abode[214]: they literally are dead. Hades not only looks from under his brows, but he also smiles with them as we read in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*: μείδησεν δὲ ἄναξ ἐνέρων Ἀϊδωνεὺς ὀφρύσιν[215], even if in general he is rather smileless (ἀμείδητος)[216];

[208] Note that the same epithet is also given to his abode: Theog. 1014 (*IEG*): εἰς Ἀίδου δῶμα μέλαν κατέβη.
[209] In Homer the epithet κυανοχαίτης is usually ascribed to Poseidon: *Il*. 13. 563; so too in Hes. *Th*. 276. Note, however, that the Underworld gates are κυάνεαι in Theog. 709 (*IEG*).
[210] Irwin (1974) 79-110; for understanding Greek colour perception in terms of presence and absence of light see Platnauer (1921) 153-162.
[211] Cf. the wall paintings in Tomba degli Demoni Azzurri in Tarquinia, 4th BC.
[212] For references see Irwin (1974) 173-187. Cf. Sem. 1.14 (West): πέμπει μελαίνης Ἀΐδης ὑπὸ χθονός.
[213] Cf. Aeschylus' description of Xerxes in *Persae* 81-2: κυάνεον δ' ὄμμασι λεύσσων φονίου δέργμα δράκοντος (his eyes glaring with the dark gaze of a murderous serpent).
[214] Eur. *Alc*. 436-7 (εἰν Ἀίδαο δόμοις τὸν ἀνάλιον οἶκον); 851-2 (εἶμι τῶν κάτω | Κόρης Ἄνακτός τ' εἰς ἀνηλίους δόμους); cf. Hes. *Op*. 153-5 with West 1978 *ad loc*. See also Theog. 707-10 (*IEG*): ὅντινα δὴ θανάτοιο μέλαν νέφος ἀμφικαλύψῃ, | ἔλθῃ δ' ἐς σκιερὸν χῶρον ἀποφθιμένων, | κυανέας τε πύλας παραμείψεται, αἵτε θανόντων | ψυχὰς εἴργουσιν καίπερ ἀναινομένας.
[215] *HDem*. 357-8.
[216] *AP* 7.439

again, like all the dead[217]. The passage from the *Hymn* turns our attention to some perverted and opaque nature of the god as his 'internal laughter' betrayed by a kind of 'teasing metonymy'[218] (his eyes 'are smiling' indeed) bespeaks the ambiguity of his consent to Zeus' order to send Kore back to her mother. Hades' smile is tricky, since he is doing this at the very moment when he is giving to Kore the pomegranate seeds, so he knows that she, come what may, will have to return to him. Grim (*νηλειής*) Hades laughed explicitly (*ἐγέλασσε*) only once, at the death of Tityros, and made him the mime of the dead[219].

Many early epithets of Hades are also connected with his realm: *πυλάρτης*[220] (guardian of the gates), *παγκοίτας*/*πάγκοινος*[221] (common to all), *πάνδοκος*[222]/ *πολυδέκτης*[223] (all-receiver, common to all), *πολυσημάντωρ*[224] (ruler of many), *πολυδέγμων*[225] (receiver of many), *πολύκοινος*[226] (common to many), *πολυξενώτατος*[227] (most hospitable), *νεκροδέγμων*[228] (receiving the dead), *πολυδάκρυος*[229] (tearful). These designations establish his role as the lord of the dead, who is additionally *στυγερός*[230] (hateful) or even *ἔχθιστος*[231] (most hateful/hostile to mortals among all the gods).

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[217] *AP* 7.58, 59
[218] Cf. Halliwell (2008) 526-7; note his comment on Pindar *Pyth*. 9.38 where Chiron 'laughs brightly (?) with his gentle eyebrows': 'Chiron's laughter – a response to a remarkable scenario (Apollo's coyly phrased but eagerly felt sexual desire for Cyrene, who is wrestling a lion in the background!) – is as it were intimated or betrayed not by normal reflexes but a more finely controlled reaction of the face'.
[219] *AP* 7.556.
[220] *Il*. 8.367, 13.415; *Od*. 11.277; cf. Myc. pu-ra-ta/Pulartas PY Jn 605, which may prove that the god was present also in the Mycenaean pantheon (Hades is not attested there, to my knowledge); see Heubeck & Hoekstra (1989) *ad loc*.
[221] Soph. *Ant*. 811, *El*. 137 respectively; note also that in funerary inscriptions the earth is common to all the dead: *CEG* 543.4, 6, 8-9 (*ca*. 350?, Attica).
[222] Adespota 925.11 (P. Heidelb. 178; Campbell).
[223] *HDem*. 9.
[224] *HDem*. 31, 84, 376.
[225] *HDem*. 17, 31, 404, 430; Adespota 925.10 (P. Heidelb. 178; Campbell).
[226] Soph. *Aj*. 1193
[227] Aesch. *Sup*. 157, cf. Aesch. fr. 228 Radt (πολύξενος).
[228] Aesch. *PV* 153.
[229] Eur. *Her*. 427.
[230] *Il*. 8.368; *H.ad Dem*. 395.
[231] *Il*. 9.158.

Homer puts ἔχθιστος together with ἀμείλιχος (implacable) and ἀδάμαστος (untamed, unsubdued), which may somehow explain the general attitude towards this god as the final instance overwhelming everything. He is κρυερός[232] lord of the darkling Night and idling Sleep[233], whose portions are mourning and wailing[234], but whose companions ἡ Λήθη καὶ ἡ Σιωπή[235]. According to Sophocles' ironic remark, Hades enriches himself with groans and tears[236]. The mourning wail, the hateful paean of Hades[237], is the chorus which the grim lord relishes[238]. Even if not explicitly evoked as a figure of death, Hades is defined as such also by deadly ephithets like θανάσιμος (Eur. *Hec*. 1032) and φόνιος (Eur. *Alc*. 225, Soph. *OC* 1689). His obscure destructive nature is probably most explicit in the Sophoclean passage: κακὰν ἐλπίδ' ἔχων ἔτι μέ ποτ' ἀνύσειν τὸν ἀπότροπον ἀΐδηλον Ἅιδαν (*Aj*. 608).

[232] Hes. *Op*. 153. This is probably an allusion to the Underworld as in *Sc*. 255 Tartaros is defined as such, but, of course, it could have been equally well a hint at the dead corpse or the tomb: cf. *GVI* 701.4 (κρυερὸς θάλαμος).
[233] Adesp. 92 (*PLG*): Νυκτός <τ'> ἀιδνᾶς ἀεργηλοῖό θ' Ὕπνου κοίρανος; cf. Soph. *Tr*. 501 (ἔννυχον Ἅιδαν), *Aj*. 660 (ἀλλ' αὐτὸ νὺξ Ἄιδης τε σῳζόντων κάτω), Eur. *Hyp*. 1388 (εἴθε με κοιμάσειε τὸν δυσδαίμον' Ἄιδου μέλαινα νύκτερός τ' ἀνάγκα). The dead are also referred to as οἱ ἐννύχιοι: Soph. *OC* 1559 (ἐννυχίων ἄναξ)
[234] Stes. 55 (*PMG*): κήδεα δὲ στοναχάς τ' Ἀίδας ἔλαχε; cf. Phrynich. 69 (CAF): [καὶ νιγ]λάρους θρηνεῖν, ἐν οἷσι Λάμπρος ἐναπέθνησκεν, | ἄνθρωπος ὢν ὑδατοπότης, μινυρὸς ὑπερσοφιστής, | Μουσῶν σκελετός, ἀηδόνων ἠπίαλος, ὕμνος Ἅιδου.
[235] Plut. *De E* 394a.
[236] Soph. *OT* 30 (Ἄιδης στεναγμοῖς καὶ γόοις πλουτίζεται).
[237] Aesch. *Sept*. 866-70 (ἡμᾶς δὲ δίκη πρότερον φήμης | τὸν δυσκέλαδόν θ' ὕμνον Ἐρινύος | ἀχεῖν Ἀίδα τ' | ἐχθρὸν παιᾶν' ἐπιμέλπειν).
[238] Eur. *Sup*. 75-8 (ἴτ' ὦ ξυνῳδοὶ κτύποι, | ἴτ' ὦ ξυναλγηδόνες, | χορὸν τὸν Ἄιδας σέβει, | διὰ παρῇδος ὄνυχα λευκὸν | αἱματοῦτε χρῶτά τε φόνιον· | τὰ γὰρ φθιτῶν | τοῖς ὀρῶσι κόσμος); cf. Eur. *Her*. 1025-30 (αἰαῖ, τίνα στεναγμὸν | ἢ γόον ἢ φθιτῶν | ᾠδάν, ἢ τὸν Ἄιδα χορὸν ἀχήσω; | φεῦ φεῦ· | ἴδεσθε, διάνδιχα κληῖδα | κλίνεται ὑψιπύλων δόμων). For examples in visual representations where certain rows of figures expressing mourning (sometimes placed outside the scene of the direct *threnos*) can in fact depict a 'funeral dance', see Ahlberg (1970) 175, Catoni (2008) 166-183.

2.2 Judge of the dead

Sophocles tells us that Hades is a power who knows no equity, and no favor, his one and only love is simply justice[239]. In Aeschylus' *Eumenides* the chorus of Furies assures us that Hades is the great judge (*μέγας εὔθυνος*) of mortals (from) beneath the earth as he watches all their acts and the tablets of his mind record them (*δελτογράφῳ δὲ πάντ' ἐπωπᾷ φρενί*)[240]. This passage explains, in fact, what is said several lines earlier: that even if Orestes flees beneath the earth, he will never be freed because he is a polluted suppliant (*ποτιτρόπαιος*) and in the darkness of the Underworld another avenger (*μιάστωρ*) is waiting for him[241]. Confirmation of the fact that Hades judges the deeds of the dead, committed while they were alive, may be found also in the *Suppliants*, where Danaos says that one who marries a woman against her and her father's will (*i.e.* by force) will not escape punishment even after death because there is another Zeus (*Ζεὺς ἄλλος*) to whom belongs the final judgement (*ὑστάτη δίκη*) upon the dead for their faults[242]. Several lines later Pelasgos, trying to solve his dilemma how to act in the Danaids' case, is afraid that the betrayal of suppliants will bring upon him the god of vengeance, *ἀλάστωρ* (which is surely appositional to *πανώλεθρος θεός* in the preceding

[239] Soph. fr. 770 Radt: *πρὸς δ' οἷον ἥξεις δαίμον' †ὡς ἔρωτα†* | *ὃς οὔτε τοὐπιεικὲς οὔτε τὴν χάριν* | *οἶδεν, μόνην δ' ἔστερξε τὴν ἁπλῶς δίκην*; cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom*. 2.124.1.
[240] Aesch. *Eum*. 273-5: *μέγας γὰρ Ἅιδης ἐστὶν εὔθυνος βροτῶν* | *ἔνερθε χθονός,* | *δελτογράφῳ δὲ πάντ' ἐπωπᾷ φρενί*.
[241] Aesch. *Eum*. 175-7: *ὑπὸ δὲ γᾶν φυγὼν οὔ ποτ' ἐλευθεροῦται,* | *ποτιτρόπαιος ὢν δ' ἕτερον ἐν κάρᾳ* | *μιάστορ' εἶσιν οὗ πάσεται*. Cf. *Eum*. 339-40.
[242] Aesch. *Supp*. 227-31: *πῶς δ' ἂν γαμῶν ἄκουσαν ἄκοντος πάρα* | *ἁγνὸς γένοιτ' ἄν; οὐδὲ μὴ 'ν Ἅιδου θανὼν* | *φύγῃ ματαίων αἰτίας, πράξας τάδε.* | *κἀκεῖ δικάζει ταὐτὸν πλακήμαθ', ὡς λόγος,* | *Ζεὺς ἄλλος ἐν καμοῦσιν ὑστάτας δίκας*.

line), who does not leave free even the dead in the Underworld[243]. Another piece of evidence that may allude to Hades' role as a judge (although slightly ambiguous because his name is supplied by the editors) comes from a fragmentarily preserved tragedy by Euripides, where Atreus says: Hades will judge 'these things'[244]. The surviving fragments of the play do not reveal its exact plot[245]; therefore, it is hard to say what in fact Hades is supposed to judge: Aerope's sexual wrongdoing, seduction by Thyestes or Atreus' cannibal retaliation. Finally, the last trace is visible in Hades' promise given to Persephone[246]: eternal vengeance (*τίσις*) upon those who do wrong and fail to propitiate her with sacrifices and gifts[247].

The assignation of roles, as judge and avenger, to Hades seems, nevertheless, extraordinary enough to deserve some discussion. First of all, according to the most traditional view (seen in Plato), the judges of the Underworld are three (Rhadamanthys, Aiakos and Minos), although the first testimony of their exact roles comes only from the beginning of the 4th c. BC[248]. The selection of judges is not surprising as they were regarded as patterns/paradigm of justice[249] and the conception of post-mortem

[243] Aesch. *Supp*. 413-6: *μήτ' ἐν θεῶν ἕδραισιν ὧδ' ἱδρυμέναις | ἐκδόντες ὑμᾶς τὸν πανώλεθρον θεὸν | βαρὺν ξύνοικον θησόμεσθ' ἀλάστορα,* | *ὃς οὐδ' ἐν Ἅιδου τὸν ἀλιτόντ' ἐλευθεροῖ.*

[244] Eur. fr. 465 Kannicht: *<Ἅιδης> κρινεῖ ταῦτ'* . . . . . The supplement is probably correct, cf. Ar. *Ves*. 762-3 (*τοῦτο δὲ | Ἅιδης διακρινεῖ πρότερον*).

[245] For possible solutions see Collard & Cropp (2008) 516-519.

[246] *HDem*. 367-9: *τῶν δ' ἀδικησάντων τίσις ἔσσεται ἤματα πάντα | οἵ κεν μὴ θυσίαισι τεὸν μένος ἱλάσκωνται | εὐαγέως ἔρδοντες ἐναίσιμα δῶρα τελοῦντες.*

[247] And we hear, indeed, that Persephone is exacting the penalty for her pristine grief from mortals, even if Hades is omitted: Pind. fr. 133 (Snell-Mehler); cf. *OF* 489-490 Bernabé (from Thourioi), where the soul says that it pays the penalty for unrighteous deeds (*πο<ι>νὰν δ'ἀνταπέ{ι}τε{σε}ι<ς>ἔργων ἕνεκα οὔτι δικα<ί>ων*; a similar idea may be seen also in *OF* 492: *ἀνταμοιβή*, and in *OF* 493: *ἄποινος ὁ μύστης*); this may correspond with *HDem*. 367 (*τῶν δ' ἀδικησάντων τίσις ἔσσεται ἤματα πάντα*). Interestingly, it seems that *τίσις* is also part of the etymology of Titans, as is observable in Hes. *Th*. 207-10 with West's comm. *ad loc*., which again may be seen in the above-mentioned verse from the so-called 'Orphic' gold leaves, echoing the murder of Dionysos by the Titans from which the soul has to be purified; for the conception that the human condition in the Orphic anthropogony is echoed in the 'impure sacrifice' see Vernant (1979) 82.

[248] Plat. *Gorg*. 524a. However, in *Apology* (41a) Plato added to the triad *Τριπτόλεμος καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι τῶν ἡμιθέων δίκαιοι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ ἑαυτῶν βίῳ*. From Plat. *Phd*. 107d-108c we know that the daimones lead souls for judgement to the Underworld.

[249] Cf. Dem. 18.127

judgement seems to be older than the 5th BC[250]. Pindar in *Ol*. 2.56-60 explicitly says that there is somebody in the Underworld who judges sins committed in the world of Zeus, but we cannot be sure to whom such a role is assigned. We hear about Rhadamanthys from Homer (*Il.* 14. 322, *Od.* 4. 564) and in Pindar (*Ol*. 2.75, P. 2.73) there is some connection between him and the Islands of the Blest, but still without exact denotation of him as one of the judges. Furthermore, Aiakos in Pindar (*Isth*. 8.24) is an arbitrator among the gods themselves and not a judge in the Underworld, but Isocrates (9.15) speaks about the honour done to him in being given a seat near the gods of the nether world[251]. It seems that no coherent conception of Hades' relation to the Underworld judges existed in Greek thought. It might have been that the notion of Hades as a judge existed in unreflective speech[252], whereas the idea of the three judges (pious mortals) was a more elaborated mythologised version.

On the other hand, as none of the early poets gives us a proper description of the Underworld, we cannot decide to whose duties judgement of souls belongs, and so Hades is not excluded; he seems in fact to be the most probable guess, especially given that (i) Agamemnon in his oath (*Il*. 3.278-9), calling upon those under the earth who punish the oath-breaker, means Hades and Persephone, as may be presumed; (ii) his judgement is, as stated in Aeschylus' *Suppliants* (231)[253], the final one; thus, the idea of justice in the Underworld does not contradict the notion that Zeus, the Olympian, usually enforces it in the upper world. It may even enhance Hades as the other Zeus.

[250] Cf. Rohde (1925) 246-7 n. 13.
[251] For Aiakos in the Underworld see section II 1.4.1.1.
[252] Especially that we hear that there are (unwritten) laws in the Underworld: Soph. *Ant*. 519 (Ὅμως ὅ γ' Ἅιδης τοὺς νόμους τούτους ποθεῖ).
[253] Johansen & Whittle (1980) *ad loc*. Suggest that there may be an allusion here to Osiris, who indeed acts in both the roles (lord and judge).

What is interesting, Dike[254], who sits by her father's (Zeus') side, tells him of the 'evil intentions'[255] of men in a fragmentarily preserved tragedy by Aeschylus; she says that she writes their transgressions on the tablet of Zeus and that she unfolds it at the day of their ordained fate[256]. That Hades watches all the acts of men and the tablets of his mind record them we know indeed from Aeschylus' *Eumenides* (275)[257]. Therefore, since Dike seems to represent one of the aspects of Zeus' power (analogically to, for instance, Kratos and Bie)[258], there is no contradiction in Zeus' sharing this aspect with the Zeus of the Underworld: he represents the same power over the dead as Zeus over the living; Hades seems to be, at least in tragedy, to some extent his double.

As an avenger, *i.e*. the guard of justice or embodied power of retribution, which may in fact result from his verdict, he seems to act twice as *μιάστωρ* and *ἀλάστωρ*[259]. But here again, as in Thanatos' case discussed above[260], we may have the impression that he does the job of the Erinyes[261]; he is said to send avenging ruin from beneath the earth against audacious, reckless human violence[262]: the pursuit and the torture of the damned delimit the Erinyes' sphere of activity. Even if they are sent by Hades (by the ancients they

[254] In the Underworld Dike is depicted near the palace of the nether rulers on the Apulian vase *LIMC* I no 12, but might be also read [Euri]Dike – Lissarrague (2006) 68-9.
[255] Hes. *Op*. 256. Worth noticing is the fact that some lines earlier (252) the poet speaks about thirty thousand (or 'thrice countless', see West's comm. *ad loc*) immortal *phylakes* who supervise mortals' transgressions.
[256] Aesch. fr. 281a 21 and 23 (Radt): *γράφουσα*] *τ̣ὰ̣<μ>π̣λακ̣ήματ' ἐ̣ν δέλτῳ Διό̣*[s. (...)]*ηι σφιν ἡμέρα τὸ κύριον*.
[257] For other examples of the usage of this metaphor see Aesch. *PV* 788-9, *Cho*. 450, Soph. *Pho*. 1325, fr. 597 (Radt) and Solmsen (1944) 27-30.
[258] See West's comm. ad *Op*. 259.
[259] The words *μιάστωρ*, *ἀλάστωρ* work in a very similar way; see Parker (1983) 107-9 and for references n. 245 and 247.
[260] See section II 2.1.
[261] The pattern of usage of the Eriny(e)s seems to be quite similar to that of the *alastor(es)*, as in general they tend to be thought of as a vague plurality (Aesch. *Pers*. 354, *Ag*. 1501, Soph. *OC* 788, Eur. *Hipp*. 820); in the passage in question (Aesch. *Eum*. 415), however, the *ἀλάστωρ* turns out to be spoken of as an individual divine figure. The same is visible in *Eumenides* (176-7), where the individuality of *μιάστωρ* is enhanced by the adjective *ἕτερος* (other).
[262] Aesch. *Cho*. 382-5: *Ζεῦ Ζεῦ, κάτωθεν ἀμπέμπων | ὑστερόποινον ἄταν,| βροτῶν τλάμονι καὶ πανούργῳ | χειρί, τοκεῦσι δ' ὅμως τελεῖται*.

were indeed regarded as the daughters or servants of Hades and Persephone[263]), they remain the executive force. However, the Underworld is never seen as the place of the Erinyes' activity: they, apparently, act in the world of the living. On the other hand, the vengeance deity in the Underworld may be considered as a kind of materialisation of abstract concepts (similarly to, for instance, Dike, Kratos, Bie, who appear to be embodied aspects of Zeus) and here we are dealing with some embodied aspects of Hades[264]. He is apparently the lord of the dead, so it would be odd for him to keep away from roles which seem to be naturally inscribed in his main one: causing death, judging the dead, punishing or taking revenge on the wrongdoer, especially if the fault or crime regards his realm of the dead, blood shedding or, say, the 'natural order' (especially homicide, immoral conduct, crimes against the gods, perjury), as we may observe in the passages quoted above. Another key question is of course about the form of punishment awaiting wrongdoers in the nether world because, although we hear about the 'great sinners' in the Underworld[265], we do not know who punished them and we do not know any fixed scale of punishments[266]. Nevertheless, Hades is never described actually punishing mortals in his realm.

[263] For their origins see section II 1.4.3.1.
[264] The Erinyes were similar to, if not the same as, the *Poinai* (Retaliations), *Arai* (Curses), *Praxidikai* (Exacters of Justice) and *Maniai* (Madnesses).
[265] For Tityos, Tantalos and Sisyphos see Sourvinou-Inwood (1986).
[266] A proposal is offered by Plato, who tells us about a place of torture in the world below, equated with mud, where water is carried by wrongdoers in sieves: Plat. *Resp*. 363d, Ar. *Ran*. 146-150; cf. Plat. *Gorg*. 493b, *Leg*. 9.870e, 872e-873. For description and interpretation of places in the Underworld dedicated to certain groups of mortals in 'Orphic' thought see Treu (1954) 37.

2.3 Praying to the lord of doom?

The presence of the lord of the dead in prayers, curses[267] and any other apostrophic contexts is extremely rare, especially if we exclude all the contexts containing a narrative description of a prayer to him[268] and take into consideration only those contexts in which a direct address to him appears[269]. The structure and language of the preserved literary prayers to Hades are apparently typical[270]. Nevertheless, here the two main aspects discussed above (death and punishment) are complemented by the context of ghost-raising, in which he is asked to send the souls of the dead to the world of the living. The other type of prayers to the nethergod certainly concerned crops, as is indicated by Hesiod's advice[271] that the farmers should pray (εὔχεσθαι) to Ζεὺς χθόνιος and Δήμητερ ἁγνή for good crops before sowing and ploughing; unfortunately only indirect testimonies are preserved[272].

Although, as we have seen, the nethergod never actually punishes mortals in his realm, in a certain relation to the punishment of transgressors (even if still alive) are two passages from the *Iliad*: in the first we hear Althaia's prayer to Hades and Persephone to avenge the loss of her brothers with death (the only information we possess is that an Erinys hears it, but nothing is said regarding whether she carries it out)[273]. In the

[267] For curses see sections II 4.1, 4.1.1, 4.2.
[268] *Il.* 9.456-57, *Od*. 10.533, 11.46, Hes. *Op*. 465, Soph. *Ant*. 1200.
[269] *Il*. 9.569, Aesch. *Cho*. 382-5, 400-9, *Ag*. 1291, 1387, *Pers*. 628-630, 649-50, fr. 273a Radt, Soph. *Tr*. 1085, *OC* 1556, *El*.110, Eur. *Hel*. 969, fr. 448a.57 (Kannicht), fr. 912 (Kannicht).
[270] For determinants of a prayer see Pulleyn (1997) 132-155.
[271] *Op*. 465-9: Εὔχεσθαι δὲ Διὶ χθονίῳ Δημήτερί θ' ἁγνῇ | ἐκτελέα βρίθειν Δημήτερος ἱερὸν ἀκτήν, | ἀρχόμενος τὰ πρῶτ' ἀρότου, ὅτ' ἂν ἄκρον ἐχέτλης | χειρὶ λαβὼν ὄρπηκι βοῶν ἐπὶ νῶτον ἵκηαι | ἔνδρυον ἐλκόντων μεσάβων.
[272] For discussion see section II 4.1.
[273] *Il*. 9.566-72: ἦ ῥα θεοῖσι | πόλλ' ἀχέουσ' ἠρᾶτο κασιγνήτοιο φόνοιο, | πολλὰ δὲ καὶ γαῖαν πολυφόρβην χερσὶν ἀλοία | κικλήσκουσ' Ἀΐδην καὶ ἐπαινὴν Περσεφόνειαν | πρόχνυ καθεζομένη, δεύοντο δὲ δάκρυσι κόλποι, | παιδὶ δόμεν θάνατον· τῆς δ' ἠεροφοῖτις Ἐρινὺς | ἔκλυεν ἐξ Ἐρέβεσφιν ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ ἔχουσα.

second[274] the Underworld couple fulfil Amyntor's wish for the childlessness of his son Phoinix (*θεοὶ δ' ἐτέλειον ἐπαρὰς | Ζεύς τε καταχθόνιος καὶ ἐπαινὴ Περσεφόνεια*), even though the prayer was directed towards the Erinyes (*στυγερὰς δ' ἐπεκέκλετ' Ἐρινῦς*).

The reason for the presence of Hades, Persephone and the Erinyes in these prayer contexts is revealed in a Sophoclean passage from which we learn that these divinities watch when blood is shed or adultery is committed[275]; Electra is asking the abode of Hades and Persephone, Hermes and the Erinyes to aid her to avenge the murder of her father and send her brother back. A similar situation can be seen in the *Choephoroi*, where both Orestes and Electra 'are demanding justice in place of injustice': Orestes prays first to Zeus (in this context, obviously, Hades himself), who sends up from below avenging ruin, ironically claiming that his parents both deserve to pay for their deeds, and then to the rulers of the Underworld, and the curses of the dead (*scil*. Erinyes) so that they may see what is left of the Atreid family[276]; Electra appeals to the Earth and gods below[277]. All this is enhanced and confirmed by the chorus' song, which assures us that it is certainly the law that when drops of blood flow to the ground, they demand other blood; for slaughter cries out for a Fury who comes from those who perished before to bring further ruin upon ruin[278]. In a fragment of Euripides, Cresphontes is

[274] *Il*. 9.456-57.
[275] S. *El*. 110-17: *ὦ δῶμ' Ἄϊδου καὶ Περσεφόνης, | ὦ χθόνι' Ἑρμῆ καὶ πότνι' Ἀρά, | σεμναί τε θεῶν παῖδες Ἐρινύες, | αἳ τοὺς ἀδίκως θνῄσκοντας ὁρᾶθ', | αἳ τοὺς εὐνὰς ὑποκλεπτομένους, | ἔλθετ', ἀρήξατε, τείσασθε πατρὸς | φόνον ἠμετέρου, | καί μοι τὸν ἐμὸν πέμψατ' ἀδελφόν*.
[276] Aesch. *Cho*. 382-5: *Ζεῦ Ζεῦ, κάτωθεν ἀμπέμπων | ὑστερόποινον ἄταν, | βροτῶν τλάμονι καὶ πανούργῳ | χειρί, τοκεῦσι δ' ὅμως τελεῖται*; 405-8: *πόποι δᾶ νερτέρων τυραννίδες, | ἴδετε πολυκρατεῖς ἀραὶ φθινομένων, | ἴδεσθ' Ἀτρειδᾶν τὰ λοίπ' ἀμηχάνως | ἔχοντα καὶ δωμάτων ἄτιμα*.
[277] Aesch. *Cho*. 398-9: *δίκαν [δ'] ἐξ ἀδίκων ἀπαιτῶ. | κλῦτε δὲ Γᾶ χθονίων τε τιμαί*.
[278] Aesch. *Cho*. 400-404: *ἀλλὰ νόμος μὲν φονίας σταγόνας | χυμένας ἐς πέδον ἄλλο προσαιτεῖν | αἷμα· βοᾷ γὰρ λοιγὸς Ἐρινὺν | παρὰ τῶν πρότερον φθιμένων ἄτην | ἑτέραν ἐπάγουσαν ἐπ' ἄτῃ*.

probably also seeking the help of Hades in taking revenge on Polyphontes, murderer of his father and brothers, and husband-by-force of his mother, Merope[279].

Interestingly, in all these prayers Hades is probably supposed to punish both murder and adultery with death[280]; only in Phoenix's case is the punishment embodied in childlessness, although it was his father who committed the adultery. The explanation might be that, seducing the mistress of his father, he in fact acted against his will.

The conclusion that can be drawn on the basis of these pieces of evidence is that Hades is a punitive force who can be applied against a great variety of transgressions. Odd to some extent seems to be the fact that he guards marriage, even if his own marriage is sterile in the orthodox tradition[281] and, because of that, quite contrary to what marriage was meant for in Greece. The other quite contradictory detail is that his own marriage was founded on violence, at least according to the myth[282]. Furthermore, Hades and 'those below' are surprisingly present in a metaphorical way in the world of the living as they are called as witnesses in the *Antigone*[283]. If we combine this with Agamemnon's oath in *Il*. 3.278-9, where he calls upon Zeus and Helios and 'those under the earth who punish the oath-breaker', we may draw a general conclusion that Hades is the one who punishes/judges the most serious crimes against the world of the living[284]. However, what should be noticed is that Hades does not punish all bloodshed,

[279] Eur 448a.57 Kannicht: ὦ νερτέρα χθὼν ..[ ].. ἄπο/ Ἄιδη θ' ὃς ἄρχει[ς] ..[ ]. κάτω/.ʽν .. ʽλεν ἐχθρα[ ].[Cf. Hyg. *Fab*. 137.

[280] Interestingly (and probably not without significance as dying also happens through the eyes – see section II 4.1), there are some examples (both in Greek mythology and history) of people being blinded for various kinds of sexual offences (Teiresias and Oedipus are probably the best ones) – for adultery, e.g. Ael. *VH* 13.24, Paus. 2.20.1; eyes were surely considered as potent sexual weapons (cf. Plat. *Phaed*. 255d). Cf. Saunders (1991) 83 and for other examples 358-60, Rehm (1994) 182 n. 22.

[281] For other views see the section 1.4.3.

[282] See section II 1.1.

[283] Soph. *Ant* 542: Ὦν τοὔργον Ἄιδης χοὶ κάτω ξυνίστορες. Cf. Aesch. *Cho*. 405-8 (n. 284).

[284] For Hades' cult characteristics of this kind see section III 4.1.

only that among relatives, which is certainly confirmed by the words of Menelaos, who calls Hades as his ally (*σὲ σύμμαχον καλῶ*): he received so many bodies slain by Menelaos' sword for Helen's sake as payment for her retrieval as wife (Menelaos treats killings in battle as a form of offering to Hades: cf. *ἐδέξω*); if Hades denies his prayer, Menelaos demands from Hades restoration to life of those whom he slew[285].

Another type of prayers to Hades may be categorised as those connected with death desired by the person praying to end their sufferings. Herakles prays to Hades to calm his sufferings with a swift-flying doom (*ὠκυπέτᾳ μόρῳ*)[286]. Kassandra prays not only for death, but also for the death to be quick and easy[287], although we cannot be sure to whom in fact she is directing her prayer. Contrary to Herakles (whose sufferings are unbearable, and that is why any death might be seen as a kind of salvation or even healing)[288], she, as a seer, knows very well that her fate is doomed and (because of the very human notion of death as something unpleasant and undefined) desires it to be immediate. Sometimes the prayer for euthanasia is directed to the deity on behalf of the sufferer: the chorus of *Oedipus Coloneus*, for instance, pray to Hades and Persephone, asking for a painless death for Oedipus[289]. Hades and Persephone are invoked primarily, but the prayer includes also Erinyes and Thanatos[290].

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[285] Eur. *Hel*. 969-74: *ὦ νέρτερ' Ἄιδη, καὶ σὲ σύμμαχον καλῶ, | ὃς πόλλ' ἐδέξω τῆσδ' ἕκατι σώματα | πεσόντα τῷμῷ φασγάνῳ, μισθὸν δ' ἔχεις· | ἢ νῦν ἐκείνους ἀπόδος ἐμψύχους πάλιν, | ἢ τήνδε πατρὸς εὐσεβοῦς ἀνάγκασον | κρείσσω φανεῖσαν τἀμά γ' ἀποδοῦναι λέχη*.
[286] S. *Tr*. 1041-3: *Ὦ Διὸς αὐθαίμων, ὦ γλυκὺς Ἀΐδας, | εὔνασον, εὔνασόν μ' | ὠκυπέτᾳ μόρῳ τὸν μέλεον φθίσας*.
[287] Aesch. *Ag*. 1291-4: *Ἄιδου πύλας δὲ τάσδ' ἐγὼ προσεννέπω· | ἐπεύχομαι δὲ καιρίας πληγῆς τυχεῖν, | ὡς ἀσφάδαστος, αἱμάτων εὐθνησίμων | ἀπορρυέντων, ὄμμα συμβάλω τόδε*.
[288] The earliest reference to euthanasia comes from Cratinus fr. 413 (*PCG*): *εὐθανάτως*; see also n. 287 (*εὐθνησίμων*). For Death as healer: Aesch. fr. 255 Radt, Eur. *Hipp*. 1373, Diphilus fr. 88 (*PCG*): Paian is usually applied to Apollo, but it seems also very proper for Thanatos, as he is also conceived as delivering mortals from the pains and sorrows of life, not to mention that the epithet also contains an allusion to *paiein* (to strike): both, Apollo and Thanatos, are regarded as destroyers.
[289] Soph. *OC* 1556-64: *Εἰ θέμις ἐστί μοι τὰν ἀφανῆ θεὸν | καὶ σὲ λιταῖς σεβίζειν, | ἐννυχίων ἄναξ, | Αἰδωνεῦ Αἰδωνεῦ, λίσσομαι | μὴ 'πιπόνῳ μήτ' ἐπὶ βαρυαχεῖ | ξένον ἐξανύσαι | μόρῳ τὰν παγκευ- | θῆ κάτω νεκρῶν πλάκα | καὶ Στύγιον δόμον*.
[290] Soph. *OC* 1568-78: *Ὦ χθόνιαι θεαὶ σῶμά τ' ἀνικάτου | θηρὸς ὃν ἐν πύλαισι | <ταῖσδε> πολυξένοις εὐνᾶσθαι | κυνζεῖσθαί τ' ἐξ ἄντρων | ἀδάματον φύλακα παρ' Ἀΐδᾳ | λόγος αἰὲν ἔχει· | ὃν, ὦ Γᾶς παῖ*

A different type of prayer or rather of summoning of Hades is visible in necromantic practices. Here the repertoire of the deities invoked also varies from that encountered in prayers for punishment or death discussed above. Hades is evoked alongside Ge and Hermes[291] instead of Persephone and the Erinyes, and he is regarded as the one who has the power to send the souls of the dead to the world of the living to reveal 'some truth'[292] or 'advice', which may confirm his general role as the ruler of the dead quite explicitly. The ghost-raising pattern with the advice-seeking theme seems quite archetypal, as it appears in the *Odyssey* and is explored by literature frequently, beginning with Aeschylus' *Persae*[293]: the structure of 'the Dareios-raising' as well as its liturgical language may mirror the real ritual and prayer performed in oracles of the dead[294].

Surprisingly, in all the prayers discussed the manner of addressing Hades with different names is not primarily euphemistic, as it might seem: it serves (or is determined by) different purposes from appeasing the gloomy lord; apparently, it never manifests itself by the usage of his 'other' names, especially *Plouton*, which is usually regarded as such[295]. The paradoxical epithet used for Hades in the *Trachiniae* (1041), γλυκύς, is reinforced in the next lines by the metaphoric way of describing death as eternal sleep:

καὶ Ταρτάρου, κατεύχομαι, | ἐν καθαρῷ βῆναι | ὁρμωμένῳ νερτέρας | τῷ ξένῳ νεκρῶν πλάκας· | σέ τοι κικλήσκω τὸν αἰένυπνον.

[291] Cf. Aesch. *Pers*. 628-630 (ἀλλά, χθόνιοι δαίμονες ἀγνοί, | Γῆ τε καὶ Ἑρμῆ, βασιλεῦ τ' ἐνέρων, | πέμψατ' ἔνερθεν ψυχὴν ἐς φῶς), 640-1 (ἀλλὰ σύ μοι, Γᾶ τε καὶ ἄλλοι | χθονίων ἀγεμόνες), 649-50 (Ἀϊδωνεὺς δ' ἀναπομπὸς ἀνίει, | Ἀϊδωνεύς), fr. 273a.6-10 (Χθόνα δ' ὠγυγίαν ἐπικεκλόμενος χθόνιόν θ' Ἑρμῆν πομπὸν φθιμένων [αἰ]τοῦ χθόνιον Δία νυκτιπόλων ἐσμὸν ἀνεῖναι ποταμοῦ στομάτων).

[292] Eur. fr. 912 Kannicht.

[293] *Od*. 10.533, 11.46. Although best realised probably in Aristophanes' *Frogs*, see also Eup. frr. 90-146 (*PCG*). For Aeschylus' interest in ghost-rising see Eitrem (1928) 9. Note also Hdt 5.92.6-7, where we find that ghosts help also their killer (Periander, the tyrant of Corinth, had killed his wife Melissa, slept with her corpse and eventually forced her in the oracle of the Dead in Thesprotia to reveal to him where a friend's deposit had been put).

[294] Moritz (1979) 187-213.

[295] For Plouton see section III 2; for discussion of euphemism in Hades' case see section III 10.

γλυκύς is the epithet of Hypnos[296] and Herakles prays for metaphorical slumber (εὕνασον, εὕνασόν μ'). The propitiatory way of invoking Hades is more visible at the beginning of the chorus' prayer in *Oedipus Coloneus*: εἰ θέμις ἐστί μοι τὰν ἀφανῆ θεὸν | καὶ σὲ λιταῖς σεβίζειν, | ἐννυχίων ἄναξ, but the direct address is made with the proper name repeated in vocative: Aἰδωνεῦ Aἰδωνεῦ[297]. The euphemistic device is, thus, observable only partly and in a very limited way because Hades, like other deities, should be made well disposed, which can be achieved by propitiatory epithets, but contact with him is established only when the god is invoked by a proper name. The choice of the name in a direct prayer is determined by the context and the intended result.

2.4 Summarising remarks

Although the general impression given by the analysis conducted above regarding the nethergod may tempt us to conclude that he evoked negative feelings, we should remember that this face of his is intimately connected with his realm which he mirrors, as his most inherent sphere of activity; his connection with darkness and sadness is seen through the prism of the Underworld and death. Therefore, in literature and funerary epigraphy he is predominantly a kind of manifestation of human feelings and experience which should not mislead us.

[296] Cf. Alcm, 3.1.7 (*PMG*): [ὕπνον ἀ]πὸ γλεφάρων σκεδ[α]σεῖ γλυκύν. But note its occurrence with the Erinyes in Soph. *OC* 106.
[297] Which is consequently avoided in defixiones: Pulleyn (1997) 155. For Aidoneus see section III 1.1.

In prayers, though again usually connected with matters essentially negative such as death, he appears as a neutral power which, by fulfilling the prayer, paradoxically gives a positive outcome in the shape of euthanasia or justice. It seems that very often he acts as a mediator between the two worlds to allow the living to get something from the dead like good crops, advice or truth. Prayers for justice serve also as a sufficient argument to establish a firm link between the nethergod and his role as judge (to some extent we may observe also a kind of transition between judge and executioner in his case), although we do not have any direct narrative indication of it; his judgement, nevertheless, is always the final one.

4. General conclusions

The analysis of written sources proves that the literary portrayal of Hades is consistent in details present at all levels (mythological, narrative, imagery), as far as they remain perceptible. We may assume that he existed as a kind of reversal, opposition and negative reflection of all that belongs to the 'overground', as an embodiment of the 'lack of' or 'nothingness', as an inherent, irrevertible and indispensable element of the world. His most detectable feature remains the permeability between himself and the Underworld: the god and the place are intimately connected.

In the early myths his picture is mostly static. In neither of the myths concerning the Underworld does he in fact act; he rather appears there as a guardian of the *status quo*, as if reflecting the permanence of the Underwold, being unchangeable, immovable, immersed in silence. Hades too remains quite taciturn in Greek literature, and taciturnity

in its essence is the negation of life as something always in motion and full of sound. His presence in these myths is natural because it arises from the cosmic order understood as an agreement between certain powers (gods) allowing for alternation, balance and harmony. Hence we learn about his origins and place in the divine society and the human world.

The correlation between the brothers is also established by the succession myth: Hades is as powerful as Zeus, and their correspondence as the most clear counterparts is as much visible as that between the worlds of the living and of the dead – they are separate but parallel. The gods' separation and differences between them are visible mainly in the worlds they belong to, but also in their nature: Zeus as a god changes his shapes, Hades is constant, etc. The only exception in the correspondence appears on the axis of symmetry Zeus-Earth-Hades: the myth of the abduction of Kore, in which all the three gods take part. The rape of Demeter's daughter is in fact the only situation in which Hades takes part actively[298] and his only explicit interference with the world of the living, which established a symbolic union or connection between life and death.

The myth of the abduction of Kerberos, the most often mentioned among the stories of the Underworld, in its common interpretation points more to Herakles' greatness than to the lord of the dead himself, but it unobtrusively includes information about Hades' main roles as ruler and judge of the dead: he guards the border between the worlds which must remain intact to guarantee the order of things. These roles are ascribed to him on the basis of the intuitive mutual association between them and remain in

[298] An exception may be Hades' fight with Herakles at Pylos, but since the myth is preserved only fragmentarily and in fact reconstructed merely on the basis of short accounts in other stories, which makes the plot vague, it cannot serve as proper evidence in this case – see my considerations in Sekita (forthcoming).

constant, close interrelation. Hades embodies his kingdom of doom (or the other way round: the kingdom is his manifestation) because the underworld, or better deadly, aspect is inscribed in the god's existence on the level of shared epithets (which remain in contrast with the world of the living, obviously), the manner of existence (invisibility) and formulaic expressions, such as the 'houses of Hades'. He is portrayed as an implacable, cold and dark lord of dry corpses who welcomes everyone, and as a punitive force who can be applied against a great variety of transgressions (mainly serious crimes against the world of the living: bloodshed among relatives, adultery, oath-breaking).

The presence of the lord of the dead in prayers, curses, ghost-raising and any other apostrophic contexts is extremely rare; they mainly concern personal prayers for euthanasia, for punishment for the living or the dead, and for sending the souls of the dead to the world of the living to reveal something. Euphemistic devices in these contexts are observable only partly and in a very limited way because even if Hades, like other deities, has to be made well disposed, which can be achieved by propitiatory epithets, contact with him is established only when the god is invoked with a proper name. The choice of the name in a direct prayer, as we have seen, is determined by the context and the intended result. The names in Hades' case refer to his primary aspect rather than to euphemistic features.

It seems that the nether lord existed in the ancient imagination only antithetically, being associated on different levels of experience both with other abstract concepts and with distinct gods. That is clearly visible in his frequent juxtaposition with Zeus and Aphrodite: he mirrors Zeus in being the highest power, but ruling over the dead, and

Aphrodite in exercising his power, which is equally unavoidable/inescapable to the living: analogically, Thanatos is an antithesis of Eros. This connection between Hades and Zeus and Aphrodite, or rather a similar way of acting, is visible also in the instruments of the three gods (i.e. Dike, Kratos, Bie in the case of Zeus; Dike, Thanatos, Erinyes in the case of Hades; Eros, Pothos, Himeros, Peitho in the case of Aphrodite) that reflect their various facets: the main features of their nature are elevated to the rank of materialised powers. Aphrodite is especially interesting from this point of view as no other deity (excluding Hades) embodies an abstraction to such an extent and has so many carriers of meaning (mentioned above); nor has any other such power over humankind, its senses and existence in the metaphorical sense.

These overlaps between Hades and other gods are the result of his blurred shape, hard to describe because belonging to the sphere unknown to human experience. Only in the mythological tradition, predominantly aetiological and secondary, does the lord of the dead acquire human-like characteristics (*e.g.*, his passions). Hence the major inconsistency in the description of the Underworld: even if the general notion was that it is terrible to look at even for gods and unpleasant for humans to enter even in their dreams, it is full of wonders known to the world of the living with most elaborate landscapes, and Hades with his palace, court (gardener, herdsman, lovers, servants) and the dead seems indeed to extend the world of the living beyond the real life. This image, however, remains misleading because it is graspable mainly through literary sources, where its presence might have been motivated by a specific context or determined by certain conceptions of the Underworld, usually literary, as he is hardly detectable in funerary epigraphy. The plurality of conceptions, reflected in the variety of details appearing in different sources, testifies to the very human restless curiosity which, being

unable to fill in the picture, sketches it with elaborate elements (note the detailed depiction of palaces on Apulian pottery too), details seemingly unimportant, but in a broader spectrum betraying the needs and desires of the living and their inherent pursuit of familiarisation with what is unknown or beyond perception. No other deity in Greek thought has obtained such a detailed abode as Hades has; even if it is sometimes presented in an unusual, unexpected way, the very presence of the details is meaningful and should not be overlooked.

The rarity of Hades' occurrence, under any of the names, in Greek thought raises a question of a slightly different nature – about the notion of the afterlife: it is hard to say to what extent his figure was intrinsic to it. There are probably two solutions: his absence may suggest that he was not included in the most popular conception of the afterlife (if such a one existed at all) or it may point to the weakness of belief in life after death (or even to a complete lack thereof)[299]. It should be noted that in all the preserved descriptions of the lord of the dead and the nether world we are mainly dealing with a literary convention, not with religious thought. We do not know, for instance, any prayer directed to him on behalf of the dead, which may prove the lack of belief that such a prayer could change anything (or even that afterlife existed at all): one prays to Hades only when still alive.

[299] Obviously, Hades' absence from prayers cannot be regarded as evidence sufficient to claim the non-existence of belief in the afterlife, but we have no evidence for the existence of it either (cf. Parker 2005: 364ff): even in the Eleusinian Mysteries there was no such promise (the only explicit testimony may be the so-called 'Orphic' gold leaves, but again we cannot be sure how widely spread this conception was), which would suggest that Persephone was more relevant to the conception than her husband. Furthermore, it is clear that statements of belief in the afterlife are largely absent from funerary inscriptions (the most prominent idea expresses the notion of 'lying under the ground and being invisible' or 'becoming the earth/soil after death', as we have already seen above; see sections II 1.2 and IV 4.1). One may think also about hero cult, but this is probably a slightly different problem as it essentially tells us almost nothing about the nature of *post-mortem* existence; to say nothing of the fact that it was not available to ordinary people: see Parker (2011) 103-23.

It seems that with Hades human perception ends, as he embodies non-existence itself, which marks the limits of human experience or imagination, or both. The nether god, contrary to the rest of the Greek pantheon, was shaped neither in man's image nor after man's likeness: he embodied all that lay beyond what was known and claimed to be human. Some anthropomorphic features ascribed to him are determined by the literary context or a vain attempt to describe what one cannot experience or imagine and that is why his picture remains always incomplete, unsaid, merely framed. His 'presence' in the world of the living involves isolation, hostility, something irreversible, untamed and wild to some extent; on the other hand, it has all the seductive features which stir imagination: mystery and fascination. Anyway, his literary portrayal conforms to the paradoxical dimensions of the Greek understanding of a deity, which may perhaps be summed up with Orestes' words: gods are not more true than elusive dreams (Eur. *IT* 570).

III

Names of the nether god

In his commentary on the lines regarding the succession myth in the 15th book of the *Iliad* the scholiast claims[1] that 'Aidoneus [as the name of Hades] derives from ἄω, meaning 'I breathe'; for not only does it keep together souls, which are wind, but it is also the cause of respiration and growth of fruits, from which we draw breath. Wherefore also Zeus *katachthonios*, because he creates life, and Plouton, because he gives wealth. Others [explain the name] by [the fact] that he is not seen or that he makes us invisible'.

Although it is a kind of allegorical attempt at explanation of the meaning of various names of the nethergod, it seems that the scholiast built his interpretation on some properties hidden in the etymology of the names he refers to. Furthermore, he divided his interpretation into two main, polar categories: functional ('giving life') and perceptive ('making invisible'), which finds confirmation in the nature of the god; the names, thus, seem to refer to his specific properties.

[1] Σ *Il.* 15.192-3 (Erbse): *ὁ δὲ Ἀϊδωνεὺς παρὰ τὸ ἄω τὸ πνέω· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰς ψυχὰς συνέχει, αἵ εἰσι πνεῦμα, καὶ τοῖς καρποῖς δὲ αἴτιος ἀναπνοῆς καὶ αὐξήσεως, ἀφ' ὧν ἡμεῖς πνέομεν· διὸ καὶ Ζεὺς καταχθόνιος, ὅτι ζῆν ποιεῖ, καὶ Πλούτων, ὅτι πλουτεῖν. οἱ δὲ παρὰ τὸ μὴ ὁρᾶσθαι ἢ ἀφανεῖς ἡμᾶς ποιεῖν.*

The nethergod is called *polyōnymos* in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (l.18): 'known under many names' or 'worshipped under many names'[2]. We should try and examine the extant evidence to grasp the ancient notion of the god as well as think of the reason(s) for the existence of so many names for him. Furthermore, we should check to what extent the idea of euphemism is applicable to the case of the nethergod: in scholarship it is widely acknowledged that chthonic deities were referred to with euphemisms instead of their proper names, especially in cult, which allowed the worshippers to approach the terrible powers.[3]

1. Hades

Hades is the oldest known name of the nethergod[4], used in all (literary and epigraphic) contexts connected with the Underworld, and it seems to have shaped the general notion of the ancient Greeks (and our assumptions regarding it) on the idea of the god. Nevertheless, the name does not appear in the cult context outside Elis, if Pausanias (our only source of information in this case) is to be trusted[5].

[2] The meaning 'celebrated', as Richardson pointed out (*ad loc*.) with reference to the epithet of Styx in Hesiod *Th*. 785 (see West *ad loc*.), is not excluded and, of course, does not stand in contradiction.
[3] Henrichs (1991), Scullion (1994) with collected bibliography on the Olympian/Chthonian discussion; for the nethergod see especially Farnell (1907) 281-8.
[4] As old as the epic of Homer and Hesiod; for the similarities between the Underworld scenes with *Nostoi* and *Minyas* as well as for the Homeric selectiveness in treating Underworld motifs see West (2014) 223-4, 298, (2013) 278-82. Hades' name did not occur in Linear B, to our knowledge to date.
[5] Paus. 6.25.2-3. No archaeological or epigraphic testimonies have come to light so far to confirm Pausanias' statement, but since he is consistent enough in his descriptions of sacred precincts and uses proper names of cult recipients, I believe there is no reason to think that in Elis *Hades* was not used in a cult context. For Hades' cult in Elis see section IV 1; see also IV 3.1.

Modern etymology, like the ancient[6], quite convincingly explains the meaning of *Hades* as the 'invisible'/ the 'unseen' or 'the one who makes things invisible'[7], which is confirmed by the funerary inscription from Larissa (5th c. BC) with a *digamma* preserved in Hades' name: [Μνείαν π]ατὲρ ἔστασε καὶ ἀδελφεὸς | [καὶ πᾶς ὁ ϝ]οῖκος, ο[ἴ]χετ[αι δ']εἰς Ἄϝίδαν | [ὁ δεῖνα Ἀνδ]ρομάχ[ο][8]. Also some phrases occurring in funerary inscriptions confirm this property in the passive aspect only (being invisible) for the dead, who are literally invisible: *νυνὶ δὲ ‹φ›θ‹ί›μενοι κείμεθα γῆς ἀφανεῖς*[9]; the Underworld is also referred to in literature with the epithet *ἀφανής*[10].

The first literary attestation of this meaning can be seen in Sophocles' etymologically playful testimony (*Aj*. 608): *τὸν ἀπότροπον ἀΐδηλον Ἅιδαν*. These two descriptive epithets express the invisibility or rather the what-should-not-be-seen aspect of Hades, as he is additionally turned away. 'Turning (the head) away', as Hades does on the black-figure cup from Vulci[11], means in the anthropological (and at the same time symbolical) view a kind of renunciation of the world (the same can be applied to the

[6] Plat. *Crat*. 403a (ὁ δὲ "Ἅιδης," *οἱ πολλοὶ μέν μοι δοκοῦσιν ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸ <ἀιδὲς> προσειρῆσθαι τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ*), *Phaed*. 80d (Ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἄρα, *τὸ ἀιδές, τὸ εἰς τοιοῦτον τόπον ἕτερον οἰχόμενον γενναῖον καὶ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀιδῆ, εἰς Ἅιδου ὡς ἀληθῶς, παρὰ τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ φρόνιμον θεόν*), *Gorg*. 493b (*ὡς τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου – τὸ ἀιδὲς δὴ λέγων*). For Plato's etymology of Hades in *Cratylus* see also *Appendix 1*.

[7] See Beekes (1998) 17-19, (2010) s.v. Ἀΐδης; Blanc (2005) 161 s.v. Ἄιδης claims that the proper etymological meaning is passive: 'que l'on ne voit pas'; for all other proposals for explaining the meaning of the name see *RE* s.v. *Plouton*. Smyth's proposal (1894: 162) that Hades derives from *αἶα*, though etymologically not feasible, does not stand in contradiction to the interpretation presented above: see sections II 1.2 and II 2.1. See also Beekes (2010) s.v. *αἶα* (1&2) meaning both 'earth' and 'mother'.

[8] *SEG* 16.380.

[9] *CEG* 520 (*ca*. 370-360 BC, Attica); Sapph. 68 (Lobel and Page): *ἀφάνης κἀν Ἀΐδα δόμῳ φοιτάσῃς*. Interestingly, the dead are never referred to with the adjective *ἀϊδής* / *ἀϊδνός*, which might be expected, judging by its general usage: Hes. *Sc*. 477 (*σῆμ' ἀιδές*), Plat. *Phd* 79a (*τὸ μὲν ὁρατόν, τὸ δὲ ἀιδές*), Hes. *Th*. 860 (*οὔρεος ἐν βήσσῃσιν † ἀιδνῆς παιπαλοέσσης*), *Adesp*. 92 (*PMG*) (Νυκτός <τ'> *ἀιδνᾶς*); it may result from the notion of darkness present in the original meaning of this adjective and invisibility as its effective property: cf. Hesychius s.v. *ἀϊδνόν· μέλαν ἢ ἀφανιστικόν* and s.v. *ἀϊδνή· σκοτεινή*. For other shared properties of the nethergod and the dead see section II 2.1.

[10] Pind. fr. 207 (Snell-Maehler): Τ*αρτάρου ἀφανοῦς*; Aesch. *Th*. 860: *πάνδοκον εἰς ἀφανῆ τε χέρσον*; *SGO* 06/03/01 (Stratonikeia, Imperial): *τὰς ἀ[φ]ανεῖς ἀτραποὺς εἰς Ἀΐδ[ην κ]ατέβην*. The epithet is also worth noticing in the case of Kore/Persephone (Soph. *OC* 1556: *τὰν ἀφανῆ θεόν*); it certainly refers to the main aspect of the nethergod: for the exchange of properties between the couple see the discussion in the following section III 2.

[11] See section I 2.3.

closed eyes on funerary *stelai*); a forgoing that is not usually intentional, but logical as the dead never consort with the living. It can be pushed even further: if the Underworld is just a kind of a mirror reflection of the world of the living, turning one's head away is a prefiguration of what should be done by those still alive and (analogically) by those already dead when they are about to deal with what belongs to the other world. The motif of 'averted eyes' appears frequently in contexts related to sacrifice and supplication of the Underworld powers, among which the most prominent example comes from the *Odyssey* (10.527-9), where Kirke instructs Odysseus regarding the sacrificial ritual: *ἔνθ' ὄϊν ἀρνειὸν ῥέζειν θῆλύν τε μέλαιναν | εἰς Ἔρεβος στρέψας, αὐτὸς δ' ἀπονόσφι τραπέσθαι | ἰέμενος ποταμοῖο ῥοάων*[12].

The idea of Hades' invisibility as well as his power of 'making invisible' is reflected by his cap, *Ἄϊδος κυνέη*, made for him by the Kyklopes[13], which makes the wearer invisible. In ancient literature there are three references to the use of it: the first is connected with Athena's attempt to deceive Ares[14]; the second tells us that Perseus used it to possess the head of Medousa[15]; finally, the third refers to Hermes wearing it in the

[12] The motif appears also in Aesch. *Ch*. 98-9 (supplication of the dead): *πάλιν | δικοῦσα τεῦχος ἀστρόφοισιν ὄμμασιν*; and in Soph. *OC* 490 (supplication of Eumenides): *ἔπειτ' ἀφέρπειν ἄστροφος*. See also a magical rite for Helios and Ge in the *Lithika* (699-747 Abel) with a command connected with the completion of the ritual in ll. 739-41: *μηδὲ μεταστρωφᾶσθαι, ἐπεί κ' ἀπονόσφι τράπησθε, | ἀλλ' αἰεὶ προτέρην ἐς ἀταρπιτὸν ὅσσε φέροντας | ἔρχεσθ' ἐς μέγαρον*; for a discussion of the chthonic context in these lines see Scullion (1994) 105-6. For a probable explanation of the averted eyes in the context of sacrifice to the chthonic powers see Ov. *F*. 5.439: *umbra putatur colligere et nullo terga videnteequi*.

[13] Ps-Apoll. 1.7.1: *Κύκλωπες τότε Διὶ μὲν διδόασι βροντὴν καὶ ἀστραπὴν καὶ κεραυνόν, Πλούτωνι δὲ κυνέην, Ποσειδῶνι δὲ τρίαιναν*. There are no earlier sources confirming its origin; Apollodoros did not allude to its special properties, nor did he treat it as the main recognisable attribute of the god (we may assume that it was treated as such because at the same occasion Kyklopes also made the thunderbolt for Zeus and the trident for Poseidon). For a discussion of the cap of Hades as weapon in primary sense and invisibility ascribed to it as a secondary feature see Cousin (2014) 130 with n. 3.

[14] *Il*. 5.844-5: *αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνη | δῦν' Ἄϊδος κυνέην, μή μιν ἴδοι ὄβριμος Ἄρης*.

[15] Hes. *Sc*. 226-27: *δεινὴ δὲ περὶ κροτάφοισι ἄνακτος | κεῖτ' Ἄιδος κυνέη νυκτὸς ζόφον αἰνὸν ἔχουσα*; Ps-Apoll. 2.4.2: *τὴν δὲ κυνῆν τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐπέθετο. ταύτην ἔχων αὐτὸς μὲν οὓς ἤθελεν ἔβλεπεν, ὑπὸ ἄλλων δὲ οὐχ ἑωρᾶτο* and 2.4.3: *αἱ δὲ Γοργόνες ἐκ τῆς κοίτης ἀναπτᾶσαι τὸν Περσέα ἐδίωκον, καὶ συνιδεῖν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἠδύναντο διὰ τὴν κυνῆν· ἀπεκρύπτετο γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῆς*. Pherec. Ath. fr. 11 (Fowler): *ὁ δὲ Περσεύς φησιν αὐτὸς ἔχειν, καὶ ἀποδώσειν, ἐὰν αὐτῷ ὑποδείξωσι τὰς Νύμφας, αἳ ἔχουσι τὴν Ἄϊδος κυνέην καὶ τὰ πέδιλα τὰ ὑπόπτερα καὶ τὴν κίβισιν. αἱ δὲ αὐτῷ φράζουσι, καὶ ὁ Περσεὺς ἀποδίδωσιν. καὶ ἀπελθὼν πρὸς τὰς Νύμφας σὺν Ἑρμῇ, αἰτήσας τε καὶ λαβὼν ὑποδεσμεῖται τὰ*

battle between the gods and Gigantes[16]. None of the literary sources informs us about the cap being used by Hades himself to deceive anybody or remain unseen; the explanation may be that Hades does not need it to act in the world of the living unobserved (while in his realm he makes rather little use of it); none of the gods needs the cap for that, in fact. It seems that only the immortals need it, as they cannot be invisible to each other naturally: in a sense, those essentially invisible to the visible world cannot at the same time, paradoxically, be invisible to each other; this is confirmed by the scholia to the lines of the *Iliad* in which Athena uses the cap: *Ἄϊδος κυνέην· νέφος, δι' οὗ οἱ θεοὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀφανεῖς γίνονται*[17].

In all cases we can presume that the cap is a 'power of Hades' in the sense that it makes the wearer invisible using the god's property[18]; it seems that nobody else but Hades has such a power, which indicates that the essential power of Hades in Greek thought is focused on making things invisible by giving them his own properties (note the 'invisibility' of the dead and the Underworld mentioned above)[19]. It is highlighted by Hesiod (*Sc*. 227) that the cap contains in itself the dread nether darkness of night (*νυκτὸς ζόφον αἰνὸν ἔχουσα*)[20], which in itself contains the idea of 'making invisible'[21];

ὑπόπτερα πέδιλα καὶ τὴν κίβισιν περιβάλλει κατὰ τῶν ὤμων καὶ τὴν Ἄϊδος κυνῆν τῇ κεφαλῇ περιτίθησιν. Interestingly, Pherecydes says that Perseus obtained the cap from the nymphs, while according to Hyginus (*Astr*. 1.12.1), he got it from Mercury: *Perseus. Hic nobilitatis causa et quod inusitato genere concubitionis esset natus, ad sidera dicitur peruenisse. Qui missus a Polydecte Magnetis filio ad Gorgonas, a Mercurio, qui eum dilexisse existimatur, talaria et petasum accepit; praeterea galeam, qua indutus ex aduerso non poterat uideri. Itaque Graeci Ἄϊδος galeam dixerunt esse, non, ut quidam inscientissime interpretantur, eum Orci galea usum; quae res nemini docto potest probari*.

[16] Ps-Apoll.1.38.5: *Ἑρμῆς δὲ τὴν Ἄιδος κυνῆν ἔχων κατὰ τὴν μάχην Ἱππόλυτον ἀπέκτεινεν*.

[17] Σ A *ad Il*.5.845.

[18] Cousin (2014: 133) goes even further in her interpretation: she thinks that the cap makes its mortal user dead from the perspective of the living. However, she builds this assumption on Perseus' case, combined with Hyginus' passage (see n. 15), who explains the meaning of *Hades* through the property of the cap rather than supporting such an interpretation; furthermore, she notices herself earlier (p. 132) that all the known users of the cap were in fact children of Zeus, which complicates a bit the issue of mortality.

[19] For Hades' 'covering/hiding' features in relation to the dead see sections II 1.2 and II 2.1.

[20] Cf. Soph. fr. 269c19 (Radt): *τὸν Ἀιδοκυνέας σκότον ἄ<β>ροτον.*

[21] Juxtapositions of Hades with Nyx are also common in Greek thought, cf. Soph. *Aj*. 660 (*ἀλλ' αὐτὸ νὺξ Ἄιδης τε σῳζόντων κάτω*), Ar. *Ran*. 1331-3 (*Ὦ Νυκτὸς κελαινοφαὴς | ὄρφνα, τίνα μοι δύστανον ὄνειρον πέμπεις ἐξ ἀφανοῦς Ἄίδα | προμολῶν*); for discussion see section II 2.1.

ζόφος is an adjective frequently used to describe the realm of the dead and Hades ἔλαχε ζόφον ἠερόεντα as his share[22].

Furthermore, annihilation by Hades finds its most grim form of expression precisely in metaphors of darkness covering/overwhelming one's eyes, where 'darkness' simply means 'death': σκότος ὄσσε κάλυψεν[23]. A nice example of a metaphor connected with darkness which overwhelms someone, referred to as the dark wings of Hades, comes from a funerary inscription: Ἄιδης <ο>ἶ σκοτίας ἀμφέβαλεν πτέρυγας[24]. According to Hesychios, σκότος, ὄλεθρος, θάνατος, ἔρεβος, ζόφος and νύξ have synonymical meanings[25] and we may safely assume that this results from the lack of light, which makes things impossible to be seen. The lack of light may be equated with the lack of life, which is confirmed by Helios' threat in the *Odyssey* that he will go to the Underworld and shine for the dead if Odysseus does not pay for killing his cows[26]. It seems, thus, to be no coincidence that the physiognomic description of Hades in literature is focused on his eyes, the eyes gleaming with darkness[27], as for the Greeks everything was in the eyes[28], and in order to live one had to see[29]; interestingly, in

[22] *Il*. 15.191; see also section II 1.2.
[23] *Il*. 4.461,503,526; 6.11, 13, 575; 14.519; 15.578; 16.316; 20.393, 471; 23.181; cf. Hesych. s.v. (σκότος ὄσσε κάλυψε· θάνατος κατέσχεν). *SEG* 34.1247 (Miletupolis, Mysia, 2nd c. CE): σοὶ δ' ἐπ' Ἀίδης | μακρὰν ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοῖσι νύκτ' ἐθήκατο. Abandoning the light is also equal to death: *CEG* 543.4 (ca. 350? BC, Attic, Piraeus): λιπούσα φάος μοιριδίμωι θανάτωι.
[24] *GVI* 632 (3rd c. BC, Athens).
[25] Hesych. s.v. σκότος, ἔρεβος.
[26] *Od*. 12.382-3: εἰ δέ μοι οὐ τείσουσι βοῶν ἐπιεικέ' ἀμοιβήν, | δύσομαι εἰς Ἀΐδαο καὶ ἐν νεκύεσσι φαείνω.
[27] For the 'eyes' motif and expressions of darkness in Hades' nature see section *II 2.1*.
[28] It has usually been applied by scholars to desire in the sexual sense (as the most prominently expressed): one looks at the subject of their desire and uses the eyes as a tool to touch it (e.g., Plat. *Phaed*. 255d; see also *Charm*. 157a for the idea that the good and evil is in the eyes); for further discussion see Stewart (1996); blinding as punishment for adultery (introduced by Zaleucus of Locri; see Ael. *VH* 13.24), sexual assault (Paus. 2.20.1) and incest (Soph. *OT* 1268ff) was quite a common practice: for its historicity with further references and discussion see Devereux (1973) 83.
[29] Another argument might be that we too acknowledge the presence of a being through visual perception and when we say that somebody is dead (i.e., is not present anymore), we simply ontologically declare, we must admit, their 'nonexistence'.

Greek φώς (man) and φῶς (light) are etymologically connected[30], and eyes can be referred to as φάεα[31]. Hades in fact materialises himself through the eyes and this is how Alcestis sees him/recognises him (*Alc*. 259-62): ἄγει μ' ἄγει τις· ἄγει μέ τις | νεκύων ἐς αὐλάν, | ὑπ' ὀφρύσι κυαναυγέσι | βλέπων πτερωτὸς Ἄιδας; and importantly, she sees him only at the point of dying (270: σκοτία δ' ἐπ' ὄσσοισι νὺξ ἐφέρπει), which means that he is invisible to mortals (but not the dead) – Alcestis asks Admetus: οὐχ ὁρᾷς;[32]. Furthermore, the chorus in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*[33] assures us that the one who rests with Hades (Ἅιδᾳ παρακείμενος) lies stretched in the darkness (ἐκτέταται νύχιος) and is sightless (ἀνόμματος)[34].

The darkness of Hades beneath the earth is unpleasant to enter for mortals even in their dreams[35] because what is hidden beneath is but nothingness (τὰ νέρθε δ' οὐδέν)[36] and the dead is nothing (οὐδέν ἐσθ' ὁ καθανών)[37]. Hades covers what is visible, what belongs to the world of the living, making it invisible[38], as if literally annihilating it: his κῦμα falls upon the unexpecting and the expecting[39] indifferently, indiscriminately, irreversibly. The metaphor of the wave corresponds with the cap as a means of covering, making things and beings invisible, especially those who do not belong to the world of the living any more (i.e., the dead).

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[30] Beekes (2010) s.v. φώς, φαός; Chantraine (1968-80) s.v. φώς, φάε.
[31] *Od*. 16.15, 19.417; see also φάος | ὀμμάτων in Pind. *Nem*. 10.40.
[32] For a detailed discussion see section II 2.1.
[33] Soph. *Phil*. 855-61: Οὗρός τοι, τέκνον, οὗρος· ἀ | νὴρ δ' ἀνόμματος, οὐδ' ἔχων ἀρωγάν, | ἐκτέταται νύχιος, | ἀλεὴς ὕπνος ἐσθλός, | οὐ χερός, οὐ ποδός, οὔ τινος ἄρχων, | ἀλλ' ὥς τίς Ἅιδᾳ παρακείμενος.
[34] Interestingly, in one of the Epidaurian cure inscriptions (*iamata*) the word ἀϊδής is used to denote blindness: Λύσον Ἑρμιονεὺς παῖς ἀϊδής; see LiDonnici (1995) 99 (α 125), n. 38. She observes that though the word usually means 'unseen', it can mean 'blind' in active usage.
[35] Eur. fr. 533 (Kannicht): ὁ δ' ὑπὸ γῆς Ἅιδου σκότος | οὐδ' εἰς ὄνειρον ἡδὺς ἀνθρώποις μολεῖν.
[36] Eur. *IA* 1251.
[37] Eur. *Alc*. 381.
[38] Cf. also *Il*. 5.68 (θάνατος δέ μιν ἀμφεκάλυψε), 11.356 (ἀμφὶ δὲ ὄσσε κελαινὴ νὺξ ἐκάλυψε), 16.350 (θανάτου δὲ μέλαν νέφος ἀμφεκάλυψε), *AP* 7. 251 (κυάνεον θανάτου ἀμφεβάλοντο νέφος). For phrases with κεύθω in relation to Hades' 'covering/hiding' properties see sections II 1.2 and II 2.1.
[39] Pind. *Nem*. 7.31-2: κῦμ' Ἀίδα, πέσε δ' ἀδόκητον ἐν καὶ δοκέοντα· τιμὰ δὲ γίνεται | ὧν θεὸς ἁβρὸν αὔξει λόγον τεθνακότων.

The contexts and references discussed above clearly designate and concretise Hades' crucial property: invisibility. It seems very likely that initially (and later only to some extent) Hades, judging from the meaning of the name as well as from his nature[40], existed as a kind of *abstractum*, which crystallised as invisibility incarnate and found its realisation in the state of being dead (and in anything connected with it), as if everything unseen belonged to him. Thus, the questions when 'Hades' begins to designate a place as well as the god[41] and what was, in fact, the first referent of this word (whether the god or the Underworld), are not justified as it had probably no real meaning for the Greeks themselves. For the nature of Hades appears and is present metonymically in the same way as that of the most, say, primeval deities in the Greek pantheon (for instance, Okeanos, Ouranos, Nyx, Styx, Tartaros, Erebos, Ge), which were understood as a god and a place (or a sphere) at the same time; the properties of both the god and the place developed simultaneously and were strictly correlated.

1.1 Aidoneus

Aidoneus as the name of the nethergod appears only twice in Homer[42], once in Hesiod[43]; in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* it is used interchangeably with *Hades*[44]. Surprisingly, we never come across *Aidoneus* in Archaic poetry, contrary to what might be expected

[40] See section II 2.
[41] A first ambiguous reference comes from *Il*. 23.244; for other examples and the formula 'houses of Hades' see section II 2.1.
[42] *Il*. 5.190 (*καί μιν ἔγωγ' ἐφάμην Ἀϊδωνῆϊ προϊάψειν*), 20.61 (*ἔδεισεν δ' ὑπένερθεν ἄναξ ἐνέρων Ἀϊδωνεύς*); the latter phrase occurs in funerary inscriptions: *GVI* 1410 (2nd/3rd c. CE, Rome): *ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ δοίη σοι | ἄναξ ἐνέρων Ἀιδωνεύς*.
[43] Hes. *Th*. 913-14 (*ἣ τέκε Περσεφόνην λευκώλενον, ἣν Ἀιδωνεὺς | ἥρπασεν ἧς παρὰ μητρός*).
[44] *HDem*.: Aidoneus: 2, 84, 357, 376; Hades: 80, 336, 347, 395.

on the basis of the meter, which is usually considered in scholarship to be the main reason for the creation of a longer 'poetic' name for Hades[45].

The name certainly derives from *ἀϊδής*. The compound formed by the accumulation of suffixes (*-ων-* and *-ηϝ-*)[46] is quite common for Greek names and ethnica[47]; both suffixes form nicknames and proper names, often with a hypocoristic touch[48]. The examples listed above (see n. 9) show that the meaning of *ἀϊδής* / *ἀϊδνός* balances between 'darkling' and 'causing to disappear'; this meaning seems to be confirmed also for Aidoneus by the epithet *ἀϊδωναία* given to Hecate in magical papyri, listed together with other words clearly referring to darkness and the Underworld: *νερτε-* | *ρία νυχία τε, ἀϊδωναία σκοτία τε,* | *ἤσυχε καὶ δασπλῆτι, τάφοις* | *ἔνι δαῖτα ἔχουσα,* Νύξ, Ἔρεβος, | Χάος *εὐρύ*[49], as well as by Pausanias' remark (10.12.4)[50] on the property of a river in Marpessos called Aidoneus (otherwise unknown), which comes from and disappears under the ground; Pausanias thinks it was named so because of this property. Plutarch, when discussing corresponding antithetic deities, contrasts Aidoneus with Delios and gives the explanation of the name as 'invisible', 'unseen'[51]. Other interesting references to the meaning and general characteristics of the name are provided by philosophical thoughts interpreting the gods as four elements: according to Empedocles, Aidoneus is earth, while Hippolytos understood him as air[52]. Both the interpretations are

[45] *RE* s.v. *Pluton*, Beekes (2010) s.v. Ἀΐδης.
[46] Jacquois and Devlamminck (1977) s.v. Ἄιδης.
[47] The *TLG* corpus gives 45 different entries for compounds with the ending *–ωνεύς*, which fall into two categories: proper names and ethnica.
[48] See also Chantraine (1933) 31, 125-6, 160-5.
[49] *PMag.Par*. 1.2855 (PGM iv 2855); see also a similar usage of *plouteus/ploutea*: III 2 (n. 74)
[50] *ὑπέρυθρος δὲ πᾶσα ἡ περὶ τὴν Μάρπησσον γῆ καὶ δεινῶς ἐστιν αὐχμώδης, ὥστε καὶ τῷ Ἀϊδωνεῖ ποταμῷ καταδύεσθαί τε ἐς τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀνασχόντι τὸ αὐτὸ αὖθις πάσχειν, τέλος δὲ καὶ ἀφανίζεσθαι κατὰ τῆς γῆς, αἴτιον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐστιν ὅτι λεπτή τε κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ σηραγγώδης ἐστὶν ἡ Ἴδη.*
[51] Plut. *E ap. Delph*. 394a: *λέγεται γὰρ ὁ μὲν Ἀπόλλων ὁ δὲ Πλούτων, καὶ ὁ μὲν Δήλιος ὁ δ' Ἀιδωνεύς, καὶ ὁ μὲν Φοῖβος ὁ δὲ Σκότιος.* See also Plat. *Phd*. 79a: *τὸ μὲν ὁρατόν, τὸ δὲ ἀιδές.*
[52] Emp. fr. 26 (Graham): *τέσσαρα γὰρ πάντων ῥιζώματα πρῶτον ἄκουε· Ζεὺς ἀργὴς Ἥρη τε φερέσβιος ἠδ' Ἀιδωνεύς* | *Νῆστίς θ', ἣ δακρύοις τέγγει κρούνωμα βρότειον. Δία μὲν γὰρ λέγει τὴν ζέσιν καὶ τὸν αἰθέρα, Ἥρην τε φερέσβιον τὸν ἀέρα, τὴν δὲ γῆν τὸν Ἀιδωνέα, Νῆστιν δὲ καὶ*

based on the principle of correspondence between the meaning of the name and the element/substance, with a clear reference to the properties of the Underworld. The earthly aspect of Aidoneus, apart from certain general and cosmogonic similarities with Ge, discussed in previous chapters[53], is subtly present in Hesiod's remark (before advising a prayer to Demeter and Zeus *Chthonios*) on fallow land which enchanted Aidoneus, but which belongs to her who saves from death and ruin: *νειὸς ἀλεξιάρης Ἀιδωνέος κηλήτειρα*[54].

It seems that *Aidoneus* operates in a way similar to *Hades* in all the known literary and epigraphic contexts. There are two cases in which *Aidoneus* is used in literary prayers[55] connected with death and directed to the lord of the dead, and a curse included in a funerary epigram addressing him, together with Hermes and Nyx, as witness of the spell: *πρὸς ἐγγαίων Ἀϊδωνέος Ἑρμεία τε | καὶ Νυκτός*[56]. Aidoneus, contrary to Hades[57], appears quite frequently in curse tablets, usually addressed as Νυμφεε Αἰδωνεα[58]. It seems that the phrase ἅγιος Νυμφαῖος[59] occurring in curses also referred

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κρούνωμα βρότειον οἱονεὶ τὸ σπέρμα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ. Hipp. *Ref.* 7.29.5-6: *Ζεύς ἐστι τὸ πῦρ, Ἥρη δὲ φερέσβιος ἡ γῆ, ἡ φέρουσα τοὺς πρὸς τὸν βίον καρπούς, Ἀιδωνεὺς δὲ ὁ ἀήρ, ὅτι πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ βλέπο<ν>τες μόνον αὐτὸν οὐ καθορῶμεν, Νῆστις δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ· μόνον γὰρ τοῦτο ὄχημα τροφῆς [αἴτιον] γινόμενον πᾶσι τοῖς τρεφομένοις, αὐτὸ καθ'αὐτὸ τρέφειν οὐ δυνάμενον τὰ τρεφόμενα. εἰ γὰρ ἔτρεφε, φησίν, οὐκ ἄν ποτε λιμώι κατελήφη τὰ ζῶια, ὕδατος ἐν τῶι κόσμωι πλεονάζοντος ἀεί. διὰ τοῦτο Νῆστιν καλεῖ τὸ ὕδωρ, ὅτι τροφῆς αἴτιον γινόμενον τρέφειν οὐκ εὐτονεῖ τὰ τρεφόμενα.*

[53] See sections II 1.2 and II 2.1.

[54] Hes. *Op.* 464; I accept West's conjecture for *νειὸς ἀλεξιάρη παίδων εὐκηλήτειρα*, which, as West rightly noticed, does not make sense as it is in the passage: for full discussion see West (1964) 164-6 and his comm. *ad loc*. For discussion of this passege see also section III 4.1.

[55] Aesch. *Pers*. 649, 650, Soph. *OC* 1559; for the discussion of the passages see section II 2.3.

[56] *AP* 7.480.

[57] Although Hades as god is mentioned in the corpus of curses only once, it is an early testimony, so it seems that originally he might have been evoked in curses, but not much is preserved to confirm this: *SGD* 44 (Greece, 4th c. BC): *πρὸς τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν κάτοχον καὶ τήν | Φερσεφόνην καὶ τὸν Ἄιδην.* Usually, the name *Hades* appears as reference to the Underworld rather than the god himself: *τῶ κατ"Ἄδη θυρουρῶ*: *DT* 22.18, 24.9, 26.12; *ἐπὶ τοῦ πυλῶνος τοῦ Ἄ[δους*: *DT* 22.19, 26.13; *τοῦ Ἄδους τὰς πύλας*: *DT* 22.26, 26.17; *κατὰ | [τῶν ἐ]ν Ἄδι θεῶν*: *DT* 22.44-5, 23.5, 26.32; *οἱ ἐν Ἄδι (Ἀιδῃ) θεοί*: *DT* 22.45, 23.4-5, 29.30, 30.36, 31.29; *κὲ σὺ ἡ τὰς κλιδα[ς τοῦ Ἄδου κατέχουσα*: *DT* 26.39; *εἰς Ἄιδ[ο]υ*: *DT* 50.10, 15. All the above examples come from Cyprus, 3rd c. CE.

[58] Νυφεε Εἰδωνεα: *DT* 155a7, b1, 163.8; Νυμφεε Εἰδωνεα: *DT* 156.5-6, 157.2-3, 158.5, 167a5, 168a4-5, 15-16, 170.2-3; Νυμφεαι Αἰδωναι: *DT* 159a1-2, b2, 160.1-2; Νυμφε Αἰδωναι: *DT* 160.27-8, 76; Νυμφεαι Αἰδωνεα: *DT* 160.59-60; Νυμφεε Αειδωναι: *DT* 161.56-7, 118; Νυμφεε Αἰδωνεα: *DT* 162.2,

to him. Although the epithet *nymphaios* is a bit bizarre in the nethergod's context, it should probably be interpreted in view of the marriage of the underworld couple: we have a dedication to Plouton and the Nymph from Larissa: Πλούτουνι καὶ Νύμφα *Fερενίκα* Βυκίνα κατὰ πόταγμα[60]. All in all, the meaning of Aidoneus as well as the contexts of its usage clearly testify to Aidoneus' crystallisation as Hades' alternative name.

1.2 Aideus (?)

Ἀϊδεύς appears inscribed (6th/5th c. BC)[61] across the thighs of an enthroned male figurine of blue marble found in Magula (Laconia)[62]. Some scholars argued for correction of the word to ΔΕΥΣ, as this is a known Boeotian and Laconian form of Ζεύς[63], but the letters AI are clearly visible on the statuette. Recently, Richer[64] has proposed that the figurine represents ΓΥΝΗ ΑΙΔΕΩΣ, and that the inscription should thus be read as ΑΙΔΩΣ, but his interpretation seems unconvincing and unjustified both linguistically and in terms of representation; the figurine is clearly male[65]. Thus, unparalleled and unique as the form of *Hades* Ἀϊδεύς may seem, it appears to be the best solution so far[66]. It is not unlikely that this bizarre form is a kind of abbreviation of

166.2-3; Νυμφεε Ἐδωνεα: *DT* 165.41-2; Εἰδωνεα: 168a2; Νυμφε: *DT* 156.44, 163.75, 166.26, 169.6. All the above examples come from Rome, (*Seth.Tab.*), 2nd/3rd c. CE.

[59] *DT* (Rome, *Seth.Tab.*; 2nd/3rd c. CE) 160.12, 82-3; 161.52; 167b2; 168b7; 174.32.

[60] *SEG* 55.609 (5th c. BC).

[61] *IG* V 1, 214, Milchhöfer (1881) 297, pl. 17, figs. 3-3a.

[62] For the description of the figurine see section I 1.2.3; for the cult of the nethergod in Laconia see section III 2.5..

[63] For a discussion and references see Tod and Wace (1906) 72 no. 600.

[64] Richer (2012) 61.

[65] For discussion of the gender and torso of the figurine see section I 1.2.3.

[66] Worth remembering are also the dogs represented on both sides of the throne: the figurine seems to be resting its hands on their heads; Kerberos with one head, even if it seems to be unusual in his representation, appears in early Greek art (6th c. BC onwards): *LIMC* VI, 1, *Kerberos* (Woodford and Spier), nos. 1-5. The representation of one dog on each side of the throne may be a result of a desired symmetry or a sophisticated travesty of the multiple heads of the creature.

Aidoneus, especially when the way *Plouton* developed into *Plouteus* in funerary inscriptions is considered[67].

2. Plouton

In his *De natura deorum* Cicero writes that 'the entire abundance and substance of the earth is dedicated to father Dis (who is [from] *Dives*, 'the rich', like *Plouton* among the Greeks), because all things return into the earth and also arise from the earth'[68]. Plato too looks for the meaning of *Plouton* in the act of giving *ploutos* and says that this name was given to the god because *ploutos* is sent up from beneath the earth[69]. The association of *Plouton* with *ploutos* is etymologically firm[70], and Plouton should be understood as a god of *ploutos* rather than identified with Ploutos, the son of Demeter and Iasion, begotten on the thrice-ploughed field (Hes. *Th*. 969f) and blinded by Zeus (Ar. *Plut*. 87f). These two gods are connected only on the level of *abstractum*, where Ploutos is simply a personification[71] and Plouton is the disposer/lord of richness of

[67] See section III 2.
[68] 2.66: *Terrena autem vis omnis atque natura Diti patri dedicata est (qui Dives ut apud Graecos* Πλούτων*), quia et recidunt omnia in terras et oriuntur e terris. Cui nuptam dicunt Proserpinam (quod Graecorum nomen est, ea enim est quae* Περσεφόνη *Graece nominatur) – quam frugum semen esse volunt absconditamque quaeri a matre fingunt.*
[69] *Crat*. 403a: *τὸ δὲ* Πλούτωνος, *τοῦτο μὲν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ <*πλούτου*> δόσιν, ὅτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς κάτωθεν ἀνίεται ὁ πλοῦτος, ἐπωνομάσθη.*
[70] Beekes (2010) s.v. *πλοῦτος*.
[71] It is confirmed by his representations in art: he is depicted always as a boy or a child with a cornucopia (see *LIMC* s.v. *Ploutos*; Clinton 1992: 49-50, 103-4), usually in the company of some other deity, whose aspect of abundance is highlighted by his appearance: cf. Paus 1.7.2 (carried by Eirene), 9.16.2 (carried by Tyche and Eirene), 9.26.8 (standing next to Athena *Ergane*). On a red-figure Apulian *loutrophoros* we see him, inscribed *Eniautos*, holding a cornucopia with five ears of corn, standing beside a goddess inscribed Eleusis, who is touching the cornucopia: *RVAsupp*. 2.1. 278-2 (Pl. 0001; Pl. XLVII, 2). His abstract properties are also detectable in a passage from the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 486-9 with Richardson *ad loc*., from which we learn that the goddesses send Ploutos to those whom they love (i.e., they guarantee them prosperity in this life): *μέγ' ὄλβιος ὅν τιν' ἐκεῖναι | προφρονέως φίλωνται ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων· | αἶψα δέ οἱ πέμπουσιν ἐφέστιον ἐς μέγα δῶμα |* Πλοῦτον, *ὃς ἀνθρώποις ἄφενος θνητοῖσι δίδωσιν*. For Ploutos as personification of agricultural prosperity see Hesych. s.v.

whatever kind. Although we sometimes find both names used as if interchangeably in a word play (as in Aristophanes' *Wealth*)[72], it is only within a poetic creation[73]. The aspect of giving *ploutos* by Plouton is enhanced by the epithet *ploutodotes* ('the one who gives riches'), only once used as a name on a fragment of an Athenian red-figure *skyphos* from Eleusis[74].

It seems that Plouton had no 'mythological picture' at all; we know nothing about his origin. This is probably an argument sufficient to show that Hades and Plouton are the same god; Plouton's connection with the Underworld is highlighted by figures and phrases associated with him, usually ascribed to Hades: Kerberos[75] and Persephone[76], the realm of the dead[77] and the share in the division of the world[78]. Furthermore,

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πλοῦτος· ἡ ἐκ τῶν σπερμάτων ἐπικαρπία, καὶ ἡ πανσπερμία (see also s.v. εὔπλουτον κανοῦν · εὖ ἔχον πλούτου, διὰ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὀλάς) as well as the fact that he was born νειῷ ἔνι τριπόλῳ (Hes. *Th*. 971).

[72] Ar. *Pl*. 727 (Μετὰ τοῦτο τῷ Πλούτωνι 'τι παρεκαθέζετο); however, interestingly, it never happens in *Frogs*.

[73] The same may be observed in other poetic passages, cf. Anacr. *fr*. 36 (*CA*): Ὁ Πλοῦτος εἴ γε χρυσοῦ τὸ ζῆν παρεῖχε θνητοῖς; Timocr. *fr*. 5 (*IEG*): ὤφελέν σ' ὦ τυφλὲ Πλοῦτε μήτε γῆι μήτ' ἐν θαλάσσηι μήτ' ἐν ἠπείρωι φανῆμεν, ἀλλὰ Τάρταρόν τε ναίειν κἈχέροντα.

[74] See section I 2.4.1. In one of the curse tablets (*SGD* 170B) we find Πλουτοδότ | αν χθόνιον, and the phrase seems to be correlated with καὶ παρὰ Πλούτωνα χθόνιον in part A of the curse. See also *OrphH* 18.4-5: Πλούτων, ὃς κατέχεις γαίης κληῖδας ἀπάσης, | πλουτοδοτῶν γενεὴν βροτέην καρποῖς ἐνιαυτῶν. In the *Orphic Hymns*, however, *ploutodotes* becomes an epithet of various deities: *OrphH*. 73.4 (Δαίμονα κικλήσκω † μεγάλαν ἠγήτορα φρικτόν, | μειλίχιον Δία, παγγενέτην, βιοδώτορα θνητῶν, | Ζῆνα μέγαν, πολύπλαγκτον, ἀλάστορα, παμβασιλῆα, | πλουτοδότην), *Orph.H*. 40.3 ([Demeter] πλουτοδότειρα θεά); see also Diod. 1.12.4 (Demeter *ploutodoteira*), Luc. *Sat*. 14.13 (θυόντων Διὶ πλουτοδότῃ καὶ Ἑρμῇ δώτορι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι μεγαλοδώρῳ), Σ RV Ar. *Ran*. 479: Σεμελήι' Ἴακχε πλουτοδότα. For Zeus *Ploutodotes* on coins in Nysa see Robert (1977) 73 with 36 for references. See also Hes. *Op*. 122-6 for δαίμονες ἀγνοὶ ἐπιχθόνιοι πλουτοδόται from the golden race. For similar constructions of *karpodotes* and *karpodoteira* see Jim (2014) 72 n. 49.

[75] Eur. *Alc*. 360-2: κατῆλθον ἄν, καί μ' οὔθ' ὁ Πλούτωνος κύων | οὔθ' οὐπὶ κώπῃ ψυχοπομπὸς ἂν Χάρων | ἔσχον, πρὶν ἐς φῶς σὸν καταστῆσαι βίον.

[76] Eur. *Herc*. 1104: Πλούτωνά τ', οὐδὲ σκῆπτρα Δήμητρος κόρης; Cic. *De nat.deor*. 2.66: *Cui [Diti patri] nuptam dicunt Proserpinam (quod Graecorum nomen est, ea enim est quae* Περσεφόνη *Graece nominatur) – quam frugum semen esse volunt absconditamque quaeri a matre fingunt;* cf. Verg. *Aen*. 6.397: *dominam Ditis thalamo*.

[77] Eur. *Herc*. 808: Πλούτωνος δῶμα λιπὼν νέρτερον; *GVI* 699 (Egypt, 3rd/2nd c. BC): Πλούτωνός τε δόμους καὶ Φερσεφόνης κυαναυγεῖς; *GVI* 759 (Mykonos, 2nd/1st c. BC): Πλούτωνος δώμασιν; *GVI* 1137 (Cos, 3rd/2nd c. BC?): Πλούτων- | ος οἶκον εἰς βαθ- | ὺν κατήγαγον; GVI 1736 (=*IG* xiv 2064) (Rome, 2nd c. CE): τοιγάρτοι καὶ ἐμεῖο δικαιοτέρην ὄπ' ἄκουσον | εὐχομένου, Πλούτων, ἣν εἰς Ἀίδαο περήσω, | εὑρεῖν τὴν ἰδίαν Φηλικίταν παρὰ σοί. Cicero's interpretation of Dis Pater as Plouton is confirmed by curses in which Dis Pater appears in the same contexts as Plouton: *DT* 139.12 (Rome, 1st c. BC/1st c. CE?): *Dite pater*; 191b (Campania, 1st c. CE?): *Dite,* [*d*]*omum tuam*. See also: *DT* 111.3-4 (Santones, 2nd c. CE): *ad Plutonem* | *et ad Proserpinam*; 140.7 (Rome, *Seth.Tab*.; 2nd/3rd c. CE): *Plutoni*

Plouton does not appear[79] in ancient literature before Sophocles' *Antigone* (1200) and is not there presented as a kindly deity: a prayer is recited to appease his *ὀργή*[80]. Taking into consideration also Pausanias' remark (1.28.6) about the *agalma* of Plouton in the temple of Semnai Theai at Athens[81], the god (and his image?) was regarded as fearful (*φοβερός*) indeed. Nevertheless, it is hard to say why *Plouton* does not appear before Sophocles; it might have been a coincidence, as Nilsson pointed out[82], but equally well it might have been connected with Plouton's Attic origins, which I shall try to show below.

First of all, the name is constructed with the use of a very productive suffix *-ων*, commonly appearing, for instance, in proper names, nicknames or epithets derived from nouns or adjectives; nominal forms ending in *-ων* seem to be particularly Attic[83]. Plouton indeed appears primarily in Attica: the earliest testimonies, both literary (tragedy) and epigraphic, come from Athens[84]; we do not see Plouton outside this region until at least the 3rd c. BC[85]. Importantly, the first extensive and influential Attic literary works are the tragedy and comedy of 5th-century BC Athens (Plouton occurs in both the genres); the Attic dialect remains relatively obscure until that time. It is not impossible that Plouton was a genuine Attic name of the nethergod which began to occur in

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praeposito mortuorum. See also *Adesp*. fr. 963 (*PMG*): δέσποτα Πλούτων μελανοπτερύγων. For the discussion of certain similarities between Hades/Plouton and Thanatos see section II 2.1.

[78] Plat. *Gorg*. 523a: *ὥσπερ γὰρ Ὅμηρος λέγει, διενείμαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ ὁ Ποσειδῶν καὶ ὁ Πλούτων*.

[79] It is possible that the earliest attestation of Plouton's name comes from an inscription of *ca*. 500 BC recording sacrifices at the Eleusinian Games (*I.Eleusis* 13.5 =*IG* I^3 5), but the text is uncertain: [Πλούτο]*νι*; for Plouton's cult at Athens and Eleusis see section IV 2.1.

[80] For a discussion of the passage see section II 2.3.

[81] For the quotation and discussion see section IV 4.1.

[82] Nilsson (1941) 442.

[83] Chantraine (1933) 158-165.

[84] For epigraphic sources and discussion of Plouton's cult in Attica see section IV 2.1.

[85] *I.Olbia* 70 (Olbia, 3rd c. BC): [Ἀγρ]*ότας* | [Διο]*νυσίου* | [Πλ]*ούτωνι* | [καὶ] Κόρηι; *Polemon* 1 (1929) 32, 420 (Thessaly, Demetrias, late 3rd c. BC): *τῶι* Πλούτωνι *καὶ τῆι* Δήμητρι; *GVI* 1137 (Cos, 3rd/2nd c. BC?): Πλούτων- | *ος οἶκον εἰς βαθ-* | *ὺν κατήγαγον*; *IG* XI, 4 1235 (Delos, 3rd/2nd c. BC): Πλούτωνι | *καὶ* Κόρει, Δήμητρι, Ἑρμε[ῖ]; *GVI* 699 (Egypt, 3rd/2nd c. BC): Πλούτωνός *τε δόμους καὶ* Φερσεφόνης *κυαναυψεῖς*.

literature just with the rise of Attic[86] and spread with the cult of the two goddesses throughout the Greek world[87]. But let us first focus on the name itself.

Surely, the meaning of the name is connected with broadly understood wealth and abundance[88] of whatever kind, which finds its reflection in the cornucopia as the god's main attribute in art; let us remember that it appears in Greek art for the first time as exclusively the nethergod's attribute[89]. Hesychius' remark (n. 71) that *ploutos* originally meant wealth in corn sheds light on the vegetative and agricultural features hidden under the name of the god. It should also be noted that Plouton's alleged connection with mines is secondary: it functions mainly in jokes[90]. There are only two instances where this association appears to have been treated seriously, but neither of them refers to mines directly: Aeschylus so named a fabulous river flowing with gold[91] and a funerary inscription from Athens (*ca*. 346-338 BC)[92] apparently used the phrase *κοινὸς*

[86] This is not to say, however, that Plouton originated in the 5th c. BC; it is just to show that possibly it is not a coincidence that the name appears for the first time in 5th-century BC Athenian tragedy, as Plouton seems to be an Attic product. Interesting, though probably coincidental because determined by the context, are Plouton's words to Aeschylus in *Frogs* (1500-1), where he speaks about 'our city': *Ἄγε δὴ χαίρων, Αἰσχύλε, χώρει, | καὶ σῷζε πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν*. We may contrast it with other names of the nethergod frequently appearing in the Greek world in the same century (and even earlier) outside Attica, in cult and/or literature, for instance: Klymenos, Zeus *Chthonios*, Zeus *Eubouleus*, not to mention Hades, who is present everywhere in every period. For these names of the nethergod see the relevant sections below.

[87] Cf. Parker (2005) 337. Note also that in the 5th c. BC Plouton is already worshipped in Attica at least in four different places in various company: with Demeter and Kore at Eleusis and at Athens (see section IV 2.1), with Semnai Theai at Athens (see section IV 4.1), and with Herakles at Ilissos (see section IV 4.3).

[88] *πλοῦτος* etymologically is a derivative of *πλέω* (IE **pleu*-), i.e. **plou-to*- ('flow, multitude'): see Beekes (2010) s.v. *πλοῦτος*.

[89] See section I 2.1.

[90] Strab. 3.2.9: *οὐ γὰρ πλουσία μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπόπλουτος ἦν (φησίν) ἡ χώρα, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸν ὑποχθόνιον τόπον οὐχ ὁ Ἅιδης ἀλλ' ὁ Πλούτων κατοικεῖ. (…) τὴν δ' ἐπιμέλειαν φράζων τὴν τῶν μεταλλευόντων παρατίθησι τὸ τοῦ Φαληρέως, ὅτι φησὶν ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἀργυρείων, οὕτω συντόνως ὀρύττειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὡς ἂν προσδοκώντων αὐτὸν ἀνάξειν τὸν Πλούτωνα*. The fact that a mine in Athens was named Π[λ]ουτ[ω]ν[ιακόν (see *Agora* xix P30 l. 13, *ca*. 340/39 BC; acc. to Crosby (1950) 248, this mine's name should also be read in P26, ll. 162-3 *ca*. 342/1-339/8 BC) is not decisive because other divine names were frequently given to mines: see, for instance, P29, l.9 (*ca*. 340/39 BC): *μέταλλ[ον Ἀ]ρτεμισιακόν*; P28, ll. 34-5 (*ca*. 339/8? BC): *τὸ Ἀφ]ροδισια[κ]ὸν μέ]τα[λλο]- | ν*.

[91] Aesch. *PV* 805-6: *οἳ χρυσόρρυτον οἰκοῦσιν ἀμφὶ νᾶμα Πλούτωνος πόρου*.

[92] *IG* II^2 11169 (=*SEG* 59 308, *CEG* 593, *GVI* 1889): *σῶμα μὲν ἐνθάδε σόν, Διονύσιε, γαῖα καλύπτει | ψυχὴν δὲ ἀθάνατον κοινὸς ἔχει ταμίας*. Once more the nethergod is referred to as *ταμίας* by Gregory of Nazianzus (*Christ.pat*. 1926 Brambs): *πῶς νιν φθερεῖ ταμίας ᾅδης νερτέρων*.

ταμίας to denote him. Naming a river Plouton to render its richness in the former reference is analogical to the case of the mythical river Aidoneus, discussed above, where the name reflects the property of disappearing[93].

Therefore, Plouton would never have got this name if he did not have the best of everything (*εἰ μὴ τὰ βέλτιστ' ἔλαχεν*)[94], as Aristophanes states in a playful way. Sophocles, however, shows us also another route which could lead to the shaping of this name of the lord of the shades, making a sarcastic allusion to the name *Plouton* in the phrase *Ἅιδης στεναγμοῖς καὶ γόοις πλουτίζεται*[95]. It is worth noticing that the god enriches himself, not somebody else, and here may be hidden a hint to a better understanding of Plouton as a counterpart of Hades, who is *ἄδοτος* (*HMerc*. 573). This does not mean that Plouton is 'the one who gives' (this is characteristic of *ploutodotes*), but rather 'the rich one', whose property is *πλοῦτος*[96] and who may give it if well-disposed[97]; the idea is somehow reflected also in Socrates' etymology of Plouton's name: *πολλὰ τὰ περιόντα αὐτῷ ἐκεῖ ἐστιν* (*Crat*. 403a) and rendered in the cosmogonic conception present in Hesiod's *Theogony*, which implies that in the depths of the earth are the roots, beginnings/sources and limits of everything[98]. That is why we ask the dead to send their blessings up to us (*αἰτούμεθ' αὐτοὺς δεῦρ' ἀνιέναι τἀγαθά*)[99]: *πλοῦτος* is sent up from beneath the earth (*ἐκ τῆς γῆς κάτωθεν ἀνίεται ὁ πλοῦτος*)[100].

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[93] See section III 1.1.
[94] Ar. fr. 504 (Austin).
[95] Soph. *OT* 30; see also Stes. 55 (*PMG*): *κήδεα δὲ στοναχάς τ' Ἀίδας ἔλαχε*.
[96] Σ Oxon *in* Ael.Ar. *Pan*. 91, 4.23-5: *ὁ γὰρ μῦθος αὐτοὺς πρώτους* [the Athenians] *λέγει παρὰ θεῶν δεξαμένους τὰ σπέρματα δι' Ἅιδου καὶ Κελεοῦ καὶ διὰ Τριπτολέμου*.
[97] Cf. the *διὰ τὰς ὑπεναντιότητας* reason for worshipping Hades in Tryphylia in section IV 1.2.
[98] Hes. *Th*. 727-8: *αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε | γῆς ῥίζαι πεφύασι καὶ ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης* and 736-9: *ἔνθα δὲ γῆς δνοφερῆς καὶ ταρτάρου ἠερόεντος | πόντου τ' ἀτρυγέτοιο καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος | ἐξείης πάντων πηγαὶ καὶ πείρατ' ἔασιν, | ἀργαλέ' εὐρώεντα, τά τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ*.
[99] Ar. fr. 504 (Austin). Cf. the blessings of Demeter and Kore for those whom they love, *HDem*. 486-9.
[100] Plat. *Crat*. 403a; noticeably, this idea is present also in funerary inscriptions *GVI* 1015 (Alexandria, 1st/2nd c. CE): *πατρὶς Ἀλεξάνδρεια Μακηδονὶς Αἰγύπτοιο, | κοσμοτρόφον δάπεδον μεγάλου Πλουτῆος ἄνακτος*; *GVI* 1307 (=*IG* II/III^2 5426); 2nd/3rd c. CE): *εἰδὼς ὅτι κάτω Πλουτέως τὰ δώματα | πλούτου γέμουσι, μηδενὸς χρῄζοντα ὅλως*. For *Plouteus* as an alternative form for *Plouton* see section III 2.1.

In the light of the above, it is quite clear that the meaning of the name is connected with the goods hidden in the earth, and not necessarily with the god's willingness to give these goods to the living, which seems to be a secondary development, introduced by the Eleusinian cult; Socrates makes an allusion to this in his explanation of Plouton's name[101].

It is true that Plouton is the name of the nethergod most exploited in a cult context (including curse tablets)[102], but it is worth remembering that it appears most prominently together with the two goddesses and that it owes its popularity in general to this fact. It is significant that in Athens Plouton appears primarily in connection with the *Thesmophoria* (he had a priestess at the festival) and that he probably was the recipient of the sacrifice at *Procharisteria* there[103]; both the festivals were connected with a projection of the broadly understood fertility of the earth. Furthermore, it seems that indirectly Plouton was involved in the Eleusinian promise too[104].

The prominence of the figure of Plouton led some scholars to the assumption that the property of Hades had to evolve and to be eventually denied because 'nobody worships

[101] See n. 69. Plouton was certainly seen as the giver of *ploutos* through the prism of the myth of the abduction of Kore (see section II 1.3) and the Eleusinian cult, though indirectly because, as we are assured, Demeter and Kore send *ploutos* to those whom they favour (*HDem*. 486-8: *μέγ' ὄλβιος ὅν τιν' ἐκεῖναι | προφρονέως φίλωνται ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων· ⌈ αἶψα δέ οἱ πέμπουσιν ἐφέστιον ἐς μέγα δῶμα | Πλοῦτον, ὃς ἀνθρώποις ἄφενος θνητοῖσι δίδωσιν*); Plouton, however, is the *conditio sine qua non*.

[102] *DT* 1a3 (Cnidus, 2nd/1st c. BC; one of 13 tablets; near the remains of a statue of Demeter): *Ἀνιεροῖ Ἄντιγό | νη Δάματρι Κού | ραι Πλούτωνι θε | οῖς τοῖς παρὰ Δά | ματρι ἅπασι καὶ | πάσαις*; *DT* 22.35-36, 24.19-20, 26.24-6, 29.23-4, 30.28-30, 31.22-3, 32.22-4, 33.27-9, 35.22-3, 37.22-4 (Cyprus, 3rd c. CE): *κὲ χθόνιοι θεοὶ κὲ Ἑκάτη χθονία κὲ Ἑρμῆ χ[θόνιε | κ]ὲ Πλούτων κὲ Ἐρινύες ὑποχθόνιοι κὲ ὑμις οἱ ὧδε κάτω κίμ[ενοι | ἄ]ωροι κὲ ἀνώνυμοι*; *DT* 74.3, 75a5 (Attica): *Ἑρμῆ κατα | χθονίῳ καὶ Ἑκάτη κα[τα] | χθονία, Πλούτω | νι κα(ὶ) Κόρη κ(αὶ) Περσιφόν | <ν>η | καὶ Μοίραις κατα[χθονί | α]ις καὶ πάντοις τοῖ[ς θε | οῖ]ς καὶ τῶ Κερ[β]έρω | [….. φύλ]ακι*; *SGD* 170 (South Russia) A: *καὶ παρὰ Πλούτωνα χθόνιον*, B: *Πλουτοδότ | αν χθόνιον*; *DT* 38.3, 7, 17, 33-4 (3rd c. CE, Egypt), *NGCT* 23 (Oropos, 2nd c. BC): *[Πλούτω]νι*; Gaffino (2002; 3rd/4th c. CE): *θαιοὶ μεγάλοι καὶ στήλη Πλούτονος | τῶν καταχθωνίω<ν>*; Stroud (2013) 127: for the text and discussion see section II 4.7; see also n. 77 above. For general discussion see section II 2.3.

[103] For the discussion see section III 2.1.

[104] See n. 101.

death'[105]. Nevertheless, Plouton is not the only manifestation of the nethergod which appears in the Eleusinian cult: his presence is also marked by *Theos* (*scil*. disguised Hades)[106]. It is true that Hades' name hardly ever appears in the cult context[107], and never in Attica, but we can observe the same (at least for Attica) in the case of Persephone. Furthermore, the two figures, Plouton and *Theos*, seem to be put in parallel in the Eleusinian cult in the same way in which the two gifts of Demeter to the mortals bear the same importance: food in the form of corn and hope for a better lot after death[108].

Thus, it seems that, although Plouton can still be seen as a kind of euphemistic name of the god[109], the stress is put on the metonymic rather than elliptic character of the word: *Hades* is not avoided as a name, but a particular aspect of the god is chosen as if through the name a reference was made to a divine sphere of activity (power)[110]; let us notice that the meaning of these names is completely clear. They show, as it were, two faces of the deity existing within the cycle of mutual sharing and exchange of properties, which makes them far from contradictory. They substantially and essentially are still the same deity (they share the property of the Underworld and mythological

[105] Farnell (1907) iii.281, West (1966) *ad* 969.
[106] See section IV 2.1. The two figures appear also in the cult of Pankrates at Ilissos: IV 4.3; for the discussion of the name see section III 3.
[107] See sections IV 1 and IV 3.1.
[108] *HDem*. 470-3: *οὐ]δ' ἀπίθησεν ἐϋστέφανος Δημήτηρ, | αἶψα δὲ καρπὸν ἀνῆκεν ἀρουράων ἐριβώλων. | πᾶσα δὲ φύλλοισίν τε καὶ ἄνθεσιν εὐρεῖα χθὼν | ἔβρισ'*; 474-482: *δ[εῖξε,] (…) | δρησμοσύνην ἱερῶν καὶ ἐπέφραδεν ὄργια καλά, | Τριπτολέμῳ τε Πολυξείνῳ τ', ἐπὶ τοῖς δὲ Διοκλεῖ, | σεμνά, τά τ' οὔ πως ἔστι παρεξ[ίμ]εν [οὔτε πυθέσθαι,] | οὔτ' ἀχέειν· μέγα γάρ τι θεῶν σέβας ἰσχάνει αὐδήν. | ὄλβιος ὃς τάδ' ὄπωπεν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων· | ὃς δ' ἀτελὴς ἱερῶν, ὅς τ' ἄμμορος, οὔ ποθ' ὁμοίων | αἶσαν ἔχει φθίμενός περ ὑπὸ ζόφῳ εὐρώεντι*.
[109] For a detailed discussion see section III 10.
[110] In the case of Plouton (and especially Plouton worshipped alongside the two goddesses) these are agricultural goods and fertility of the earth. In the case of Hades it is ostensibly true that one can expect nothing good from the state of being hidden or invisible; on the other hand, one may expect some revelation of what is/was invisible (for instance, crime, revenge): here Hades/Aidoneus is always invoked. The same name appears also in the contexts of prayers for euthanasia: see section II 2.3.

characteristics[111]; both appear in funerary inscriptions and curses); functionally, however, they have relevance to different aspects of the world of the living.

Whether the change of name caused a development in the properties of the god of the dead is a different question, to which I shall return later[112]; it seems, however, that the occurrence of Persephone as the other name for Kore is not coincidental either. Through her marriage to Hades Kore became Persephone, the queen of the dead, which is clearly indicated in Hades' marital promise in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*[113]. She also shares with Hades the property of invisibility through the epithet *ἀφανῆς*[114], which probably most explicitly reflects the main aspect of the grim lord; whenever she is paired with Hades, she gets also the epithet *ἐπαινή,* again stressing her formidable character[115].

2.1 (Zeus) Plouteus

Hesychios at the entry Πλουτεύς gives Ἅιδης. *Plouteus* is definitely an alternative form of *Plouton*: the context and the associated figures leave no doubt about it[116]. It seems that the name's structure reflects the process observable also in *Aideus*, discussed above, where the name is created with a suffix added to the stem of a proper name[117].

[111] Cf. n. 75-8.
[112] See section III 10.
[113] *HDem*. 363-9: *οὔ τοι ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἀεικὴς ἔσσομ' ἀκοίτης | αὐτοκασίγνητος πατρὸς Διός· ἔνθα δ' ἐοῦσα | δεσπόσσεις πάντων ὁπόσα ζώει τε καὶ ἕρπει, | τιμὰς δὲ σχήσησθα μετ' ἀθανάτοισι μεγίστας, | τῶν δ' ἀδικησάντων τίσις ἔσσεται ἠμὲν πάντα | οἵ κεν μὴ θυσίαισι τεὸν μένος ἱλάσκωνται | εὐαγέως ἔρδοντες ἐναίσιμα δῶρα τελοῦντες*.
[114] S. *OC* 1556.
[115] *Il*. 9. 457, *Od*. 10.491, Hes. *Th*. 768.
[116] Luc. *Pod*. 12-13: *οὐδὲ Σίσυφον πέτρῳ | ἔδει κολάζειν ἐν δόμοισι* Πλουτέως; *Arg. Orph*. 182: *Πλουτῆος ὑποχθονίοιο ῥέεθρα μοῦνος ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων δεινοῖσιν ὀπώπεεν ὅσσοις*. For funerary inscriptions see n. 119.
[117] See section III 1.2.

The name *Plouteus* occurs mostly in late funerary inscriptions dating roughly from the 1st c. CE[118] onwards; unsurprisingly, the name appears in Attica only twice, and both the testimonies are funerary inscriptions dated to the 2nd c. CE[119]. *Plouteus* is also preserved in an undated dedication on an altar from Halicarnassos: Διὸς Πλουτῆος[120]; we know nothing about the cult character of (Zeus) *Plouteus*, but it is very plausible that it was associated with Demeter and Kore[121].

[118] *Chios* 279 (=*GVI* 620; Chios, 1st/2nd c. CE?): [ξ]εῖνε, φίλην κεφαλὴν ἐσορᾷς πέλας, ἥν ποτε Πλουτεύς | ἐξάγαγε<ν> θαλάμων νεοτήσιον ἄνθος ἔχουσαν; *IGUR* III 1344 (=*GVI* 1595; Rome, 2nd c. CE?): οὐχ ὁσίως ἥρπαξες ὑπὸ [χθόνα], κοίρανε Πλουτεῦ, | πενταέτη νύμφην πᾶσιν ἀγαλλομένην; *SEG* 42 1612 (Egypt, 2nd/3rd c. CE): βασιλεὺς φθιμένων Πλουτεύς; *IG* VII 117 (Megara, 4th/5th c. CE): σοὶ δὲ χάρις, Πλουτε<ῦ>, ἀκάκῃ θε<ῶ>ι; *Ephesos*2089 (=*IEph* 2104, late imperial): σε | Κούρη [Π]λο[υ]- | τῆος ἤγαγεν εἰς Ἀΐδην; *IG* XII, 3 870 (Thera): πασῶν ἀρίσταν ἠδὲ κοσμίαν ἐμὲ | ἀφηροΐξας δεῖξε Πλουτῆος κόρᾳ; *SEG* 20 394 and 395 (4th c. CE, Syria): νηὸν Πλουτῆει κὲ ἐπενῇ Περσεφονείῃ; *GVI* 271 (2nd/3rd c. CE, Syria): νηὸν Πλουτῆι καὶ ἐπενῇ Φερσεφονείῃ; *GVI* 1015 (Egypt, early Roman Imperial period): κοσμοτρόφον δάπεδον μεγάλου Πλουτῆος ἄνακτος; *IRT* 690 (Tripolitania, 2nd/3rd c. CE): <δ>όμον | Πλουτῆος ἔχω | κὲ χάλκεον | ὕπνον; *IRT* S15 (Tripolitania, 6th c. CE): Κ(ύρι)ε βο- | ήθη τ- | οῦ δούλου | σου Πλουτή- | νου; *SEG* 38 405 (=*IG* VII 1687-1688; Boeotia, 4th c. CE): Πλωτεύς; *SEG* 35 630 (Larisa, *ca*. AD 150-200) : ὃν δέξατο | Περσεφόνη χώραν | εἰς εὐσεβέων, | ὦ Φθόναι καὶ Πλου- | τεύ; *EKM 1*. *Beroia* 404 (=*SEG* 38 590; Beroia, 2nd c. CE): δέξατο Φερσε- | φόνη χῶρον | ἐς εὐσεβέων. | ὦ Φθόνε καὶ Πλου- | τεῦ; *Delacoulonche* 238, 16 (Macedon, undated): ΠΛΟΥΤΕΙΚΟΝΡΑΝΩΘΗΝΩ (I suppose it should be read as Πλουτεῖ κο<ι>{ν}ράνω); *IosPE* I^2 46 (Olbia, undated): ὑπ[ὸ το]ῦ βασκάνου | [καὶ ἀπαραιτήτ]ου καὶ πάντα νεικῶ<ντ>ος Π<λ>ουτέ- | [ως ἀφηρπάγ]η; *Teos* 146 (=*GVI* 967; Teos, 3rd/4th c. CE?): κεῖμαι Πλουτέος ἐμ' μελάθροις. | ἀφθάρτοις μούσαις γὰρ ἐπισπὼν αὐτὸς ἔρωτας | εἰς Ἀίδεω ἐλθὼν νυμφίος οὐ γενόμην; *SEG* 35 1233 (Lydia, AD 148/9): ἀλλ' ὅ γ' ἐς Ἠλύσιον πεδίον τρέπει, ἔνθα τε Πλουτεὺς | ὥρισεν ἠρώεσσιν ἐφέστιον ἀκροδίκοισιν; *MAMA* X 169 (Phrygia, AD 305-315?): ἀλά {[2]6ἀλλά}[2]6 με Πλου- | τεὺς ἥρπασε κουριδίης | γαμέτης Δημητρι- | ανῆς ἧς ἱστοργὴν {[2]6στοργὴν}[2]6 οὐ- | δ' ἐ<ν> νεκύεσι λαθοί- | μην; *SEG* 15 796 (Phrygia, 4th c. CE): ἐνὴ Πλου- | τεῖ ἢ Παραδίζῳ; *IGLSyr* 4 1297 (Syria, Gabala): ὁρκίζω σε, μάκαρ, τὸν Πλουτέα καὶ νεκύων Γῆν; *IGUR* III 1347 (=*GVI* 30; Rome, undated): Δ(αίμοσι) Κ(αταχθονίοις). | Πλουτεῖ καὶ Λήθῃ καὶ ἐ[παι]νῇ | ❦ Φερσεφον<ε>ί[ῃ] | σύντροφοι τήνδε [ἔθ]εσαν | ᾗ τοὔνομ<ά> ἐστι[ν Ὑ]γεία; *IGUR* III 1342 (Rome, undated): ἔχοις δέ μιν, ὠγαθὲ Πλουτεῦ, | σύνθρονον εὐσεβέων Φερσεφόνης θαλάμ<ω>ν; *IGR* 4.606 (=Kaibel 372; Benisoae, 4th c. CE): καὶ Πλουτέος οἰκία νήῳ, | ὃς πάντων νεκύων ψυχὰς παρεδέξατο χήρων.

[119] *IG* II^2 5426: εἰδὼς ὅτι κάτω Πλουτέως τὰ δώματα | πλούτου γέμουσι, μηδενὸς χρῄζοντα ὅλως; 11552: φέρειν τὰ Μοιρῶν Πλουτέως κελ[εύσμασιν]).

[120] *Halikarnassos* 84 (=*CIG* 2655b).

[121] The cult of the two goddesses in Halikarnassos is confirmed by an inscription of 4th/3rd c. BC (*Halikarnassos* 98): Ναννίον | Καλλικλέους. | παῖδες Ἀθηνοκρίτου | Καλλικλῆς | Διοσκουρίδης | Μητρόδωρος | Ἀθηνόδωρος | Ἀριστοκλῆς | ὑπὲρ τῆς μητρὸς | Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρηι; see also: *Halikarnassos* 67 (no date): [ἱερατεύσασα Δή]μητρι καὶ Κόρῃ καὶ τῶι δήμωι. Note, however: *Myndos* 6 (=*SEG* 16 683, imperial): [—]ΙΣ κατὰ προστάγματα σεμνὰ | [—].Ι μεγάλου Πλουτέος Ἑρμοῦ | [—] Μενεκράτης πολύχαριν εὐχὴν | [—]ων μεγάλων θεῶν προθύμως | [—]κω γράμματι τὸν στίχον ἐπιγράψας | [Α]ΕΗΙΟΥΩ | ΙΑΩ.

3. ΘΕΟΣ

ΘΕΟΣ is a specific name (?) of the nethergod which occurs in the Eleusinian cult; together with ΘΕΑ he belongs to the major gods of the sanctuary of the Two Goddesses. Both the names have been interpreted as equivalents of Hades and Persephone[122], who for some reason do not appear under those names in the Eleusinian cult surroundings[123], even if their presence should be expected, since it would be justified by the myth itself.

In the Eleusinian setting *Theos* appears in the Athenian *First Fruits* decree (*ca*. 440-435 BC) along with the Two Goddesses, Triptolemos, *Thea*, Eubouleus and Athena[124]. Furthermore, his name is mentioned in two dedications on votive reliefs with his representation: the so-called Lysimachides (*ca*. 335-320 BC: *θεᾶι θεῶι*) [125] and Lakrateides (*ca*. 115-108 BC: *χαριστήριον Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρη*[*ι καὶ θε*]*ῶ*̣*ι καὶ θε*[*ᾶι καὶ Εὐ*]*βουλεῖ*)[126] reliefs, found in the area of the so-called Ploutonion in Eleusis[127]; from the inscription on the Lakrateides relief we know that the donor was a priest of *Theos*, *Thea*, and Eubouleus[128]. *Theos* is inscribed also on a red-figure footed *dinos* (*ca*. 470 BC; fig. 49-50) representing the departure of Triptolemos to identify a male divine

[122] For discussion of other interpretations with references see Parker (2005) 335-6; see also Clinton (1992) 114-15.
[123] Surprisingly, however, Kore is always inscribed *Pherephatta* on Eleusinian pottery (*Kore* is inscribed only once); see section I 2.4.2.
[124] *I.Eleu*sis 28.38-9 (=*IG* I^3 78a.39): *τρίττοιαν δὲ βόαρχον χρυσόκερον τοῖν θεοῖν ἑκα*[*τέρ*] | [*αι ἀ*]*πὸ τὸν κριθὸν καὶ τὸν πυρὸν καὶ τῶι Τριπτολέμοι καὶ τῶι* [*θε*] | *ῶι καὶ τᾶι θεᾶι καὶ τῶι Εὐβόλοι ἱερεῖον ἑκάστοι τέλεον καὶ* | *τᾶι Ἀθεναίαι βῶν χρυσόκερον*; he occurs together with these deities in another decree of the *First Fruits* of 353/2 BC: *I.Eleusis* 142 (=*IG* II^2 140); see also section IV 2.1.
[125] *I.Eleusis* 83 (=*IG* II^2 4683).
[126] *I.Eleusis* 239 (=*IG* II^2 4701).
[127] Clinton (1992) 18-27, 51; for representations of both the reliefs see section I 1.2.1.
[128] For reference see the preceding note; a priest of *Theos* and *Thea* is mentioned also in *I.Eleusis* 489.64 (=*IG* II^2 1092; *ca*. AD 169-70): *ἱερεὺς Θεο*[*ῦ καὶ Θεᾶς ἁπλῆν*].

figure (as we have noticed above, the accompanying goddess should probably be interpreted as *Thea*, though not inscribed)[129]. Once more among the extant testimonies ΘΕΟΣ appears on a votive relief from the sanctuary of Pankrates at Ilissos[130]. It is very plausible that *Theos* at Ilissos refers to *Theos* at Eleusis not only due to the vicinity of the cult places, but also because the same representation scheme occurs on another relief from the sanctuary at Ilissos, but with a dedication to Plouton: [...]*η εὐξαμένη ἀν*[*έθηκεν* Πλ]*ούτωνι*[131]. If this interpretation is correct, we have another proof here for the consistency of the idea of the nethergod, and further support for the claim that through various names only certain of his aspects were referred to (such as the Underworld or agricultural wealth), to which I shall return later.

Although *theos* in itself is a generic term, it is not impossible that without a context (narratological or cultic with a specified recipient, where such a generic term would be expected and justified for any kinds of divine being) ΘΕΟΣ indicated the nethergod. Such a generalisation with a subtle circumlocution effect, a euphemism *par excellence*, finds its counterpart in the way of speaking about the dead, who are *νώνυμνοι* (Hes. *Op*. 154), and are very often referred to simply as 'those there'/'those below' (the Underworld as 'over there'): *οἱ ἐκεῖ*/*οἱ ἔνεροι* [132]. On the other hand, Demeter and Kore are often

[129] For the discussion of the representation see section I 2.4.2. An inscription ΘΕΑ was found on a small Corinthian-type *skyphos* (6th c. BC) between the Temple of Triptolemos and the West Peribolos Wall: Miles (1998) 134: inv. P 31829, dep. 25 I (=*SEG* 48 363). Interestingly, *ἁγνὴ θεός* had a priest and a priestess at Aixone, according to a new fragment of *IG* II^2 1356: for references and the occurrence of the title outside Attica see Parker (2005) 335 n. 43.
[130] Vikela (1994) A11, pl. 9; for the representation see section I 1.2.1; for the discussion of cult: IV 4.3.
[131] Vikela (1994) A2, pl. 2; for the representation see section I 1.2.1; for the discussion of cult: IV 4.3.
[132] Aesch. *Ch*. 355 (*φίλος φίλοισι τοῖς ἐκεῖ καλῶς θανοῦ- | σιν, κατὰ χθονὸς ἐμπρέπων*), Pl. *Resp*. 427b (*τοῖς ἐκεῖ*), Isoc. 14.61 (*εἴ τις ἄρα τοῖς ἐκεῖ φρόνησίς ἐστιν περὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε γιγνομένων*); **οἱ κάτω**: Soph. *Aj*. 865 (*τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἐν Ἅιδου τοῖς κάτω μυθήσομαι*), *Ant*. 75 (*ὃν δεῖ μ' ἀρέσκειν τοῖς κάτω τῶν ἐνθάδε*); **οἱ ἔνεροι**: *Il*. 15.188 (*ἐνέροισιν ἀνάσσων*), *Il*. 20.61 (*ἄναξ ἐνέρων*), Hes. *Th*. 850 (*ἐνέροισι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσων*), Aesch. *Pers*. 629 (*βασιλεῦ ἐνέρων*), Soph. *El*. 1391 (*ἐνέρων ἀρωγός*), Pl. *Resp*. 387c (*οἱ ἔνεροι*), Aesch. *Ch*. 286 (*οἱ ἐνέρτεροι*). The Underworld: Aesch. *Supp*. 230 (*κἀκεῖ δικάζει τἀμπλακήματα Ζεὺς ἄλλος*), *Ch*. 359 (*χθονίων ἐκεῖ τυράννων*), Soph. *Ant*. 76 (*Ἐκεῖ γὰρ αἰεὶ κείσομαι*), Eur. *Med*. 1073 (*εὐδαιμονοίτην, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ*), Ar. *Ra*. 82 (*εὔκολος μὲν ἐνθάδ', εὔκολος δ' ἐκεῖ*), Pl. *Phd*.

referred to with the dual form of *theos*[133]; this manner of speaking might have been extended to the nethergod so frequently worshipped with them.

It is true that the bare *theos* form almost never occurs in literary testimonies with relation to the underworld deities[134]; the only instance comes from the *Frogs* (400): *πρὸς τὴν θεόν*; slightly different testimony, determined by the underworld context, is provided by Sophocles in *Electra* (184): *ὁ παρὰ τὸν Ἀχέροντα θεὸς ἀνάσσων*. Usually, however, if *theos* is used in literature to denote Hades or Persephone, it is followed by a descriptive epithet referring to the earth and the world below[135]; but it seems that again the Eleusinian context in Aristophanes' comedy allowed for a clear designation and that is why the usage of the bare *theos* was comprehensible. In other contexts such a usage would result in confusion or misunderstanding, and would not express the intention of the author. Very often the underworld couple is designated with an elaborate periphrasis including *theos*: *οἱ ἐνέρτεροί/ νέρτεροι θεοί*[136], *οἱ κάτω θεοί*[137], *οἱ κάτωθεν θεοί*[138].

The evidence discussed above clearly indicates that in the Eleusinian cult ΘΕΟΣ was a name denoting the nethergod; otherwise, its application to him does not bear any particular characteristics: it appears followed by a descriptive epithet referring to an underworld/earthly context.

64a (*εὔελπις εἶναι ἐκεῖ*), Soph. *Aj*. 660 (*ἀλλ' αὐτὸ νὺξ Ἄιδης τε σῳζόντων κάτω*), *OC* 1563 (*τὰν παγκευ-* | *θῆ κάτω νεκρῶν πλάκα*).

[133] Ar. *V*. 378: *τὰ τοῖν θεοῖν ψηφίσματα*; And. 1.125: *οὐδ' ἔδεισε τὼ θεώ*; Ar. *Lys*. 112: *νὴ τὼ θεώ*, *Ec*. 155, 532: *μὰ τὼ θεώ*. *I.Eleusis* 13 (=*IG* I^3 5): *θεοῖν* ⋮ *τρίτοαν* ⋮ *βόαρχον* ⋮ *ἐν τεῖ ἐορ[τεῖι*. For another see also section I 1.2.1.

[134] Clinton (1992) 115.

[135] Hes. *Th*. 767-9: *ἔνθα θεοῦ χθονίου πρόσθεν δόμοι ἠχήεντες* | [*ἰφθίμου τ' Ἀίδεω καὶ ἐπαινῆς Περσεφονείης*] | *ἑστᾶσιν*; Soph. *OC* 1548: *ἡ νερτέρα θεός*, *OC* 1556: *τὰν ἀφανῆ θεόν*.

[136] *Il*. 15.225, Aesch. *Pers*. 622, Soph. *Ant*. 602.

[137] Soph. *El*. 292; cf. E. *Alc*. 851-2: *εἶμι τῶν κάτω* | *Κόρης Ἄνακτός τ' εἰς ἀνηλίους δόμους*.

[138] Soph. *Ant*. 1070.

4. *Zeus*

Testimonies of various kind allow us to think that *Zeus*, usually accompanied by a descriptive epithet referring to a given property of the earth, was used by the ancients as a proper name referring directly to the nethergod, especially in a cult context. Although the idea of application of this name to another god may seem slightly bizarre in itself, in fact it was probably the easiest and most explicit way to denote 'the highest possible power within a given sphere of reference'. And especially in the case of the nethergod this way of speaking is completely justified, as is confirmed by the famous passage from Aeschylus' *Suppliants* (230-31) from which we learn that *κἀκεῖ δικάζει τἀμπλακήμαθ', ὡς λόγος,* | *Ζεὺς ἄλλος ἐν καμοῦσιν ὑστάτας δίκας.*

The idea of the 'three Zeuses' or a 'triple Zeus' seems to be very old. Pausanias, when describing the sacred precinct of Larisa (2.24.3-4), points out that there is a worth-seeing temple of Athena, in which he saw a *xoanon* of Zeus with three eyes among the votive offerings[139]. According to his interpretation, the three eyes signify that the same god rules in all the three 'allotments' of the world[140], and in support of his claim he quotes Homer's line from the *Iliad*, where the poet calls Hades *Ζεύς καταχθόνιος* (*Il.* 9.457); then he adds that Aeschylus used the name of Zeus to denote Poseidon; in this place Pausanias probably had in mind the lines of a fragmentarily preserved play by

[139] *καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ ναός ἐστι θέας ἄξιος· ἐνταῦθα ἀναθήματα κεῖται καὶ ἄλλα καὶ Ζεὺς ξόανον, δύο μὲν ἢ πεφύκαμεν ἔχον ὀφθαλμούς, τρίτον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου. (…) τρεῖς δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῷδε ἄν τις τεκμαίροιτο αὐτόν. Δία γὰρ ἐν οὐρανῷ βασιλεύειν, οὗτος μὲν λόγος κοινὸς πάντων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων. ὃν δὲ ἄρχειν φασὶν ὑπὸ γῆς, ἔστιν ἔπος τῶν Ὁμήρου Δία ὀνομάζον καὶ τοῦτον· Ζεύς τε καταχθόνιος καὶ ἐπαινὴ Περσεφόνεια. Αἰσχύλος δὲ ὁ Εὐφορίωνος καλεῖ Δία καὶ τὸν ἐν θαλάσσῃ. τρισὶν οὖν ὁρῶντα ἐποίησεν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὅστις δὴ ἦν ὁ ποιήσας, ἅτε ἐν ταῖς τρισὶ ταῖς λεγομέναις λήξεσιν ἄρχοντα τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον θεόν.*

[140] For a similar modern interpretation of one of the poros sculptures from the temple of Athena on the Athenian Acropolis (namely of the snake-tailed monster with three torsos and heads) as Zeus Herkeios see Howe (1955) 292ff. For representation of the triple Zeus in art see Farnell (1896) i.104, pl. Ib, who notes that on one of the gems a figure of 'Zeus' is holding a thunderbolt and a trident while mounting a chariot; what is more, he is also accompanied by a dog, presumably Kerberos.

Aeschylus, *Diktyoulkoi* (fr. 46a Radt): ἄ̣ν̣α̣ξ̣ Πόσειδον Ζεῦ τ' ἐνά[λιε | [δ]ῶ̣ρον θαλάσσης πεμπετ[. It is true that the logic of the grammar (if the reading is correct)[141] suggests that we are dealing with two gods, but at the same time it is hard to imagine who Ζεὺς ἐνάλιος would be if not the one who rules over the sea, i.e. Poseidon himself[142]. Also Proclus in his commentary on Plato's *Cratylus*[143], when listing 'three Zeuses', interprets Ζεὺς ἐνάλιος as Poseidon himself, and justifies the usage of Zeus' name to denote his brothers in a way similar to that we find in Pausanias.

According to our knowledge, only in the cases of Hades and Poseidon does the name of Zeus appear with epithets proper to these gods; the context usually excludes any doubts or misunderstanding. The occurrence of Zeus' name in 'the other allotments' in substitution for the proper ruler's name may prove and enhance at the same time the equality of power among the three brothers[144], each one in his own domain[145]. In Poseidon's case Zeus' name is used only twice in the preserved testimonies: the first, uncertain, is the passage from Aeschylus quoted above, and for the second time it appears much later in one of the Orphic hymns (γαῖα θεὰ μήτηρ καὶ πόντιος εἰνάλιος Ζεύς)[146]. Why Poseidon did not assume the name of Zeus to the degree to which Hades

[141] See Radt's commentary *ad loc*.
[142] It is not impossible that Ζεὺς ἐνάλιος was regarded as the patron of fishermen, like Aphrodite *Pontia*, and that Aeschylus makes an allusion to this in the passage (on Aphrodite Pontia see Parker 2002); there are no testimonies, however, to confirm this hypothesis. On the other hand, note that, for instance, in curse tablets we find Kore and Persephone evoked together: *DT* 38.3-4 (3rd c. CE, Egypt), 7-8, 17-18, 33-35: καὶ Πλούτων υεσεμμιγαδων μααρχαμα καὶ Κόρη ερεσχιγαλ ζαβαρβαθουχ καὶ Φερσεφόνη.
[143] *In Plat. Crat*. 148: ὁ δὲ ἀρχικὸς Ζεὺς καὶ σύστοιχος τῶν τριῶν Κρονιδῶν τὴν τρίτην ἐπιτροπεύει μοῖραν τῶν ὅλων κατὰ τὸ <τριχθὰ δὲ πάντα δέδασται> (*Il*. 15.189), καὶ ἔστιν ἀκρότατος τῶν τριῶν καὶ ὁμώνυμος τῷ πηγαίῳ καὶ ἡνωμένος αὐτῷ καὶ καλεῖται μοναδικῶς Ζεύς· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος δυαδικῶς καλεῖται Ζεὺς ἐνάλιος καὶ Ποσειδῶν. ὁ δὲ τρίτος τριαδικῶς Ζεύς τε καταχθόνιος καὶ Πλούτων καὶ Ἅιδης. καὶ ὁ μὲν πρῶτος τὰ ἀκρότατα σῴζει καὶ δημιουργεῖ καὶ ζωοποιεῖ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τὰ δεύτερα, ὁ δὲ τρίτος τὰ τρίτα· διὸ καὶ ἁρπάζειν λέγεται τὴν Κόρην οὗτος, ἵνα μετ' αὐτῆς τὰ πέρατα ψυχώσῃ τῶν ὅλων.
[144] See section I 1.2.
[145] Even if Zeus is commonly acknowledged as the king of the gods, he cannot do anything to help Odysseus when the hero is at sea, which belongs to Poseidon, nor is he able to go to the Underworld to resurrect anybody.
[146] Aesch. fr. 46a (Radt), *Orph. Hymn* 63.16. But note the frequency of the application of *theos/daimon* with sea epithets to denote Poseidon: *HNept*. 1-3 (Ἀμφὶ Ποσειδάωνα θεὸν μέγαν ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν | γαίης

did, is hard to decide indisputably. The simplest explanation, which we have already given[147], consists in the observation that the world develops dichotomously into the upper and the lower, with Poseidon's share getting lost on the way: people live in the world of Zeus and move to the other world, that of Hades, 'the other Zeus', and nobody is going to inhabit the kingdom of Poseidon, about which we know nothing (nor did the ancients, apparently). This is not to diminish the importance of Poseidon in ancient beliefs: after all, his kingdom is a source of nourishment, like the earth (which is visible in the quoted passage from the Orphic hymn), but it is not home for anyone; only the earth is common to all: the gods, the mortals and the dead; the world is two-dimensional: Γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ | ἀθανάτων οἳ ἔχουσι κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου, | Τάρταρά τ' ἠερόεντα μυχῷ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης.[148]

In the case of Hades the name of Zeus is applied frequently with a strong reference to earth, expressed in the epithets: we hear that Ζεὺς ἄλλος is ὁ γάιος, ὁ πολυξενώτατος, Ζεὺς τῶν κεκμηκότων[149], and γάιος seems to reflect his exact, literal so to say, share in the world, parallel to Poseidon's 'sea epithets'. It seems plausible (especially given that the world of the dead in the most popular conceptions was patterned on the world of the living) that the power of Zeus above the earth is mirrored by that of Hades below it[150]; this is also supported by such bitterly ironic combinations as ὁ κατὰ χθονός Ἅιδης,

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κινητῆρα καὶ ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης | πόντιον), Eur. *Rhes*. 240 (τὰς πόντιος Αἰακίδᾳ Πηλεῖ δίδωσι δαίμων), *Cyc*. 413 (Ὦ τοῦ ποντίου θεοῦ Κύκλωψ), Andr. 1011-12 (καὶ πόντιε κυανέαις | ἵπποις διφρεύων ἅλιον πέλαγος), Ar. *Ra*. 1341 (Ἰὼ πόντιε δαῖμον), *HOrph*. 17.8 (πόντιε δαῖμον), Soph. *OC* 888 (ἐναλίῳ θεῷ), 1493 (ἐναλίῳ Ποσειδαονίῳ θεῷ), Eur. *Pho*. 1156 (ἐναλίου θεοῦ).

[147] See section I 1.2.

[148] Hes. *Th*. 118-19.

[149] Aesch. *Supp*. 228-31 (οὐδὲ μὴ 'ν Ἅιδου θανὼν | φύγῃ ματαίων αἰτίας, πράξας τάδε. | κἀκεῖ δικάζει τἀμπλακήμαθ', ὡς λόγος, | Ζεὺς ἄλλος ἐν καμοῦσιν ὑστάτας δίκας), 154-161 (εἰ δὲ μή, μελανθὲς | ἡλιόκτυπον γένος | τὸν γάιον, | τὸν πολυξενώτατον, | Ζῆνα τῶν κεκμηκότων | ἐξόμεσθα σὺν κλάδοις | ἀρτάναις θανοῦσαι, | μὴ τυχοῦσαι θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων). For Hades as an early incarnation of death and the epithets connected with it see section II 2.1.

[150] However, it should be pointed out that Hades has no cult among the dead and we know nothing about any sacrifices to any divine power taking place in the Underworld, even though the realm of the dead resembles that of the living: for the realm see section I 1.2; for the song that Hades delighted in and the wailing sounds of the shadows of the dead see section II 2.1.

νεκρῶν σωτῆρ (Aesch. *Ag*. 1387), where *soter*, a common epithet of Zeus[151], is clearly connected with the world beneath the earth and refers to Zeus of 'those below', in whom only the dead may see their 'saviour'[152]. In general, it seems that the periphrastic usage of the name of Zeus to denote his brothers might have expressed the highest power in a certain sphere of divine activity or might have been understood as an expression of the power and might of the god whose name it replaced, or simply as a synonym of *theos*.[153]

4.1 Zeus of the Earth

Hesychius explains Χθόνιος Ζεύς as ὁ Ἅιδης[154], and it seems that the compound was used by the ancients as an alternative name for the nether lord. Nevertheless, it is the most problematic and obscure such name due to the variety of applications of the adjective itself and because of the often unclear context of a single usage. But let us first examine the evidence.

The first source where Zeus *Chthonios* is mentioned is, fortunately, Homer, who introduces him in the phrase Ζεύς τε καταχθόνιος[155] καὶ ἐπαινὴ Περσεφόνεια (*Il*.

[151] Cf. Pind. *Ol* 5.17, fr. 30.5; *IG* II^2 410.18 (4th c. BC).
[152] Note, however, that in Thessaly Plouton is called *Soter* (probably through Persephone): for discussion and references see section IV 3.1.
[153] Etymologically they have nothing in common, but cf. Aesch. fr. 70 Radt: Ζεύς ἐστιν αἰθήρ, Ζεὺς δὲ γῆ, Ζεὺς δ' οὐρανός, Ζεύς τοι τὰ πάντα χὤ τι τῶνδ' ὑπέρτερον. However, here Zeus might probably equally well be replaced with Moira: see Betegh cols. 14-16 + fr. 21a.1-7 (=West's reconstruction of the Derveni theogony 1983: 114, ll. 26-29) and the gold leaves from Thourioi (4th c. BC), where the power of Zeus and Moira seems to be equal: *OF* 488-490 Bernabé. For a broader discussion see Parker (2011) 64-70.
[154] Suda s.v. Χθόνιος Ζεύς· ὁ καταχθόνιος.
[155] It seems that the prefixes (κατα-, ὑπο-) attached to *chthonios* have no significant impact on the meaning of the word, or at least the preserved contexts in which they appear do not clarify or justify their usage. For contrast with the passage in question here see Aesch. *Cho*. 359: χθονίων ἐκεῖ τυράννων.

9.457) after informing us that the gods fulfilled a solemn curse (*θεοὶ δ' ἐτέλειον ἐπαρὰς*); by this the poet leaves no doubt that we are dealing with the lord of the dead in this case, as it is him who frequently appears in such contexts with Persephone[156]. Moreover, several lines further on (*Il*. 9.569) we find that Meleagros' mother, Althaie, kneeling and beating the earth with her hands, is evoking *Ἀΐδης καὶ ἐπαινὴ Περσεφόνεια*[157]. From both the context and the name of Persephone preceded by the same adjective, which makes the whole phrase look formulaic, this passage confirms that Hades' name was replaced for some reason with that of Zeus *Chthonios*, even if such a designation is unique in Homer[158]. As further support may serve West's note[159] that *ἐπαινή* is used as Persephone's epithet only when she is coupled with Hades; noteworthy is also a passage from Hesiod's *Theogony* (767) where the poet combines both phrases when describing the realm of Night and locating the realm of the dead within its confines: he introduces the house of *θεὸς χθόνιος ἴφθιμος Ἀΐδης καὶ ἐπαινὴ Περσεφόνεια*[160].

The first problematic passage occurs in Hesiod's *Works and Days* (465), where the poet places *Ζεὺς χθόνιος* alongside *Δήμητερ ἀγνή*[161] and advises that people should pray to them both for good crops before sowing and ploughing. A similar situation occurs in a

[156] *DT* 155a45, b8 (Rome, *Seth.Tab*., 2nd/3rd c. CE): *ὁ καταχθόν<ν>ιος*, *PGM* III 80, 100 (4th c. CE): *Δαμναμενεῦ, χευχθωνιε θ[ον]τοει, ἄγιε βασιλεῦ*: Betz (1986) 20 n. 19 interprets *Δαμναμενεῦ, χευχθωνιε* as *Damnameneu, Zeu chthonie*. For Hades' connection with curses see section II 2.3. Note that in a Norican defixio (si-GN-02) Plouton is paraphrased as Juppiter *infernus*: *Pluton sive{m} (!) Iov* | *em infernum dici opor{no}* | *tet*; for the usage of *sive* in theonymic formulae and particularly in this inscription see de Bernardo Stempel & Hainzmann (2010) 30.

[157] *ἤ ῥα θεοῖσι πόλλ' ἀχέουσ' ἠρᾶτο κασιγνήτοιο φόνοιο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ γαῖαν πολυφόρβην χερσὶν ἁλοία κικλήσκουσ' Ἀΐδην καὶ ἐπαινὴν Περσεφόνειαν πρόχυν καθεζομένη*; for comparison see also *HAph*. 333-339.

[158] It was suggested to me by Dr Emily Kearns that the name Zeus *Chthonios*, however, might have been commoner in early epic than we think.

[159] See West (1966) *ad* 767.

[160] *ἔνθα θεοῦ χθονίου πρόσθεν δόμοι ἠχήεντες [ἰφθίμου τ' Ἀίδεω καὶ ἐπαινῆς Περσεφονείης] ἑστᾶσιν*.

[161] *Op*. 465-9: *Εὔχεσθαι δὲ Διὶ χθονίῳ Δημήτερί θ' ἁγνῇ | ἐκτελέα βρίθειν Δημήτερος ἱερὸν ἀκτήν, | ἀρχόμενος τὰ πρῶτ' ἀρότου, ὅτ' ἂν ἄκρον ἐχέτλης | χειρὶ λαβὼν ὄρπηκι βοῶν ἐπὶ νῶτον ἵκηαι | ἔνδρυον ἐλκόντων μεσάβων*.

much later sacrificial regulation from Mykonos (ca. 225-200)[162], where Zeus *Chthonios* is analogically combined with Ge *Chthonia*: *ὑπὲ*[*ρ*] | *κα*[*ρ*]*πῶν Διὶ Χθονίωι, Γῆι Χθονίηι δερτὰ μέλανα ἐτήσι*[*α*][163].

In his commentary on the passage from Hesiod's *Works and Days* mentioned above West claims that it is Zeus, the Olympian, who appears there in his chthonic aspect because he fits in this place better than Hades. At first glance this may appear correct, as Zeus is indeed the father of Kore, in later tradition associated with grain[164]. Nevertheless, the agricultural part of the Eleusinian myth stresses her annual return from the Underworld, and not her birth. Furthermore, let us remember the red-figure *pelike* (440-430 BC; fig. 16)[165] representing the lord of the dead pouring a libation from a cornucopia in front of Demeter standing with a plough. Even if the mere appearance of the cornucopia here (the earliest attribute of Hades and at this time connected exclusively with him) may seem insufficient for a clear identification of the nethergod on this vase, we do not know any representation of Zeus the Olympian with a cornucopia from the 5th c. BC. Importantly, Ge (*Chthonia*), similarly to Demeter, is quite frequently evoked in necromantic practices and curses along with the nethergod under various names[166].

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[162] *LSCG* 96.25 (=*SIG* 1024).
[163] For a discussion about the cult in both the places see section III 4.2.
[164] Burkert (1983) 260 n. 19.
[165] For a detailed description and possible interpretation see sections I 2.1 and IV 2.1.3.
[166] Aesch. 273a (Radt): *Χθόνα δ' ὠγυγίαν ἐπικεκλόμενος | χθόνιόν θ' Ἑρμῆν πομπὸν φθιμένων | [αἰ]τοῦ χθόνιον Δία νυκτιπόλων | ἐσμὸν ἀνεῖναι ποταμοῦ στομάτων*; Aesch. *Pers*. 640-1: *Γᾶ τε καὶ ἄλλοι | χθονίων ἀγεμόνες*; *DT* 1a3 (Knidos, 2nd/1st c. BC; one of the tablets found near the remains of a statue of Demeter): *Ἀνιεροῖ Ἀντιγό | νη Δάματρι Κού | ραι Πλούτωνι θε | οῖς τοῖς παρὰ Δά | ματρι ἅπασι καὶ | πάσαις*; *DT* 38.3-4 (3rd c. CE, Egypt): *κ*[*α*]*ὶ Πλούτων υεσεμμιγαδων μααρχαμα καὶ Κόρη ερεσχιγ*[*α*]*λ ζα- | βαρ*]*βαθουχ καὶ Φερσεφόνη* [*ζα*]*υδαχθουμαρ· ὁρκίζω σε κ*[*α- | τ*]*ὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς Γῆ*[*ς*]. Worth noticing is also the cult of Demeter *Chthonia* in Hermione: Klymenos (the Hermionean counterpart of Hades) had his temple opposite hers and it seems that both the deities were somehow connected within the sanctuary and by their cult character (surprisingly, there is no mention of Kore or Kore's precinct in Pausanias' description of the sacred area): see sections III 5 and IV 2.4. Interestingly, Zeus *Chthonios* had his altar in Olympia not far from the precinct of Ge: Paus. 5.14.8-10; see section IV 2.2.

Although we cannot be entirely sure to whom the Hesiodic passage and the sacrificial regulation from Mykonos refer, it seems more plausible that the lord of the dead is hidden under this name than Zeus, especially given that the epithet *chthonios* accompanying the name of Zeus may be understood as a virtually exclusive designation for the god of the lower world: it combines the greatest possible power with the sphere of earth and of what belongs to it. There are certain details in both these testimonies which support such an interpretation. Surely, the black colour of the sacrificial victim in the case of the Mykonos regulation and the fact that it should be skinned are worth consideration: the rite strikingly resembles the sacrifice made by Odysseus to Hades and Persephone[167]. In the *Works and Days* the line preceding the passage in question mentions Aidoneus enchanted by fallow land: *νειὸς ἀλεξιάρης Ἀιδωνέος κηλήτειρα*[168]. As West rightly pointed out, 'to leave a field fallow for a year restores the nitrates to the soil and so improves the next crop', while it also 'pleases the possessive Aidoneus'[169]. The farmer should pray to both gods: to Demeter to bring forth *πλοῦτος* (cereal wealth) and to the nethergod because *πλοῦτος* is his property[170]. The two different forms of reference to the nethergod within one passage are not unique, especially given that each refers to a specific aspect of the nature of the god[171].

The connection between the nethergod and the Earth is visible in curses and necromantic practices, as has been shown above[172], and also in manifestations of divine presence. Interestingly, Zeus *Chthonios* resounds (*κτύπησε*) to announce that Oedipus

[167] *Od*. 11.44- 47: *δὴ τότ' ἔπειθ' ἑτάροισιν ἐποτρύνας ἐκέλευσα μῆλα, τὰ δὴ κατέκειτ' ἐσφαγμένα νηλέϊ χαλκῷ,* ***δείραντας*** *κατακῆαι, ἐπεύξασθαι δὲ θεοῖσιν, ἰφθίμῳ τ' Ἀΐδῃ καὶ ἐπαινῇ Περσεφονείῃ*. The sheep were obviously black, as indicated by Kirke in 10.527.
[168] Hes. *Op*. 464; I accept the necessary conjecture for *νειὸς ἀλεξιάρη παίδων ἐυκηλήτειρα* proposed by West (1964) 165-6.
[169] West (1964) 166.
[170] See section II 4.2.
[171] See, for instance, the passage from *Theogony* 767 in n. 160.
[172] See n. 166.

is ready to die (Soph. *OC* 1606); taking into consideration the whole context and the preceding prayer of the chorus to Aidoneus and Persephone (l. 1558ff), there is little doubt that here Hades is resonating rather than Zeus throwing his thunder. In a similar way Ge gives a sign to Hera that she has heard her prayer (*HApol*. 341), although she does it through movement (*κινήθη δ' ἄρα γαῖα φερέσβιος*)[173].

Through the general characteristics shared by the two deities it appears that Zeus *Chthonios* is indeed the lord of the Underworld. It seems that the evidence discussed above, showing shared general characteristics and a cultic link of the two deities (Ge/Demeter and the nethergod), binds the lord of the Underworld more tightly to the earth than one might expect, especially to its surface, and (what may be seen as a consequence) to the world of the living[174]. This connection is enhanced by various epithets given to the nethergod, explicitly referring to the earth: *Ἅιδης χθόνιος*[175], *Ἀιδωνεύς ἔγγαιος*[176], *Ζεὺς χαμαίζηλος*[177], *Ζεὺς οὐδαῖος*[178]. Furthermore, in a fragmentarily preserved passage from a tragedy Hades is called a relentless owner of the soil, who laid hold on somebody: *ἐμπεδὴς δὲ γάμορος ἔμαρψεν Ἅιδης* (*Adesp*. 208 Kannicht-Snell, *TrGF* 2), which may indicate that the tomb (soil in a graveyard)

[173] For other shared characteristics of Hades and Ge see section II 1.2 and II 2.1.
[174] In one of the funerary inscriptions (though late, 3rd c. CE) Plouton is called the king of the living: *Πλούτωνος βασιλῆος ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων*: *SGO* 16/32/12 (=*GVI* 657a). Of course, the actual topography of the Underworld, discussed above, or his marriage to Kore are not without significance here and should not be underestimated: see sections II 1.2 and II 1.3. Especially important is the conception of the Underworld being rooted in the earth; see, for instance, Hes. *Th* 455, 768/774 [with Persephone]: *ἴφθιμόν τ' Ἀΐδην, ὃς ὑπὸ χθονὶ δώματα ναίει νηλεὲς ἦτορ ἔχων*, Sem. 1.14 (*IEG*): *πέμπει μελαίνης Ἀΐδης ὑπὸ χθονός*, Mim. 2.14 (*IEG*): *κατὰ γῆς ἔρχεται εἰς Ἀΐδην*.
[175] Eur. *Alc*. 237: *κατὰ γᾶς χθόνιον παρ' Ἅιδαν*; note that in curse tablets even chthonic deities *par excellence* are very often addressed with the epithet *chthonios*, for instance: *SGD* 170A: *καὶ παρὰ Πλούτωνα χθόνιον*.
[176] *AP* 7.480: *πρὸς ἐγγαίων Ἀϊδωνέος Ἑρμεία τε | καὶ Νυκτός*.
[177] *OrphA* 931: *σῆμα χαμαζήλοιο Διός*.
[178] *AP* 14.123: *ῥέζετε δ' Οὐδαίῳ Ζανὶ θυηπολίην*; as an epithet of Persephone: Lyc. *Alex*. 49 (*Λέπτυνιν οὐ τρέμουσαν οὐδαίαν θεόν*), 698 (*οὐδαίας Κόρης*).

belongs to Hades[179] and metaphorically alludes to the portion of the universe alloted to him in the *Iliad* (15.187-191). The chorus of Aeschylus' *Suppliants* (156-8) notably calls Hades ὁ γάιος, ὁ πολυξενώτατος, Ζεύς τῶν κεκμηκότων. The epithet *gaios* means here simply *chthonios*, as suggested by Hesychius[180] and by the fact that it is not only in Homer that *chthon* and *ge/gaia* seem to be used interchangeably with the same epithets[181]. It is worth noting that the nethergod was worshipped together with Persephone under the name *Gaos* at Kamarina, where they had their sanctuary, as indicated by an inscription (4th/3rd c. BC): λαύρα [ὑ]πὲρ Γάου κα Φ[ϵ]ρσ{σ}οφάσας[182].

Though a final answer to the question of the identification of Zeus *Chthonios* cannot be given, the available evidence discussed above allows us to conclude that there is no reason to persist in claiming that another facet of Zeus the Olympian is hidden under this name. Zeus' presence, even in the contexts where the god is juxtaposed with Demeter, is hardly plausible if not completely unlikely: the triad Demeter, Kore and Hades appears in cult[183] and the grim lord is never replaced by Zeus there; the other contexts in which the name Zeus *Chthonios* occurs are consistent and clearly refer to the Underworld[184]. The epithet *chthonios* in itself should not mislead either, as when Hermes *chthonios* is evoked, he is always understood as *psychopompos*. Furthermore,

[179] We have already seen that the tomb is an *agalma* in which Hades delights (see section II 1.2): cf. Gaffino (2002; 3rd/4th c. CE): θαιοὶ μεγάλοι καὶ στήλη Πλούτονος | τῶν καταχθωνίω<ν>; the metaphor calling the tomb a temple of Plouton and Persephone occurs in funerary inscriptions in later times: see n. 121.
[180] Cf. Hesych. s.v. χ[θ]όϊνος καὶ χθόνιος· γήϊνος, ἐπίγειος.
[181] Cf. Aesch. *Ag*. 1387 (τοῦ **κατὰ χθονός**, Ἄιδου, νεκρῶν σωτῆρος), *PV* 152-157 (**ὑπὸ γῆν** νέρθεν θ' Αἴδου τοῦ νεκροδέγμονος); Eur. *Alc*. 237 (**κατὰ γᾶς** χθόνιον παρ' Ἄιδαν), *Pho*. 810 (ἂν ὁ **κατὰ χθονὸς** Ἄιδας Καδμείοις ἐπιπέμπει), fr. 448a57 Kannicht (**ὦ ωερτέρα χθὼν** ..[ ].. ἄπο Ἄιδη θ' ὃς ἄρχει[ς] ..[ ]. κάτω .ʼν .. ʽλεν ἐχθρα[ ), fr. 533 Kannicht (ὁ δ' **ὑπὸ γῆς** Ἄιδου σκότος). For Homer see Paraskevaides (1984) 35-38.
[182] Cordano (1984) 35-6 (=*SEG* 34 940).
[183] See section IV 2.
[184] Contrast the Latin interpretation of the lords of the Underworld in the *Aeneid*: Juppiter *Stygius* 4.638 (*sacra Ioui Stygio*) and Iuno *inferna* (6.138: *Iunoni infernae dictus sacer*); for Juppiter *infernus* see n. 159.

the living are always referred to as *ἐπιχθόνιοι*[185], as opposed to *χθόνιοι*, who are the dead (they belong to the *chthon* literally), not to mention that *τοὺς νεκροὺς Ἀθηναῖοι Δημητρείους ὠνόμαζον τὸ παλαιόν*[186].

In the light of the above, it seems that under the name Zeus *Chthonios* should be seen *Ζεὺς ἄλλος, Διὸς αὐθαίμων, γλυκὺς Ἀΐδας*[187], as if a veil of conciliatory euphemism was thrown over the darkest side of his original nature.

4.2 Zeus Damatrios

Zeus *Damatrios* seems to be nothing other than a Rhodian equivalent of Zeus *Chthonios*, from the meaning of the epithet, and perhaps of Zeus *Eubouleus* from his function[188]. But let us first examine the evidence.

The association of Zeus *Damatrios* with Demeter and Kore on Rhodes is confirmed by inscriptions from roughly the 3rd c. BC. One of them is a boundary inscription of a religious association called *Haliadai*, who worshipped two Demeters and Zeus *Damatrios*: [Ἁ]λιαδᾶν | *Δαματέρων* | *καὶ Διὸς* | *Δαματρίου*[189]. The two Demeters and Zeus *Damatrios* resemble very much the triad Demeter, Kore and Plouton/Zeus *Eubouleus* elsewhere in the Greek world. *Demeteres* seems to be a uniquely Rhodian official designation for the Two Goddesses as they appear also in a cult regulation from

[185] Cf. Hes. *Th*. 231 (*ἐπιχθονίους ἀνθρώπους*), 372 (*ἣ πάντεσσιν ἐπιχθονίοισι φαείνει ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖσι*), 416 (*τις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων*), 755 (*ἡ μὲν ἐπιχθονίοισι φάος πολυδερκὲς ἔχουσα*); note also *HDem 352*: *ἀμενηνὰ χαμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων*.
[186] Plut. *Mor*. 943b. See also the discussion in sections III 4.2 and 4.3.
[187] Aesch. *Supp*. 231, Soph. *Tra*. 1041 respectively.
[188] The possible connection between Zeus *Damatrios* and Zeus *Eubouleus* was suggested by Blinkenberg in *I.Lindos* 183 (200-170 BC, Lindos): '*Ζεὺς Δαμάτριος* correspond sans doute au dieu éleusinien *Ζεὺς Εὐβουλεύς*'; contrast Versnel (2011) 114-15. For both names see sections III 4.1 and 4.4.
[189] *I.Lindos* 183 (200-170 BC, Lindos).

Kamiros (1st c. BC, from Kamiros): Ζμινθίου | τετράδι | ἱσταμένου | Δαμάτερσιν | ὄιν | κεῦσαν[190]; although it is true that multiplications of gods occur occasionally and that in many cases the singular and plural are interchangeable[191], as Robert pointed out[192], the case of *Demeteres* is different because it refers to Demeter and her daughter. The two goddesses are very often referred to in the plural or dual, for instance, as *chthoniai* (*theai*)[193], *Theai*[194], *Thesmophoroi*[195], *Despoinai*[196]. The cult of the two goddesses on the island is confirmed also by a dedication: [Μνασιμ]βρότη Δαμαγόρα | [……]δας Ἀριστομάχου | [ὑπὲρ τᾶ]ς γυναικὸς Μνασιμβρότης | [Δάματρ]ι καὶ Κόραι[197].

As for the title of the god, which demands some explanation too, we should note that *Damatrios* refers directly to Demeter, indirectly to the earth (through its etymology)[198], and through association with the Athenian custom of calling the dead Δημήτρειοι we may consider a possible allusion to the dead too[199]. The same analysis can be carried out for the title Zeus *Chthonios*: *chthonios* is directly connected with the earth (*chthon*), indirectly with Demeter (understood as 'mother earth' and, for instance, Demeter's title

[190] *I.Lindos* 671 (=*LSS* 95); Blinkenberg noticed (on the basis of nos. 183 and 671) that it is possible to supplement Δαμάτερσι instead of Demeter's name in both *I.Lindos* 181 (=*LSS* 87A; 200-170 BC, Lindos): [Σμ]ινθίου ἑβδό[μαι] | [ἱσ]ταμένου Δ[άματρι] | [ὅς κ]αὶ ὗς κύουσαι. | [θύει ἰ]εροθύτα[ς - -] and 182 (=*LSS* 87B; 200-170 BC): [Σμινθίου δ]ωδεκ[άται] | [Δάματρι ὗς] κύου[σα] | [θύει ἰε]ροθύτα[ς] .
[191] For examples of multiplication of a divine name see Sokolowski's commentary on *LSS* 95; on the issue itself see Parker (2011) 65-6.
[192] Robert (1954) 143.
[193] Ar. *Th*.101-2: Ἱερὰν Χθονίαιν δεξάμεναι | λαμπάδα.
[194] For references see n. 133.
[195] Ar. *Th* 83: τὼ Θεσμοφόρω; Plut. *Dio*. 56: αἱ Θεσμοφόροι; *I.Eleusis* 175 (=*IG* II^2 1363 (Attica, 4th c. BC): τοῖν Θεσμο[φόροιν]; *I.Delos* 316.120 (Delos, 231 BC): Θεσμοφόροις; *SEG* 42 189[2] (=*IG* II^2 4752 (Attica, 1st/2nd c. CE): [θεαῖς] Θεσμοφόροις ἀν[έθηκε]; *SEG* 42 116 (Athens, *ca*. 180 BC): τῶν Θεσμοφό- | [ρων; *AJA* 64 (1960) 268 (Athens, 2nd c. CE): θεσμοφοροίσι θεαῖς· Ἀγνούσιος ἱεροφάντης.
[196] *IG* V, 1 230 (Sparta): Εἰρήνη | Δεσποίναις | ἀνέθηκεν; 363 (Sparta, 1st c. CE): ταῖς Δε- | [σποίναις —; 1151 (Gytheion, Laconia): [μεγάλαις] θεαῖς [Δεσ]ποίνα[ις]; *IG* V, 2 525 (Lykosoura, Arcadia, reign of Hadrian?): Δεσποίναις | ἐπηκόοις.
[197] *IG* XII 1, 29 (Rhodes, undated).
[198] Beekes s.v. Δημήτηρ.
[199] See section III 4.1; for a broader discussion of this custom see section III 4.3.

Chthonia in Hermione)[200], and the word itself frequently denotes the dead. Let us now compare information about the cults of Zeus *Chthonios* and of Zeus *Damatrios*.

It is true that we know almost nothing about Zeus *Chthonios*' cultic surroundings on Mykonos or in Boeotia[201]. In both places the god is connected with a prayer or sacrifice for good crops: (a) Hesiod advises praying to Zeus *Chthonios* before ploughing and sowing; he is speaking mainly about autumn, but the earlier reference to spring ploughing is probably not without significance either[202], (b) on Mykonos the sacrifice to Zeus *Chthonios* and Ge *Chthonia* should be performed on the 12th (?) day of Lenaion, i.e. early spring[203]. This sacrifice is preceded by a festival during which the triad Demeter, Kore, Zeus *Bouleus* (so often referred to on the Greek islands in the *Thesmophoria* context[204]) are to receive sacrifices; any woman of Mykonos who chooses is permitted to attend the festival, and the same applies to any woman resident on Mykonos who has been initiated to Demeter[205]; it seems that the festival was exclusively female. Blinkenberg's suggestion (n. 188) that Zeus *Damatrios* should be seen as equivalent to Zeus *Eubouleus* is interesting even if without satisfactory confirmation: it remains true only in the light of the fact that Zeus *Damatrios* appears as an element of the well-known triad, but we cannot possibly guess the character of his worship. Among the scattered evidence we have the name of the month Sminthios, mentioned in the cult regulation from Kamiros quoted above, which should be regarded

[200] See n. 203 and section IV 2.4.
[201] See section IV 2.6.
[202] Hes. *Op*. 462-6: ἔαρι πολεῖν· θέρεος δὲ νεωμένη οὔ σ' ἀπατήσει· | νειὸν δὲ σπείρειν ἔτι κουφίζουσαν ἄρουραν. | νειὸς ἀλεξιάρης Ἀιδωνέος κηλήτειρα. | Εὔχεσθαι δὲ Διὶ χθονίῳ Δημήτερί θ' ἁγνῇ | ἐκτελέα βρίθειν Δημήτερος ἱερὸν ἀκτήν; see also West (1978) *ad loc*.
[203] *LSCG* 96.25 (=*SIG* 1024, 225-200 BC): δυωδεκάτηι Διονύσωι Ληνεῖ ἐτήσιον· ὑπὲ[ρ] | κα[ρ]πῶν Διὶ Χθονίωι, Γῆι Χθονίηι δερτὰ μέλανα ἐτήσι[α].
[204] See section IV 2.6.
[205] *LSCG* 96.25 (=*SIG* 1024, 225-200 BC): Ληναιῶνος δεκάτηι | ἐπὶ ὠιδῆι ὑπὲρ καρποῦ Δήμητρι ὗν ἐνκύμονα πρωτοτόκον, | Κόρηι κάρπον τέλεον, Διὶ Βουλεῖ χοῖρον. (...) εἰς δὲ | τὴν ἑορτὴν [βα]διζέτω Μυκονιάδων ἡ βουλο[μ]έ[νη κ]αὶ τῶν οἰ- | κουσῶν ἐμ Μυκό[ν]ωι ὅσαι ἐπὶ Δήμητρα τετέλ[η]νται.

as belonging to early spring time[206], and a religious association called Ἑρμαϊσταὶ Θεσμοφοριασταί[207]. It is hard, however, to associate Zeus *Damatrios* with any of these testimonies.

What seems clear, though, is the information inscribed in the god's title, which states that he belongs to Demeter; furthermore, Zeus *Damatrios* is worshipped together with the two goddesses, and due to this cultic company, it is hard to imagine under this name any other god than the nethergod.

4.3 Zeus Konios

Zeus *Konios* is a mysterious figure, known only from Megara, where Pausanias (1.40.6)[208] saw his temple (*ναός*) without a roof on the akropolis called Caria next to an oracle of Nyx, a temple of Dionysos *Nyktelios*, and a precinct of Aphrodite *Epistrophia*; in the same place Pausanias also noticed statues of Asklepios and Hygieia, and a *Megaron* of Demeter; none of these temples has been found so far. There are good reasons, I believe, to understand Zeus *Konios* as the nethergod in Megara.

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[206] Nilsson (1935) 87 n. 5: 'Smithios ist der letzte Monat des Winterhalbjahres, also ein Frühlingsmonat'. We could speculate on a festival connected with the annual return of Kore/Persephone, possibly celebrated on Rhodes at this time, but the only information we possess comes from the *Suda*, which at the entry Ἀσφόδελος tells us that it is sacred to Persephone and the dead (Περσεφόνης καὶ χθονίων ἱερόν) and that Ῥόδιοι τὴν Κόρην καὶ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ἀσφοδέλῳ στέφουσι.

[207] *IG* XII, 1 157 (1st BC, Rhodos): Ἑρμαϊστᾶν | Θεσμοφοριαστᾶν.

[208] μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ τέμενος ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνελθοῦσι καλουμένην ἀπὸ Καρὸς τοῦ Φορωνέως καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι Καρίαν, ἔστι μὲν Διονύσου ναὸς Νυκτελίου, πεποίηται δὲ Ἀφροδίτης Ἐπιστροφίας ἱερὸν καὶ Νυκτὸς καλούμενόν ἐστι μαντεῖον καὶ Διὸς Κονίου ναὸς οὐκ ἔχων ὄροφον. τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα Βρύαξις καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν Ὑγείαν ἐποίησεν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ καλούμενον μέγαρον.

The only other deity perhaps sharing this epithet is Demeter *Konia* in Olympia (where the nether god was worshipped under the names *Basileus* and Zeus *Chthonios*)[209], also unknown otherwise. The parallel context of the divinities in both places (Megara and Olympia)[210] is interesting enough to deserve some attention on our part: in both places there is an oracle, a deity with an epithet derived from 'dust' (κόνιος), and Demeter. Furthermore, it seems that in both places the surrounding divinities correspond with the main sphere of activity of the deity presiding over the oracle: in Megara it is night or darkness[211], in Olympia the earth[212]. Having all this in mind, let us focus first on the epithet κόνιος.

It has been proposed that κόνιος should be considered in connection with sport activities, especially horse-racing or athletics[213]. Though this is seemingly attractive as an explanation, the surroundings of Zeus *Konios*, for instance, do not suggest any such activities in the vicinity; not to mention that, surprisingly, no deity referred to in an athletic or horse-racing context is given such a title.

Κόνιος derives from κόνις ('dust'), and, I suggest, should be understood as 'dusty' or 'covering/covered with dust' (and not 'raising dust', as in the explanation proposed above) because it refers essentially to the property of soil; furthermore, it does not imply any specific kind of dust (as, for instance, of the race arena), but rather indicates its

[209] For discussion of doubts regarding the reading of the epithet of Demeter *Konia* see section IV 2.2; for the names of the nether god see sections IIII 4.1 and 7.
[210] In Olympia Pausanias (5.14.8, 10) noticed among other items an altar of Zeus *Chthonios* next to the great ash altar of Olympian Zeus (worth noticing is the fact that in Megara, in the vicinity of the akropolis, there was a precinct of Zeus called *Olympieion*: 1.40.4-5), a precinct of Demeter *Chamyne* and an oracle of Ge. For discussion of the cult and the epithet *Chamyne* see section IV 2.2.
[211] The epithet of Dionysos (*Nyktelios*) probably refers to the rites taking place at night: Plut. *Is. et Os*. 35; *Quaest. Rom*. 112; the epithet of Aphrodite (*Epistrophia*) understood as 'love inciting' is clear in itself.
[212] Demeter *Chamyne* and Zeus *Chthonios*.
[213] Acc. to Beschi and Musti (1987) comm. *ad* Paus. 1.40.6, it is an unclear local epithet ('polveroso') 'o in rapporto al carattere del dio in quanto sollevatore di venti e quindi di polvere (*Il*. 12.252) o alla protezione durante le gare nell'arena dei ginnasi'; for the explanations of the epithet in Demeter's case: Vegas-Sansalvador (1991) 146.

dryness and through it also barrenness of the soil[214]. Interestingly, the ashes of the dead[215] and the soil that covers corpses are frequently referred to as *κόνις* [216]. An epigram even assures us that the dust of Solon's bones will become an ear of corn[217]. The idea of corpses turning into corn after death and the close connection of the dead with Demeter in Attica is testified to by Plutarch, who says that the Athenians in old times called the dead *Demetrioi*[218]. Cicero, quoting Demetrius of Phaleron[219], refers to a strange Athenian burial custom of throwing grain on the body of the deceased covered with earth so that as it were a mother's enfolding embrace might be granted to the dead, but the soil, purified by grain, might be restored to the living.

The connection of *κόνις* with the dead and its intrinsic property of dryness and barrenness (also reflected in corpses) allow us to assume that its derivatives, the epithets of Zeus in Megara and perhaps of Demeter in Olympia, indicate a close association of the deities with barren soil, which anticipates vegetation and growth; a strong reference of *Konios* in Megara to the Underworld (as in the case of *Basileus* in Olympia) in the light of the above is plausible. Furthermore, in Olympia the divine couple, Demeter

[214] Note its frequent juxtaposition with χέρσος (Pind. *N*. 4.70: *ἐν κονίᾳ χέρσῳ*, 9.43: *ἐν κονίᾳ χέρσῳ*), which refers to barren soils (Thphr. *Hist.Plant*. 8.6.4: *ἐν ταῖς χέρσοις*) and to the realm of Hades (Aesch. *Sept*. 860: *πάνδοκον εἰς ἀφανῆ τε χέρσον*); metaphorically, it indicates also the barrenness of women (Soph. *OT* 1502: χέρσους φθαρῆναι κἀγάμους).

[215] *AP* 7.28 (*ἡ γρηῢς γενόμην, ἡ νῦν κόνις*), 476 (*ἀκμαῖον δ' ἄνθος ἔφυρε κόνις*), 489 (*Τιμάδος ἅδε κόνις, τὰν δὴ πρὸ γάμοιο θανοῦσαν | δέξατο Φερσεφόνας κυάνεος θάλαμος*), 589 (*ἐς δὲ κονίην | ἠμείφθη κενεὴν εὔσταχυς ἡλικίη*),

[216] *CEG* 576 (post ca. 350?, Attica): *Ἀρχεμάχου δὲ φίλαν εὖνιν ἔδεκτο κόνις*, 657 (370-62 BC, Arcadia): *ἐγγαίαν ἀμφιέσαντο κόνιν*, 709 (4th BC?, Halicarnassus): *ξείνηι τῆιδε κέκευθα κόνει*; *ICret* I xxii 58 (2nd/3rd CE): *Ζωπύρου ἅδε Κρατῖνον ἔχει κόνις*; *AP* 7.49 (*κέκευθε τάφου κόνις*), 467 (*ἀντὶ δὲ σεῖο | στάλα καὶ κωφὰ λείπεται ἄμμι κόνις*), 551 (*ξυνὰ δὲ καὶ Μοίρης λαχέτην λίνα καὶ παρὰ θῖνα | Βοσπορίην ξυνὴν ἀμφεβάλοντο κόνιν*).

[217] *AP* 7.87: *Σῶμα μὲν ἥρε Σόλωνος ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ Κύπριον πῦρ, | ὀστὰ δ' ἔχει Σαλαμίς, ὧν κόνις ἀστάχυες*.

[218] Plut. *De fac. in orb. lun*. 943B: *καὶ ὁ μέν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ <γῇ> τῆς Δήμητρος, … ἐν αὐτῇ τελεῖν καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς Ἀθηναῖοι Δημητρείους ὠνόμαζον τὸ παλαιόν*. Note also the sacrifice to Demeter on the twelfth day after eleven days of mourning set by Lycurgus: Plut. *Lyc*. 27.2: *χρόνον δὲ πένθους ὀλίγον προσώρισεν, ἡμέρας ἕνδεκα· τῇ δὲ δωδεκάτῃ θύσαντας ἔδει Δήμητρι λύειν τὸ πάθος*.

[219] Cic. *Leg*. 2.25.63 (Dem.Ph. fr. 135 Wehrli): *nam et Athenis iam ab illo primo rege Cecrope, ut aiunt, permansit hoc ius terra humandi; quam cum proxumi fecerant obductaque terra erat, frugibus obserebatur, ut sinus et gremium quasi matris mortuo tribueretur, solum autem frugibus expiatum ut vivis redderetur*.

Konia and *Basileus*, seem to be mirrored by their more positive equivalents, Demeter *Chamyne* and Zeus *Chthonios*. Consequently, I believe, Zeus *Konios* in Megara should be understood analogically to *Basileus* in Olympia, i.e. as another name for the nethergod[220].

4.4 (Zeus) Eubouleus

Eubouleus is probably the most ambiguous and complex of Hades' names, mysteriously connected with a swineherd of the same name, whose pigs were said to have disappeared together with the abducted Kore, providing the *aition* for the ritual of *megarizein* during the *Thesmophoria*, which was performed in honour of the hero.[221]

The earliest testimony clearly identifying Eubouleus with Hades is a funerary epigram from Syros (3rd c. BC?)[222] which provides us with the information that Eubouleus is the husband of Persephone: [τοῦνε]κεν ἁρπάξας Ἐριούνιος Εὐβουλῆι | [τέκνον] ἄθυρμα φέρεν Φερσεφόνῃ τ' ἀλόχωι. Furthermore, Nicander mentions a hard-to-escape chasm of Eubouleus (χάσμα δυσέκδρομον Εὐβουλῆος) by the Acheron river[223], which leaves

[220] For the things-covering property of Hades, indicated by his cap or *kyma* (which here could be replaced with dust), meaning annihilation or making things invisible, see section III 1.

[221] Σ Luc. *Dial.Mer*. 2.1 (Rabe): [Θεσμοφορία] ἤγετο δὲ κατὰ τὸν μυθωδέστερον λόγον, ὅτι, <ὅτε> ἀνθολογοῦσα ἡρπάζετο ἡ Κόρη ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος, τότε κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον Εὐβουλεύς τις συβώτης ἔνεμεν ὗς καὶ συγκατεπόθησαν τῷ χάσματι τῆς Κόρης· εἰς οὖν τιμὴν τοῦ Εὐβουλέως ῥιπτεῖσθαι τοὺς χοίρους εἰς τὰ χάσματα τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς Κόρης. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Protr*. 2.17.1-2: Βούλει καὶ τὰ Φερεφάττης ἀνθολόγια διηγήσωμαί σοι καὶ τὸν κάλαθον καὶ τὴν ἁρπαγὴν τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀιδωνέως καὶ τὸ σχίσμα τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰς ὗς τὰς Εὐβουλέως τὰς συγκαταποθείσας ταῖν θεαῖν, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἐν τοῖς Θεσμοφορίοις μεγαρίζοντες χοίρους ἐμβάλλουσιν; Ταύτην τὴν μυθολογίαν αἱ γυναῖκες ποικίλως κατὰ πόλιν ἑορτάζουσι, Θεσμοφόρια, Σκιροφόρια, Ἀρρητοφόρια, πολυτρόπως τὴν Φερεφάττης ἐκτραγῳδοῦσαι ἁρπαγήν.

[222] *IG* XII 5, 677. Savo (2004) 103 n. 125 claims, however, that Εὐβουλῆι in the inscription designates the mother of the deceased, but I cannot see any reason for such an interpretation of the text.

[223] Nic. *Alex*. 12-15: Ἀλλ' ἤτοι χολόεν μὲν ἰδὲ στομίοισι δυσαλθές | πυνθείης ἀκόνιτον, ὃ δή ῥ' Ἀχερωίδες ὄχθαι | φύουσιν τόθι χάσμα δυσέκδρομον Εὐβουλῆος | ἄστυρά τε Πριόλαο καταστρεφθέντα δέδουπε.

no doubt as to who stands behind this name, and the scholiast assures us that *Eubouleus* is a euphemistic name[224] of Hades[225]. Hesychius, however, at the entry Εὐβουλεύς gives the following explanation: ὁ Πλούτων παρὰ [δὲ] τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὁ <δὲ> Ζεὺς ἐν Κυρήνῃ. The definition, thus, refers to a special case of this name's usage; usually, it denotes Plouton and only in the case of Cyrene it hides Zeus himself. On this basis it may be inferred that the phrase Ζεὺς Εὐβουλεύς may itself designate either of these deities. But let us first examine the evidence for the cult of Zeus *Eubouleus*.

Although there are some scattered and obscure testimonies to the worship of Zeus *Eubouleus* in various parts of the Greek world[226], most of the cult attestations of this deity come from the Cyclades[227] and it seems right to think that his cult had its origins in this area[228].

Zeus *Eubouleus* was worshipped on Greek islands together with Demeter and Kore (on Naxos and Paros the triad appears side by side with Baubo)[229] and the cult is attested by epigraphic evidence from roughly the 4th c. BC onwards. The majority of these dedications and instructions for sacrifice were found in the local *Thesmophoria* or in

[224] For the discussion of euphemism see III 10.
[225] Σ Nic. *Alex*. 14: Εὐβουλῆος· τοῦ Ἅιδου, κατ' εὐφημισμόν.
[226] Arcadia: a boundary stone of the 4th/3rd c. BC from Mantinea, inscribed Διὸς Εὐβωλέος (*IG* V 2, 289) was found in a *bouleuterion*: see Jost (1985) 126, 275-6; Corinth: a gaming table or abacus of the 4th/3rd c. BC with an inscription Διὸς Βουλέος Χ Η Δ | δαμόσια Κορινθίων (*SEG* 11.188, 26.402); Boeotia: inscription above a narrow opening in a rock in Lebadea Εὐβούλου (*IG* VII 3108, undated): Schachter (1981) 221, Bonnechere (2003) 181.
[227] Naxos: *IG* XII Suppl. 196 (=*SEG* 48.1123; 4th c. BC), *SEG* 16.478 (3rd c. BC); Amorgos: *IG* XII 7, 76 (=*SEG* 46.1178; 4th c. BC), *IG* XII 7, 77 (3rd c. BC); Mykonos: *SIG*^{3} 1024 (3rd c. BC); Paros: *IG* XII 5, 22 (1st c. BC); Thasos: *SEG* 18.343.31 (1st c. BC/CE); Delos (from 3rd c. BC onwards): *IG* XI 2, 287 A.69, *I.Délos* 290.88, 91, 291 B 24, 316.120-2, 338 Aa 59, 372 A.104-5, 416.3, 440 A.37. For a detailed discussion of the evidence see relevant sections in IV 2.6.
[228] Salviat (1959) 383, Bruneau (1970) 282, Roussel (1987) 243, Savo (2004) 103, Bremmer (2013) 37; Sfameni Gasparro (1986) 103 thinks that the same ideology (as in the case of Zeus *Eubouleus*) is connected with Zeus *Eleusinios* in the Ionian tradition in general; however attractive this assumption may seem, she based it on the gloss by Hesychius (s.v. Ἐλευσίνια· (…), καὶ Ζεὺς Ἐλευσίνιος παρ' Ἴωσιν) and, unfortunately, no more evidence for such a title is preserved to confirm it.
[229] Respectively: *SEG* 16.478 (3rd c. BC), *IG* XII 5, 22 (1st c. BC).

their vicinity. The inscription from Delos mentions the name of Zeus *Eubouleus* together with the two *Thesmophoroi*: Θεσμοφόροις ὗς ἐγκύμω[ν] (...) [δελφάκιον τῶι Διὶ τ]ῶι Εὐβουλεῖ[230]; on Paros we hear about Erasippe, who was ἡ ἱρῆ | Δήμητρι Θεσμοφόρωι καὶ Κό | ρηι καὶ Διὶ Εὐβουλεῖ καὶ Βαυβοῖ[231]. On Thasos Zeus *Eubouleus* was also served by a priestess at the altars of Demeter: καταστα θῆναι δὲ αὐτὴν ἱέρειαν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Εὐβουλέως ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Δήμητρι βωμῶν[232].

The title of Demeter (*Thesmophoros*), the mention of Baubo, and above all, the fact that Zeus *Eubouleus* had a priestess (similarly to Plouton at the *Thesmophoria* in Eleusis)[233] allow us to conclude that the character of the cult in which Zeus *Eubouleus* partook was very much *Thesmophoria*-like. Let us, then, focus on the myth itself and on the hero whose name recurs in the title of the god to establish a possible relation between the three elements.

The earliest attestation (6th c. BC) of the hero's name comes from a fragmentarily preserved poem (hymn? prayer?) by Anacreon: Εὐβ[ο]υλεῦ τε συβῶτα[234], which belongs to the Ionian area[235]. In fact, this is the only clear reference to the hero in preserved literature before the 2nd c. CE (Clement of Alexandria and Lucian's scholiast)[236]. Surprisingly, the greatest concentration of evidence for his presence in

[230] *I.Délos* 316.120-2.
[231] *IG* XII 5, 22 (1st c. BC).
[232] *SEG* 18.343.31 (1st c. BC/CE).
[233] *I.Eleusis* 175 (= *IG* II^2 1363; *ca*. 330 BC); for discussion see section IV 2.1.2.
[234] *P.Oxy*. 3722 in Bernsdorff (2011) 29-31.
[235] Bernsdorff (2011) 31, using the supplement by Maehler in l. 18 of the commentary where the fragment comes from, ἐν Σ]άμῳ ὁ Ἀνακρέ[ων: 'If these words are part of a comment on the preceding invocation of Eubouleus, then the scholiast might have said that Anacreon composed the hymn or prayer to which this invocation belongs during his time on Samos. (...) Therefore, the scholiast might have said that Anacreon composed this song for a local cult, which was either on Samos itself, or a nearby island or city'. Anacreon himself was born in Teos, and there is no reason to think that local religious motifs did not occur in his poetry.
[236] For both the testimonies see notes 221 and 248. Cicero mentions Eubouleus in *Nat.* 3.53, but the reference is too ambiguous to draw any conclusions on its basis. Cicero says that Eubouleus, Tritopatreus

Greek thought comes from Eleusis[237], where he was worshipped alongside *Theos* and *Thea*[238]; outside Eleusis the hero probably had no cult[239]. The first attestation of his presence in Eleusis is the Athenian *First Fruits* decree (*ca*. 440-435 BC): he is mentioned alongside Triptolemos, *Theos* and *Thea* and together with them he is to receive a ἱερεῖον τέλειον (sheep or goat)[240]. He appears also in the same *entourage* on the so-called Lakrateides relief (*ca*. 115-108 BC)[241]; moreover, Lakrateides claims in the dedication that he is a priest of *Theos*, *Thea*, and Eubouleus[242]. The findspots (the

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and Dionysos, called Anaces in Athens, are sons of the most ancient king Iuppiter and Proserpina, and the reference is made to prove various applications of the term Dioscuri in the Greek tradition (*Dioscoroe etiam apud Graios multis modis nominantur: primi tres, qui appellantur Anactes Athenis, ex rege Iove antiquissimo et Proserpina nati Tritopatreus Eubuleus Dionysus*): see commentary by Mayor and Swainson (1885) *ad loc*.

[237] Obviously, if the interpretation of the name is correct (that in the Eleusinian context too Eubouleus is the hero known as swineherd), as (admittedly) nowhere in the preserved contexts is the profession or any other identificatory element of Eubouleus mentioned. For interpretation of *Eubouleus* in Eleusis as a euphemistic appellative of Hades connected with the so-called 'Orphic' gold tablets see Sfameni Gasparro (1986) 106; for understanding him as Zeus *Chthonios*: Zuntz (1971) 311. I do not see a reason to introduce another nethergod's name to the Eleusinian cult; it seems quite a specific feature of the nature of the nethergod to be referred to (sometimes in one cult place) with two names to mark specific aspects of his divine power, which is certainly visible in Eleusis, where he appears as *Theos* and Plouton. A parallel cultic situation should be seen in the case of Klymenos and Plouton in Hermione. For discussion of these cults see sections III 2.1 and 2.4. Furthermore, I will show below that Eubouleus' episode belonged to the Attic version of the myth.

[238] For Eubouleus in Eleusis see Kearns (1989) 162, Clinton (1992) 56-63, 71-3.

[239] Note, however, a dedication to Euboulos from Crete (?) (*SEG* 52 880, Roman imperial period). The cult of Eubouleus (whoever is hidden under this name) is not attested otherwise in Crete; the Cretan tradition, referred to by Diodorus Siculus (5.76.3), knows Eubouleus as son of Demeter (see also *HOrph.* 41.8, which seems to confirm this version). The inscription is of unknown provenance and too short to allow a certain identification of the figure. Another difficulty is posed by the four 'Orphic' gold tablets which mention Eubouleus along with Eukles and Persephone: *OF* 488-490 Bernabé (4th c. BC, form Thurioi): Ἔρχομαι ἐκ καθαρῶν καθαρά, χθονίων Βασίλεια, | Εὔκλε καὶ Εὐβουλεῦ καὶ θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες ἄλλοι; tablets 489 and 490 give in the second line: Εὐκλῆς, Εὐβουλεύς τε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι. In *OF* 491 Bernabé (*ca*. AD 260, from Rome) we find: Ἔρχεται ἐκ καθαρῶν καθαρά, χθονίων Βασίλεια, | Εὔκλεες, Εὐβουλεῦ τε Διὸς τέκος. Clinton's suggestion (1992: 73) that Eubouleus may be interpreted on the tablets as the swineherd, though very attractive, fails in the light of *OF* 491, which refers to Eubouleus as the son of Zeus, because there is no attestation of such an ancestry for the hero; furthermore, Clinton's claim (in relation to his interpretation of the gold-leaf phrase) that Eubouleus brought back Persephone from the Underworld is a pure figment of imagination, unjustified in the light of the preserved testimonies (acc. to *HOrph.* 41, Demeter took Eubouleus as guide, but he is nowhere said to be an escort of Persephone). Bernabé and San Cristóbal (2007: 102-5) opted for the interpretation of the name as Dionysos, but Dionysos is referred to as Bacchios in *OF* 485-486 Bernabé (4th c. BC from Pelinna); also in *OF* 578 Bernabé (=*P.Gurôb* 1; 3rd c. BC) Eubouleus and Dionysos are two separate deities. For Eukles as another name for Hades see section III 5.

[240] *I.Eleu*sis 28.38-9 (=*IG* I^3 78a.39): τρίττοιαν δὲ βόαρχον χρυσόκερον τοῖν θεοῖν ηεκα[τέρ] | [αι ἀ]πὸ τôν κριθôν καὶ τôν πυρôν καὶ τôι Τριπτολέμοι καὶ τôι [θε] | ôι καὶ τêι θεâι καὶ τôι Εὐβόλοι ηιερεῖον ηεκάστοι τέλεον καὶ | τêι Ἀθεναίαι βôν χρυσόκερον; he occurs together with these deities in another decree of the *First Fruits* of 353/2 BC: *I.Eleusis* 142 (=*IG* II^2 140).

[241] *I.Eleusis* 239 (=*IG* II^2 4701).

[242] On the priesthood see Clinton (1974) 97, (1992) 51-2, 114-15.

so-called Ploutonion in Eleusis) of this relief, of a statue base with a dedication to Eubouleus on it (*ca*. 330-320 BC)[243] and of a head of a youth, which it has been suggested represented the hero[244], indicate a tight connection between the Underworld couple and Eubouleus.

At first sight, Eubouleus the swineherd and the nethergod seem to be connected on two levels: (i) internal, i.e. the mythical episode connected with the abduction of Kore, and (ii) external: in the form of the shared name in the case of Zeus *Eubouleus* in the Cycladic tradition. Let us examine both these cases.

(i) The first point which should be made is that the abduction of Kore is one of the most exploited myths in ancient Greek thought, wrapped up in so many local traditions, differing in various aspects, adding or reducing details, that it becomes clear that no official or even most traditional version of it ever existed[245]. The names of local protagonists were surely subject to change, but the frame of the myth, the core elements of the scenery and of the plot (such as the abduction of Kore by the nethergod when she was playing and picking flowers in a meadow, the grief of Demeter and her desperate search for her daughter, the motif of informants revealing the event to the goddess) stayed the same and are clearly referred to in every local version known to us. Eubouleus could, thus, belong to any of them.

[243] *IG* II^2 4615 (=*I.Eleusis* 88): Εὐβουλεῖ | Βαυκιδεὺς Ἀπολλοδώρου ἐκ Κεραμέων | Διόφαντος Διοπείθους Μυρρινούσιος | ἀνέθηκαν.
[244] *LIMC* IV s.v. *Eubouleus* (Schwarz) no. 3; the earliest representation of the hero (if the identification is correct) does not antedate the 4th c. BC. See also Clinton (1992) 71-3, who tries to identify Eubouleus on vase painting of the 5th c. BC.
[245] For a good summary of the versions of the myth see Richardson (1974) 74-86; for the discussion of the myth see section II 1.3 and for local legends see relevant sections in IV 2.

The problem, however, is of a different nature. The best known version to us, the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, in its account of Demeter's coming to Eleusis does not mention Eubouleus or the disappearance of his pigs; however, it also passes over in silence another quite important detail: Hades entering his kingdom with the abducted Kore (let us also remember that, according to the *Hymn*, the abduction itself did not happen at Eleusis, but on a Nysian meadow: l.17). Obviously, this is not decisive regarding the presence of the hero in the Attic version, of which we know little[246]; one of the names of the princes of Eleusis, Πολύξεινος, mentioned in the *Hymn* along with Triptolemos and others (l. 154), is interesting and seems to be telling in its correspondence with the nethergod's epithet[247], mirrored in Eubouleus' case as well.

Secondly, the presence of Eubouleus in the Eleusinian cult seems to indicate that the hero was not only known, but apparently present in an Attic version. Some accounts regard Eubouleus as an individual indigenous to Eleusis[248]. Thus, if Eubouleus was to narrate to Demeter as a witness the event of Kore's disappearance[249], it must have been thought to have happened at Eleusis. And this version (though omitting the Eubouleus episode) is directly referred to in the *Orphic Hymn to Plouton*: ἀγνοπόλου Δημήτερος

[246] We do not know whether he was referred to in the hymn of Pamphos, whom Pausanias calls the earliest hymn-writer for the Athenians (7.21.9; 9.29.8), older than Homer (8.37.9). Neither do we know whether he was mentioned in Sophocles' *Triptolemos* or Aeschylus' *Eleusinioi* of which almost nothing is preserved. For a detailed review of the evidence for the connection of the Homeric *Hymn* with the cults of Eleusis see Parker (1991).
[247] For the discussion of this epithet see section I 2.1.
[248] Pausanias gives two versions of Eubouleus' origin: according to the Argive account (1.14.2), Eubouleus (together with Triptolemos) was a son of Trochilos, who fled from Argos and married an Eleusinian women; according to a song of Orpheus (1.14.3) Eubouleus and Triptolemos were the sons of Dysaulos. See also Clem. Alex. *Protr*. 2.20.2: *Ὥϊκουν δὲ τηνικάδε τὴν* Ἐλευσῖνα *οἱ γηγενεῖς· ὀνόματα αὐτοῖς* Βαυβὼ *καὶ* Δυσαύλης *καὶ* Τριπτόλεμος, *ἔτι δὲ* Εὔμολπός *τε καὶ* Εὐβουλεύς· *βουκόλος ὁ* Τριπτόλεμος *ἦν, ποιμὴν δὲ ὁ* Εὔμολπος, *συβώτης δὲ ὁ* Εὐβουλεύς.
[249] See Paus. 1.14.3.

ὅς ποτε παῖδα | νυμφεύσας λειμῶνος ἀποσπαδίην διὰ πόντου | τετρώροις ἵπποισιν ὑπ' Ἀτθίδος ἤγαγες ἄντρον | δήμου Ἐλευσῖνος, τόθι περ πύλαι εἴσ' Ἀίδαο[250].

If this scenario may be regarded as having an Attic touch, then it would be hardly surprising that Eubouleus partook in the cult of *Theos* and *Thea* at Eleusis. The hero is not, however, mentioned as playing any role at the *Thesmophoria* (nor are *Theos* and *Thea* at Eleusis), either at Eleusis or anywhere else; his role in the myth is a passive one: he is a witness of the event and an informant of Demeter. Zeus *Eubouleus*, on the other hand, clearly belongs in the context of the *Thesmophoria*, and is worshipped together with Demeter and Kore, and not with Kore/Persephone alone. This all tempts us to conclude that Zeus *Eubouleus*' cult on the Islands finds its counterpart in that of Plouton at Eleusis, which additionally agrees with the gloss of Hesychius mentioned above.

(ii) The name *Eubouleus*/*Euboulos* means 'the good/wise counsellor' and in the hero's case it might have reflected his more prominent role in the myth of the abduction of Kore, i.e. relating the event to Demeter and indicating the place where Hades' chariot disappeared. In Zeus *Eubouleus*' case the explanation of the meaning of the title seems to be more complicated, since, due to the intrinsic generic features of the name itself, it might have had nothing in common with the hero and originated completely independently.

First of all, Apollodoros of Athens in his explanation of *Eubouleus* does not connect it with the hero, but says that people call Hades by this name when discouraged, because he resolves well for them through giving them rest at some point from toils and

[250] *HOrph.* 18. This is not to argue or even suggest that the Attic scenario might have been influenced by or itself a genuine 'Orphic' invention; no evidence exists which could support such an assumption.

anxiety/desires[251]. Εὐβουλία, from which the epithet derives, denotes soundness of judgement, so the epithet might have referred to the nethergod's quite distinctive function as a judge[252]. According to a recent hypothesis that some kind of juridical activity might have taken place during the second day of the *Thesmophoria*, which is supported by a significant number of curse tablets found in Demetriac contexts throughout the Greek world, also on Amorgos[253], the role of the epithet may be seen as referring to the nethergod's role in the festival; however, due to poor evidence, this has to remain an attractive speculation. Secondly, we find *Eubouleus* applied as a divine epithet (although preserved only in the so-called 'Orphic' testimonies) to various gods, usually unrelated to each other[254]. The reason for such an epithetic usage of this name may lie in its generic features (and not only in the parasitic character of the 'Orphic' testimonies in terms of religious inclusiveness), which do not have to reflect any specific cultic characteristics or mythical origins; to some extent the epithet may be comparable to other titles shared by several gods, such as, for instance, *polyonymos*, *polymorphos*, or *soter*. Furthermore, quite significant is also the fact that *Euboulos* is a well-attested human name[255]. Last but not least, good examples of a hero's name unrelated to the homonymous deity are, for instance, Sosipolis or Taraxippos[256].

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[251] *FGrH* 244 F 102(f): Εὔβουλον δὲ καὶ Εὐβουλέα κατὰ ἀποδυσπέτησιν ὠνόμασαν αὐτόν, ὡς καλῶς περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βουλευόμενον διὰ τοῦ παύειν αὐτούς ποτε τῶν πόνων καὶ φροντίδων.

[252] For discussion of Hades' role as a judge see section II 2.2; for juridical characteristics in cult see section IV 4.1.

[253] The curse tablets were found within Demeter's precincts in Knidos, Morgantina, Mitylene, Selinus and Rhodes: Stroud (2013) 82 with references to these excavations; for Knidos, Locri and Amorgos see Faraone (2011). See also part IV *passim*.

[254] For a collection of testimonies see Mayor and Swainson (1885) ad Cic. *Nat*. 3.53; See also Morand (2001) 165-8 and Rudhardt (2008) 288-90.

[255] It appears in every single volume of *LGPN* (and a great concentration is apparent in Attica); it is enough probably to recall the Athenian comic poet and the Athenian statesman, both of this name and both of the 4th c. BC.

[256] See Parker (2011) 105-6. A parallel, though more distinctive than in the case of Eubouleus the swineherd and Zeus *Eubouleus*, is perhaps visible in Klymenos, the name of the nethergod in Hermione, also connected through the local story with a hero under the same name. Nevertheless, Klymenos' name poses a different problem through seeming similarities: in Hermione Klymenos was connected with a chasm and his figure was blended with Plouton, which makes it a counterpart of the Eleusinian Theos-

To sum up, we have seen that in general terms Eubouleus the swineherd and the nethergod are linked directly through the *aition* of the *Thesmophoria*: the abduction of Kore seen through the ritual prism might have been marked or even reflected by throwing pigs into *megara*. However, in the *Thesmophoria* only Zeus *Eubouleus* on the Greek Islands (like Plouton in Eleusis) was the recipient of cult; Eubouleus, if at all, took part in the festival indirectly, because the pigs were said to be thrown into *megara* in his honour. Thus, in terms of cult characteristics Eubouleus had nothing to do with Zeus *Eubouleus* because the name of the god mirrors Plouton's at Eleusis. It seems that these two figures, Eubouleus and Zeus *Eubouleus*, were distinct within their individual traditions; the name of the god might have alluded through its thesmophoric veil to the mythical episode in which the hero partook (Eubouleus does not appear in the cultic surroundings of Zeus *Eubouleus*)[257], but bearing in mind *Eubouleus*' generic semantic features, the ancient explanations listed above and the suggested juridical activity during the festival, equally well it might have been that the origins of the name are different, and it was only accidentally (through homonymia) conflated with that of the hero. Nethertheless, it seems clear that Zeus *Eubouleus* is another name in Hades' repertoire.

5. Klymenos / Eukles

Klymenos is one of the earliest known names of the nethergod. Its first attestation comes from a fragment of Lasus' *Hymn to Demeter in Hermione* (Las. 702 *PMG*) where the

Plouton rather than of Zeus *Eubouleus*; furthermore, Klymenos (the hero) cannot be regarded as a counterpart of the Eleusinian Eubouleus because the former had no cult: see section III 5.

[257] See a complementary proposal by Parker (2005) 337.

god is identified as Kore's husband: Δάματρα μέλπω Κόραν τε Κλυμένοι' ἄλοχον | μελιβόαν ὕμνον ἀναγνέων | Αἰολίδ' ἂμ βαρύβρομον ἁρμονίαν. Later on the god's name appears again in the same *entourage* in Callimachus' *Hecale* (fr. 100 Hollis): Δηώ τε Κλυμένου τε πολυξείνοιο δάμαρτα, and in Philicus' *Hymn to Demeter*: τῆι χθονίαι μυστικὰ Δήμητρί τε καὶ Φερσεφόνηι καὶ Κλυμένωι τὰ δῶρα[258]. Callimachus additionally clarifies the name with the nethergod's epithet πολύξεινος[259]. Furthermore, in funerary inscriptions we find the name in phrases typically associated with Hades[260]: Κλυμένου δώ[ματ' ἀμειψαμένωι][261]; ἐς Κλυμένου δόμον[262]; ἀμειλίκτοιο βαρὺ Κλυμένοιο νόημα[263]; ἤδη γὰρ λειμῶνας ἐπὶ Κλυμένου πεπότησαι | καὶ δροσερὰ χρυσέας ἄνθεα Περσεφόνας[264]. The epithet κλυτός given to Hades in one of the funerary inscriptions is also relevant for the name in question[265].

Pausanias too, when describing the sacred precinct of Demeter *Chthonia* in Hermione, where Klymenos had his ναός and received sacrifices, identifies the god as the nethergod[266]. The cult of Klymenos in Hermione is confirmed by dedications from the 3rd c. BC onwards: Δάμα̣τ]ρι : Κλυμένωι, Κόραι : ἀνέ̣[θηκε][267]; one of the inscriptions informs us that in Hermione the god was served by a priest: Ἔρμα̣ρχον Λουκίου, | τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Κλυμένου[268]. Further on, Pausanias adds that behind the

[258] *SH* 676 (=Page, *Select Papyri* iii 402ff.) and Furley (2009).
[259] For the discussion of the epithet see section II 4.2.
[260] For comparison see sections II 2.1 and III 4.
[261] *GVI* 663 (Rome, 1st c. CE) (=*IG* XIV 2133)
[262] *AP* 16.17
[263] *AP* 7.9
[264] *AP* 7.189
[265] *GVI* 1513 (= *I.Cret* 76, Knossos, 2nd c. CE)
[266] Paus. (2.35.9): ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ναός· εἰκόνες δὲ περὶ πάντα ἐστήκασιν αὐτόν. οὗτος ὁ ναός ἐστιν ἀπαντικρὺ τοῦ τῆς Χθονίας, καλεῖται δὲ Κλυμένου, καὶ τῷ Κλυμένῳ θύουσιν ἐνταῦθα. Κλύμενον δὲ οὐκ ἄνδρα Ἀργεῖον ἐλθεῖν ἔγωγε ἐς Ἑρμιόνα ἡγοῦμαι, τοῦ θεοῦ δέ ἐστιν ἐπίκλησις, ὄντινα ἔχει λόγος βασιλέα ὑπὸ γῆν εἶναι. Pausanias rightly rejects the possibility of identifying the name with an Argive hero, unknown otherwise; Kearns (1990) 82-3.
[267] *IG* IV 686-91, 1609. For the discussion of the cult see section IV 2.4.
[268] *IG* IV 715.

temple of *Chthonia* there are three places fenced with stone walls; the Hermioneans attribute to of them to Klymenos (where there is a chasm in the ground, through which Herakles took Kerberos away[269]) and to Plouton, and the third which they call lake Acherusia[270].

Unfortunately, we know nothing certain about Plouton's role in the Hermionean cult, but in the light of the strong connection of Klymenos with the Underworld, visible in funerary inscriptions and the chasm in his χωρίον, and of a parallel cultic situation at Eleusis, we may assume that the relation between Klymenos and Plouton in Hermione may be seen through the prism of that between *Theos* and Plouton in Eleusis; an additional argument to support this is the fact that both Klymenos and *Theos* had a priest (and not a priestess, like Plouton in Eleusis)[271].

Another point of reference may be found in a name popular in Southern Italy, *Eukles*, which can probably be considered as a local variant of the Hermionean Klymenos. Of the relevance of this name here we are assured by Hesychius, who says Εὐκλῆς· ὁ Ἅιδης. καὶ ὀνομαστός. καὶ εὐειδής. *Eukles* appears in Southern Italy on an Oscan inscription ('Tavola di Agnone') from the 3rd c. BC, where the name can be recognised under the Samnite god *Evklus*, mentioned along with Ceres and her daughter[272], and on the so-called 'Orphic' gold leaves from Thurioi (4th c. BC) and Rome (*ca*. AD 260), where he is evoked along with Persephone and Eubouleus: Ἔρχομαι ἐκ καθαρῶν

[269] Confirmed by Herakles himself (in Eur. *Her*. 615), who, when asked by his father what he had done with Kerberos, answers: Χθονίας νιν ἄλσος Ἑρμιών τ' ἔχει πόλις.
[270] 2.35.10: ὄπισθεν δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Χθονίας χωρία ἐστὶν ἃ καλοῦσιν Ἑρμιονεῖς τὸ μὲν Κλυμένου, τὸ δὲ Πλούτωνος, τὸ τρίτον δὲ αὐτῶν λίμνην Ἀχερουσίαν. περιείργεται μὲν δὴ πάντα θριγκοῖς λίθων, ἐν δὲ τῷ τοῦ Κλυμένου καὶ γῆς χάσμα· διὰ τούτου δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἀνῆγε τοῦ Ἅιδου τὸν κύνα κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ Ἑρμιονέων.
[271] For the nethergod's cult in Eleusis see section IV 2.1.
[272] *I.Ital.* 2.1200-1206: 3. *evklúi.statif.kerrí statif* (the station of Euklus, the station of Ceres)/ 4. *futreí.kerríaí.statif* (the station of the daughter of Ceres).

καθαρά, χθονίων Βασίλεια, | Εὔκλε καὶ Εὐβουλεῦ.[273] Let us now focus on the meaning of the name itself, 'the famous one'[274], and consider the type and the source of the fame which the nethergod enjoyed; in the case of *Klymenos*, in contrast to *Eukles*, it remains ambiguous.

It seems that one of the possible explanations for naming the nethergod *Klymenos* is that there was an especial association between the site of his cult and the rape of Persephone, exceptionally famous in Hermione[275]. Behind the temple of *Chthonia* Pausanias (2.35.10)[276] mentions three places (χωρία) named as that of Klymenos, that of Plouton, and Lake Acherusia; all three were fenced with stone walls (περιείργεται μὲν δὴ πάντα θριγκοῖς λίθων). The last, obviously, immediately evokes the association with the Acheron river, the world of the dead and the journey in Charon's boat which the souls of the dead are said to pay for. But we know from Strabo[277] that the last element did not apply to the Hermioneans. Callimachus confirms this statement, saying that 'there is a reason' for which only in Hermione the dead do not receive a coin as fare, while it is the custom of others to carry an Acherusian shipping-fare coin in dry mouths[278]. Even if the end of the passage in question is uncertain, Ἀχερουσίας ἐπίβαθρον seems to be telling as it comes from the same work in which also appears the line mentioned above (*Hec*.

[273] *OF* 488-490, 491 Bernabé. For various interpretations of this name in the 'Orphic' context see Bremmer (2013) 35-37; for the discussion of the name *Eubouleus* see section III 4.4.
[274] Note, however, that ancient scholars explained the name through κλύω in the sense of hear, or καλέω. Apollodoros of Athens (*FGrH* 244 F 102) explains the meaning of the nethergod's name in a rationalist way, perhaps influenced by one of the philosophical currents interpreting the gods as four elements (e.g., Hipp. *Ref*. 7.29.5-6): Κλύμενος ὁ Ἅιδης λέγεται τῶι αἴτιος εἶναι τοῦ κλύειν· ἀὴρ γὰρ πεπληγμένος ἡ φωνή, which presents the god as literally perceived through the sense of hearing. The *Suda*, on the other hand, in the entry Κλύμενος gives a more popular explanation: οὕτω λέγεται ὁ Ἅιδης· ἢ ὅτι πάντας προσκαλεῖται εἰς ἑαυτόν, ἢ ὁ ὑπὸ πάντων ἀκουόμενος; it resembles the gloss by Hesychius mentioned above. Even if at first sight these explanations do not say anything at all, they both refer to properties of Hades: Apollodoros to the 'invisibility' inscribed in the god's name and the *Suda* to death, which in general helps us to confirm the identity of Klymenos again, and gives us some clue regarding the source of the god's fame.
[275] See especially the evidence concerning the rivalry between Hermione and Eleusis: IV 2.4
[276] For the quotation see n. 273.
[277] Strab. 8.6.12: παρ' Ἑρμιονεῦσι δὲ τεθρύληται τὴν εἰς Ἅιδου κατάβασιν σύντομον εἶναι· διόπερ οὐκ ἐντιθέασιν ἐνταῦθα τοῖς νεκροῖς ναῦλον.
[278] Call. *Hec*. fr. 99 (Hollis): τοὔνεκα καὶ νέκυες πορθμήιον οὔτι φέρονται | μούνῃ ἐνὶ πτολίων, ὅ τε τέθμιον οἰσέμεν ἄλλους | δανοῖς ἐν στομάτεσσι †νεὼς Ἀχερουσίας ἐπίβαθρον δανάκης†.

fr. 100) about Demeter, Kore and Klymenos. The reason for which the Hermioneans enjoy a privileged access to the Underworld is that (if the *Suda*, which quotes Callimachus' passage, is to be trusted) they received it from Demeter in exchange for information about the abducted Kore[279]. Demeter's gift may be reflected, even if only symbolically, in the third place within the sacred area, called 'Lake Acherusia'. But let us return to the place of Klymenos. Pausanias says that there is an opening in the earth (*γῆς χάσμα*). Even if Pausanias adds the information that through it Herakles brought Kerberos up from the Underworld, the chasm was probably what remained after the immersion of Hades' chariot with the snatched Kore into the ground. A similar place of the abduction of Kore, encircled with stones, is mentioned by Pausanias as existing in Lerna[280].

In the light of the above, it seems that *Klymenos* is a name characteristic for Hermione and closely connected with the Underworld through its apparent reference to Hades; the popularity of the name in other contexts (e.g., funerary inscriptions) in later times was probably caused by the fame of the *Chthonia* festival[281]. Whether the fame ascribed to him was the result of his well-known property of which everybody has heard (the realm of the dead) or due to the fact that he snatched Demeter's daughter, clearly alluded to in the preserved literary testimonies regarding Hermione, remains an open question. The only thing we know for sure is that the transition to the Underworld was cheaper in Hermione than in other parts of the Greek world.

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[279] *Suda* s.v. *πορθμήϊον· ὁ μισθὸς τοῦ ναύτου.* Καλλίμαχος· *τοὔνεκα καὶ νέκυες πορθμήϊον οὔτι φέρονται. ἐν Αἰγιαλῷ γὰρ καταβάσιόν ἐστιν εἰς ᾅδου, εἰς ὃ ἀπελθοῦσα ἡ Δημήτηρ ἔμαθε παρὰ τῶν περιοίκων περὶ τῆς Κόρης καὶ ἐδωρήσατο αὐτοῖς, ὡς λέγει, ἄφεσιν τοῦ πορθμηΐου*. Hermione might have been confused with Aigialos in the *Suda*; there is no other place known to the Greek tradition of the exemption from Charon's obol. For Aigialos see Graf's entry in *BNP* s.v. *Aegialeus* [2], col. 189, who concludes that 'the versions of the myth reflect the competition between Sicyon and Argos'.

[280] Paus. 2.36.7: *πλησίον δὲ αὐτοῦ περίβολός ἐστι λίθων, καὶ τὸν* Πλούτωνα *ἁρπάσαντα ὡς λέγεται* Κόρην *τὴν* Δήμητρος *καταβῆναι ταύτῃ φασὶν ἐς τὴν ὑπόγεων νομιζομένην ἀρχήν*; see also the ritual of throwing burning torches into a pit in honour of Kore, mentioned by Pausanias in 2.22.3.

[281] See section IV 2.4.

6. Agesilaos/Agesandros

The earliest attestation of *Agesilaos* as a name of the nether god comes in Aeschylus[282]. It was also known to Callimachus: in *Hymn* 5 we hear that Actaeon after death will walk among the dead conscious and dear to the great Agesilaos[283]. In the 3rd-century anonymous *Hymn to Demeter*, influenced by Callimachus, the name appears in the context of the division of the earth between the sons of Kronos[284]: Ἀγεσίλας δ' ἔλαχεν τὸν Τά[ραρον οὖ]ρον ἔπεσθαι. *Agesilaos* as Hades' name in the Underworld context appears also in funerary inscriptions[285].

An interesting juxtaposition of *Agesilaos* and *chthonios* is given by Nicander in his *Georgica*[286]: χθονίου στέφος Ἡγεσιλάου. *Chthonios Agesilaos* seems to be a combination of an epithet and a name which may be understood (i) as a poetic reinforcement of the name itself[287], which may be observed, for instance, in Euripides' *Alcestis* (237) in *Hades*' case: κατὰ γᾶς χθόνιον παρ Ἄιδαν[288], or (ii) as a counterpart of Zeus *Chthonios*, since the reference to 'rule' in ἀγησίλαος ('leader of people') encompasses the essential reference to the 'highest power' visible also in the case of

[282] Aesch. fr. 406 (Radt): ἀγησίλαος (*sc*. Ἅιδης).
[283] Call. *H*. 5.129-30: καὶ μόνος, εὖτε θάνῃ, πεπνυμένος ἐν νεκύεσσι | φοιτασεῖ, μεγάλῳ τίμιος Ἀγεσίλᾳ.
[284] *SH* 990.9 (= Page *GLP* 91); cf. Lact. *De fals. relig*. 1.11: *Plutoni, cui cognomen Agesilao fuit, pars Occidentis obtingeret*. For the interpretation of the myth see section II 1.2.
[285] *ICret* II v 49 (=*CIG* 2599: 2nd/3rd c. BC; Guarducci gives 1st c. BC; from Axos): πικρὸν ἔπ' Ἀγεσίλας | Φερσεφόνα τε κόρα Δαμάτερος; *ICret* I xxii 58 (2nd/3rd c. CE, from Olous): ἦλθ' εἰς Ἀγεσίλα δῶμα βιαζόμενος; *AP* 7. 545: ἡγησίλεω δῶμ' Ἄϊδος κατέβη.
[286] Nicand. fr. 74.72 (Gow-Scholfield).
[287] Especially, if Hesychios is to be trusted, s.v. Ἀγεσίλαος· ὁ Πλούτων.
[288] Se also: *GVI* 861 (Albanum, 3rd c. CE): [οὐ γ]ὰρ ὑποχθόνιος κατὰ γῆς Ἀίδης με κέκευθε. *SGD* 170A: καὶ παρὰ Πλούτωνα χθόνιον.

Zeus used to denote the nethergod[289].

Hades sends corpses beneath the earth[290]; he is also referred to by Seneca as *turbae dux maioris et dominus Stygi*[291]. It seems, thus, that the name originated from an epithet given to the lord of the dead as a poetic metaphor, relating to the grim lot of all and referring to his character as host of the dead, reflected also in his other epithets: πολυδέκτης, πολυδέγμων, πολυσημάντωρ, πολύκοινος, πολυξενώτατος, πανδοκεύς[292]. The same force, I believe, should be seen in *Agesandros*, which is applied by Hesychius to Hades[293]. Agesilaos is not (so far) attested in prose inscriptions; it is probably the only entirely literary name of the nethergod.

7. Basileus

The nether god is addressed with the name *Basileus* in an inscription from Olympia on a clay figurine of Kerberos or a sphinx[294]: [Δά]ματρι Κόρ[α Βα]σιλεῖ. Although such a title might not have been fixed, but have resulted from an individual choice of a dedicant, it is not impossible that the god was worshipped under this name, especially given that Plouton is called *Despotes* in dedications: Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρῃ καὶ Δεσπότῃ[295]. Furthermore, it seems very plausible that the cult in question was that of

[289] For titles connected with ruling see section II 2.1; for the usage of *Zeus* in Hades' stead see section III 4.
[290] Sem. fr. 1.14 (*IEG*): τοὺς δ' Ἄρει δεδμημένους | πέμπει μελαίνης Ἀΐδης ὑπὸ χθονός; Pind. *Ol*. 9.33-5 οὐδ' Ἀΐδας ἀκινήταν ἔχε ῥάβδον, | βρότεα σώμαθ' ἁ κατάγει κοίλαν πρὸς ἄγυιαν | θνᾳσκόντων.
[291] Sen. *Her.Oet*. 560.
[292] For discussion of these epithets see section II 2.1.
[293] Hesych. s.v. Ἀγήσανδρος· ὁ Ἅιδης.
[294] Liangouras (2007/2008) 61-74 (=*SEG* 57 405, *NIvO* 43A).
[295] *ArchEph* (1910) 377, 24 (Thessaly, Larisa; Roman period); *EAM* 89 (Macedon, Akrini; 2nd c. BC): Ὀρνέα Ἀρχελάου ἡ ἱέρεια | [Δ]εσπότῃ εὐχήν; *EAM* 15 (Macedon, Aiane; *ca*. end 2nd c. CE): Θεῷ Δεσπότῃ | Πλούτωνι; *OF* 496l Bernabé (Macedonian grave; Hellenistic period): Φιλωτήρα | τῶι

Demeter *Chamyne*, mentioned by Pausanias (6.21.1-2), according to whom the epithet of Demeter was connected with the opening of the earth to receive the chariot of Hades (*sc*. with the abducted Kore)[296].

It seems that the name *Basileus* refers to Hades' most inherent, so to say, sphere of activity, established in the ancient tradition through the myth of the division of the world[297]: his realm, since Hades is *βασιλεύς ἐνέρων*[298]. It reflects, as we have noticed, the relation between mortals and immortals rather than between members of the divine society[299]. The usage of this name in cult at Olympia is consistent with the very specific character of Hades' worship (conncted with death and vegetation) in the region of Elis[300].

8. Temenios

Three epigraphic testimonies from the 2nd c. CE confirm that at Helos in Laconia Kore and Temenios (Κόρας καὶ Τεμενίου τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἕλει)[301] had a priest and a priestess[302]. Furthermore, we learn from Pausanias (3.20.7) that the inhabitants of Helos bring up a *xoanon* of Kore to the *Eleusinion* in Sparta on stated days[303]. Even if Pausanias does not say anything about Temenios when mentioning the ritual, taking into consideration the

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Δεσπό- | τει χέρε(ιν).
[296] For the character of this cult and discussion of the meaning of Demeter's epithet see section IV 2.2.
[297] For discussion see section II 1.2.
[298] Aesch. *Pers*. 629, Bion *Epith.Ad*. 52 (Gow): *στυγνὸν βασιλῆα*, Luc. *Pdgr*. 197 Βασιλεὺς ἐνέρων Ἀίδας, *Ep.Gr*. 367 (Kaibel): Πλούτωνος *βασιλῆος ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων*; *DT* 198.10 (Cumae, 3rd c. CE): *ὁ τῶν ὅλων* Βασιλεύς, 198.11-12: *ὁ τῶν φθιμένων βασιλεύς*.
[299] Hence the frequent application to Hades of terms such as *basileus*, *anax* and *koiranos*; for discussion of these titles and other epithets of authority, power or might see section II 2.1.
[300] For discussion of Hades' cult in Elis see section IV 1.
[301] The phrase appears in all the three inscriptions: *IG* V 1, 497 (AD 130), 589 (AD 160), 608 (undated).
[302] A priest: *IG* V 1, 497; a priestess: *IG* V 1, 589, 608.
[303] For the cult of the nethergod in Laconia see section IV 2.5.

cultic surroundings, it seems reasonable and justified to assume that this mysterious figure at Helos was a 'disguised Hades'[304].

Nothing sure, however, can be said about the name itself; it should probably be understood as 'the one worshipped in a *τέμενος*' or more likely 'the one belonging to the *τέμενος*'[305]. Only once does it appear elsewhere, as an epithet of Hestia in Erythrae (3rd c. BC): *Ἑστίας Τεμενίας*[306].

Temenites, as opposed to *Temenios*, appears frequently as an epithet of Olympian gods. Apart from Zeus in Amorgos (4th BC?)[307], Poseidon in Mykonos (c. 3rd/2nd c. BC)[308] and Apollo in Syracuse (7th c. BC?)[309], on Delos (4th/3rd c. BC)[310] and on Crete (3rd c. BC)[311] are also given this title. Interestingly, the settlement district in Syracuse (situated west of Achradine) was named after Apollo's epithet 'Temenites'[312]. Some other derivatives are also of interest: *ἐντεμένιοι θεοί*[313] ('the gods who have their statues in the *τέμενος*'), Poseidon with the title *τεμενοῦχος* ('the one holding/inhabiting a *τέμενος*')[314], and Hermes *τεμενουρός* ('the guardian of a *τέμενος*')[315], which prove the existence of some differentiation of meanings and specific functions ascribed to certain

[304] Cf. Kruse in *RE* (1934) s.v. *Temenios*, col. 434f, Parker (1988) 103. For discussion of the cult see section IV 2.5.
[305] Beekes (2010) s.v. *temenos*.
[306] *I.Erythrae* 201.a26, c30.
[307] *SIG* 963.37-8 (= *IG* XII 7, 62.37): *τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Τεμενίτου*.
[308] *SIG* 1024.6: *Ποσειδῶνι Τεμενίτηι*.
[309] Cicero (*In Verr*. 2.4.119), when describing Neapolis, into whose district the Temenites quarter grew: *praeterea duo templa sunt egregia, Cereris unum, alterum Liberae, signumque Apollinis, qui Temenites vocatur*; Suet. *Tib*. 74. For the date see *BNP* s.v. *Syracusae* (Günther).
[310] *IG* XI 2, 144 B11: *τοῦ Ἀπόλ*[λω]*νος τοῦ Τεμεν*[*ί*]*του*.
[311] *I.Cret*. I, 22.4.c66-9: *ἐν τῶ*[ι | *ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλλω* | *νος τοῦ Τεμενί* | *τα*.
[312] Thuc. 6.75.1 (*τὸν Τεμενίτην ἐντὸς ποιησάμενοι*), 6.100.2 (*τὸ περὶ τὸν Τεμενίτην*), Thuc. 7.3.3 (*ἀπήγαγε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν τὴν Τεμενῖτιν καλουμένην*).
[313] *SIG* 1037.4 (Milet. 4th/3rd c. BC): *καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τῶν* | [*ἐντ*]*εμενίων*; *I.Prien*. 123.10 (1st c. BC): *τοῖς ἐντεμενίοις θεοῖς τὴν θυσίαν*.
[314] *I.Tralleis* 1 (=*SEG* 60 2000; 2nd/3rd c. CE).
[315] Kaibel 781 (= *GIBM* 797, *I.Knidos* 79; Cnidus, 281/200 BC); Hesych. s.v. *τεμενωρόν· τεμένους φύλακα*.

deities according to context; Τεμενεῖται and Τεμενίζοντες are also known as names of the so-called Milesian clubs taking care of certain gods[316], which may suggest that τεμενίτης had no specific inherent meaning confined to gods, or at least lost it completely with time. What may be observed, though, is that in terms of gods the epithet's usage seems to refer directly to the deity presiding over a sacred area: Apollo in Syracuse is probably the clearest example.

Although the semantic fields of τεμένιος and τεμενίτης seem to overlap[317], only *Temenios* is used as a name of a god without an accompanying theonym, as if its reference to a given divine personage was obvious. Kruse suggested that the name *Temenios* functioned originally as a name of a god connected with the Underworld, and only afterwards did it start to function as an epithet of other Olympian gods[318]. Although the reference to *Temenios* at Helos we possess is too late to confirm this, we know that the *Eleusinion* referred to in Pausanias' account mentioned above, according to the archaeological finds, flourished from the 4th c. BC onwards, and there are good reasons to think that the cult in Helos existed even in much earlier times[319]. But, even if there are no strong grounds to think that *Temenios* originated as an epithet specifically of Hades[320], what is interesting is the way in which in his case alone it achieved autonomy.

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[316] Τεμενίζοντες of Aphrodite, Zeus and Apollo are attested as early as 188/187 BC (Didyma: *SEG* 30 1285; Miletus *SEG* 30 1339), Τεμενεῖται of Demeter Karpophoros and Apollo are roughly ascribed to 2nd/1st BC (Miletus: *SEG* 30 1340-44); however, a heroon dedicated to the founder of the club cannot be excluded, as one of the inscriptions was found in the tomb (*SEG* 30 1341); 'alternatively the Temenitai may have included the upkeep of tombs of deceased members in their otherwise religious activities': Pleket and Stroud in *SEG* 30 1344.

[317] *LSJ* s.v. τεμενίτης.

[318] For references see *RE* (1934) s.v. *Temenios*, col. 435, but see also Ziehen in *RE* (1929) s.v. *Sparta (Kulte)*, col. 1505f.

[319] Nothing has been found so far, but the city is mentioned in *Il*. 2.584 (cf. Paus. 3.20.6) together with Amyklai; for references and discussion see section IV 2.5.

[320] Note, however, a fragment of a terracotta plaque which was found in the Chrysapha village (together with a funerary *stele*) bearing an inscription with a possible reference to *Temenios* at Helos: Διὸ[ς] Τε[μενίου] (*IG* 5,1. 372; Cavanagh et al. 1996: 2.222 no. 16). Although the supplement must remain

9. Elaielinos (?)

A mysterious name *Elaielinos* appears in a dedicatory inscription (4th c. BC?) on a large *pithos* rim (ἱερὸς Ἐλαιελίνου)[321], found in the North Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone[322] near the village of Aidone (ancient Morgantina), and unknown otherwise; it seems that whatever the vase contained was sacrificed to the obscure figure. It has been proposed on the basis of several standing male figures of impressive size and quality found in the sanctuary deposits[323] that this name should be understood as a form of Hades[324].

The word *Elaielinos* has been interpreted by Stamires as a name or epithet of a local god, formed of two words ἐλαία ('olive', 'olive-tree') / ἔλαιον ('olive-oil'), and ἔλινος ('branch of vine', 'vine')[325]. There are, however, certain difficulties his interpretation presents. First of all, even if *Elaielinos* is in adjectival form, as may be expected for a divine name or epithet (composita of two nouns are very rare if they occur at all), there is no Greek word which would constitute the stem of the adjective, as Stamires observed himself[326]. Secondly, ἔλινος is found only in later authors, from Nicander

uncertain, if accepted, it would affirm the existence of the cult at least from the 4th c. BC. Alternative supplements which have been proposed: Διὸ[ς] Τε[λείου] vel. Διὸ[ς] τέ[μενος]. It seems, however, that the cult of Zeus *Teleios* is not attested in Laconia. For the funerary stele see *IG* 5,1 371 (=Cavanagh et al. 1996: 2.220 no. 15a). For a discussion of stelai and the plaques see section IV 2.5.

[321] Stamires (1958) 163, pl. 34, fig. 38.

[322] Bell (1981) 98-102: it seems that the presiding deity was Persephone.

[323] Bell (1981) 88, nos. 295-99, Sjöquist (1958) pl. 31, fig. 22. For description of these figures see section I 3.4.

[324] Bell (1981) 88-91.

[325] Stamires (1958) 163.

[326] Stamires (1958) 164.

onwards[327]. And last but not least, if Bell's attribution of the representations of the male figures mentioned above is right, such a direct link with agriculture, though not impossible, would be unique for Hades, especially given that he is not known as a patron of either olive or vine[328]. Nevertheless, there exists another explanation of the origin of this word: that it could be a derivative of a local dialect or even indigenous language form[329]. Although we cannot be sure whether *Elaielinos* did originate from such a form, in the light of the above this seems the most reasonable solution.

10. General conclusions

'Giving life' and 'making invisible' are two categories into which the names of the nethergod fall, according to the observation of the scholiast of the *Iliad* quoted at the very beginning of this chapter. The analysis of the preserved names of the nether lord presented above shows that these categories are only seemingly polar because they reflect the complex nature of the god and exist in a certain mutual exchange determined by his nature. They also prove that the idea of the nethergod was consistent because their essence always refers to the god's specific 'portion', the world of the dead, though its characteristics are seen through the prism of a multiaspectual set of properties of the god. The earthly features suggest that the nethergod was essentially one consistent divine figure, but the variety of his names implies a deity functionally split into several

[327] *LSJ* s.v. ἔλινος. Philomen Probert suggested to me that the construction of the name resembles well-known adjectival forms ending in *-ινος*, of which ἀμπέλινος is a good example; unfortunately, I have not been able to find any form with the stem ελαιελ-.
[328] Note, however, the so-called cult of 'Dionysos-Hades' in Metaponto: Coleman Carter (1994) 178, 194-6 with references; another connection might be the cornucopia itself: see section *I 2.1*.
[329] Note, for instance, Etruscan *Aita*/*Calu* for Hades (discussed in section *I 3.5*). Interestingly, Stephanus of Byzantium under the entry Ἔλινοι noted 'a town in Sicily'; nothing is known, however, about its location.

different figures. The differentiating factor in the god's names seems to be the perspective of 'this' or 'that' world, applied to the god's nature.

There is no visible chronological pattern in the development of the naming of the nethergod; most of the names are attested very early. The oldest are Hades, Zeus *Chthonios* and Klymenos; and all three will be present in Greek thought till the end of antiquity. In the 5th c. BC Plouton and Agesilaos enter the scene, though, as we have noticed before, Plouton belongs to Attic culture and appears together with its rise, which makes his origin quite difficult to establish; he might have existed in Attica long before the 5th c. BC, but there is no evidence to confirm that. Names such as Basileus, *Theos*, and Temenios, which seem to belong to specific cults, are beyond general categorisation; what we can observe, however, is that they (excluding Temenios) often function in a compound form, with a descriptive epithet referring to the earth and/or the dead as a means of a poetic, periphrastic reference to the god in literature or funerary inscriptions.

Some characteristic features of the names themselves should also be summed up. We have noticed that they all gravitate around the idea of ‘earth’, conceptually understood as source (*e.g.*, of crops, life) and home (of the living and the dead). Most of the preserved names appear both in literary (mythical) and cult contexts; the purely cult names, probably a product of a local tradition, are *Temenios*, Zeus *Konios* and Zeus *Damatrios*. We probably have only one purely literary name, *i.e.* Agesilaos. As far as Hades is concerned, it may seem to us at first sight that he was a purely mythological figure, but information given by Pausanias about his cult in Elis as well as Strabo's reference to his joint cult with Athena at Koroneia and to his temples in Triphylia and

Mekistia undermines this supposition, even if no epigraphic or archaeological testimony exists to confirm the reports of Pausanias and Strabo. Importantly, *Hades* appears also in a curse tablet from the 4th c. BC[330] (its derivative *Aidoneus* is frequently used in such contexts), which allows us to suppose that not much is preserved rather than that the name was systematically avoided. On the other hand, the scarcity of Hades' occurrence in cult contexts might have been determined by his primeval nature, which evoked the realm of the dead so strongly that it eventually started denoting it more than its god. At the same time this scarcity made space in religious thought for Plouton, who penetrated it quite deeply and successfully with the spread of the Eleusinian cult of the two goddesses and the rise of Attic drama.

Let us now discuss the reason for the existence of so many names for the nethergod. It is a general assumption that euphemism provides the key to the polyonymy of Hades[331], but first of all, as has been noticed, most of these names clearly belong to some local context and their intrinsic meaning refers primarily (directly or not) to the earth: *Chthonios*/*Gaos*/*Damatrios*/ *Konios*, *Plouton*/*Plouteus*, *Hades*/*Aidoneus*. Among them only *Hades* and *Konios* refer to perceptual properties (invisibility and dust respectively). Secondly, most of them appear also in compound forms with Zeus and can be classified as antonomastic (*Chthonios*/*Gaos*/*Damatrios*/*Konios, Plouteus, Eubouleus*); thirdly, this category is complemented by generic locutions such as *Klymenos*, *Temenios*, *Theos*, *Basileus* and *Agesilaos*, also used antonomastically. All the names, however, have a concrete reference and the god is never referred to as anonymous. Anonymity was observed by Henrichs in the case of the Erinyes and constituted, according to him, the

[330] See n. 57.
[331] Farnell (1907) iii.281-2.

basis for euphemistic treatment of the goddesses[332]. The nethergod is polyonymous and through this property polyvalence is manifested rather than 'chthonic ambivalence', claimed by Henrichs[333], which makes the euphemistic features seem a side product. Furthermore, Hades is Olympian by origins and chthonic by sphere of activity; being a chthonic deity only secondarily (as compared, for instance, to the Erinyes and the dead), he does not need to be addressed in a euphemistic way.

From the usage of the god's names it cannot be inferred that any of them was tabooed; similarly, the hypothesis that Plouton is a positive equivalent of Hades is only partially true. Plouton occurs both in cult and literature, but the usage of the name is different than, for instance, that of Erinyes: Erinyes are transformed into Eumenides[334], while Plouton is not a transformation of Hades. Plouton belongs entirely to the Eleusinian environment; the name literally (bearing in mind the original meaning of *ploutos*) means the lord of corn (not very far from the dead, who are hidden in the earth like seeds, and according to a conception discussed along with the name Zeus *Konios*, are said to change into corn), but it does not imply giving because Plouton, if not well-disposed, may keep his riches far away from the living. Let us remember too that Sophocles did not present him as a kindly deity (cf. Eumenides). Plouton is only seemingly a euphemistic name (mainly from our modern perspective): it is simply an Attic name referring to a specific property of the god (the Underworld/earth) seen through the prism of the Eleusinian/Attic cult of the two goddesses, *i.e*. to the corn, the essential property inscribed in the name *Plouton* in the same way as invisibility (or everything that is hidden in the earth) is present in the name *Hades*. Furthermore, it seems that this name

[332] Henrichs (1990) 163-7, 170-9.
[333] Henrichs (1990) passim.
[334] Henrichs (1990) 167.

in Attica occurs primarily in connection with the festival of *Thesmophoria*; in the *Mysteria Theos* appears[335].

Euphemism is quite broad as a category and is often abused. It is true that humans usually seek refuge in euphemism from something painful, fearsome, dangerous or simply evil, deliberately or not, but, as we have seen earlier, the names with which the nethergod is addressed in prayers and curses clearly belong to the Underworld context and in some way mirror this context. This is to say that the problem with the nethergod's names is not that any of them should be avoided: they refer each to a specific property of the nethergod and the choice of the name seems to be determined by the context and the intended effect within it. There would not be much profit if, for instance, Hades was invoked at the *Thesmophoria* because the festival was supposed to secure the abundance of crops and general prosperity of the polis; and the other way round: invoking Plouton does not make sense when one needs to die quickly. It is true that the above examples are a bit extreme and that the boundaries between the properties were usually quite fluid, as is visible in the case of Zeus *Chthonios*, who encompasses both sides of the nethergod's nature and is referred to in all known contexts. Whether the name of Hades caused anxiety is hard to decide: according to Plato, it did, but though it cannot be excluded, it is not confirmed either.

It seems that, while the names can help to understand the conceptualisation of the nethergod in Greek thought, one cannot be regarded as more positive or more negative than another (as observed by Henrichs for the Erinyes) because we do not know how a given name functioned in a given region; this limitation, however, does not seem unique

[335] See section *II 2.1*.

to the nethergod[336]. Thus it does not make sense to discuss positive and negative aspects of the names of the nethergod, because even when they refer to more or less enjoyable aspects of human life, they are rather neutral. Hence euphemism does not make much sense in the broader spectrum of the usage of these names: Hades is probably the most straightforward, and Plouton may seem to be the lighter face of the god, but *Chthonios*, *Konios*, *Basileus*, *Aidoneus* or *Agesilaos* seem even more gloomy then *Hades* because they refer to properties of the Underworld itself, and are no milder in their overtones, and therefore not euphemisms. It should be noted, however, that euphemisms belong to contexts and are manifested within them; in the nethergod's case there is no context which would require the use of one name in place of another, the 'proper' one. It rather seems that whatever name is used always refers to the context, and the usage is conditioned by it.

It is true that the popularity of Plouton, which was a result of the fame of the Eleusinian cult of the two goddesses, blurs the picture somewhat, but I believe that the names collected in this chapter allow for a simple conclusion that they belonged to a certain context within a given cult environment and that their usage was determined by certain local traditions, which had the right to interpret deities in their own way, giving them their own chosen names. We know too little about particular cult characteristics and religious practice (to say nothing about local beliefs and conceptions of divine figures) to allow for any certainty in the interpretation of feelings that a given name was supposed to evoke; the important point seems to be that a particular name was chosen for a particular context, which proves that in the nethergod's case the boundaries were fluid. The discussion about euphemism, thus, has to remain open. The names of the

[336] Parker (2003) 173-83.

nethergod discussed above, individually as much as collectively, are means of reference to certain aspects and features intrinsic to the god who bears them and consistent with the conception of him as a whole.

IV

Cult of the lord of the dead

The lord of the netherworld is considered by scholars not to have had cult among the ancient Greeks[1]. This is hardly surprising since we hear from Aeschylus that nobody worships death[2]. Actually, as we have seen in previous sections[3], the statement of the poet, even if reflecting the *opinio communis* of a kind, fails to be incontestably true in the light of excavations and the analysis of testimonies carried out in the present work; leaving aside that it would be hard to imagine the cult of Dis Pater in Rome if there had been no cult of Hades in Greece[4]. The main problem which we have to face at this stage is the cultic character and the role of the nether god in Greek beliefs, made problematic by his various names, which, according to the analysis undertaken in the previous section, mark different, specific features attributed to the god rather than merely serving the euphemistic way of addressing him. It is necessary, thus, to track the interdependences between cultic surroundings and given names provided by archaeological testimonies and other cult attestations.

[1] Farnell (1896-1909) 3.280-2 (he distiguishes Hades and Plouton), cf. *RE* s.v. *Plouton*, *OCD*[4] s.v. *Hades* (Henrichs).

[2] Aesch. fr. 161 (Radt): *μόνος θεῶν γὰρ θάνατος οὐ δώρων ἐρᾷ, οὐδ' ἄν τι θύων οὐδ' ἐπισπένδων λάβοις, οὐδ' ἔστι βωμός, οὐδὲ παιωνίζεται*. For similarities with Hades see section 'Lord of the Dead'. The invocations to Thanatos appear in literary contexts: cf. Soph. *Aj*. 854, *Phil*. 797. Some traces shedding light on the fact that he might have had some cult are provided by Paus. 5.18.1, 3.18.1; for sacrifices: Serv. *ad Aen*. 11.197, Stat. *Theb*. 4.528. However, he probably had no temple, as reported by Aeschylus above.

[3] See sections II 2.1, 2.3.

[4] Prof. Nicholas Purcell in conversation. For some similarities see section III 2; I will not, however, elaborate on the cult of Dis Pater because the scope of this work does not allow me to do so.

The traces of prayers to Hades in literary testimonies as well as his actual presence in ancient art (including statues and votive reliefs) in various surroundings gave us a preliminary overview of his main areas of activity: power/rule, earth and fertility, oracles/raising of the dead, the dead, marriage, justice. His occurrence in these contexts, as we have seen, is not coincidental and in each case it has some justification. It might also be significant that he appears in the reliefs representing somebody's death or birth, as in the case of the unpreserved Amyklaean throne or the base relief of the statue of Athena Parthenos. However complicated and blurred the issue may still seem, it is important enough to deserve attention and exploration[5].

1. Individual cult?: Between Elis and Triphylia

The only place where Hades clearly seems to have had individual cult was Elis and, if Pausanias (6.25.2-3)[6] is to be trusted, Eleans were the only people who worshipped him in the Greek world (*ἀνθρώπων δὲ ὧν ἴσμεν μόνοι τιμῶσιν Ἅιδην Ἠλεῖοι*).

According to the local legend reported by Pausanias, the origin of the cult (*κατὰ αἰτίαν τήνδε*) was connected with Herakles' attack on Elean Pylos, where Hades was

[5] Due to the scope of this work and its word limits I have decided to present only the most explicit and distinctive evidence for the cult of the nether god, i.e. where his cult is attested by literary or epigraphic evidence; some of these cults, owing to their greater significance for other issues were discussed in other parts of this work: for Megara see section III 4.3, for Rhodes and Myconos: III 4.2, for Morgantina: I 3.4.

[6] Paus. 6.25.2-3: *ὁ δὲ ἱερὸς τοῦ Ἅιδου περίβολός τε καὶ ναός – ἔστι γὰρ δὴ Ἠλείοις καὶ Ἅιδου περίβολός τε καὶ ναός – ἀνοίγνυται μὲν ἅπαξ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον, ἐσελθεῖν δὲ οὐδὲ τότε ἐφεῖται πέρα γε τοῦ ἱερωμένου. ἀνθρώπων δὲ ὧν ἴσμεν μόνοι τιμῶσιν Ἅιδην Ἠλεῖοι κατὰ αἰτίαν τήνδε. Ἡρακλεῖ στρατιὰν ἄγοντι ἐπὶ Πύλον τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἠλιδι, παρεῖναί οἱ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶν συνεργὸν λέγουσιν· ἀφικέσθαι οὖν καὶ Πυλίοις τὸν Ἅιδην συμμαχήσοντα τῇ ἀπεχθείᾳ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ Πύλῳ τιμάς. ἐπάγονται δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρον τῷ λόγῳ μάρτυρα ποιησαντα ἐν Ἰλιάδι τλῆ δ' Ἀίδης ἐν τοῖσι πελώριος ὠκὺν ὀιστόν, εὖτέ μιν ὠὐτὸς ἀνὴρ υἱὸς Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο ἐν Πύλῳ ἐν νεκύεσσι βαλὼν ὀδύνῃσιν ἔδωκεν· εἰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ Μενελάου στρατείαν ἐπὶ Ἴλιον Ποσειδῶν τῷ Ὁμήρου λόγῳ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπίκουρος ἦν, οὐκ ἂν ἄπο τοῦ εἰκότος οὐδὲ Ἅιδην εἴη δόξῃ γε τοῦ αὐτοῦ ποιητοῦ Πυλίοις ἀμῦναι. Ἠλεῖοι δ' οὖν ὡς σφίσι τε εὔνῳ καὶ ἀπεχθανομένῳ πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐποιήσαντο <τὸ> ἱερὸν τῷ θεῷ· ἑκάστου δὲ ἅπαξ ἀνοίγειν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ νομίζουσιν, ὅτι οἶμαι καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἅπαξ ἡ κάθοδος ἡ ἐς τοῦ Ἅιδου γίνεται.*

worshipped (ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ Πύλῳ τιμάς). Because of the hatred he bore towards the hero (τῇ ἀπεχθείᾳ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους) Hades came to fight for the Pylians against the invader. As proof for their story, according to Pausanias, the Pylians quote the verses of the *Iliad* about the wounding of Hades by Herakles at Pylos 'among the corpses' (*Il*. 5.395-7). Whether the existence of the aetiological story proves the antiquity of Hades' cult in Elis remains disputable in the light of the lack of archaeological evidence. The myth itself, however, seems to belong to an old (pre-Homeric?) stratum of Herakles' myth repertoire[7] since Clement of Alexandria (*Protr*. 2.36.2 =Panyassis *fr*. 6 & 20 Matthews)[8] tells us that, according to Homer, Aidoneus was shot by Herakles and Panyassis records that it was – if we accept the necessary conjecture Ἄιδην for the Αὐγέαν in codices and scholia – the Elean Hades[9].

Although Pausanias is talking about the sacred precinct and the temple of Hades when describing Elis, some scholars believe that he is probably referring to Pylos in Triphylia[10], where, according to Strabo (8.3.14)[11], was situated a *temenos* of Hades at the foot of mount Minthe. It is true that Pausanias introduces the information about the temple of Hades in Elis and its opening time quite suddenly after giving the description of the temples of Aphrodite at the back of the portico at the Elean agora and he does not

[7] About the myth see Sekita (forthcoming).

[8] *ναὶ μὴν καὶ τὸν Ἀϊδωνέα ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους τοξευθῆναι Ὅμηρος λέγει, καὶ τὸν Ἠλεῖον Ἅιδην Πανύασσις ἱστορεῖ· ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἥραν τὴν ζυγίαν ἱστορεῖ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλέους ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος Πανύασσις «ἐν Πύλῳ ἠμαθόεντι»*.

[9] I follow Matthews' conjecture (adopted by West 2003); for the reasons see his commentary on fr. 6 (1974: 52-7).

[10] On Pausanias' various localisations and confusions of different Pyloi see Coleman (1986) 164-165 with commentary on the passages quoted: 158-9. It seems that even for the ancients themselves the identification of 'the right' Pylos was a problem (cf. Strab. 8.3.7) as it was localised alternatively in Elis, Triphylia and Messenia: it may reflect an ancient view that Homer himself refers to more than one Pylos as well as their own confusion: Maddoli (1991) 155-164. On the geographical differences between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* cf. West (2011) 8; for the view that Pylos of the epic legend was the one in Triphylia: West (2011) commentary *ad* 2.591, Coleman (1986) 161-5, Dörpfeld (1913) 97-139. See also Maddoli, Nafissi, Saladino (2003) 371.22.40-7 commentary *ad* Paus. 6.22.6.

[11] Strab. 8.3.14: *πρὸς ἕω δ' ἐστὶν ὄρος τοῦ Πύλου πλησίον ἐπώνυμον Μίνθης, ἣν μυθεύουσι παλλακὴν τοῦ Ἅιδου γενομένην πατηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῆς κόρης εἰς τὴν κηπαίαν μίνθην μεταβαλεῖν, ἥν τινες ἡδύοσμον καλοῦσι. καὶ δὴ καὶ τέμενός ἐστιν Ἅιδου πρὸς τῷ ὄρει τιμώμενον καὶ ὑπὸ Μακιστίων, καὶ Δήμητρος ἄλσος ὑπερκείμενον τοῦ Πυλιακοῦ πεδίου*.

say anything about the localisation of Hades' precinct; this seems quite unusual for him and makes the impression that there is no connection between the paragraphs. Therefore, it may seem that the myth about Hades' lover (in Strabo's account) who, as we have seen[12], gave her name to the mountain in Pylos[13] near which there was a precinct sacred to Hades and a grove of Demeter would provide a better aetiological explanation for Hades' cult in Elis than the version reported by Pausanias. However, there is no archaeological attestation for the cult in question in either of the places.

The information we get from Strabo, nevertheless, does not suit the description given by Pausanias: for, first of all, in Triphylian Pylos Hades had his temenos near the mountain (*τέμενός ἐστιν Ἄιδου πρὸς τῷ ὄρει*) and there was a grove sacred to Demeter above the Pylian plain (*καὶ Δήμητρος ἄλσος ὑπερκείμενον τοῦ Πυλιακοῦ πεδίου*) whereas Pausanias speaks of the sacred precinct of Hades and his temple (*ὁ δὲ ἱερὸς τοῦ Ἄιδου περίβολός τε καὶ ναός*). Furthermore, Pausanias does not give us any information about other deities in the vicinity of Hades' temple and it seems reasonable to differentiate between these two reports of Hades' cult.

1.1 Elean cities: Elis and Pylos

Pausanias says that the Eleans built the temple for Hades because he was favourable to them and hostile towards Herakles (*Ἠλεῖοι δ' οὖν ὡς σφίσι τε εὔνῳ καὶ ἀπεχθανομένῳ πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐποιήσαντο <τὸ> ἱερὸν τῷ θεῷ*), but a couple of lines before this statement he reports that Hades came to help the Pylians in the fight

[12] About the myth see section II 1.4.2.
[13] Cf. Phot. s.v. *μίνθα*.

with Herakles because he was worshipped in Pylos (ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ Πύλῳ τιμάς). It seems, thus, that Hades had a sacred precinct in both the cities, Elis and Pylos, but the temple in Elis he got after the fight with the hero as an additional honour; we do not know anything about his temple in the Elean Pylos. However, due to the lack of any archaeological evidence, even an introduction of logic into Pausanias' report gives us merely a more or less probable hypothesis, but at least if we accept the assumption that Hades had cult in Elis (the city) too, there is no contradiction in the description of its temples, topography and, what is probably more interesting for us, the origin of Hades' cult in the city. Furthermore, as noticed at the beginning of this chapter, Pausanias informs us that Hades was worshipped throughout Elean territory (thus, perhaps in most of its cities).

The character of Hades' cult in Elis or Pylos still remains mysterious and problematic, mainly due to Pausanias' brevity and reticence in its description; it is hard to look for a hint in the supposed aetiological story about the fight with Herakles, which seems to be secondary. The most important information is that Hades had τιμάς in Pylos before the fight. At the beginning of the passage Pausanias reports that the temple in Elis is opened once a year and that only the priest is allowed to enter it (ἀνοίγνυται μὲν ἅπαξ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον, ἐσελθεῖν δὲ οὐδὲ τότε ἐφεῖται πέρα γε τοῦ ἱερωμένου). The reason for the opening of the temple, according to him, is that the Eleans want to mark the fact that people enter Hades' realm only once (ἀνθρώποις ἅπαξ ἡ κάθοδος ἡ ἐς τοῦ Ἅιδου γίνεται). We do not get any additional information either about the season of the year or the time of the day, or the general character and features of this (almost mystery) cult. Nevertheless, we may be tempted to draw some hypothetical conclusions about it on the basis of what we have heard from Pausanias. First of all, if we take the reason for

the opening of the temple seriously, it seems that the cult was connected with death or fate in general; however, we get no hint that it was connected with the cult of the dead. Secondly, as to the time of opening, if we take into consideration the fact that it was connected with the end of human life and that metaphorically the year itself may be compared to a human lifetime as it has a beginning and an end, it seems reasonable to place the moment in the last month of the year. Interestingly, even Plato in his *Laws*[14] placed the month of Plouton as the last in the calendar. All in all, it seems that Hades did have individual cult in Elis, and that it was connected with his most obvious sphere of activity: death.

1.2 Triphylian cities: Pylos, Macistos and those along Acheron river

The cult of Hades reported by Strabo seems to be connected with the myth about the annihilation of Minthe, his lover. As we have noticed when discussing the myth itself, the local version probably concerned the mountain's name and the origins of the cult of Hades; the popular and more general one was about the plant itself (*hedyosmos*) and referred to the form in which the plant was used as an ingredient, e.g. of the Eleusinian *kykeon*.

The information about the cult itself which we gain from Strabo is, unfortunately, scarce too. We get only the topographical description and some bits of the aetiological myth. But let us look at it again. According to the geographer, Hades had his *temenos* at the

[14] Plat. *Leg*. 828c-d: *ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν χθονίων καὶ ὅσους αὖ θεοὺς οὐρανίους ἐπονομαστέον καὶ τὸ τῶν τούτοις ἑπομένων οὐ συμμεικτέον ἀλλὰ χωριστέον, ἐν τῷ τοῦ* Πλούτωνος *μηνὶ τῷ δωδεκάτῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀποδιδόντας, καὶ οὐ δυσχεραντέον πολεμικοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸν τοιοῦτον θεόν, ἀλλὰ τιμητέον ὡς ὄντα ἀεὶ τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει ἄριστον*.

foot of the mountain called Minthe, that is near Pylos in Triphylia, towards the east. We also hear that there is a grove near this mountain, sacred to Demeter, situated above the Pylian plain; Strabo highlights that this plain is fertile (*τὸ δὲ πεδίον εὔγεών ἐστι τοῦτο*).

The cult in Pylos seems to involve other divine figures too, especially Demeter and Persephone, but because of the end which Minthe met, it seems that it had something to do with death. The fertility aspect of the plain itself, however, turns our attention towards cults connected with vegetation and crops. Of great importance to us is above all the fact that Strabo tells us all this with special attention to Hades; he does not name any festival or activity other than worship connected with the cult of Hades in this place, but he introduces a very important piece of information for us: that the Mecistians (in the north) worshipped him too (*τιμώμενον καὶ ὑπὸ Μακιστίων*). This information occurs just after the mention of the *temenos*; we know nothing about Demeter or Persephone.

Further on in his description Strabo gives another piece of information about northern Triphylia (8.3.15); it is that there are two rivers which empty into the Alpheios: Dalion and Acheron, and that the latter was so named because of its close relation to Hades (*ὁ δὲ Ἀχέρων κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἅιδην οἰκειότητα ὠνόμασται*); for not only the sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore, but also those of Hades are held in very high honour there (*ἐκτετίμηται γὰρ δὴ σφόδρα τά τε τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς κόρης ἱερὰ ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἅιδου*). Strabo ends the paragraph with the remark that perhaps people worship Hades there due to the 'oppositions' (he uses the term of Demetrius of Scepsis: *τάχα διὰ τὰς ὑπεναντιότητας, ὥς φησιν ὁ Σκήψιος Δημήτριος*), because on the one hand

Triphylia is very fruitful, while on the other it produces mildew in corn[15] and reed, so it often happens that in this region instead of large crops there is no crop at all (*καὶ γὰρ εὔκαρπός ἐστι καὶ ἐρυσίβην γεννᾷ καὶ θρύον ἡ Τριφυλία· διόπερ ἀντὶ μεγάλης φορᾶς πυκνὰς ἀφορίας γίνεσθαι συμβαίνει κατὰ τοὺς τόπους*). It seems, thus, that the cult of Hades was connected with crops growing, or in other words, with not preventing them from growing, and it looks like an echo of Hesiodic lines of *Works and Days* (465-6)[16]. It looks as if Demeter was responsible for crops growing, but Hades for protecting them or helping them in growing. On the other hand, the landscape resembles the Underworld somehow: very mouldy, dank and full of mildew.

1.3 Summarising remarks

It seems that the general character of Hades' cult in this part of Greece was connected mainly with his most obvious feature, death, and his main role, to keep his realm closed, so that life remains untouched and unspoilt; the role of the cult was probably to appease him and ensure that he would wait for his time. All in all, it seems that he had an individual cult there which was not about other personages involved: they served there as necessary but secondary figures in fact.

[15] Plato (*Resp*. 609a) says that it was considered a real problem affecting corn. Interestingly, however, *ἐρυσίβη* was a title of Demeter in Lydia, acc. to *Et. Gud*. 210.25.
[16] For the interpretation of them see section III 4.1.

2. With the Two Goddesses

Without doubt the most abundant testimonies regarding the nethergod's cult are to be found in the sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore. This is not surprising, since the myth of the abduction of Demeter's daughter certainly allowed the lord of the dead to enter the world of the living[17]. It is important, therefore, to analyse the god's role in this cult and to try to establish its main characteristics.

2.1 Athens and the *Mysteries* of Eleusis

2.1.1 The city Eleusinion

Plouton had his temple at the City Eleusinion on the north slope of the Acropolis, which is attested to in the list of expenses for the year 329/8 BC in the sixth prytany included in the account of the *epistatai* at Eleusis and treasurers of the two goddesses[18], further in the honorary decree of the Eumolpidai stating that Neoptolemos, son of Antikles of Melite, decorated the temple of Plouton (*ca*. 325 BC)[19] and in the decree in honour of Satyra (early 2nd c. BC)[20], a priestess of the *Thesmophoroi* (ll. 1-2: ἡ ἱέρεια τῶν

[17] See section II 1.3.
[18] *I.Eleusis* 177* (=*IG* II^2 1672). The temple of Plouton is assumed on the basis of eight elm boards provided for the latticed doors to what is probably (since in other inscriptions the building in question is named as such) the *hieron* of Plouton: ll. 68-9: σανίδες πτελείϊναι εἰς τὰς θυ- | ροκινκλίδας ἐπὶ τ[ὸ τ]οῦ Πλούτωνος ὀκτώ. For detailed discussion why the City Eleusinion and not the so-called Ploutonion at Eleusis should be taken into consideration here see Clinton (1992) 18-22 (for the list of expenses see n. 25), Clinton (1974) 71-3, cf. Parker (2005) 332.
[19] *I.Eleusis* 93.6 (=*IG* II^2 1231): ll. 5-6 καὶ τ]ὸ | τοῦ Πλούτονως ἱερ[ὸν καλῶς ἐκ]όσμησεν, ἐπαινέσαι α[ὐτὸν κ]αὶ στεφανῶσαι μυρρίνης.
[20] Woodhead (1997) 390-1 no 277 (= Miles 1998: 198, no. 35): the *stele* was found in a modern wall west of the Panathenaic Way and west of the Eleusinion and it seems reasonable that it was set up by the

Θεσμοφό | [ρων), for her repairs of temples (including that of Plouton if we accept the restoration in ll. 5-6: ἐν τῶι τοῦ Πλ[ού] | [τωνος ἱερῶι).

The sacred precinct of the god is confirmed also by three catalogues of those (including the Hierophant) who assisted in preparing banquets (*lectisternia*)[21] of Plouton: one comes from the Eleusinion (mid 1st c. BC)[22], the others from the Akropolis (*ca*. 170-150 BC: west of Post-herulian Wall[23], and ca. 330-320 BC: the south slope of the Akropolis[24]). It is hard to say whether this temple was located inside the Eleusinion in the unexcavated area or near it because its foundations have not been found yet[25]. However, the presence of Plouton in Athens is indicated by the fact that Pausanias reports the existence of a statue of Plouton in the sanctuary of the Semnai Theai[26] by the Areopagus (1.28.7) and by a dedication to Plouton and Kore from an unknown place in Athens with a relief representing 'a young man with both hands raised, holding a horn'[27].

Apart from the epigraphical evidence, we should also note the ubiquitous presence of fragments of *plemochoai* in the Eleusinion and the circular building above it, which,

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Eleusinion; however, in both (and only) occurrences the word 'Eleusinion' in the inscription is restored (l. 5, 14).

[21] Cf. Parker (1996) 250, 295.

[22] *IG* II^2 1935 (=*SEG* 42.138; 47 33; 48 36): [……. ἱερ]οφάντης | …… ου ἱεροφάντου | [……. ἀνέ]γραψεν τοὺς | [ἐπὶ κλίνην κ]αὶ ἐπὶ τράπε | [ζαν ἐπιοφθέντας] τῶι Πλούτωνι | [κατὰ τὴν μαντ]ήαν τοῦ θεοῦ | [ἐκ τῶν -]ηκότων (Robertson 1999: 10 n. 33 restores the last word of the inscription as γεγαμ.]ηκότων and links it with the *Thesmophoria* festival). Clinton (1992) 20-21, (1974) 20, 29.

[23] *IG* II^2 1934 (=*SEG* 42.138): [Ἱεροφάν]της Νουφράδου Περιθοίδης ἀνέ | [γρ]α[ψεν] τοὺς ἐπιοφθ[έ]ντας ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν | κλίνην στρῶσαι τῶι [Π]λούτωνι καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν κοσμῆσα[ι] κατὰ τὴν μαντεία[ν] τοῦ θεοῦ. Clinton (1974) 22.

[24] *IG* II^2 1933 (=*SEG* 42.138): τούσδε ἐπιώψ[ατ]ο ὁ ἱεροφάντης [τὴν κλίνην στρῶ] | σαι τῶι Πλούτων[ι] καὶ τὴν τράπ[εζαν κοσμῆσαι] | κατὰ τὴν μα[ν]τείαν τοῦ [θεοῦ]. Clinton (1974) 20-1.

[25] Miles (1998) 101-2.

[26] For the connection of Hades/Plouton with judgement see section II 2.2; for cult: IV 4.1; for the representation of the *agalma*: I 1.1.

[27] *IG* II^2 4751 (=*SEG* 21.803; 50.21): Πολύτει | μος | Πλούτω | νι καὶ Κό | [ρ]ηι εὐχα | ριστήρι | ον ἑαυ | τὸν | εὐχα | ριστη | ἀ[ν]έ | [θ]ηκεν. I quote Fourmont's description of the representation after Robertson (1999) 10 n. 33, who links the relief with the sanctuary of Plouton at Athens.

according to Clinton[28], might have been used for rituals in connection with the Ploutonion.

The circular building, constructed probably in the 2nd c. BC[29], was found during the excavations carried out within Section II ('the area between the back wall of the Stoa and the perimeter road of the Akropolis')[30]. Its estimated interior diameter is about 7.75-8.00 m. Among the finds within the building worth noticing are: a circular millstone (*ca*. 1.35 m. in diameter; only about one-fourth of it is preserved)[31] located in the very centre of the area and a drum from an unfluted poros column, covered with fine white stucco, which was probably used to support a table or altar top[32]. The sacred character of this building is suggested by at least five altars (not inscribed, unfortunately) found in its immediate surroundings (there were no other buildings in its vicinity). It seems that it was used for dining (a fair amount of cooking ware appears in the pottery context and there was a well on its east side) possibly accompanying the rituals connected with the cult of Plouton, as the inscriptions mentioned above and the temple of this god in the area may indicate. Moreover, the heaviest concentration of deposits of *plemochoai* was found in the vicinity of the circular building, including a large marble *plemochoe*; this large piece of sculpture served probably as 'sanctuary furniture' and was presumably 'made as a dedication'[33].

[28] Clinton (1992) 21 n. 39, see also Miles (1998) 101.
[29] The dating is deduced from 'various fills around its perimeter, for which we have a partial record': Miles (1998) 82 with n. 24.
[30] Miles (1998) 81-3.
[31] This indicates that the building was probably roofed: Miles (1998) 83.
[32] Cf. a drum (with similar lower diameter of 0.795 m.; the one in the Circular Building: 0.65 m.) found near the Tholos (the west side of the Agora): Thompson & Wycherley (1972) 29, pl. 30a, Miles (1998) 81 n. 23.
[33] Miles (1998) 83, 100 (with n. 24): Cat. III, 17, fig. 13. Only the top part of this sculpture is preserved, but its full height is estimated to have been ca. 0.62 m.; it is cut flat at the back, so it was probably placed against the wall. A dowel hole contained an iron pin for something to be attached there: perhaps, a metal pan for burning incense. This representation in marble of a specific cultic vessel has parallels in the large-scale marble *loutrophoroi* typically used to adorn graves (see section II 1.4.2.1), and the two marble Panathenaic amphorae, carved as grave monuments (*SEG* 40.222).

The *plemochoai*, found also in unknown quantity at Eleusis, usually occur in 'chthonic contexts', such as graves or mines, and the word χοή refers to the drink offerings made to the dead or over their graves[34]. *Plemochoai*, as we can assume on the basis of their appearance in Eleusinian deposits in both the places, were used also during the Great Mysteries; some ancient authors claim that the vessels were used during the last day of the festival and hence the day was called αἱ πλημοχόαι[35].

To sum up, the combined evidence presented above provides us with confirmation that Plouton had his temple (or even sanctuary) in the later 5th BC in the centre of Athens, supervised by the *epistatai* at Eleusis and the Hierophant of the Eleusinian sanctuary[36].

2.1.2 Plouton at Eleusis

The earliest epigraphical testimony confirming Plouton's cult at Eleusis is a decree concerning sacrifices[37] for the *Eleusinia*[38] (6th BC), found in an excavation between the Telesterion and the Lesser Propylaea. The testimony is, however, very uncertain as most of the text in the place interesting to us was subject to restoration:

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[34] Cf. *LSJ* s.v. χοή. Note too that as a metaphor the word designates the streams of Acheron, the river obviously evoking the Underworld: Soph. *fr.* 523 (Ἀχέροντος ἄρσενας χοάς).

[35] Athen. 11.93.3-6 (Kaibel): χρῶνται δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι τῇ τελευταίᾳ τῶν μυστηρίων ἡμέρᾳ, ἣν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προσαγορεύουσι Πλημοχόας· ἐν ᾗ δύο πλημοχόας πληρώσαντες τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολάς, τὴν δὲ πρὸς δύσιν. Cf. Hesych. s.v. πλημοχόη: τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τῶν μυστηρίων κοτυλίσκους πληροῦσιν, οὓς καλοῦσι πλημοχόας.

[36] For dating see Miles (1998) 102 and n. 30 for bibliography.

[37] *I.Eleusis* 13.5 (=*IG* I^3 5). Clinton supposes that the precise find spot is the house which in Travlos' plan of Eleusis of 1982 (1988, fig. 104) lies just to the south of the cave precinct. The form of this monument is quite unusual as it was meant to be seen from all sides: Clinton (2005) 2.32.

[38] For explanation see Parker (2005) 328-9. Contra Clinton (2005) 2.33 who thinks the sacrifices listed here were for the *Mysteria* and not for the *Eleusinia*; detailed discussion also in Clinton (1979).

[ἔδοχσε]ν [: τêι βολêι] : καὶ [τ]ôι δέμοι : ἡό̣τε Παραιβάτε̲ς [: ἐγραμμάτευε] vac.

[προτέ]λεια : θ̣[ύε]ν : τὸς ἱεροποιὸς : Ἐλευσινίον : καὶ [τἄλλα : ἐς τὲν ἑορτὲ]ν

[τὲν Ἐλ]ευσῖν̲[ι : Γ]ῆι : ἡερμêι Ἐναγονίοι : Χάρισιν : αἶγα : [πρὸ τôν Ἐλευσινί]ον

[Ποσειδ]ôνι : [κριὸ]ν : Ἀρτέμιδι : αἶγα : Τελεσιδρόμοι : τρί[ττοαν][39]

[Πλούτο]ν̣ι : Δ[ολί]χοι : θεοῖν : τρίττοαν : βόαρχον : ἐν τêι ἐορ[τêι vacat]

In Clinton's view the name which appears in the inscription just after Plouton is his epithet and not an otherwise unattested name of a hero because 'such a minor deity seems out of place in the company of Plouton and Demeter and Kore, who here receive the most magnificent sacrifices in the list'[40]. An additional argument supporting this hypothesis is, in my opinion, the place of *Dolichos* on the list which separates Plouton from the two goddesses; such an order is not impossible, but very odd for the triad, as far as I know[41]. On the other hand, a long course existed at Eleusis and *Dolichos* might have been its personification; the name is mentioned in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (l. 155) as that of one of the Eleusinian princes, but he does not seem to be worshipped at Eleusis. All in all, if the supplement of Plouton's name is correct we learn from this

[39] In *I.Eleusis* 13.5 (=*IG* I^3 5): Τ*ρι*̣*π*[*τολέμοι κριόν*]. I follow Parker's (2005: 328 n. 6) restoration since (i) the reading Triptolemos instead is doubtful (as Parker notes), (ii) treating *Telesidromos* as an epithet of Triptolemos in such a combination is a bit odd, (iii) a shared sacrificial victim for two heroes is problematic if we assume *Telesidromos* to be a name of an otherwise unattested hero. It is true, however, that Artemis, Poseidon and Triptolemos, according to Pausanias' report, had their temples at Eleusis, and *Telesidromos* is not mentioned anywhere, but Plouton's temple is not included in his report either, neither in Eleusis nor in the City Eleusinion (1.14.1,4; 1.38.6). Contra: Clinton (2005) 2.34 who treats *Telesidromos* as an epithet of Triptolemos and supports his claim with Hermes' 'agonistic' epithet *Enagonios* in line 3.

[40] He explains the meaning of the epithet as 'the god of the Long Course' or 'the god of long-lasting [wealth]': Clinton (2005) 2.36.

[41] A dedication from Knidos (*I.Knidos* I 141; 300-150 BC) presents what seems to be a similar case, where again a hero/Plouton's epithet (?) is mentioned together with the triad, but in the usual order: Σώστρατος Λαχάρτου | Δάματρι, Κούραι, Πλούτωνι, Ἐπιμάχωι, | Ἑρμâι. For other cases see, for instance, dedications from Naxos to Demeter, Kore, Zeus *Eubouleus* and Baubo in section IV. 2.6(i).

decree that at the *Eleusinia* the god receives τρίττοα βόαρχος (three victims led by a bull) together with Demeter and Kore[42].

Furthermore, Plouton, like Demeter and Kore, had a major altar at Eleusis, mentioned in the account of the *epistatai* at Eleusis and treasurers of the Two Goddesses (329/8 BC)[43], which was probably located near the altars of the Two Goddesses in the forecourt, or in his own precinct[44]. From the sacred law from Eleusis (*ca*. 330 BC)[45] we learn that Plouton had a priestess at Eleusis (τῆι τοῦ Πλούτωνος ἱερείαι), otherwise unattested[46]; the reference in the following lines of the inscription to the *Thesmophoroi* suggests obviously that this was his priestess at the *Thesmophoria*[47] and not at the *Mysteria*[48]. However, it is not unlikely that Plouton was served by a priest at the *Mysteria* if we accept Clinton's suggestion[49] that καὶ Πλούτωνος would fill the lacuna after Eubouleus on the largest relief found at Eleusis, dedicated by Lakrateides (*ca*. 115-108 BC)[50] and originally set up in the precinct of the *Agelastos Petra* (the so-called Ploutonion), though only the larger fragments were found there (the rest was scattered throughout the sanctuary): [Λακρατείδης Σωστράτου Ἰκαρι]ὲὺς ἱερεὺς θεοῦ καὶ θεᾶς

[42] For the discussion about the number of the sacrificial victims see Clinton (2005) 2.36.
[43] *I.Eleusis* 177*.202-3 (=*IG* II^2 1672): τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Πλούτωνος περιαλεῖψαι καὶ κονιάσαι καὶ λευκῶσαι καὶ τ | οὺς βωμοὺς τοῖν θει{ν}οῖν. Cf. the inventory (*ca*. 370-360 BC): *I.Eleusis* 137.45 (=*IG* II^2 1540) (τὸν] βωμὸν τ[οῦ Πλ]ούτω[νος).
[44] Clinton (2005) 2.213 comments that the works of beautification mentioned in the inscription were probably done 'in preparation for sacrifice at the time of the Lesser Mysteries' or for the festival of the *Haloa*.
[45] *I.Eleusis* 175.(I)24 (= *IG* II^2 1363).
[46] Clinton (2005) 2.170-5. Dow & Healey (1965) 35-38.
[47] For the presence of Plouton at the festival cf. Σ Luc. 275.23 (Rabe). Generally on the *Thesmophoria* see Parker (1983) 81-3, (2005) 270-83; on the *Thesmophoria* contrasted with the Eleusinian ritual: Robertson (1999) 25-30.
[48] *Thesmophoria* were celebrated also at Eleusis: Clinton (1992) 29 with n. 72, where he quotes Aeneas Tactitus (4.8-11) on the attack on women celebrating at night the *Thesmophoria* at Eleusis. For discussion of a suggestion that a *megaron* may be seen in the precinct of the *Agelastos Petra* (the so-called Ploutonion) see Clinton (2005) 2.174.
[49] Clinton (2005) 2.279.
[50] *I.Eleusis* 239 (=*IG* II^2 4701). For the representation on the relief see section I 1.2.1. See also Clinton (1974) 97.

καὶ Εὐβουλέω[ς — — —] καὶ τῶν [συμβώμ]ων τού- | [τοις θεῶν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ εὐερ]γετῶν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν υἱῶν Σωστράτ[ου καὶ Διονυσίο]υ καὶ τῆς [γυναικὸ]ς Διονυσί- | [ας τῆς — — — — — — θυ]γατρὸς χαριστήριον Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρη[ι καὶ θεῶ]ι καὶ θε[ᾶι καὶ Εὐ]βουλεῖ [vacat?] | ἀνέθηκεν. Among the inscribed figures on the relief there is Lakrateides himself, *Theos* and *Thea*, Plouton, and Triptolemos.

Clinton's supplement may be right as the relief is dedicated to *Theos* and *Thea* (i.e., Hades and Persephone, whose names never appear in the Eleusinian cult)[51] and Plouton's name would match Kore's in the inscription, resulting in a symmetry of equivalents. *Theos* (Hades) was, thus, also present in the Eleusinian cult as his name appears not only in the dedications[52] but also in the First Fruits decree (*ca*. 440-435 BC): καὶ τῶι Τριπτολέμοι καὶ τῶι Θεῶι καὶ τῆι Θεᾶι καὶ τῶι Εὐβόλοι hιερεῖον hεκάστοι τέλεον[53]. Moreover, Lysimachides' dedication[54] was found in the precinct of the *Agelastos Petra* (formerly Ploutonion). Nevertheless, even though the underworld character of this precinct is obvious, since dedications to *Theos*, *Thea* and Eubouleus were found there[55] and it seems that its cave was believed to be an entrance to the Underworld[56], in the light of Clinton's analysis (n. 18) it is impossible to accept Mylonas' claim[57] that this area should be considered as the 'Ploutonion'.

[51] It seems that both the names functioned in the same way as the 'Two Goddesses', see section III 3.
[52] *I.Eleusis* 83 (=*IG* II^2 4683; *ca*. 335-320 BC): θεᾶι θεῶι; 489.64 (=*IG* II^2 1092; *ca*. 169-70 AD): ἱερεὺς Θεο[ῦ καὶ Θεᾶς ἁπλῆν].
[53] *I.Eleusis* 28a.38-9 with commentary 2.48-9 (=*IG* I^3 78a).
[54] No. 83 in n. 52 above; for the description of the representation see section I 1.2.1.
[55] Apart from Lysimachides' relief, a statue base for Eubouleus (*IG* II^2 4615) and a head of Eubouleus. The French excavations (Daux 1958: 800-1) proved also that the 'inner cave' had some religious significance: remains of oxen and sheep have been found there along with traces of carbon. Note too that the inscription ΘΕΑ (*SEG* 48.363) was also found on a small Corinthian-type *skyphos* between the Temple of Triptolemos and the West Peribolos Wall (Deposit 25 I; dated to 6th c. BC): Miles (1998) 134 (inv. P 31829).
[56] For possible interpretations of the cave in the ritual scenario see Clinton (1992) 24-7.
[57] Mylonas (1961) 99, fig. 4 no. 20.

2.1.3 The role/meaning of *Theos*/Plouton in the Eleusinian cult

Various suggestions have been made as to the possible interpretations of the meaning and content of the ritual or 'sacred drama'[58] performed at the *Mysteries*, and among them Clinton's proposal[59] seems the most interesting to me; however, Plouton does not take part in it, which seems quite implausible and surprising at the same time[60], as he was worshipped with the Two Goddesses at Eleusis and played a significant role in the myth *ab initio*.

It is true that the myth present in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* does not necessarily provide us with the ritual scenario (which may vary according to the local needs, legends and circumstances), but its essence should stay the same regardless of the external elements. The Eleusinian myth is about Demeter, her grief after the loss of her daughter and joy after the return of Kore; this is what Clinton's proposal is based on, what it begins and end with. The loss, however, seems to be of remarkable significance and in reality to have a positive dimension: it is necessary to ascribe to Kore her *timai* (received from Hades for her hand), which actually had been the plan of Zeus[61]. In consequence, after having retrieved her daughter, Demeter offered two gifts to mortals: food in the form of corn (which designates Ploutos, as rightly pointed out by Clinton[62]) and a kind of assurance of amelioration of what is going to happen after death; the

[58] Mylonas (1961) 311-16 rightly rejected a *hieros gamos* ritual between the hierophant and the priestess. It does not seem that any such ritual took place during this festival, whether between the hierophant and the priestess or *Theos* and *Thea*, especially given that at Athens it was ascribed exclusively to Zeus and Hera: cf. Avagianou (1991) 27; Burkert (1983) 274-293.
[59] Clinton (1992) 84-95.
[60] Cf. Clem. Alex. *Protr*. 2.12.2.7-9 (even if vague): Δηὼ δὲ καὶ Κόρη δρᾶμα ἤδη ἐγενέσθην μυστικόν, καὶ τὴν πλάνην καὶ τὴν ἁρπαγὴν καὶ τὸ πένθος αὐταῖν Ἐλευσὶς δᾳδουχεῖ.
[61] See section II 1.3.
[62] Clinton (1992) 93-4. Cf. section II 2.

spheres of activity of the Two Goddesses are clearly visible here. The whole *myesis* looks, however, like a *preparatio ad moriendum* from the point of view of the ancient sources[63]. Death (Hades) appears in the Eleusinian myth for the first time when Kore picks a narcissus: it is evoked and materialised at the same time[64], as if metaphorically she anticipated her lot. However, in reality she is only 'made' mortal in some sense by Hades when she accepts the pomegranate seed from him to eat, which bound her to the Underworld: she has to return there.

Let us now return to the *plemochoai* day mentioned above. Lenormant suggested[65] that the sacred formula ὖε κύε, the great and unutterable secret of the *Mysteria* (according to Hippolytus)[66], was used on that day. This guess does not seem so wrong as Mylonas claimed and should be reconsidered. The main objection of Mylonas lay in the fact that the formula is stated in Hippolytus to be the great secret of the *Mysteries* which, obviously, should not be uttered by the initiates and must remain a secret to the uninitiated[67]. Furthermore, he noted that a similar formula with the invocation to Pan, Men and the Nymphs[68] occurred on the edge of a well by the Dipylon gate of Athens, and assumed that if it were a secret, nobody would dare to inscribe it on a well open to public view. First of all, the words of Hippolytus should not be taken literally as the formula might have had many possible meanings, decipherable only to the initiated; secondly, as Burkert noted, the inscription on the well was inscribed inside it, so it was invisible to the public[69].

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[63] For the sources with their interpretation see Clinton (1992) 85-7.
[64] I wonder whether it might have been connected with the cut stalk of corn, supposedly presented at the climax of the Mysteria by the Hierophant, acc. to Hippolytus (*Ref*. 5.8.39).
[65] Daremberg-Saglio (1877-1919) 573 s.v. *Eleusinia* (Lenormant, Pottier); Lenormant (1864) 89.
[66] Hippol. *Ref*. 5.7.34 (Legge): *τὸ μέγα καὶ ἄρρητον Ἐλευσινίων μυστήριον· ὖε κύε*
[67] See quite interesting considerations on the secrecy of the *Mysteries* in Clinton (1992) 86 n. 122.
[68] Mylonas (1961) 270. *IG* II/III2 4876: Ὸ Παν· ὁ Μήν· χαίρετε Νύνφαι καλαί· ὖε κύε ὑπέρχυε.
[69] Burkert (1983) 293 n. 89.

According to Athenaeus (n. 35), the libation is made from two *plemochoai* towards the east (*τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολάς*) and towards the west (*τὴν δὲ πρὸς δύσιν*) and if Lenormant's guess was right and the formula ὗε κύε was used during the libation, we may add the testimony of Proclus, who reports that the formula is accompanied by looking toward the sky and toward the earth respectively[70]. This gives us a horizontal and vertical representation of the world itself[71], and the interesting thing is how it might be understood in the frame of the myth[72].

The main characters of the Eleusinian myth are closely connected as family, siblings, parents or marital couples; the latter exist in a kind of symmetry of nexus because Hades and Kore resemble Zeus and Demeter in various aspects[73]. The end of the Eleusinian myth (and of the 'sacred drama', according to Clinton) is the reunion of Kore and her mother, and so Demeter can give Ploutos to the world. If we try to combine the formula with the *dramatis personae* of the myth, we will obtain Zeus (ὗε) and Demeter-Ge (κύε). We know that Kore is a fruit of this union (and not Ploutos), but with her return also Ploutos is to appear, who in fact functions in Greek religious thought as personification of abundance, and not a god *sensu stricto*[74], so it is Kore with whom we should associate his appearance: her return to the world of the living is here the *conditio sine qua non*. But one element seems to be missing all the time: Plouton, the real giver. In short: without his permission (for Kore's return) Demeter would not bestow Ploutos. According to my analysis presented above[75], Plouton is the 'Attic product' and it seems that he obtained this name through Kore as the proper initiator of Demeter's gift of

[70] Procl. *In Tim*. III 176.28 (Diehl): *ἐν τοῖς Ἐλευσινίοις ἱεροῖς εἰς μὲν τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβλέποντες ἐβόων ὗε, καταβλέψαντες δὲ εἰς τὴν γῆν τὸ κύε*.
[71] For a similar way of undertanding the localisation and centrality of the Underworld see section II 1.2.
[72] Cf. section IV 2.4.
[73] See sections I 1.2-3.
[74] See section III 2.
[75] *Ibidem* and Parker (2005) 337.

Ploutos[76]. If it is then all about death, let us now look at the myth from the 'mortal point of view'.

If I am not mistaken, till the end of the Classical period Hades/Plouton is never called the lord/ruler of *psychai*; on the contrary, he is always paired with corpses (*νέκυες*)[77] and a vivid picture of this fact is provided by Pindar (*Ol*. 9.34) who confirms that Hades with his *rhabdos* rushes *βρότεα σώματα* under the earth. If we pair this observation with the fact that the Underworld is in the earth, immediately under its surface[78], we may risk the assumption that he is the god of vegetation *par excellence* because he rules over 'decay'[79]. In early funerary inscriptions we read that mortals are born from earth and they return to earth; the dead are also called *Demetrioi* and their remains are said to turn into corn after death (*ὀστὰ, ὧν κόνις ἀστάχυες*)[80].

Hades/Plouton is, thus, a distinctive and a truly unique concept of death because he embodies its cyclical nature, both as a taker and bestower of life; from the biological (though ironic) point of view, we may conclude that nothing seems to be so full of life as decaying matter. The power to be satisfied by the offerings on the last day of the Mysteries must certainly have been Plouton himself, the one responsible for the earth's fertility. Hence, the real meaning of the formula would have had to reflect the idea of the whole (the beginning and the end), subtly reflected in Pindar's words that happy is the one who has seen these things and goes beneath the earth: he knows the end of life

[76] For 'meaningless' fathership in the case of the Eleusinian myth and various possibilities for the father of Ploutos, see Clinton (1992) 91.
[77] See section II 2.1.
[78] For the full analysis and sources see II 1.2.
[79] See also my interpretation of lines 465-6 of Hes. *Erg*. in section III 4.1.
[80] *Ant. Pal*. 7.87; for other references see section III 4.3.

and its Zeus-given beginning[81]. Nevertheless, the reason why people die lies in the fact that they cannot match the beginning with the end[82]; in other words: one does not live if one never dies.

2.1.4 Procharisteria

In the light of the analysis carried out above, I would like to suggest that at the festival of *Procharisteria* ('thanks in advance') the nether god might have been the main recipient of the sacrifice.

Most scholars[83] identify the recipient of the sacrifice with Athena on the basis of the entry in the *Suda*[84], according to which the festival is said to be conducted by all the magistrates at the end of winter, when crops were beginning to grow. Part of this entry, however, quotes Lycurgus, who informs us that the *Procharisteria* is the most ancient sacrifice connected with the coming up of the goddess: *τὴν τοίνυν ἀρχαιοτάτην θυσίαν διὰ τὴν ἄνοδον τῆς θεοῦ*[85]. Parker's suggestion[86] that 'the lexicographers have mistaken one 'the goddess' for another' and attribution of the festival to Demeter and Persephone's repertoire as yet another seasonal rite is correct. I would push this suggestion even further and insert Plouton as the main recipient of the *Procharisteria*.

[81] Pind. *fr*. 137: *ὄλβιος ὅστις ἰδὼν κεῖν' εἶσ' ὑπὸ χθόν'· | οἶδε μὲν βίου τελευτάν, | οἶδεν δὲ διόσδοτον ἀρχάν*.
[82] Alcmae. *fr*. 2 (Lami): *διὰ τοῦτο ἀπόλλυσθαι, ὅτι οὐ δύνανται τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶι τέλει προσάψαι*.
[83] Rudhardt (1992) 98-9 with references.
[84] *Προχαριστήρια· ἡμέρα ἐν ᾗ οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ πάντες ἀρχομένων καρπῶν φύεσθαι, λήγοντος ἤδη τοῦ χειμῶνος, ἔθυον τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. τῇ δὲ θυσίᾳ ὄνομα* Προχαριστήρια. *Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ* Περὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης· *τὴν τοίνυν ἀρχαιοτάτην θυσίαν διὰ τὴν ἄνοδον τῆς θεοῦ, ὀνομασθεῖσαν δὲ* Προχαριστήρια, *διὰ τὴν βλάστησιν τῶν καρπῶν τῶν φυομένων*.
[85] Cf. Harp. s.v. *Προσχαιρητήρια· Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῇ* Κροκωνιδῶν διαδικασίᾳ. *ἑορτὴ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἀγομένη ὅτε δοκεῖ ἀπιέναι ἡ Κόρη*.
[86] Parker (2005) 196-7.

First of all, the festival is connected with Kore's return and crops beginning to grow: the nether god was assumed to be the only power which could prevent both from coming to pass, as we have already seen[87]. Secondly, although Demeter could prevent the crops from growing, it would be odd to thank her for the return of Kore. Last but not least, a parallel is provided by an inscription[88] from (most probably) the Spartan Eleusinion originally, according to which among the deities listed (Demeter, Despoina, Plouton, Persephone and Tyche) only Plouton gets, apart from a male piglet, a loaf/cake as thank offering (ἄρτον προχαρέα). It is worth noticing that the rite of the last day of the Eleusinian Mysteries seems to have a similar character.

2.2 Olympia

As we have already seen[89], the nether god was quite an important deity in Elis, which seems to be unique among Greek regions in terms of the treatment of his cult, in honouring Hades individually. The main cultic features which we noticed there seem to refer to three specific spheres: death, vegetation, and crop growing. Olympia seems to be another important sanctuary in Elis where the nether god is visible, though in a joint or group cult.

According to Pausanias (5.20.3), Plouton holding a key to the realm of the dead was represented on a table of ivory and gold[90] in the Heraion in Olympia. Furthermore, he

[87] See sections IV 1.2 and IV 2.1.3.
[88] *IG* V 1, 364; see section IV 2.5.
[89] See section IV 1.
[90] For the description and an analysis of Plouton's attribute see I 1.1.1.

mentions (5.14.8)[91] that Zeus *Chthonios*[92] had his altar in the sanctuary not far from the precinct of Ge (5.14.10)[93], next to the great ash altar of Olympian Zeus, and those of *Theoi Agnostoi*, Zeus *Katharsios*, Nike, All the Gods and Olympian Hera. Pausanias does not tell us anything specific about the cult character of the place, but judging from the surrounding divinities and Plouton's presence in the temple of Hera (even if only represented on the table), it seems it was the core cultic area of the city. At Olympia the nether god was also worshipped under the name *Basileus*[94], as is shown by an inscription[95] on a votive clay figurine of Kerberos or a sphinx[96]: [Δά]*ματρι* Κόρ[*α* Βα]σιλεῖ.

The name reflects Hades' most traditional, so to say, sphere of activity: his realm, since Hades is *βασιλεύς ἐνέρων*[97]. It seems very plausible that his cult here, in Olympia, might have been united with that of Demeter *Chamyne*[98], mentioned by Pausanias (6.21.1-2)[99] and confirmed by inscriptions[100]. According to Pausanias, the epithet of Demeter was connected with the opening of the earth (*χανεῖν*) to receive the chariot of

[91] *τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν μέγαν βωμὸν ὀλίγῳ μέν τι ἡμῖν πρότερόν ἐστιν εἰρημένα, καλεῖται δὲ Ὀλυμπίου Διός· πρὸς αὐτῷ δέ ἐστιν Ἀγνώστων θεῶν βωμὸς καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Καθαρσίου Διὸς καὶ Νίκης καὶ αὖθις Διὸς ἐπωνυμίαν Χθονίου. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ θεῶν πάντων βωμοὶ καὶ Ἥρας ἐπίκλησιν Ὀλυμπίας.*
[92] For the name see section III 4.1.
[93] *ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Γαίῳ καλουμένῳ, βωμός ἐστιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ Γῆς, τέφρας καὶ οὗτος· τὰ δὲ ἔτι ἀρχαιότερα καὶ μαντεῖον τῆς Γῆς αὐτόθι εἶναι λέγουσιν.*
[94] See section III 7.
[95] Liangouras (2007/2008) 61-74 (=*SEG* 57 405).
[96] *NIvO* 43A. The identification is hard due to the loss of the upper part of the creature, but judging from other votive figurines found in the precinct of Demeter, in the form of a two- or three-headed dog (in some cases with *popana* in his mouth), it is very plausible that the figurine with the inscription is Kerberos too. For pictures see Liangouras (2007/2008) 71, figs. 17-20; for the figurines of Kerberos published earlier see Heilmeyer (1972) 84 (pl. 39).
[97] Aesch. *Pers*. 629; for other epithets of authority, power or might see section II 2.2 and III 7.
[98] Liangouras (2007/2008) 72-3.
[99] *τὸ δὲ ἕτερον τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου μέρος οὐ χῶμα γῆς ἐστιν, ὄρος δὲ οὐχ ὑψηλόν. ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι τοῦ ὄρους ἱερὸν πεποίηται Δήμητρι ἐπίκλησιν Χαμύνῃ· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀρχαῖον τὸ ὄνομα ἤγηνται, χανεῖν γὰρ τὴν γῆν ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἅρμα τοῦ Ἅιδου καὶ αὖθις μύσαι· οἱ δὲ Χάμυνον ἄνδρα Πισαῖον Πανταλέοντι ἐναντιούμενον τῷ Ὀμφαλίωνος τυραννοῦντι ἐν Πίσῃ καὶ ἀπόστασιν βουλεύοντι ἀπὸ Ἠλείων, ἀποθανεῖν φασιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πανταλέοντος καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χαμύνου τῆς οὐσίας τῇ Δήμητρι οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὸ ἱερόν.*
[100] *IvO* 485 (3rd CE): [*την ιε*]*ρειαν της* | [Χα]*μυναιας; IvO* 456 (AD 149): *ιερειαν γενομε* | *νην της* Δημη | *τρος*; *IvO* 610 (AD *ca*. 140): Ρηγιλλα *ιερεια* | Δημητρος; *IvO* 473 (AD 212-13): *ιερει* | *α* Δημητρος. below. It seems that the temple might have been erected in the 5th c. BC; the foundations of the temple (and the figurines of Kerberos with *popana* within the precinct) were found 150m north of the ancient stadium: Liangouras (2007/2008) 61, 70-3.

Hades (*scil*. with the abducted Kore) or derived from the founder of the temple, a certain Chamynos. The latter explanation of the epithet is probably an invention of Pausanias or his informants, while the former is linguistically improbable[101]. Vegas-Sansalvador, following Frazer, persuasively argues that the epithet derives from a combination of χαμαί ('on the earth') and εὐνή ('bed') and means 'who has the earth as bed', or 'who lies or sleeps on the ground'[102]. She proposed that the epithet of the goddess 'may be interpreted in the light of the myths concerning the panhellenic Demeter' and connected the epithet with the intercourse of Demeter and Iasion on the thrice-ploughed field (Hes. *Th*. 969f)[103]. Furthermore, on the basis of the etymological connection of Iasion's name with ἰάομαι, she treats the hero as a healing deity, which leads her to the conclusion that the oracle of Ge, mentioned by Pausanias, 'might *a priori* have been dedicated to Chamyne and might also have been founded by the Cretan Δάκτυλοι in mythical times'[104].

This interpretation is open to several objections. First of all, there is no attestation of Iasion's cultic presence in Olympia. Secondly, Demeter's epithet does not imply intercourse; εὐνή as a bed means a place of rest and frequently denotes a grave too[105]. Last but not least, be Iasion a healing hero or not, neither the oracle of Ge in Olympia nor the oracle of Zeus in Dodona, mentioned in support of her argument by Vegas-Sansalvador, are known for their healing properties; and if we are to draw any conclusion from the relation of the noun χαμαιεῦναι, applied to Selloi in the Dodonean oracle (*Il*. 16.235), and *Chamyne*, it would certainly be that the meaning of the epithet

[101] Vegas-Sansalvador (1991) 145 with n. 2 (=1992).
[102] Frazer comm. *ad loc*.,Vegas-Sansalvador (1991) 145; the etymology is accepted by Beekes (2010) s.v. Χαμύνη.
[103] Vegas-Sansalvador (1991) 146-8.
[104] Vegas-Sansalvador (1991) 148; for Iasion as a healing hero see p. 147.
[105] *LSJ* s.v. εὐνή: usually, when intended to mean a 'marital bed', it is used with some word added to denote it; as a grave: Aesch. *Cho*. 318: ἔνθα σ' ἔχουσιν εὐναί; S. *El*. 436 εἰς εὐνὴν πατρός; *Epigr.Gr*. (Kaibel) 431: Ἄϊδος εὐνάς; cf. *Il*. 2.783: Τυφωέος εὐναί.

of Demeter was connected with sleeping, not with having intercourse. If we accept this conclusion, it seems possible to connect Demeter's epithet with the sleeping on the earth performed by women at the *Thesmophoria*.

In Olympia Demeter seems to have one more epithet *Konia*, attested in a votive inscription on a bracelet (475-450 BC): hερμαῖος : ἱαρὸς : τᾶς Δάματρας τᾶς {χ}κονίας.[106] The reading of the epithet poses certain difficulties, however, as the incription has χκονίας. It was proposed by Johnston[107], though without any explanation, that the word should be read as *Ktonia*. Although an unaspirated *Chthonia* seems attractive as an explanation of the epithet, particularly in view of the cult of Zeus *Chthonios* in the sanctuary, linguistically the argument is unconvincing since (i) a sign for theta appears in the alphabet from very early times (lack of signs is confirmed only for phi and chi)[108], (ii) χ seems to be visible on the inscription, according to the editors. Whether *Konia* was mistaken for *Chthonia* by an engraver or appeared just by confusion with Demeter's other epithet, Χαμύνη, we cannot guess[109]. It is true that the epithet *Konia* is otherwise unknown, but it seems to have its male counterpart *Konios*, known only from Megara as an epithet of Zeus[110]. As we have seen, the epithet denotes the nether god, and means 'dusty' or 'covering/covered with dust'; it refers essentially to the property of soil as dry and barren. Furthermore, the layout of the divinities in both places (Olympia and Megara) seems to be parallel too. Philipp's remark about the form of ρ in the inscription in question is also interesting: she thought it showed the

[106] *NIvO* 41.
[107] Jeffery (1991) 442: Megara A.
[108] According to Buck (1955) 59, §63.
[109] The inscription is not carefully made and, according to *NIvO*, betrays many inconsistencies and corrections.
[110] See section III 4.3.

inscription to be Megarian[111]. Nevertheless, it is impossible to prove that the engraver or dedicator were Megarians themselves (though this hypothesis was supported by Jeffrey: see n. 111) and to explain the transfer of 'linguistic'(?) features through this origin. Importantly, *Konia* and *Chthonia* have the same reference: earth.

Surely, the myth referred to in the cultic context of Demeter *Chamyne* in Olympia was that connected with the disappearance of her daughter, the only, so to say, 'panhellenic' Demetrian myth. The votive figurine found in the probable location of the sanctuary of Demeter *Chamyne* addresses clearly the triad Demeter, Kore and Hades; and refers, if I am not mistaken, through the name *Basileus* to the god's realm. It seems that the meaning of the epithets of Demeter and the names of the nether god indicate a close association of the deities with barren soil, which anticipates vegetation and growth. Both the epithets of Demeter in Olympia should be seen as a reference to her mourning after the loss of Kore, and the symbolical death-phase of the earth[112] at this time.

2.3 Corinth

There are several attestations of the nether god's presence in Corinth. The earliest testimony of his cult there comes from the 4th/3rd BC; it is a civic dedication to Zeus *Bouleus*[113] on a gaming table or abacus: Διὸς Βουλέος Χ Η Δ | δαμόσια Κορινθίων. This piece of evidence is too ambiguous, however, to base any conclusion on. On the

[111] Philipp (1981) 220, no. 813; for further Megarian characteristics see Johnston in Jeffery (1991): n. 106.
[112] Note also the epithet of Demeter in Phokis: *Stiritis* ('barren' or 'the one who takes away': Paus. 10.35.10) and Soph. fr. 981 (Radt) with Hesych. s.v. Ἀζησία· ἡ Δημήτηρ. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀζαίνειν τοὺς καρπούς.
[113] For the reason for the change from *Damatra* (*SEG* 11.188) to *damosia Korinthion* see Williams (1977) 72 no. 28 (cf. *SEG* 26.402: Zeus Bouleus; late Hellenistic); for names see sections III 4.1 and III 4.4.

west side of the Corinthian agora Pausanias (2.2.8) reports on a statue of Zeus *Chthonios* standing under the sky together with that of Zeus *Hypsistos* and Zeus without a name[114]. One of these statues, most probably representing Zeus *Chthonios* (judging from the attributes: preserved lower part of Kerberos and reliefs of wheat stalks on the sides of the throne), dated to the 3rd/2nd century BC, was found near a huge square decorative base in archaising style (Roman times, as early as Augustan)[115] with representation of Zeus *Chthonios*, Demeter and Kore[116] to the north-west of the temple of Hermes. Whether the base was directly connected with the statue remains doubtful, especially given that the periods to which they are ascribed vary significantly. Nevertheless, the vicinity of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore to the find spot as well as the representations of the goddesses on the remaining two sides of the base additionally support the identification of the representation of the god on the base as Zeus *Chthonios*.

The biggest sanctuary of Demeter in Corinth, developed on three terraces on the northern slope of Acrocorinth[117], is as early as the 8th century BC[118], and it seems that the god's cult flourished there together with the two goddesses. Although a temple or a precinct of the nether god has not been clearly identified so far[119], some enthroned bearded male figurines wearing a *pilos* may provide a clue[120].

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[114] *τὰ [ἀγάλματα] δὲ τοῦ Διός, καὶ ταῦτα ὄντα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, τὸ μὲν ἐπίκλησιν οὐκ εἶχε, τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν Χθόνιον καὶ τὸν τρίτον καλοῦσιν Ὕψιστον.*

[115] According to Williams (1975) 24.

[116] For the description of the statue and the base see section I 1.1.

[117] Bookidis and Stroud (1997) 8.

[118] Activity on the site seems, however, to go back to the 12th c. BC: Bookidis and Stroud (1997) 13-17, Pfaff (1999) 55-134, Bookidis (2010a) 138 with references.

[119] Hades was suggested as one of the possibilities of identification for the east temple E (next to the temples of Demeter – the west temple, and Kore – the temple in between) on the Roman Upper Terrace within the Sanctuary: for discussion see Bookidis and Stroud (1997) 370-1. Økland (2010) 228 consistently identifies the building as the temple dedicated to Dis Pater or Plouton, but without any convincing argument. The identification of the temple as that of Moirai Praxidikai (proposed by Bookidis and Stroud) seems the most probable given that their temple was seen by Pausanias on his way to Acrocorinth along with those of Demeter and Kore (2.4.6-7), and curse tablets with their names inscribed

An unconventional cultic area with an early building, the 'Oikos', as well as the location of the sanctuary seem to reflect the general pattern of Demeter's sanctuaries: still within the city walls, but remote enough from the civic and residential centres of the city to bear some private/intimate touch[121] (even if surrounded by other cult places)[122]. Quite characteristic for the Corinthian sanctuary seem to be two aspects of worship, highlighted by scholars: performance and dining[123]. Interestingly, after careful examination of the one well-preserved grape, the excavators concluded that it must have been fresh when dropped[124]; hence, it seems justified to assume that some festivals might have been celebrated in the sanctuary in late summer or early fall[125].

Thesmophoria (or its local version) may seem very attractive as a guess; however, we should remember that there are no testimonies referring to the celebration of this festival at Corinth[126]. It is true that the season of the festival (indicated by the food consumed in

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were found in the temple: Stroud (2013) 104-115, nos. 125/126. It is not unlikely, however, that the nether god might have received cult in this temple too, together with the Moirai Praxidikai: see his clear participation in the cult of Semnai Theai at Athens (section 4.1 below).

[120] Merker (2000) 79-80, 332-333, 114 C 278-9 pl. 23. It is unclear, however, why she believes that an unknown hero (given as another proposal for the identification of the figurines) 'could have been similarly to Klymenos in Hermione understood to signify Hades'. Note also a bearded male head in the catalogue (C 280, p. 114, pl. 23), which I believe could belong to Hades too. For the description of the figurines see section I 1.2.3.

[121] Cole (1994) 213, Bookidis and Stroud (1997) 64-73.

[122] Pausanias (2.4.6-7) noticed precincts of Isis and Sarapis, Ananke and Bia, altars of Helios, a temple of the Mother of the Gods, another of Moirai, and a sanctuary of Hera Bounaia.

[123] There were found two sets of rock-cut steps in the Upper Terrace, and one of them seems to have functioned as a small theatre, which could have accommodated roughly 85-100 spectators; it is possible that the theater provided a place for festival celebrations such as dances or 'dromena': Bookidis (2010a) 144, (2010) 269. Ritual dining is indicated by *ca*. 40 buildings furnished with kitchens (some also with water reservoirs): Bookidis et al. (1999) 4; Bookidis (2010a) 147. For the interpretation of the way in which these dining rooms might have been used for at least some of the festivals see Bookidis (1990) 89-93 and (1993) 50-7.

[124] Bookidis (2010a) 146-7, (2010) 268. Meat probably was not a part of the banquet: Bookidis et al. (1999) 3, 17-28, 32-42.

[125] Bookidis (2010) 268-9, Bookidis et al. (1999) 29-32.

[126] Nevertheless, even if the name of the festival is not explicitly stated, some clue regarding this festival at Isthmus may be seen in Servius' comment on the first book of the *Aeneid* (l. 430): *sane fabula de apibus talis est. apud Isthmon anus quaedam nomine Melissa fuit. hanc Ceres sacrorum suorum cum secreta docuisset, interminata est, ne cui ea quae didicisset aperiret; sed cum ad eam mulieres accessissent, ut ab ea primo blandimentis post precibus et praemiis elicerent, ut sibi a Cerere commissa*

the sanctuary) together with finds such as the large number of *kalathiskoi*[127], bronze and terracotta jewellery, over 100 loomweights (both very small and large), terracotta figurines of females at various ages (including figurines of pregnant women)[128] may indicate a dominant role for women in the sanctuary cult, which may be additionally supported by the epithet of Demeter in Corinth, if Hesychius[129] is to be trusted: *Epoikidie* ('presiding over the house')[130]. Some perplexing finds, however, may lead to a different conclusion; for, though female dedications prevail, within the sanctuary there were found four/five male dedications[131] to the goddess. Among the votive offerings, apart from six bronze strigils, a terracotta model helmet and several model shields, there were found 99 large-scale male terracotta statues of youths (both nude and semi-draped)[132]. Figurines of children[133] as well as toys such as *astragaloi* and spinning tops are also common[134].

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patefaceret, atque in silentio perduraret, ab eisdem iratis mulieribus discerpta est. quam rem Ceres inmissa tam supra dictis feminis quam populo eius regionis pestilentia ulta est; de corpore vero Melissae apes nasci fecit. Latine autem μέλισσα apis dicitur. Anderson-Stojanović (2002) 77-79 (with n. 16) connects this testimonium with a possible *Thesmophoria* festival held at the temple of Demeter at Isthmus – see below.

[127] Pemberton (1989) 19-25: 100 inventoried examples; apart from that, over 2000 separate *kalathiskos* bases have been noted. According to Økland (2010: 202), dedications of *kalathiskoi* may allude to 'the flower-picking daughter and may also indicate ritual enactment of the same myth' – cf. Bookidis and Stroud (1987) 28 fig. 29. Bookidis (2010a) 141-2 thinks, however, that it is unlikely that *kalathiskoi* were offerings in themselves, and that they must have been filled with something: as possibilities she proposes wheat and barley, or even wool. *Kernoi* of Eleusinian type have not been found, but, according to Bookidis (2010a: 146), 'many small trays with small cups may have served a similar purpose together with ring-vases with multiple miniature vessels placed on them'.

[128] Merker (2000) 1-4, Bookidis (2010a) 145-6: 'over 24,000 fragments of terracotta figurines were found – of these roughly 1800 are of Archaic style, the remainder Classical and Hellenistic' (no more than 29 figurines could be assigned to the Roman period: Merker (2000) 311-19). For the summary of representations (with pictures) of womens' age in the terracotta figurines see Bookidis and Stroud (1987) 7 fig. 5; for all catalogued figurines see Merker (2000).

[129] Hesych. s.v. Ἐποικιδίῃ· Δημήτηρ ἐν Κορίνθῳ. There is no other testimony of this epithet.

[130] Bookidis and Stroud (1997) 72 n. 23 think that the epithet is likely to be a diminutive and connect it with the unconventional cultic structure (see n. 121), resembling a house – if, according to them, the building 'could have been called an "oikidion" or "little house", perhaps the epithet "epoikidie" attested for Demeter at Corinth meant "dwelling in her little house"'.

[131] Stroud (2013) nos. 14 (2nd/3rd century CE), 15 (late 6th century BC), 18? (early Classical), 47 (early 5th century BC).

[132] Bookidis (2010) 3-5, 195-211, Bookidis 2010a 149.

[133] Bookidis (2010) 6, 195-8, 211-19: at least 21 seated infants identified; a good example on pl.122, fig. a. V-111.

[134] Bookidis (2010) 260-1, (2010a) 146.

Another line of interpretation of the cult's character links Corinth with Eleusis through the epithet of Kore, *Neotera*[135], found on a mosaic and inscribed on a bone[136]. If the character of the celebrations was in any way similar in both places, then the variety of participants (both in sex and age) would not be surprising[137]; the link with Eleusis may also suggest for the Corinthian cult a similar dimension of mythological narrative, unknown otherwise[138]. Interestingly, among various terracotta votive finds a significant number of female figurines and nude articulated dolls (dated from the late Archaic period onwards) have been found within the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore[139]. Female figurines carrying balls, fruits, birds and pigs are quite common in the cult of Demeter; of special interest in Corinth, however, are figurines who carry no offerings but press the empty left hand against the abdomen[140]: this gesture is generally interpreted as signifying fertility or child bearing[141]. The articulated dolls (to judge from the hairstyle,

[135] *IG* II^2 1672 (329/8 BC), ll. 300-302, Hesych. s.v. Ῥειτοί· ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ δύο εἰσὶν οἱ πρὸς τῇ Ἐλευσῖνι Ῥειτοὶ ῥωγμοί. καὶ ὁ μὲν πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας θεοῦ νομίζεται, ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ τῆς νεωτέρας, ὅθεν τοὺς λουτροὺς ἁγνίζεσθαι τοὺς θιάσους. I believe that Bookidis and Stroud (1997) 365-6 are right in their interpretation of Neotera in Corinth as Kore; for discussion see especially Stroud (2013) 14; for other possibilities of interpretation of the name *Neotera* see also Økland (2010) 209-211.

[136] Stroud (2013) nos 14 (2nd/3rd century CE), 13 (3rd century BC) respectively.

[137] This is not to suggest that the cult of the goddesses in Corinth involved initiation as in the Eleusinian model: cf. Bookidis (2010) 268-9; I believe that Pausanias' remark (2.4.6-7) that the cult statues of the goddesses are not visible indicates nothing more than that they were seen only by the priestess(es); it does not seem likely to me that Pausanias should have had in mind those initiated into cult. Furthermore, although Dionysos' presence in the sanctuary is marked by several 'terracotta labels', I would not connect him on this basis with initiatory rites of any kind (cf. Bookidis 2010: 268-75); after all, it was a sanctuary of agricultural goddesses, so a presence of another agricultural deity of any kind (note, for instance, the temple of Eueteria, 'Good Harvest', at Isthmus, below) should not be surprising. I would not interpret the 'mask' of a horned male god as a representation of Dionysos either (cf. Merker 2000: C273, pl. 22, Bookidis 2010: 275), but rather of Acheloos, who is often present in Demeter's cult (and represented together with the triad Demeter, Kore, Hades: see section 'Extant sculpture'): *POxy* ii.221, coll. 9. 18-20 (Grenfell and Hunt): πολλούς τε πρὸ Δήμητρο[ς] θύειν Ἀχελώιωι, ὅτι πάντων πο[τα]μῶν ὄνομα ὁ Ἀχελῶιος κα[ὶ] ἐξ ὕδα[τος] ὁ καρπός.

[138] Note, however, a fragment of a krater with a probable representation of the abduction of Kore (5th BC): Pemberton (1989) 287m, pl. 31.

[139] Merker (2000) 3-4.

[140] Merker (2000) 126-7 divides the figurines into two groups: '1) prepubescent girls under ten-twelve years of age, characterized by a flat chest and chunky torso without a clearly defined waist; and 2) fully mature young women in their middle to late teens, characterized by their high, firm breasts, and well-defined waists and hips'.

[141] See especially Böhm (1990) 137 with pls. 20, 24-27, 32, 34, 38-42. This gesture is sometimes combined with the right hand displaying the breast (sometimes the figurine is just displaying/holding breasts with both hands), which may point to nourishing children; a Corinthian protome, C257, may probably serve here as an example of breast display: Merker (2000) 111 pl. 21 (with discussion on p. 74).

married women)[142] are the only reference to female nudity[143] in the sanctuary, and are thought by Merker to indicate a special role of Aphrodite within the sanctuary[144]. Although Aphrodite's presence in the Corinthian sanctuary of Demeter and Kore is indeed indicated by her representation in a number of 4th century BC figurines[145], the goddess herself had her temple on the Acrocorinth and was worshipped under the title Ourania as the protectress of Corinth[146]. Merker believes that the goddess' 'cult title [Ourania] emphasizes her creation from the genitals of Ouranos and thus her function as a fertility deity'[147], but Aphrodite is not a patroness of fruitful sex; she never gets pregnant pigs as offerings[148]; her main area of activity is the pleasure of love-making, not motherhood[149]. We do not have evidence clear enough to follow Merker in her interpretation that 'at least some of the dolls were dedicated by girls of marriageable age to Aphrodite, and rather than symbolizing the toys of childhood dedicated before marriage to the quintessential bride Kore, they symbolized the about-to-be-achieved

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Displaying/holding breasts is quite popular in the case of the figurines from Demetriac sites in Italy (Hinz 1998); cf. also the figurines found on the cult site of 'Aphrodite-Astarte'(?) in Cyprus: Karageorghis (1999).

[142] Merker (2000) 172.

[143] Representations of Aphrodite found in the sanctuary present the goddess as semidraped; the only fully nude example, H266, appears to have been constructed from a doll's torso: Merker (2000) 48-9, 171, pl. 46. It is hard to guess whether the nudity of the dolls was intentional, or whether they were dressed in some kind of fabric which is not preserved. The latter seems to me probable if they functioned as real toys (worth noticing is the fact that modern dolls usually divide into two categories: mature women and infants), which is not certain; they were found also in adults' graves: Reilly (1997) 154-5, Beaumont (2012) 130.

[144] Merker (2000) 50.

[145] Merker (2000) 169-76.

[146] Other shrines were in the main area of the city, and 'there are references to a temple of Aphrodite at each of the ports of Corinth': Williams II (1986) 12-24. Pausanias (3.23.1) says that the sanctuary on the Acrocorinth was the oldest and most holy among the Greeks: *τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Οὐρανίας ἁγιώτατον καὶ ἱερῶν ὁπόσα Ἀφροδίτης παρ' Ἕλλησίν ἐστιν ἀρχαιότατον*. A Near Eastern origin of the goddess or association with Astarte is very likely (also in terms of Aphrodite's function as a protectress of Corinth): a sherd (5th century BC) with inscribed name *Astarte* was found in Corinth – Williams II (1986) 12, fig. 1.A (see also fig. 1B: clear representation of the goddess).

[147] Merker (2000) 170. Williams II (1986) speculates about chthonic aspect of Aphrodite *Melainis* whose shrine in Corinth was located at the north-eastern edge of the city (Paus. 2.2.4), near a Classical cemetery; I would rather think, as in the case of *Epitymbia*, that she protected the activities which took place around: brothels were usually located in the vicinity of cemeteries and ports (see previous chapter): Paus. 8.6.5: *καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἱερὸν* Μελαινίδος. *ἐπίκλησιν δὲ ἡ θεὸς ταύτην κατ' ἄλλο μὲν ἔσχεν οὐδέν, ὅτι δὲ ἀνθρώπων μὴ τὰ πάντα αἱ μίξεις ὥσπερ τοῖς κτήνεσι μεθ' ἡμέραν, τὰ πλείω δέ εἰσιν ἐν νυκτί*.

[148] Ar. *Ach*. 793-4.

[149] For Aphrodite's role in marriage see Friedrich (1978) 142-3, Pirenne-Delforge (1994) 418-28.

sexual maturity of the girls' or 'to see in the inclusion of Aphrodite in the cult of Demeter and Kore an attempt to mediate between the cults of these deities, to overcome the cultural tendency to separate sexuality from maternity by suggesting that pleasure and fulfillment of procreative duties are not necessarily mutually exclusive and that girls, first identified with Kore, could ultimately be identified with Demeter through the intervention of Aphrodite'[150]. It is true that Aphrodite was worshipped alongside Persephone at Locri, but these cults seem to differ on too various levels to be compared[151]. There is no sufficient evidence for Aphrodite's presence in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth; her figurines indicate nothing more than the so-called 'visiting deity' phenomenon, which does not imply a cult[152].

In the light of the above, it seems that the character of the Corinthian cult of the goddesses and the nether god together with them concerned both agricultural and human fertility, which is clearly visible in the votive offerings, comprising not only figurines of children or pregnant women, but also terracotta pregnant pigs[153]. Demeter's main function (through her epithet *Epoikidie*) stresses the household sphere; it would certainly imply, thus, the well-being of all its members, including infants and children: Demeter is a kourotrophic deity *par excellence*[154]. Although it seems, judging from the finds, that the cult character of the sanctuary was not gendered, there is another aspect

[150] Merker (2000) 171-172.
[151] See section IV 3.2.
[152] Alroth (1989) 65-105, 108-13. The function of the 'dolls' remains mysterious; it seems that they were votives, and some of the 'dolls' (Merker 2000: 50-3) look like the 'truncated' type examined by Reilly (1997). That scholar very acutely suggested that the truncated dolls (also represented on grave stelai in the hands of girls) should be understood as anatomical votives, perhaps to a healing deity. It is hard, however, to find a non-speculative speculative explanation of the occurrence of 'dolls' in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.
[153] Merker (2000) 265-6: V1, V2, pl. 61.
[154] Hadzisteliou Price (1978) 142. Among the excavated sanctuaries dedicated to Demeter and Kore, figurines of infants and children have been found at Halikarnassos, Knossos and Selinus – Bookidis (2010) 198 with references to the sites. In Magna Grecia the presence of chidren or infants in the cult of Kore is much more visible (Hinz 1998).

of worship in the Corinthian sanctuary interesting enough to be mentioned: curse tablets.

Contrary to expectations, the presence of inscribed lead curse tablets in contexts sacred to Demeter is far from being an isolated phenomenon; they are found within Demeter's precincts in Knidos, Morgantina, Mitylene, Selinus and Rhodes (among others)[155]. Recently, Faraone argued the possibility of a close connection between the deposit of curse tablets and the second day of the *Thesmophoria* festival, when female participants might have been actively involved in some kind of juridical activity[156]. Nevertheless, it is hard to draw any satisfactory conclusion about the festival in the sanctuary of Demeter on Acrocorinth from this material because the tablets date only from Roman times onwards (1st BC to AD 400)[157]. It seems that the only conclusion to which we can come on the basis of the finds is that the sanctuary was not strictly gendered (which is also far from unique for Demeter)[158], whether it hosted a local variation of the *Thesmophoria* festival or not.

A clearer cultic indication of the nether god's presence is provided by the Verona inscription from the 2nd CE[159], which describes the benefactions of a former high priest of Poseidon, Publius Licinius Priscus Iuventianus, to the Sanctuary of Poseidon at the Isthmus of Corinth, including the construction of the *peribolos* of the Sacred Grove and temples in it (with statues, ornaments and *pronaoi*) of Demeter, Kore, Dionysus, and Artemis, the restoration of temples of Eueteria, Kore, the Ploutoneion (either in or near

[155] Stroud (2013) 82 with references to these excavations; for Locri and Amorgos see Faraone (2011) and sections below.
[156] Faraone (2011).
[157] Stroud (2013) 81.
[158] For comparison see sections below.
[159] *IG* IV 203 (*ca*. AD 161-163, according to Hoskins Walbank (2010) 178-80 with note 54), Fowler and Stillwell (1932) 70, Geagan (1989) 349-60.

the Isthmian precinct), and the ramps and foundations affected by earthquakes and age (ll.14-23): *τὸν περίβολον τόν τε | περίβολον τῆς ἱερᾶς νάπης καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ | ναοὺς Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης καὶ Διονύσου | καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος σὺν τοῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀγάλ- | μασιν καὶ προσκοσμήμασιν καὶ προνάοις |ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐποίησεν καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς | τῆς* Εὐετηρίας *καὶ τῆς* Κόρης *καὶ τὸ* Πλου- | *τώνειον καὶ τὰς ἀναβάσεις καὶ τὰ ἀναλήμ- | ματα ὑπὸ σεισμῶν καὶ παλαιότητος δια- | λελυμένα ἐπεσκεύασεν.*

The restoration of the Ploutoneion, according to the inscription, happened in the 2nd c. CE; we cannot know, however, when the cult was established. Although no temples of interest to us from among those mentioned in the inscription have been found (nor are they mentioned by Pausanias, 2.2.3, interestingly), two dedications to Demeter, both from the 4th c. BC, came to light west of the sanctuary of Poseidon, and some archaeological evidence discovered on the ridge known as the Rachi (south of the sanctuary of Poseidon) may indicate Demeter's cult there too: primarily miniature ceramic vessels in a variety of shapes including, hydria, *kalathos*, *krateriskos*, and *oinochoe*. Comparable finds in Corinth suggest the 5th century BC, but some other fragments may support the beginning of the cult in the 6th century BC: the existence of the cult is assumed on the basis of a variety of objects suitable as votives, such as terracotta reliefs, kore-type figurines, various standing female figures, numerous female heads, dolls, a figure of a women carrying a dove, figurines of a bird and a torch, and metal objects[160]. It is not unlikely that in this area there was a shrine or at least a *temenos* sacred to Demeter, Kore, or both; if so, this could perhaps bring us closer also to the localisation of the Ploutoneion[161].

[160] Anderson-Stojanović (2002) 75-7, 81-2, figs. 14-16.
[161] Very interesting is a terracotta relief with a dog: Anderson-Stojanović (2002) 80, fig. 10. Unfortunately, only the lower part of the animal is preserved.

Anderson-Stojanović believes that the location of the Rachi is appropriate for celebration of the *Thesmophoria* at Isthmus; she bases this assumption on the note by Servius (see n. 126) and from the post holes preserved in the area, which might have been associated with the shelters or tents used by women once a year during the festival[162]. The proposal seems attractive in the light of the uncertain character of the sanctuary of the two goddesses on Acrocorinth; and certainly all the deities listed in the quoted passage of the inscription emphasised agriculture and fertility. Furthermore, Plouton's name, as we have already seen[163], clearly appears in the context of Thesmophoria.

2.4 Hermione

Klymenos, as we have seen in the previous part[164], is the name under which the nether god received cult in Hermione, probably along with Demeter *Chthonia* and Kore as we learn from various dedicatory inscriptions from the place: [— — — Δάματ]ρι ⋮ Κλυμένωι, Κόραι ⋮ ἀνέ̣[θηκε][165]; the oldest is dated to the period after the 3rd c. BC. We learn from Pausanias (2.35.9)[166] that the god had a temple (*ναός*) there, encircled with statues (*εἰκόνες*), opposite the temple of *Chthonia*; we do not know, unfortunately,

[162] Anderson-Stojanović (2002) 77-9; cf. Ar. *Thesm*. 658.
[163] See section III 2.
[164] See section III 5.
[165] *IG* IV 686: 687 (1st BC): ἁ πόλις τῶν Ἑρμιονέ- | ων Νῖκιν Ἀνδρωνίδα **Δάμα- | τρι, Κλυμένωι, Κόραι**. | Θεόδωρος Πόρου Ἀργεῖος ἐποίησε; 688 (after 3rd BC): [ἡ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος] | Καλλίμαχο[ν, αὐτᾶς καὶ] | Καλλίνου υἱ[όν, ἀνέθηκε] | **[Δά]ματρι, Κλυμ[ένωι, Κόραι]**: 689: Σώδαμος Ἑρμία τὸν αὐ- | τοῦ ἀδελφὸν Ἑρμίαν **Δά- | ματρι, Κλυμένωι, Κόραι**. | *vacat*; 690: [Ἀσ]κληπιόδωρος Τηλέφου Ἀθηνα[ῖος] | [Ἀρι]στοξέναν Περικλείδου, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυνα[ῖκα], | **Δήμητρι, Κλυμένωι, Κόρηι**. | *vacat* | Ἀργαῖος Ἀριστον[ί]- | [κου ἐπόει]: 691: Διον[ύσιος τοῦ δεῖνος τὸν] | αὐτο[ῦ καὶ τῆς δεῖνος υἱὸν] | Διονύ[σιον ἀνέθηκε **Δήμητρι**], | **Κλυμέ[νωι, Κόρηι**]: 1609: [— — — — — — —] τὸν υἱὸν | **[Δάματρι, Κλυμένωι], Κόραι**.
[166] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ναός· εἰκόνες δὲ περὶ πάντα ἐστήκασιν αὐτόν. οὗτος ὁ ναός ἐστιν ἀπαντικρὺ τοῦ τῆς Χθονίας, καλεῖται δὲ Κλυμένου, καὶ τῷ Κλυμένῳ θύουσιν ἐνταῦθα. [...] τοῦ θεοῦ δέ ἐστιν ἐπίκλησις, ὅντινα ἔχει λόγος βασιλέα ὑπὸ γῆν εἶναι.

what the statues represented. Pausanias reports also that Klymenos was offered sacrifices (*θυσία*) in his temple and from one of the inscriptions of the Roman period we know that he had a priest in Hermione: Ἔρμαρχον Λουκίου, | *τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ* Κλυμένου, | *ἀπὸ προγόνων ἔνδοξον*, | Λουκία Τρόπου *ἡ γυνή*. | *ψ*[ηφίσματι] *β*[ουλῆς][167].

Although Pausanias passes over in silence both the *aition* of the Hermionean cult and the character and role of Klymenos in it, it seems that it was a kind of local version of the Eleusinian repertoire because we learn from a late 6th BC fragment of Lasus' *Hymn to Demeter in Hermione* that Kore was Klymenos' wedded wife (*ἄλοχον*)[168]. According to Pausanias behind the temple of Demeter *Chthonia* there are three places: attributed Klymenos, Plouton, and one called Lake Acherusia[169]. It is quite obscure why the god of the Underworld obtained two different names at one place and to what extent they may reflect his underworld cultic character.

Nonetheless, it is interesting that the 'places' of the nether god are situated behind the temple of the goddess in what was the city's chief sanctuary, though it was located *extra*

[167] *IG* IV 715.

[168] Las. 702 *PMG* (for the whole quotation and for the discussion of the name *Klymenos* see II 4.5). Cf. Philicus' *Hymn to Demeter* (which was probably also written for the Hermioneans, Parker & Stamatopoulou (2004) 12; Furley (2009) 494-496 claims that the target was the audience in Alexandria) *SH* 676: *τῆι χθονίαι μυστικὰ Δήμητρί τε καὶ Φερσεφόνηι καὶ Κλυμένωι τὰ δῶρα*. Some traces of similarities (at least in the core myth) of both the cults may be provided also by Pausanias (1.14.2), who says that among the Greeks the Argives compete with the Athenians in the claim of their antiquity and in the gifts they got from the gods; he presents a different story about the origins of the Eleusinian mysteries: *Ἑλλήνων οἱ μάλιστα ἀμφισβητοῦντες Ἀθηναίοις ἐς ἀρχαιότητα καὶ δῶρα, <ἃ> παρὰ θεῶν φασὶν ἔχειν, εἰσὶν Ἀργεῖοι, καθάπερ βαρβάρων Φρυξὶν Αἰγύπτιοι. λέγεται οὖν ὡς Δήμητρα ἐς Ἄργος ἐλθοῦσαν Πελασγὸς δέξαιτο οἴκῳ καὶ ὡς Χρυσανθὶς τὴν ἁρπαγὴν ἐπισταμένη τῆς Κόρης διηγήσαιτο· ὕστερον δὲ Τροχίλον ἱεροφάντην φυγόντα ἐξ Ἄργους κατὰ ἔχθος Ἀγήνορος ἐλθεῖν φασιν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ γυναῖκά τε ἐξ Ἐλευσῖνος γῆμαι καὶ γενέσθαι οἱ παῖδας Εὐβουλέα καὶ Τριπτόλεμον*. Moreover, Apollodorus (1.5.1) gives a version of the Eleusinian myth which joins both the cities: *Πλούτων δὲ Περσεφόνης ἐρασθεὶς Διὸς συνεργοῦντος ἥρπασεν αὐτὴν κρύφα. Δημήτηρ δὲ μετὰ λαμπάδων νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ζητοῦσα περιήει· μαθοῦσα δὲ παρ' Ἑρμιονέων ὅτι Πλούτων αὐτὴν ἥρπασεν, ὀργιζομένη θεοῖς κατέλιπεν οὐρανόν, εἰκασθεῖσα δὲ γυναικὶ ἦκεν εἰς Ἐλευσῖνα*.

[169] 2.35.10: *ὄπισθεν δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Χθονίας χωρία ἐστὶν ἃ καλοῦσιν Ἑρμιονεῖς τὸ μὲν Κλυμένου, τὸ δὲ Πλούτωνος, τὸ τρίτον δὲ αὐτῶν λίμνην Ἀχερουσίαν. περιείργεται μὲν δὴ πάντα θριγκοῖς λίθων, ἐν δὲ τῷ τοῦ Κλυμένου καὶ γῆς χάσμα· διὰ τούτου δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἀνῆγε τοῦ Ἅιδου τὸν κύνα κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ Ἑρμιονέων*.

muros on Mt Pron (2.35.4: *τὸ δὲ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξιον ἱερὸν Δήμητρός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ Πρωνός*), where the festival *Chthonia* of wider than local fame was celebrated annually in summer in honour of Demeter *Chthonia* (2.35.5: *Χθονία δ' οὖν ἡ θεός τε αὐτὴ καλεῖται καὶ Χθόνια ἑορτὴν κατὰ ἔτος ἄγουσιν ὥρᾳ θέρους, ἄγουσι δὲ οὕτως*). The role Demeter played at Hermione is unusual anyway: she was the city goddess (she appears on coins)[170], and within Hermione Pausanias reports on the existence of three cult sites dedicated to her[171]; she had a further five at least in the *chora*. It seems essential, thus, to explore Pausanias' account of the festival itself.

(i) Chthonia festival

According to Pausanias, the festival is celebrated as follows[172]. At the head of the procession (*πομπή*) march the priests of the gods and those who hold annual magistracies (*οἵ τε ἱερεῖς τῶν θεῶν καὶ ὅσοι τὰς ἐπετείους ἀρχὰς ἔχουσιν*); these are followed by men, women and children. The latter wear white garments and wreaths of a flower called *kosmosandalon* (*κοσμοσάνδαλον*) on their heads – to Pausanias the flower

[170] There are also dedications from the city made to her alone: *IG* IV 683: Ἀλεξίας Λύ̄νος ἀνέθε̄[κε] | *τᾶι Δάματρι* : *τᾶι* <Χ>*θονία*[ι] | *Ἑρμιονεύς*.| Κρ̄σίλας ἐποίε̄σε Κυδ̄νιάτ[ας].; 684: Ἀριστομέν̄ς ἀ<ν>έθ[ε̄κ]ε Ἀλεξία | *τᾶι Δάματρι τᾶι Χθονίαι* | *Ἑρμιονεύς*. | <Δ>ρόθεος ἐ<ε>ργάσατο Ἀργεῖος; 685: Ἀριστοφάνης : Εὐμάρ- | ιχος Αἰσχίονα : *τᾶι Δ-* | *άματρι* : Ἑρμιονεῖς; 692: Ξενότιμος Πολυκλέος | *Δάματρι Χθονίαι*, *Διὶ* Ἀ<σ>κλαπιῶι.

[171] In the old town the temple of Isis and Serapis, where the *ἱερὰ ἀπόρρητα* for Demeter are performed (2.34.10), the temple of Demeter *Termasia* in the city (2.34.12).

[172] Paus. 2.35.5-8: *ἡγοῦνται μὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς πομπῆς οἵ τε ἱερεῖς τῶν θεῶν καὶ ὅσοι τὰς ἐπετείους ἀρχὰς ἔχουσιν, ἔπονται δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες. τοῖς δὲ καὶ παισὶν ἔτι οὖσι καθέστηκεν ἤδη τὴν θεὸν τιμᾶν τῇ πομπῇ· οὗτοι λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἔχουσι στεφάνους. πλέκονται δὲ οἱ στέφανοι σφισὶν ἐκ τοῦ ἄνθους ὃ καλοῦσιν οἱ ταύτῃ κοσμοσάνδαλον, ὑάκινθον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὄντα καὶ μεγέθει καὶ χρόᾳ· ἔπεστι δέ οἱ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ θρήνῳ γράμματα. τοῖς δὲ τὴν πομπὴν πέμπουσιν ἔπονται τελείαν ἐξ ἀγέλης βοῦν ἄγοντες διειλημμένην δεσμοῖς τε καὶ ὑβρίζουσαν ἔτι ὑπὸ ἀγριότητος. ἐλάσαντες δὲ πρὸς τὸν ναὸν οἱ μὲν ἔσω φέρεσθαι τὴν βοῦν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνῆκαν ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν, ἕτεροι δὲ ἀναπεπταμένας ἔχοντες τέως τὰς θύρας, ἐπειδὰν τὴν βοῦν ἴδωσιν ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ, προσέθεσαν τὰς θύρας. τέσσαρες δὲ ἔνδον ὑπολειπόμεναι γραῖες, αὗται τὴν βοῦν εἰσιν αἱ κατεργαζόμεναι· δρεπάνῳ γὰρ ἥτις ἂν τύχῃ τὴν φάρυγγα ὑπέτεμε τῆς βοός. μετὰ δὲ αἱ θύραι τε ἠνοίχθησαν καὶ προσελαύνουσιν οἷς ἐπιτέτακται βοῦν [δὲ] δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην ἐπὶ ταύτῃ καὶ ἄλλην τετάρτην. κατεργάζονταί τε δὴ πάσας κατὰ ταὐτὰ αἱ γραῖες καὶ τόδε ἄλλο πρόσκειται τῇ θυσίᾳ θαῦμα· ἐφ' ἥντινα γὰρ ἂν πέσῃ τῶν πλευρῶν ἡ πρώτη βοῦς, ἀνάγκη πεσεῖν καὶ πάσας. θυσία μὲν δρᾶται τοῖς Ἑρμιονεῦσι τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον· πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ γυναικῶν ἱερασαμένων τῇ Δήμητρι εἰκόνες ἑστήκασιν οὐ πολλαί, καὶ παρελθόντι ἔσω θρόνοι τέ εἰσιν, ἐφ' ὧν αἱ γραῖες ἀναμένουσιν ἐσελαθῆναι καθ' ἑκάστην τῶν βοῶν, καὶ ἀχάλματα οὐκ ἄγαν ἀρχαῖα Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Δημήτηρ. αὐτὸ δὲ ὃ σέβουσιν ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ τἄλλα, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ εἶδον, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος οὔτε ξένος οὔτε Ἑρμιονέων αὐτῶν· μόναι δὲ ὁποῖόν τί ἐστιν αἱ γραῖες ἴστωσαν.*

seemed to be a hyacinth, judging by its size and colour, and from the fact that it has in itself the letters of lamentation (ἔπεστι δέ οἱ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ θρήνῳ γράμματα). They are followed by those who lead a heifer[173], tied with bonds, and still wanton due to her wildness (τελείαν ἐξ ἀγέλης βοῦν ἄγοντες διειλημμένην δεσμοῖς τε καὶ ὑβρίζουσαν ἔτι ὑπὸ ἀγριότητος). Having brought the heifer to the temple (πρὸς τὸν ναόν), one attendant releases her from the ropes so that she may rush into the sanctuary (ἐς τὸ ἱερόν); others, who until then have been holding the door open, when they see the heifer within the temple (ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ), close the door. Inside, four old women (τέσσαρες γρᾶες) make an end of the heifer (τὴν βοῦν κατεργαζόμεναι). The one who gets the chance cuts the throat of the cow with a sickle (δρεπάνῳ γὰρ ἥτις ἂν τύχῃ τὴν φάρυγγα ὑπέτεμε τῆς βοός). Afterwards, the door opens again and those on whom the duty lies drive a second heifer, and a third after that, and yet a fourth. The old women make an end of them all in the same way, and there is yet another wonder in this sacrifice (ἄλλο πρόσκειται τῇ θυσίᾳ θαῦμα). On whichever side the first heifer falls, all the others must fall on the same. Before the temple stand a few statues of the women who have served Demeter as her priestess (πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ γυναικῶν ἱερασαμένων τῇ Δήμητρι εἰκόνες ἑστήκασιν οὐ πολλαί), and when one enters the temple, there are thrones on which the old women wait for each of the heifers to be driven in (θρόνοι τέ εἰσιν, ἐφ' ὧν αἱ γρᾶες ἀναμένουσιν ἐσελαθῆναι καθ' ἑκάστην τῶν βοῶν), and images, of no great age, of Athena and Demeter (ἀγάλματα οὐκ ἄγαν ἀρχαῖα Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Δημήτηρ). But the thing itself that they revere more than anything else (αὐτὸ δὲ ὃ σέβουσιν ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ τἄλλα), Pausanias did not see (οὐκ εἶδον), nor yet did any other man, whether stranger or Hermionean. Only the old women know what it is (μόναι δὲ ὁποῖόν τί ἐστιν αἱ γρᾶες ἴστωσαν).

[173] Johnston's (2012: 225-6) proposal to read θήλειαν instead of τελείαν in the passage seems convincing to me, especially given that the word appears in the manuscript tradition and matches well the sense of the sentence.

A different testimony on the *Chthonia* festival is provided by Aelian[174], who tells us that Hermioneans worship Demeter in an impressive and violent way (*μεγαλοπρεπῶς τε καὶ σοβαρῶς*) during a festival they call *Chthonia*, and that he has heard that the largest cow from the herd allows itself to be led by the priestess of Demeter to the altar and to be sacrificed. He quotes as evidence lines by an otherwise unknown elegiac poet Aristocles[175], who addresses Demeter as the goddess of many fruits (*Δάματερ πολύκαρπε*), who manifests herself both to the Sicilians (Sikelians) and to the sons of Erechtheus, but among the Hermioneans this is judged a great thing (*ἓν δέ τι τοῦτο μέγα | κρίνετ' ἐν Ἑρμιονεῦσι*): for an old woman herself leads by the ear a bull (*ταῦρον*) from the herd to the altar, a bull that not even ten men could lift up, but it follows her as a child follows its mother. Then Aristocles addresses Demeter again with the words: yours, Demeter, yours is the power (*σθένος*), be propitious to us and grant that the land in Hermione may thrive in every aspect (*ἵλαος εἴης, | καὶ πάντως θάλλοι κλῆρος ἐν Ἑρμιόνῃ*).

(ii) scholarly interpretations: an overview

[174] HA 11.4: *Τὴν Δήμητρα Ἑρμιονεῖς σέβουσι, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῇ μεγαλοπρεπῶς τε καὶ σοβαρῶς, καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν Χθόνια καλοῦσι. μεγίστας γοῦν ἀκούω βοῦς ὑπὸ τῆς ἱερείας τῆς Δήμητρος ἄγεσθαί τε πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀγέλης καὶ θύειν ἑαυτὰς παρέχειν. καὶ οἷς λέγω μάρτυς Ἀριστοκλῆς, ὅς πού φησι Δάματερ πολύκαρπε, σὺ κὴν Σικελοῖσιν ἐναργὴς | καὶ παρ' Ἐρεχθείδαις. ἓν δέ τι τοῦτο μέγα | κρίνετ' ἐν Ἑρμιονεῦσι· τὸν ἐξ ἀγέλης γὰρ ἀφειδῆ | ταῦρον, ὃν οὐ χειροῦντ' ἀνέρες οὐδὲ δέκα, | τοῦτον γραῦς στείχουσα μόνα μόνον οὔατος ἕλκει | τόνδ' ἐπὶ βωμόν, ὃ δ' ὡς ματέρι παῖς ἕπεται. | σὸν τόδε, Δάματερ, σὸν τὸ σθένος· ἵλαος εἴης, | καὶ πάντως θάλλοι κλῆρος ἐν Ἑρμιόνῃ.*

[175] Henrichs in his unpublished article (after Johnston 2012: 222) follows Maas' suggestion in *FGrH* 436 F 2 that the scholiast of Theocritus corrupted the name of Aristocles into Aristoteles, to whom he ascribes a work entitled *Concerning the Festivals of Hermione*, and identifies the author of this work with Aristocles mentioned by Aelian.

Several interpretations of the *Chthonia* have been proposed by scholars. Farnell[176], on the basis of Pausanias' report, claimed that the cult in Hermione betrays a 'gloomier face' of Demeter, who as *chthonia* (the scholar thought that the appellative should be seen in connection with the nether world) is the 'great goddess of the lower world and the shadowy realm of the dead, betraying thus her original identity with Gaia'. His main argument for the netherworld character of Demeter's cult in Hermione is, in fact, the presence of the nether god in the cult, claimed on the basis of the following factors: that there was a descent to the Underworld in Hermione, that Hades carried off Persephone there (in fact, none of the sources point to the abduction of Kore having taken place in Hermione: we learn only that the Hermioneans told Demeter of Kore's whereabouts; see note 168), and that in the inscriptions from the place Demeter is praised along with him and Kore[177]. I cannot see any reason to think that Demeter had a significant underworld character in Hermione. It is not Demeter, even in Hermione, who rules in the underworld. Farnell noted, however, that the *Chthonia* might have been connected also with agriculture, pointing to the summer time of the festival, which 'might have been partly a harvest celebration' and to an epigram grouping Pan and Dionysos with Deo *Chthonia*, on which we read a prayer to these deities for fair fleece, good wine and abundant crops[178]. Finally, he directed our attention to the 'prominent and privileged part played by women in this worship'.

[176] Farnell (1907) 48-9.
[177] Sfameni Gasparro (1986) 218-19 points to the same elements in connection with the underworld character of the plac, but she considers it a kind of local version of the Eleusinian myth rather than some specific cult of Demeter.
[178] *AP* 6.31: Αἰγιβάτῃ τόδε Πανὶ καὶ εὐκάρπῳ Διονύσῳ | καὶ Δηοῖ Χθονίῃ ξυνὸν ἔθηκα γέρας· | αἰτέομαι δ' αὐτοὺς καλὰ πώεα καὶ καλὸν οἶνον | καὶ καλὸν ἀμῆσαι καρπὸν ἀπ' ἀσταχύων.

Great stress was put by Johnston in her interpretation of the *Chthonia* on the feminine character of the festival shrouded with a mysterious veil of afterlife associations[179]. The main arguments of the scholar are grouped around the issues of (a) the title *Chthonia* being a title typically ascribed to deities who have something to do with the Underworld; the appearance of Demeter *Chthonia* on the so-called 'Orphic' leaf from Pherai (*OF* 493) may assure us that the good will of Demeter *Chthonia* is crucial for a happy afterlife; (b) the elements of the ritual: old women as priestesses, young female victims, violent ritual killing with a sickle, secret character of the rite, which are believed to point to similarities with the *Thesmophoria* (otherwise unattested in the region). The interpretation, very interesting from the phenomenological point of view, fails, in my opinion, for the following reasons.

(a) The assumption that the epithet *chthonios* refers to the Underworld is erroneous[180]. Primarily, even if it may be applied to Underworld deities *par excellence*[181] (as noted by Johnston on p. 214, n. 5), such as Hades and Persephone, to those partly connected with the Underworld (such as Hermes and Hecate), and, obviously, to heroes or the dead themselves, the epithet is connected with the earth itself, its nourishing and vegetational features[182], and not specifically with the Underworld or afterlife. I am not sure also how much about Demeter *Chthonia*'s role in the blissful afterlife promised on the gold leaves results from the appearance of the goddess on the leaf from Pherai (*OF* 493) – the power that has to be pleased, according to the gold leaves, is Persephone[183]. The argument that the appearence of Demeter *Chthonia* on the tablet proves the existence of

[179] Johnston (2012) 211-41.
[180] For discussion of the epithet in the nether god's case see section III 4.1.
[181] Johnston (2012) 214, n. 5.
[182] *LSJ* s.v., Scullion (1994), (2005), Parker (2011) 80-84, 283-6.
[183] See *OF* 489 (Thurioi, 4th c. BC): the narrator says that she comes as a suppliant to holy Persephone; *OF* 485 (Pelinna, 4th c. BC): the deceased is advised to tell Persephone that Bacchos himself released him/her; *OF* 488-91 (Thurioi, 4th c. BC): the deceased confesses to Persephone his purity.

a mystery initiation in Hermione is circular: we know almost nothing about the rites of Demeter *Chthonia* to which the text on the gold leaf from Pherai (*OF* 493) refers, nor do we know anything specific about those in Hermione, which are usually used to explain the 'Orphic' content[184]. Last but not least, the only Demetriac cult which explicitly had anything to do with hopes for the existence of life after death was the Eleusinian Mysteries, and from what is told us concerning the cult of *Chthonia* in Hermione, we cannot assume any precise meaning of the festival (nothing in Pausanias' description points to the afterlife; and if we take into consideration the mythical personages involved in the origin of the cult, it appears that *Chthonia* refers to the name of a girl who was sent to Hermione to build the temple for the inhabitants: 2.35.4).

(b) An initiatory ritual of a mystery character, according to Johnston, may be assumed on the basis of similarities between the *Chthonia* and the *Thesmophoria*, which combine agricultural fertility and human fecundity[185]: (i) female characters: priestesses, and victims, whom she thinks to be a symbol of unmarried girls, because of their 'wildness'[186] and being offered to the goddess in exchange for the real ones[187]; (ii) the

[184] In this respect recently Ferrari & Prauscello (2007) 197-8. It is true, however, that the inscription on the gold leaf points to a specific rite of Demeter *Chthonia*, otherwise unattested, but taking into consideration that (a) in the corpus of the gold tablets the name/rite is attested only once, and that (b) the rites for the Mountain Mother, mentioned along with Demeter *Chthonia* on the tablet, had different character in different places, and the one on the tablet cannot be specified, there is no convincing reason for linking this text with the Hermionean festival. Furthermore, Klymenos, included by Pausanias in the Hermionean cult, does not appear among the deities listed on the gold leaves (neither does he figure in any other 'Orphic' sources), and apart from a phrase on the bigger tablet from Thurioi (*OF* 492), the name 'Kore' is unattested either (she appears always as Persephone). I do not believe either that the Spartan cult of Demeter *Chthonia* has anything to do with 'Orphic' practices and it seems hardly possible to claim it on the basis of the information given by Pausanias (3.14.5) that the Spartans honour the goddess on Orpheus' instructions (especially considering that Pausanias states immediately that he believes they honour Demeter *Chthonia* because of the temple of Demeter *Chthonia* in Hermione). For discussion of various possibilities of explanation of the rites of Demeter *Chthonia* on the tablet see especially Parker & Stamatopoulou (2004) 11-12; for Demeter within the Spartan Pantheon: Parker (1988) 101-3.

[185] Johnston (2012) 231 n. 50.

[186] Johnston (2012) 226: 'young women who are sexually mature but still unmarried are considered *adamastos* or *adames*'.

way the sacrifice is performed: piglets thrown into megara, and cows driven to the temple, the violent killing, etc.

First of all, as we have already seen, according to Pausanias, the festival was open to both sexes and included children (to which I return later); what is more, it was also open to foreigners, which may be assumed on the basis of Pausanias' remark that the very secret object has not been seen either by a stranger or anyone among the Hermioneans (*οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος οὔτε ξένος οὔτε Ἑρμιονέων αὐτῶν*) as well as on the basis of the information provided by an inscription from Hermione[188] about the agreement between Hermione and Asine on the arrival in Hermione of ambassadors (l. 5-6: *πρεσβευταί*) from Asine to perform a sacrifice during the *Chthonia*. We also hear some details concerning Asine's participation in the festival (the cow mentioned in l. 2 was probably provided by Asine), including the appointment of a *theorodokos* in Hermione. We should note here also the dedication (*IG* IV, 690), quoted above (n. 165), made to Demeter, Klymenos and Kore by the Athenian Asklepiodoros, son of Telephos, and his wife Aristoxene.

Secondly, the mystery of the festival was known only to the old women performing the violent ritual killing (a thing unheard of in the case of the *Thesmophoria*, as far as I know)[189], and the point that Pausanias makes at the end of his description of the *Chthonia* festival about its secrecy should be read in this context as meaning 'unknown

[187] Johnston (2012) 229: 'the Hermioneans may have understood their priestesses to be killing heifers in lieu of real Hermionean girls, thus compensating Demeter for the loss of her daughter and ensuring Demeter's help in protecting their own daughters as they approached marriage'.
[188] *IG* IV, 679 (*ca*. 3rd BC).
[189] Robertson (1999).

to anybody', and not in favour of excluding men, as Johnston suggests[190]. The similarities between the *Chthonia* and the *Thesmophoria* pointed out by her fade at a closer look: the victims at the *Thesmophoria* are pigs (not cows), *megara* in the earth are not temples, there is no bloodshed in the temple, and the weapons used are swords, and not sickles. It also seems that the *Chthonia* festival as an initiatory ritual with a death-marriage dimension, as in Johnston's view, can hardly be sustained in the light of the information provided by Pausanias, who mentions the temple of Aphrodite in Hermione (2.34.12), in which maidens and widows who would like to marry were supposed to sacrifice, and the temple of Eileithyia (2.35.11), to whom Hermioneans offered sacrifices on a daily basis (interestingly, nobody save the priestess was allowed to see the *agalma* of the deity); thus, another ritual connected with marriage would seem superfluous. Furthermore, the character of the Hermionean cult, given its various distortions noted by Pausanias (wildness of the victims, sacrifice and shedding blood inside the temple on its floor, a sickle diverted from its agricultural use to become the instrument for slaughtering the victim, and women as the sacrificers, who shed the blood), seems to be more complex and without parallel[191], especially given that mysteries for Demeter were performed in the 'old' Hermione (at a distance from the city called so in Pausanias' times) in the temple of Sarapis and Isis[192]; it would be peculiar for there to be more than one mystery cult of one god within one city.

[190] 2.35.8: *αὐτὸ δὲ ὃ σέβουσιν ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ τἄλλα, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ εἶδον, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος οὔτε ξένος οὔτε Ἑρμιονέων αὐτῶν· μόναι δὲ ὁποῖόν τί ἐστιν αἱ γρᾶες ἴστωσαν.*

[191] Unless we compare the degree of peculiarity: the only other ritual that Pausanias reports on in such detail is that of Artemis Laphria at Patras, see Pirenne-Delforge (2008) 202-3.

[192] Paus. 2.34.10: *ἐνταῦθα ἡ προτέρα πόλις τοῖς Ἑρμιονεῦσιν ἦν. (…) καὶ Ἡλίῳ ναὸς καὶ ἄλλος Χάρισιν, ὁ δὲ Σαράπιδι ᾠκοδόμηται καὶ Ἴσιδι· καὶ περίβολοι μεγάλων λίθων λογάδων εἰσίν, ἐντὸς δὲ αὐτῶν ἱερὰ δρῶσιν ἀπόρρητα Δήμητρι.*

(iii) The nether god's place within the Chthonia, and a reinterpretation

We have to admit that the ritual performed at the temple of *Chthonia* in Hermione is unusual: very specific, distinctive and unknown otherwise; and it seemed so to Pausanias too. As we have seen, Demeter was the chief goddess of Hermione and her main annual panhellenic festival was called *Chthonia*, celebrated with an impressive *pompe,* the core of the public aspect of the celebration, as noted by Jameson, whose route 'may have started from the old city at the eastern end of the Bisti, perhaps from Demeter's circle of stones there, through the town lying below Pron and then out through the gate by the shrine of Eileithyia and along the road to Mases and then up the north side of Pron to the sanctuary. With this route, demarcation of 'Hecate's road', if it involved the necropolis of Hermion, might have been desirable'[193].

Judging by Pausanias' overview of the festival, its time during the year, its name and the sacrificial tool (the sickle), and by Aristocles' prayer for the abundance of crops quoted by Aelian, it seems probable that the general character of the *Chthonia* was indeed agricultural[194]. What we lack in these sources is its *aition*. Some elements, stressed by Pausanias, but for some reason passed over in silence by scholarship, such as the sequence of four priestesses and victims, the children with their specific clothing and the role of the nethergod, deserve some attention.

Four old priestesses shedding the blood of the four young wild female victims with a sickle onto the floor of the temple constitutes a macabre picture. The first guess about

[193] Jameson (2004) 154; on Hecate, 176-7: 'alternatively, the route might have run entirely within the town to a gate on Pron near the sanctuary'.
[194] We may add to these main references also the surroundings in which Demeter *Chthonia* appears in other sources, all of which point to agriculture: *AP* 6.31 (n. 178) and Apollonius of Rhodes (4.986-87), who says that Demeter *Chthonia* taught the Titans how to reap grain.

the age of the priestesses leads to Demeter herself, who turns into an old woman and becomes a nurse (*HDem*. 101f)[195]. The status of the old women betrays a kind of reversal of nature because they are not subject to any social order: still women but not anymore considered as producers of heirs and objects of love or lust. Their main role in society is nursing, they become *trophoi* – they deal with the beginning of life, while standing on the threshold of death themselves[196]. Bremmer noted that there is a certain structural similarity between maidens and old women[197]: both are marginal categories *par excellence*[198]. Perhaps, in the case of the *Chthonia*, the fertile had to be balanced by the infertile (we find the same elements in the abduction of Kore, where Hades may be seen as an infertile element), and hence the choice of the old priestesses. Another aspect of elderly women may also attract our attention: they are free of pollution and can deal with killing[199]. The sequence of 'four' is quite mysterious and it is hard to find any mythical relation to it, but perhaps it simply embodies the general holistic vision of the world: four parts, four main elements.

Interestingly, Pausanias, when describing the *pompe*, turns our attention to the costumes of the child participants: they wear white clothes and are crowned with κοσμοσάνδαλον, the plant which Pausanias recognises as hyacinth, judging by its size and colour (ὑάκινθον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὄντα καὶ μεγέθει καὶ χρόᾳ); his last remark is also of interest to us, namely that the letters of mourning are on it (ἔπεστι δέ οἱ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ θρήνῳ γράμματα). It seems that not only the colour and the size of the flower allow

[195] Cf. Hesych. s.v. Γραῖα· πόλις. γῆ. καὶ Δημήτηρ.
[196] Cf. Plut. *Mor*. 1060f, Σ. Lyk. 826; according to Artemidorus (4.24), to dream of old women is a sign of death for ill people.
[197] Bremmer (1987) 198.
[198] Note that the combination of both (like Erinyes: Aesch. *Eum*. 69) makes these categories even more frightening.
[199] For sources about old women conducting purifications see Bremmer (1987) n. 17. Detienne (1989) 142 sees the role of the old women in ritual killing determined by the fact that the old women are more like men: they can shed blood, since they are no longer at risk of losing it – they have no active part in the female biological cycle and reproduction of the political body.

Pausanias to associate *kosmosandalon* with hyacinth, but also its general connection with mourning and lamentation. The last feature of the flower encourages us to assume that there was something so unusual (atmosphere?) about the *pompe* that Pausanias in his association of the flower with the festival points also to this mourning aspect. Worth remembering is that hyacinth was among the flowers gathered by Kore before the rape[200]; the white clothes of the children seem to be adding another connection with the Underworld[201].

The underworld character of the cult, however, seems to be mainly connected with the nethergod; although nothing is said in particular about his presence in the *Chthonia*, we hear that the procession is lead by the priests of the gods, so it seems that he had some part in this festival. Pausanias, as we noticed above, tells us about the places behind the temple of Demeter dedicated to Klymenos and Plouton, and the one called Lake Acherusia.

Analysis of the name *Klymenos*[202] proves that it is characteristic of Hermione and tied to the Underworld through its clear reference to Hades. We know from the ancient sources that Hermioneans enjoyed a privileged access to the Underworld, received from Demeter in exchange for information about the abduction of Kore: for they had no need to pay Charon and put no obol into the mouth of the deceased[203]. Having Lake Acherusia, even if only symbolically, within the sacred area is thus compatible with what Hermioneans were famous for. The only name of the nethergod which seemingly remains without an 'excuse' to appear in this cultic picture is Plouton. After all,

[200] Hyacinthus, according to Richardson (1974 *ad* 5f), is perhaps associated with Demeter, Kore and Plouton on the pedestal of the Amyclaean throne: on representation see section I 1.1.1.
[201] Hadzisteliou Price (1978) 128, 142 (Demeter and Kore as *Kourotrophoi*).
[202] See section III 5.
[203] For references see III 5.

Pausanias does not provide any characteristic feature of the middle place which was dedicated to this name. If we accept, however, that the cultic character of the area was similar to that of Eleusis in whatever aspect (cf. n. 168), it seems justified to see Plouton, the giver of riches, in this agricultural context. The relation between him and Klymenos, I believe, should be seen through the prism of that between *Theos* and Plouton in Eleusis; as we have seen, an additional argument to support this is the fact that both Klymenos and *Theos* had a priest (and not a priestess, like Plouton in Eleusis)[204].

2.5 Laconia

The first attestation of the nether god's presence in Laconia, confined to a figurine of blue marble with an inscription Ἀϊδεύς[205] across its thighs (*IG* V 1, 214), comes from Magula (in the immediate vicinity of Sparta, on the south-west side of the acropolis)[206]. The inscription is dated to the 5th c. BC by *IG*, but it seems that it should be dated to the 6th c. BC as the figurine is a good example of archaic art[207]. Without any additional archaeological context, we cannot assume any particular (ritual? votive?) purpose of this figurine.

Another type of evidence which I believe reflects a similar degree of ambiguity regarding representation comes in the so-called Spartan hero reliefs and terracotta plaques. The most popular type of representation shows two figures enthroned (on

[204] See sections III 5 and IV 2.1.
[205] For discussion of the name see section III 1.2.
[206] Tod & Wace (1906) 194-5, fig. 69.
[207] For the description of the figurine with bibliographical references see section I 1.2.3. De La Genière (1993) 154 dates it to the 4th c. BC without any particular reason. Cf. Richer (2012) 61-2.

plaques mostly one male figure) receiving offerings; there is also usually a huge snake rising behind the throne or appearing before it, near a kantharos or phiale held by a seated figure[208]. Recently, it has been quite convincingly argued that both the types should be seen as votive offerings to heroes[209]; however, some of the reliefs might have served as funerary *stelai* as well[210]. Only two deposits of the plaques come from a place which can securely be associated with specific cultic activity, the sanctuary of Alexandra at Agia Paraskevi near Amyklai, since together with the plaques some dedicatory inscriptions to her and Agamemnon have been found on the rims of vases; the sanctuary is reported by Pausanias and mentioned in a decree found not far from the place of deposit[211]. The cultic context of the reliefs and the rest of the plaques found in similar deposits (but without any indication of the recipient) throughout Laconian territory is a matter of pure speculation due to the lack of any testimony of a cult, either literary or epigraphic, at the place they were found[212].

The representations on the plaques and reliefs are ambiguous and more complex than it may seem. Some scholars have compared the reliefs to Egyptian grave *stelai* and claim the influence of representations of the latter on the former[213]: similarities are clearly

[208] For a catalogue of reliefs: Stibbe (1991), of plaques: Salapata (2014).
[209] Salapata (2014).
[210] The so-called Chrysapha relief was found on a tumulus-like heap and in its vicinity an unworked stone inscribed HERMANOS was found; on this basis scholars assume that it might have functioned as both votive and funeral relief: see Guralnik (1974) 175 pl. xxxvi, Stibbe (1991) fig. 5, Salapata (1993) 189, (2014) 345, R1. On changes in form and function of the Spartan reliefs: Hibler (1993) 201. In the case of heroes the Spartan reliefs could have been both anyway as the tomb is also place of heroic worship: Kearns (1990) 65-6.s
[211] Salapata (2014) 18-21.
[212] Only two reliefs are inscribed. One bears an inscription ΧΟΙΡΑΣ ΧΟΙΡ[, which Hibler (1993) 201 fig. 4 thinks means 'Choiras, son of Choiras', and the other is inscribed in retrograde]ΙΛΟΝ which is usually supplemented with Χ and referred to the 6th c. BC Spartan ephor Chilon, but it seems that the name Chilon may be that of a dedicator and not the recipient. Pausanias, 3.16.4, saw his heroon in Sparta, but the heroon has not been found and the relief, although found on the southeast of akropolis, served as a lid for a Byzantine tomb. Cf. Hibler (1993) 199 n. 6, Salapata (2014) 112-13, 158, 347 R10; the reconstruction of Chilon's relief in Stibbe (1991) fig. 7 is purely speculative.
[213] Guralnik (1974) 179; for Near Eastern similarities: 181-2. Cf. Hibler (1993) 199. For the Egyptian origin of the association of dead ancestors and snakes see Ogden (2013) 249 n. 25.

visible, especially in the manner of representation of the enthroned figures and the suppliants. It should be noted, however, that the figure of a snake never appears on the Egyptian grave *stelai*, and if it appears in Egyptian art it is always in connection with a god or a soul (as their protector)[214]. The Egyptian grave *stelai*, however, represent Osiris (sometimes with Isis or other gods) worshipped by the *stele* owner[215], and even if the deceased are represented enthroned receiving offerings from relatives (there are no snakes present in these representations), the inscription on the stele, as on the exemplary one of Tefket and Humath (probably from Abydos, early 18th dynasty?), clearly states that the offering is made by the king to 'Osiris presiding over the Westerners, the lord of Abydos, that he may give a mortuary offering of bread and beer, oxen and geese, and everything good and pure on which a god lives to the spirit of the <house> mistress <Tefket, deceased>'[216]. Therefore, if the Spartan reliefs were analogical to the Egyptian grave stelai, we may be tempted to assume the nethergods' presence in their iconography, even if not as the recipients of the cult (to which I shall return later).

The only similar corpus of terracotta representations, similar in dimensions and, perhaps, function[217] comes from southern Italy, from the places connected with the cult

[214] Good examples of both in Guralnik (1974) pl. xxxvii; see also 'chapter for being transformed into a snake' in the *Book of the Dead of Ani*: Faulkner, Goelet (1998) no. 87, pl. 27 or Budge (1895) 169, pl. xxvii.

[215] Martin (2005) nos. 33, 34, 36, 38 (owner of the *stele* and his wife adore Osiris; lower part: the deceased before a couple on the left and a man on the right), 42, 52 (Osiris and Isis adored by the *stele* owner), 53 (owner with his wife adore Osiris), 76, 79-83, 92. Guralnik (1974) 179 with n. 54 claims that 'in Egyptian art there are countless examples of the scene of presentation of offerings to the seated deceased', but I have not found any convincing example (similar in representation to the Spartan reliefs) in the bibliography cited by her; inscriptions clearly state that the offering is made to the god. In the case of the Spartan hero reliefs the enthroned couple was identified as Hades and Persephone by Andronikos (1956) 268 et passim; Stibbe (1978) 12 interprets the figures as Dionysos and Demeter – the rulers of the Underworld; see his recent, more balanced view: (1991) 1-49 (esp. 15-20).

[216] Allen (1936) 27 no. 31656, pl. x.

[217] Salapata (2014) 56-7 states that the plaques have holes: 'where there is only one hole, it is on the top centre; where there are two, they are placed relatively close to each other at the top'. The holes in Locrian *pinakes* are located in exactly the same configuration. Both types were thus intended to 'hang from a string or thong, either free (from a tree branch or beam) or against a wall as the positioning of the holes indicates – no plaques have holes in the corners or the lower edge, which would make them appropriate

of Persephone and Hades, with the greatest concentration in Locri Epizephyri, which was founded indirectly by Taranto, a Spartan foundation[218]. It is not surprising, thus, that iconography of the Spartan reliefs (and to some extent also the plaques) resembles that of Locrian *pinakes*[219], where Hades is also depicted enthroned (next to Persephone) and holding a *kantharos*[220] or *a phiale*[221], and where suppliants bring to the deities a cock and flowers as offerings (the same offerings are clearly visible on the Chrysapha relief – see n. 210). Most interesting among the Spartan reliefs are representations where the god is holding a pomegranate[222], an element clearly referring to the Underworld and present on Locrian *pinakes* in the 'homage scenes'[223] and 'banquet scenes'[224]. Furthermore, some other, miscellaneous scenes and themes from the Spartan terracotta plaques appear in the Locrian corpus[225]. The only differentiating element between both sets of representations is the figure of a snake present exclusively on the

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for nailing up'. Hanging (cultic?) objects are also attested in the sanctuaries of Aphrodite and Hermes, deities present in the Lokrian cult too (see section I 3.2, IV 3.2) – Marinatos (2003) 130-51 with references.

[218] Hansen and Nielsen (2004) 274; note that a similar relief to the Spartan group was found in Taras: Salapata (2014) 231, (2006) 554 with 67 for references (where the author highlights that 'many institutions, including cults and beliefs, must have been passed on from the mother city to her colony, albeit with some modifications'). Salapata (2014) 135 curiously noticed only one similarity between Spartan reliefs/plaques and Lokrian *pinakes*: a kantharos held by Hades on pinakes.

[219] See sections I 3.2.

[220] *Atti* III, 5: pl. xvii-xx (type 8/10), cxlvi (type 8/32?: see reconstruction in fig. 30).

[221] Atti III, 5: pl. ix-x (type 8/4), pl. xxiv-xxix (type 8/11), pl. xxxv-xxxviii (type 8/13), xl-xlii (type 8/15), xliii-xliv (type 8/16), xlvi-lxii (type 8/20), cxxxiv-cxlv (type 8/31), cxlvi (type 8/32).

[222] Stibbe (1991) 14, fig 9; 15, fig. 10; 16, fig. 14 (interesting here is also a figure of a dog represented before an enthroned figure – it is worth recalling that on both sides of the throne of the figurine from Magula with the inscription, mentioned above, there are seated dogs represented); 18, fig. 16; 19, fig. 20; 21, fig. 23; 26, fig. 30.

[223] Note especially *Atti* III, 5 pl. xlvi type 8/20. It seems that on Locrian *pinakes* only Hades is holding a pomegranate; note, however, one representation (Atti III, 5 pl. xli, type 8/15 no. 4) where it may be Persephone who is holding it – the representation is damaged and it is hard to judge to whom a hand holding the fruit belongs.

[224] *Atti* III, 5 pl. cxcvii-cxcviii (type 10/11).

[225] Warrior (Spartan helmet) with a shield: *Atti* III, 5 pl. cxxiv—cxxxi (type 8/29), warrior with a horse: pl. clvii (type 8/38), banqueter: pl. cxcvii-cxcviii (type 10/11) or an unidentified figure of youth in the presence of Hades in Locrian 'abduction scenes' (*Atti* I, 4 figs. 32a-b, type 2/300; for interpretation see sections on Locrian *pinakes*) and on one of the reliefs: Stibbe (1991) fig. 18, Salapata (2006) 546, fig.7; for these types of representation on Spartan plaques: Salapata (2014) 204-207, 186-203, 207-14 respectively.

Spartan reliefs and plaques[226]. It may, I believe, identify the recipient[227], but this hypothesis does not contradict the Underworld couple or Hades (when alone) on the reliefs/plaques, which may be indicated not only by the external and internal correspondences between the corpora listed above, but also by the fact that (i) the snake is a chthonic creature, present in the iconography of Hades[228]; (ii) we know of cult complexes where the hero was associated with a particular god[229] (to say nothing of the fact that there is not much substantial difference between divine and hero sanctuaries[230]) and (iii) Hades and Persephone seem to receive sacrifice when the actual recipient or projected subject of the action (at least in literary sources in the case of ghost-rising and oracular contexts) is the deceased, as if a 'mediatory' offering to get 'permission' for contacting the dead[231]. In the light of the above it seems that the presence of the nether

[226] Although it is a distinctive element in these representations, it does not always appear, and there are representations within the Spartan corpus where the snake does not occur: Stibbe (1991) figs.13?-15, 17, 22?, 25?, 26, 28, 30?, 31, perhaps also figs. 32-34 and 36-40 (as a snake appears on fig. 35 very clearly – not painted, but stamped), 42, 43?-47? . For the representation of the snake in the Spartan corpus, possible interpretations and the motif of the snake in general in Greek art and thought see Salapata (2006) esp. 547-55 and about the meaning and manifestations of snakes in Greek culture see Ogden (2013).

[227] Especially bearing in mind Stesich. fr. 42 (Page): *τᾶι δὲ δράκων ἐδόκησε μολεῖν κάρα βεβροτωμένος ἄκρον, ἐκ δ' ἄρα τοῦ βασιλεὺς Πλεισθενίδας ἐφάνη* (with Aesch. *Cho*. 549 and Garvie comm. *ad loc*); for discussion of various sources see Salapata (2014) 28-34. As an indirect argument that the snake might have been meant to represent/indicate a hero there serves also the fact that the animal does not appear on the 'banqueter scenes' within the Spartan corpus: Salapata (2014) 207-14, on the type BAN 1/7 (which Salapata calls an exeptional case on p. 210) it is not clear whether the object beneath the table is a snake.

[228] Note Hades' representation on the wall-painting in the Tomba dell'Orco (section I 3.5) and section IV 4.2. Furthermore, (i) note votive terracotta plaques with relief snakes from Eleusis (Skias 1898: 90-91, Salapata 2006: 52); (ii) the representation on a gold diadem with a probable representation of Hades giving a snake a drink from a phiale (for the description see section in art); Salapata (2014) 556 n. 71 thinks that the figure on the diadem is Asklepios, but no convincing argument is given to support this claim and she herself admits that such a representation of Asklepios is rare; (iii) a bronze bearded snake with a crest was also found in the Locrian Thesmophorion (Agostino and Milanesio Macrì (2014) 155, pl.viii fig 111). Looking through the mythological prism, the Underworld is populated by snakes: see Ogden (2013) 248 with references in the chapter; a large crested and bearded snake emerges from the Underworld palace on vases in some scenes of the abduction of Kerberos by Herakles (*ca*. 510-480 BC): LIMC 5.2 Herakles (Boardman) 2562, 2563, 2565; see also Ar. *Ran*. 143, Crit. *fr*. 1 (Snell).

[229] Kearns (1990) 68, 78-93 ('the mythological connection is not always a straightforward or expected one', p. 86).

[230] Kearns (1990) 65-68; for similarities in sacrificial issues/aspects between chthonic deities and heroes: p. 67 and (1989) 126, generally the gods and heroes: Ekroth (2002) 74.

[231] Most exemplary evidence: *Od*. 10.533, 11.46, Aesch. *Pers*. 628-630; see also sections I 2.2-3. The scope of the work does not allow me to discuss here in detail the independence of heroes; as Parker (2011: 110) summed it up heroes are 'biographically dead mortals, functionally minor gods' and 'that formulation helps to explain the chief anomalies or inconsistencies in their cults'.

god in the iconography of the Spartan corpus as well as in the recipient (hero) cult cannot be excluded, which (if true) would agree additionally with the Egyptian model.

The reliefs, like the figurine, were found mostly in the area between the Eleusinion at Kalyvia tes Sochas at the foot of Taygetus and Amyklai; none of them, however, was found in either of the sanctuaries. We know from Pausanias (3.19.4) that Plouton appeared on the front *façade*[232] of the so-called Amyklaean altar of the 6th c. BC, in the company of Demeter and Kore. We also know that the sanctuary of the Eleusinian deities at Kalyvia tes Sochas to the south of Sparta was of a certain importance in the region[233], and there are good reasons to assume that the god of the netherworld was also worshipped there, especially given that the sanctuary was ritually connected with Helos. Pausanias (3.20.7)[234] reports that on stated days the Heleans bring up a *xoanon* of Kore to the Eleusinion[235]. Although nothing certain can be said about the ritual itself, inscriptions from Sparta inform us that Kore was worshipped at Helos with the nether god under the name *Temenios*[236]: Κόρας καὶ Τεμενίου τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἕλει[237], and that at Helos the gods were served both by a priest and a priestess[238]. Furthermore, a very problematic, undated, inscription from Sparta (probably from the Eleusinion originally)[239] lists sacrifices to Demeter, Despoina, Plouton, Persephone and Tyche; among the deities only Plouton is to get, apart from a male piglet, also a loaf/cake as thank offering (ἄρτον προχαρέα): Demeter and Despoina are to be offered a cake/bread

[232] For the representation and bibliography see section I 1.1.
[233] Cook & Nicholls (1950) 261-3, Parker (1988) 101-2, Stibbe (1993) 71-105, (1996) 58-68.
[234] ἐκ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Ἕλους ξόανον Κόρης τῆς Δήμητρος ἐν ἡμέραις ῥηταῖς ἀνάγουσιν ἐς τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον.
[235] Quite an interesting interpretation has been suggested by Pirenne-Delforge (2008) 135: that the ritual transport of the *xoanon* might have reflected the actual return of Kore to Demeter.
[236] For the name see section III 8.
[237] The phrase appears in all the three inscriptions: *IG* V 1, 497 (130 AD), 589 (160 AD), 608 (undated).
[238] A priest: *IG* V 1 497; a priestess: *IG* V 1, 589, 608.
[239] *IG* V 1, 364 (=LSCG 63 = SEG XXV 426, XLII 306, 312, LVIII 340), Parker (1988) 102 n. 36 with commentary and references.

made of sesame seeds, Persephone and Tyche simply any cake/loaf. This may indicate that the cult was similar to the *Procharisteria* at Athens, which we have mentioned above[240].

The cult of the Eleusinian goddesses was very popular in Laconia, and, consequently, the nethergod also flourished with them. Pausanias reports on two other temples of the goddesses in Sparta itself: a temple (*ναός*) of Kore *Soteira* near the Spartan agora (3.13.2)[241], and a sanctuary (*ἱερόν*) of Demeter *Chthonia* (3.14.5)[242] with no clear topographical indication[243]. The cult of Kore *Soteira*[244] in Sparta is attested by a (probably dedicatory) relief of the 6th BC representing three korai, bearing an inscription *κορας σοτιας* (if *σωτία* can be regarded as a Laconian hypocoristic form for *σώτειρα*, as suggested by Jeffery)[245]. In the case of both the precincts Pausanias mentions Orpheus as a founder[246]; he says that the hero had his *xoanon* in the sanctuary of Demeter Eleusinia (3.20.5). It seems, however, that the claim of 'Orphic' influence here is misleading and unjustified[247], especially given that even Pausanias gives an additional explanation of the foundations: in the case of the temple of Kore *Soteira* it might have been founded by the famous mythical Scythian, Abaris; as to Demeter *Chthonia*, Pausanias supposes that the temple originated as an imitation of the famous cult in Hermione[248]. Apart from these two cult places of the Eleusinian goddesses, Pausanias lists also venerable sanctuaries of Demeter at Gythion (3.21.8: *Δήμητρος*

[240] See section IV 2.1.4.
[241] *Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶ ναὸς Κόρης Σωτείρας· ποιῆσαι δὲ τὸν Θρᾷκα Ὀρφέα λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ Ἄβαριν ἀφικόμενον ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων.*
[242] *Δήμητρα δὲ Χθονίαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν σέβειν φασὶ παραδόντος σφίσιν Ὀρφέως, δόξῃ δὲ ἐμῇ διὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Ἑρμιόνῃ κατέστη καὶ τούτοις Χθονίαν νομίζειν Δήμητρα.*
[243] Woodward (1948) 251; Pausanias also seems to have made a note on this temple without seeing it.
[244] For the cult of Kore *Soteira* in Greece see sections IV 2.4, 2.6(iv), and 3.1. According to Musti & Torelli (1991) *ad* Paus. 3.13.2 p. 206. 81-5, the whole complex of the sanctuaries (incl. that of Kore *Soteira*) mentioned by Pausanias was constructed in the 7th/6th c. BC.
[245] Jeffery (1990) 192-3, pl. 36 no. 25.
[246] For the appearance of Orpheus in the Eleusinian cult see Parker (1995) 486, (1996) 100-1.
[247] Cf. Richer (2012) 34-5, Ferrari & Prauscello (2007) 197-8.
[248] See section III 2.4.

ἱερὸν ἄγιον) and Aigila (4.17.1: ἱερὸν ἄγιον Δήμητρος) as well as a megaron of Demeter at Kainepolis near Cape Tainaron (3.25.9: μέγαρον Δήμητρος).

There is one more mention by Pausanias (3.10.6)[249] of a cult place supposed by some to relate to the nether god, namely the sanctuary of Zeus *Skotitas* on the road from Tegea to Sparta according to Polybios (16.37). Pausanias claims that Zeus got his epithet not from a thick oak forest, but from 'darkness', and Wide[250] assumed that under this name Hades is disguised. There is no evidence for the sanctuary in question[251], however, convincing enough to sustain this view, and perhaps Frazer's comment on this passage could serve as sufficient explanation of the epithet: 'In the Highlands of Scotland the road between Loch Arkaig and Loch Lochy is overhung with trees and is known as *the dark mile*'[252].

2.6 Islands

The nether god appears to be worshipped, mainly along with Demeter and Kore, also on the Greek islands. The names[253] under which he may be recognised are Zeus *Eubouleus*, Plouton, Zeus *Chthonios*[254] and Zeus *Damatrios*[255]. The cult of Zeus *Eubouleus* seems

[249] ἰοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑρμῶν ἐστιν ὁ τόπος οὗτος ἅπας δρυῶν πλήρης· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ χωρίῳ Σκοτίταν τὸ δὲ σκότος οὐ τὸ συνεχὲς τῶν δένδρων ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἐπίκλησιν ἔσχε Σκοτίτας, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ δέκα μάλιστά που στάδια ἐκτραπομένοις ἱερὸν Σκοτίτα Διός.
[250] Wide (1893) 20.
[251] Note, however, a votive relief from Tegea (4th c. BC) where the nether god is represented along with the Eleusinian goddesses; see section I 1.2.1.
[252] Frazer (1898) *ad loc*.
[253] For the discussion of individual names and their ascription to the nethergod see relevant sections in part III.
[254] The cult of Zeus *Chthonios* on Mykonos has been discussed in sections III 4.1 and 4.2.
[255] The evidence for the cult of Zeus *Damatrios* has been discussed in section III 4.2.

to have originated in the Cyclades, as it is most widespread in this region[256], and the cultic features which emerge from the evidence indicate a female character very much like that of the *Thesmophoria*[257]. It seems that the cult of the nether god on the islands was mainly connected with agriculture in general[258]. His presence as Hades is marked exclusively (but frequently) in funerary inscriptions; in one funerary inscription from Syros, however, he is called Eubouleus: [τοῦνε]κεν ἁρπάξας Ἐριούνιος Εὐβουλῆι / [τέκνον] ἄθυρμα φέρεν Φερσεφόνῃ τ' ἀλόχωι[259].

(i) Naxos and Amorgos

The oldest dedications to Demeter, Kore and Zeus *Eubouleus* on the islands come from Naxos (4th c. BC): [Δ]ήμητ[ρι] καὶ Κόρηι καὶ Διὶ Εὐβ[ο]υλεῖ[260], and Amorgos: Δήμητρι Κόρηι | Διὶ Εὐβουλεῖ | Δημοδίκη | Σίμωνος ἀνέθηκεν[261]. From both, Naxos and Amorgos, we also have dedications of the 3rd century BC to the triad, but on Naxos the deities appear along with Baubo[262]. The two islands are geographically close enough to think that the character of the cult was the same, even if not much archaeological evidence is preserved from Amorgos.

[256] For discussion see section III 4.4.
[257] This claim, apart from the inscriptions discussed below, may be confirmed by various votive statuettes of piglets from Thasos and Naxos where they are made of marble: Rolley (1965) 468-71, Burkert (1985) 13, 242-4.
[258] For cultic similarities between, for instance, Paros and Eleusis see Ornaghi (2009) 102.
[259] *IG* XII, 5 677.9-10 (=Kaibel 272).
[260] *IG* XII Suppl. 196 (= *SEG* 48.1123).
[261] *IG* XII 7.76 (=*SEG* 46.1178).
[262] Respectively: *SEG* 16.478 ([Θ]ε̣ο̣[σ]έ̣β̣η̣ς Κρηθέως Δήμ[ητρι] / [κα]ὶ Κόρηι καὶ Διὶ Εὐβουλεῖ καὶ Βα[υβοῖ]), *IG* XII 7.77 ([..μη……]ο— — / Δήμητρι καὶ Κού- / ρηι [κ]α[ὶ Εὐ]βουλεῖ). For the connection between Baubo and thesmophoric cults in the Cyclades see Savo (2004) 123-30.

The first of the quoted inscriptions, from Naxos, is particularly interesting because it appears on a cult table[263] found in the *chora*, probably in the vicinity of the *Thesmophorion*, which establishes a link between the god and the thesmophoric context. Matthaiou republished[264] this inscription after the discovery of a third fragment; the inscription on the rim seems to be, thus, as follows: …κ]αὶ παῖδες [Δ]ήμητ[ρι] καὶ Κόρηι καὶ Διὶ Εὐβ[ο]υλεῖ. The inscription still lacks its beginning and it is hard to guess what the rest of the text said, whether it gave only the name of the dedicator, or the purpose/reason of the dedication as well.

The agricultural character of the cult, however, may be assumed on the basis of an early Hellenistic dedicatory inscription to Demeter *Hadreia* on a statue base found in Gyroula in Sangri (district of Aulonista)[265], if we agree with Labrinoudakis' restoration (accepted by Savo)[266] of Demeter's epithet as referring to a chthonic daemon connected with crops[267]; the dedicatory inscription of the 4th c. BC to the triad (mentioned in n. 260) was also found in this place. Worth noticing is also the fact that in the sanctuary of Demeter on Naxos (at Sangri) there has been found a rectangular building whose architectural features allow us to assume that its function was similar to that of the *Telesterion* at Eleusis[268], which may imply an analogy between the two cults to a certain extent.

[263] Cf. Gill (1991) 55, no. 27.
[264] Matthaiou (1992-1998) 419-22.
[265] *SEG* 31 745: - -]μλίτου ἀνέ[θ]εκεν Δήμη[τρι] τῆι Ἀ[δ]ρε[ῖ]- - - | τῶν λαχόντων συνγεν[ῶν] ἐκ τῶν πενταρχῶν.
[266] Labrinoudakis (1979) 252-253, n. 1, 249- 258; Savo (2004) 124.
[267] *Et. Mag*. s.v. Ἀδρεύς· δαίμων τις περὶ τὴν Δήμητραν …
[268] Hellemann (2006) 247, Gruben (2002) 391-397.

(ii) Paros and Thasos

The cultic interrelation between the two islands is emphasised by Pausanias. When describing Polygnotos' painting with the Underworld scene (10.28.3)[269], Pausanias mentions two people in the boat of Charon. He points out that one of them is a woman named Kleoboia, who brought the rites of Demeter (*τὰ ὄργια τῆς Δήμητρος*) to Thasos from Paros.

Obviously, we cannot be sure what rites Pausanias had in mind, but it is tempting to think that it was the *Thesmophoria* because we know from a Parian inscription that Zeus *Eubouleus* was worshipped along with Demeter *Thesmophoros* and Kore, and that he was served by a priestess: *Ἐρασίππη Θράσωνος ἡ ἱρῆ / Δήμητρι Θεσμοφόρωι καὶ Κό- / ρηι καὶ Διὶ Εὐβουλεῖ καὶ Βαυβοῖ*[270]. An inscription from Thasos confirms that Zeus *Eubouleus* had his priestess at the altar of Demeter also there: *κατασταθῆναι δὲ αὐτὴν ἱέρειαν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Εὐβουλέως ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Δήμητρι βωμῶν*[271]. It is worth remembering that Plouton was served by a priestess at the *Thesmophoria* in Athens as well[272].

Furthermore, we know from Herodotus (6.134)[273] that a certain Timo was an under-warden (*hypozakoros*) of the *Chthoniai Theai* on Paros, and that Miltiades, led by her

[269] *οἱ δὲ ἐπιβεβηκότες τῆς νεὼς οὐκ ἐπιφανεῖς ἐς ἅπαν εἰσὶν οἷς προσήκουσι. Τέλλις μὲν ἡλικίαν ἐφήβου γεγονὼς φαίνεται, Κλεόβοια δὲ ἔτι παρθένος, ἔχει δὲ ἐν τοῖς γόνασι κιβωτὸν ὁποίας ποιεῖσθαι νομίζουσι Δήμητρι. ἐς μὲν δὴ τὸν Τέλλιν τοσοῦτον ἤκουσα ὡς ὁ ποιητὴς Ἀρχίλοχος ἀπόγονος εἴη τρίτος Τέλλιδος, Κλεόβοιαν δὲ ἐς Θάσον τὰ ὄργια τῆς Δήμητρος ἐνεγκεῖν πρώτην ἐκ Πάρου φασίν.*

[270] *IG* XII, 5 227 (1st BC = *IG* XII, 5 Add p. 311, *SEG* 38.823, 59.919).

[271] *SEG* 18.343.31.

[272] See section IV 2.1.

[273] *Ἐς μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτο τοῦ λόγου οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτοὶ Πάριοι γενέσθαι ὧδε λέγουσι· Μιλτιάδῃ ἀπορέοντι ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους αἰχμάλωτον γυναῖκα, ἐοῦσαν μὲν Παρίην γένος, οὔνομα δέ οἱ εἶναι Τιμοῦν, εἶναι δὲ ὑποζάκορον τῶν Χθονίων Θεῶν. Ταύτην ἐλθοῦσαν ἐς ὄψιν Μιλτιάδεω συμβουλεῦσαι, εἰ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιέεται Πάρον ἑλεῖν, τὰ ἂν αὐτὴ ὑποθῆται ταῦτα*

guidance, jumped over the fence of the sanctuary of Demeter *Thesmophoros* on the island; his report may be confirmed also by a Parian coin (*ca*. 200 BC) with a representation of Demeter seated on a cista with a sceptre[274]. The Parians, according to Herodotus (6.135.2)[275], wanted to punish Timo for her supposed help to Miltiades not only because she betrayed them, but also because she might have offended the goddess by revealing to him the rites which no man should know; Herodotus had in mind the *Thesmophoria*, as we may guess[276].

The temple of Demeter and Kore on Paros was located on the hill now called Mikro Vouno, around 3 km north-east from the city, at or near the site of the chapel of Ag. Giorgos[277], and taking into consideration Herodotus' account we may assume that the cult in question predates the 5th century BC. On the basis of the enormous amount of terracotta figures (among them also those representing the nether god with his main attribute, the cornucopia, or the abduction scenes)[278] found in the *Thesmophorion* at Evraiocastro in Thasos, ranging in date from the early 4th to the late 2nd century BC[279], we may assume that this sanctuary was established not much later than that in its *metropolis*.

ποιέειν. Μετὰ δὲ *τὴν μὲν ὑποθέσθαι, τὸν δὲ διερχόμενον … ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν τὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐόντα <τὸ> ἕρκος Θεσμοφόρου Δήμητρος ὑπερθορεῖν, οὐ δυνάμενον τὰς θύρας ἀνοῖξαι, ὑπερθορόντα δὲ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὸ μέγαρον ὅ τι δὴ ποιησοντα ἐντός, εἴτε κινήσοντά τι τῶν ἀκινήτων εἴτε ὅ τι δὴ κοτε πρήξοντα*.

[274] Head (1911) 418.

[275] Πάριοι δὲ *πυθόμενοι ὡς ἡ ὑποζάκορος τῶν θεῶν* Τιμὼ Μιλτιάδῃ *κατηγήσατο, βουλόμενοί μιν ἀντὶ τούτων τιμωρήσασθαι, θεοπρόπους πέμπουσι ἐς* Δελφούς *ὡς σφεας ἡσυχίη τῆς πολιορκίης ἔσχε: ἔπεμπον δὲ ἐπειρησομένους εἰ καταχρήσωνται τὴν ὑποζάκορον τῶν θεῶν τὴν ἐξηγησαμένην τοῖσι ἐχθροῖσι τῆς πατρίδος ἄλωσιν καὶ τὰ ἐς ἔρσενα γόνον ἄρρητα ἱρὰ ἐκφήνασαν* Μιλτιάδῃ.

[276] For the separation of sexes during Thesmophoria see Parker (1996) 81-3.

[277] Rubensohn (1901) 209-15.

[278] For the description of these representations see Muller (1996) 381 (no. 889), 427 (no. 1074), 441-3,489-90 .

[279] Muller (1996).

The cultic similarities between Paros and its colony are not surprising[280], especially given that they shared the same calendar[281].

(iii) Delos

Zeus *Eubouleus* appears frequently on Delos in the accounts of the *hieropoioi*; the oldest testimonies come from the 3rd century BC. One of them mentions *τοὺς βωμοὺς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐν τῶι Θεσμοφορίωι*; in the next line it lists the sacrificial victims for Demeter, Kore and Zeus *Eubouleus*: *ὗς ἐγκύμων εἰς θυσίαν τῆι Δήμητρι ΔΓ καὶ ὥστε τῆι Κόρηι ἱερεῖον ΔΔΗ· καὶ Διὶ Εὐβουλεῖ ἱερεῖον Δ*, and provides us with the information that these deities were served by priestesses (*ταῖς ἱερείαις*)[282]. Although this time *ἱερεῖον* is not specified, it is possible that it stands for a piglet (*δελφάκιον*), often mentioned as a sacrificial victim for these deities in other accounts[283]. It seems, thus, that Zeus *Eubouleus* had his altar in the Delian *Thesmophorion* and that his cult was primarily associated with the festival of the local *Thesmophoria*. Bruneau suggested that the triad might have been worshipped on Delos also at the *Dodekatheon*, but since this hypothesis is not supported by any epigraphic evidence and since the iconography of the relief on which it is based is far too ambiguous to allow us to draw such a conclusion, it has to remain in the sphere of speculation[284]. On the other hand, though, most of the dedications are unnamed, and when named, they are usually female. Interestingly, we know of 6 male dedications (vs. 14 female) to the goddesses in the

[280] Berranger (1992) 184-203, Poulloux (1954) 22-7.
[281] Salviat (1992) 261-7, (1958) 212-19; on the *Thesmophoria* on Thasos: 248-50.
[282] *IG* XI 2.287 A.68-9 (250 BC); in *I.Délos* 440 A.37-8 (179 BC), however, only the priestesses of Demeter and Kore are mentioned: *εἰς τροφὴν τῆι ἱερείαι τῆς Δήμητρος ΔΓ· καὶ τεῖ ἱερείαι τῆς* K[ό]- | [*ρης*] ΔΓ.
[283] *I.Délos* 290.88 (246 BC), 291 B 24 (248/7 BC or slightly later), 316.122 (231 BC), 338 Aa 59 (224 BC).
[284] Bruneau (1970) 282, 440; Bruneau and Ducat (2005) 216-17; for the representation on the relief see section I 1.2.1.

Delian *Thesmophorion*[285]; recent excavations have brought to light more and more signs of male 'presence' in the precincts of Demeter *Thesmophoros* and the agricultural aspects of the goddess herself seem to be transferred into the political sphere, making her a protectress of the land *par excellence*[286].

The precinct of the *Thesmophorion* itself has not been localised so far[287], but it is possible that it was placed somewhere on the sea-shore, as is indicated by the accounts of 174 BC, which mention a removal of a corpse from the beach at the *Thesmophorion*: *καὶ Σώσωι ἄραντι τὸ σῶμα τὸ προσπεσὸν πρὸς τὸν αἰγιλαὸν τὸν πρὸς τῶι Θεσμοφορίωι*[288]. The building itself certainly existed in the 4th c. BC, since it had already had its roof repaired at that time[289].

The *Thesmophoria* are mentioned in the accounts[290] as celebrated on the island in the late-summer month Metageitnion. The late summer time of the festival (cf. *I.Délos* 290.90: [ὀπ]ώρα) does not seem to be exceptional, as the *Thesmophoria* took place at the same time on other islands and in Boeotia[291]; more interesting seems to be the mysterious ritual called *νυκτοφυλάξια* (unknown otherwise), probably associated with the *Thesmophoria* on Delos[292]: according to Salviat[293], the rite was connected with an

[285] Hamilton (2000) 201.
[286] Cole (1994) 210.
[287] Hamilton (2000) 200; for the discussion of various propositions see Bruneau and Ducat (2005) 210-11, 310-13.
[288] *I.Délos* 440.53.
[289] *I.Délos* 144 A76; the Delian inventories, however, refer to the treasures of the *thesmophorion* only from the 2nd c. BC onwards: the reason might have been, as noticed by Hamilton (2000) 200, that there had been no precious dedications until then. But see also Bruneau (1970) 284.
[290] *εἰς Θεσμοφόρια*: *I.Délos* 372 A.103 (200 BC), 440 A.36 (179 BC).
[291] Bruneau (1970) 285; for Thasos and Paros: Salviat (1958) 248, and for Boeotia: Schachter (1981) 168, (1999) 173-4.
[292] Bruneau (1970) 290-3, Salviat (2001) 735-47; Schachter (1999: 172-4) sees *Nyktophylaxia* as equivalent to Athenian *Genesia*, Nilsson (1957: 304-5) as connected with the cult of Dionysus.
[293] Salviat (2001) 741-3.

imprisonment of a pregnant pig in the *megaron* around ten months before the actual festival (in the Delian month Aresion[294]) to provide decomposed remains for it.

Another interesting ritual which appears in the accounts concerns an expiatory sacrifice (ἐχθυσία) for Demeter and Zeus *Eubouleus*: εἰς ἐχθυσίαν τῆι Δήμητρι καὶ τῶι Διὶ τῶι Εὐβουλεῖ ἱερεῖα ΔΓ[295]. A joint sacrifice for Demeter and Zeus *Eubouleus*, though not specified as ἐχθυσία, is mentioned also in the accounts of 246 BC: τῆι Δήμητρι ϝῆς ἐγκ[ύ]μων ΔΔΓΗ· δελφάκιον καθαρὸν ΔΗΗΗΗ· ἄλλο δελφάκιον τῶι Διὶ τῶι Εὐβουλεῖ ΓΗΗΗΗ[296]; in ll. 90-1 it is confirmed that the sacrifice does not include Kore: χοῖροι δύο ὥστ[ε τῆι] | [Δήμη]τρι καὶ τῶι Διὶ τῶι Εὐβουλεῖ ΓΗΗΗ. Although we cannot be sure what was meant to be averted by the ἐχθυσία, we may suppose that the rite was associated with hopes to avoid famine or infertility of the earth[297]. We do not know either whether this ritual was connected with the *Thesmophorion* or not[298], but it seems that the ἐχθυσία clearly follows the sacrifices listed for the *Thesmophoria*, and the other sacrifice mentioned above (from the accounts of 246 BC) is also listed for the month Metageitnion with other things concerning the *Thesmophorion*. All in all, an interesting pattern may be observed in the decree regarding sacrifices from Mykonos, discussed above[299], where the sacrifice for Demeter, Kore and Zeus *Bouleus* is followed by that

[294] *I.Délos* 287, 372.
[295] *I.Délos* 372 A.105 (200 BC).
[296] *I.Délos* 290.88.
[297] Both the deities should be well disposed because they can prevent crops from growing: Demeter's wrath after the abduction of Kore is well known and she has the epithet *Steiritis* (the barren one) in Phokis, according to Pausanias (10.35.10); for the nethergod as responsible for withholding crops see especially section IV 1.
[298] Bruneau (1970: 288) thinks it did not have to and gives as confirmation an example of ἐχθυσία for Apollo; for discussion of examples of ἐχθυσία concerning pollution see Parker (1983) 10 n. 42.
[299] For discussion see section III 4.2.

for Zeus *Chthonios* and Ge *Chthonia* ὑπὲ[ρ] | κα[ρ]πῶν[300]; let us also remember that Hesiod advises praying to Zeus *Chthonios* and Demeter *Chthonia* for good crops[301].

(iv) Kos

Plouton appears on Kos in a decree concerning celebrations in honour of the Kappadokian royal couple Ariazathes IV Eusebes and Antiochis (188-168/166 BC)[302] along with [Hestia] Boulaia, Zeus Megistos, Homonoia, Zeus Boulaios, and all the gods and goddesses; the sacrifice has to be made to these gods [ὑπέρ τε τᾶς ὑγιείας] | καὶ σωτ[ηρίας] of the people and the king (τοῦ τε δάμου κ[αὶ β]ασ[ιλέως), his wife and children. The appearance of Plouton along with the gods of the city[303] (and not as usual with Demeter and Kore) is quite odd because we do not have any other cult attestations of this god in Kos in such company. It is hard to guess why he is mentioned in the decree; there seem to be two possibilities: (a) Plouton was included in Kos among the twelve main gods or tutelary deities of the island, (b) his features as a healing deity started evolving at that time, although they were not very popular in mainland Greece[304]. Neither of these hypotheses can be confirmed at the moment.

On the other hand, we know that he was worshipped along with Demeter and Kore also on Kos, which may be proved by the inscription on an altar from 1st/2nd c. CE:

[300] *LSCG* 96.32-3.
[301] For references and discussion see section III 4.1 and III 4.2.
[302] *IG* XII, 4 291 (= *SEG* 33.675, 59.909), ll. 12-15: θυσάντω τᾶι τε [- - -] | [.]αίαι καὶ τῶι Διὶ τῶι Μεγίστωι κ[αὶ - - - καὶ] | Ὁμονοία[ι κα]ὶ Διὶ Β[ο]υλαίωι καὶ [- - - καὶ Πλ] | [ο]ύτωνι [καὶ θεοῖς π]ᾶσι καὶ πάσα[ις.
[303] All these gods appear frequently in the decrees and dedications from the island.
[304] However, a Nyseion is mentioned in *IG* IX, 2 521 (Larisa, 2nd c. BC); for a *Ploutonion* near Nysa with a sacred precinct and a shrine in Acharnaka in the Maeander valley see Strabo 14.1.44-5 with Nissen (2009) 105-33.

Δήμητρος | Πλούτωνος κ[αὶ] | Κόρης[305]. Demeter had an important place among the Koan deities and her worship along with Kore (and probably also with Plouton) is one of the earliest attested cults on the island, probably of thesmophoric character[306]. There are two sanctuaries of the cult of these deities attested archaeologically[307], at Kos and at Kyparissi. The one at Kos was centred on a spring-house, and thus, according to Sherwin-White[308], probably connected with the cult of the Nymphs, which may provide some hint that it had healing features. The sanctuary at Kyparissi consisted of an altar and a small square building[309], which contained seven statues: three of Demeter, three of Kore and one of Hades, dated to ca. 4th-3rd century BC[310]. However, dedications inscribed on the surviving bases show that these statues were not cult images but valuable votives[311].

2.8 Summarising remarks

Analysis of the evidence concerning the cult of Demeter and Kore proves that the nether god was worshipped frequently along with them. The cultic frame was dictated by the myth connected with the abduction of Kore and her return to the world of the living; its character, organisation and manifestation, however, varied according to local tradition.

[305] *IG* XII, 4 418.
[306] Sherwin-White (1978) 305-312, Paul (2013) 74.
[307] Sherwin-White (1978) 305 with n. 138 for references to the sacrifices at Alkeidai (Koan calendar, 4th c. BC), a *Damatreion* at Eitea and the *lex sacra* from the *Asklepieion* (early 3rd c. BC).
[308] Sherwin-White (1978) 53, 329; she based this assumption on Theocritus (*Idyll*. 7.137, 154), who associates the rustic cult of Demeter at Haleis with a spring sacred to the Nymphs.
[309] For the report from the excavations see Laurenzi (1931) 623-5, and Jacopi (1932-40) 157-8.
[310] Jacopi (1932-40) 159-89, for the statue of Hades: 186-9; for the description of this statue see section I 1.1.
[311] Dedications to Demeter and Kore at Kyparissi are made from the 4th century BC onwards: Sherwin-White 1978: 312 n. 194 for references.

The importance of the nether god in the cult of the two goddesses is confirmed by his participation in the most magnificent sacrifices. Interestingly, his presence is especially marked in thesmophoric contexts and, thus, connected with female cults. Of great importance for our understanding of his cult is the fact that Demeter's cult was extremely important in Greece (the *Thesmophoria* was celebrated even in villages), which strongly implies that the cult of the nether god was also present even in the least significant places. Apart from that, he was an important figure in the Eleusinian Mysteries and *Chthonia*. His cult with Demeter and Kore was apparently connected with vegetation and the fertility of the earth; his main role within this cult nexus manifested itself in responsibility for the crops growing, through giving permission for this.

3. With Persephone

3.1 Thessaly

Among the varied and impossible to locate testimonies regarding the cult of the nether god in Thessaly, such as the dedicatory inscription to Plouton and Nymph (4th c. BC, Larisa?)[312] and the so-called 'Orphic' gold tablets[313], there is a decree concerning the

[312] *SEG* 55.609: Πλούτουνι καὶ Νύμφα *Γερενίκα* Βυκίνα κατὰ πότταγμα. For the epithet of Hades *nymphaios* see section III 1.1.

[313] If they may serve as cultic attestation at all; the character of the corpus is disputable. Those found in Thessalian graves come from Pharsalos (*OF* 477, 4th c. BC), Pelinna (*OF* 485 and 486, 4th c. BC), Pherae (*OF* 493 and 493a, 4th c. BC and 4th/3rd c. BC respectively), and an unknown place in Thessaly (*OF* 484, 4th c. BC). However, Plouton's name occurs only twice within the corpus, on the tablets from Crete: Eleutherna (*OF* 495, 2nd/1st c. BC) and Rethymnon (*OF* 494, 25 BC-40 CE); the nether god may be seen also under the name *Despotes* on *OF* 496l (Hagios Athanasios near Thessalonica, Hellenistic period) and probably under *Eukles* or *Eubouleus* (tablets from Thurioi: *OF* 488-490, 4th c. BC; and from Rome *OF* 491, 2nd/1st c. CE), discussed in sections III 4.4, 5, 7.

domains of Plouton and Persephone in A.souna. The inscription, found in Phalanna (*IG* IX 2, 1229) and dated to the 3rd / 2nd c. BC, reads as follows:

τύχα ἀγ]α[***θ***]ά[314] *τὰν χούραν τὰν*
[*ἐν* Ἀ.]*σούνα ἱερὰν τοῦ* Ἄϊδα
[*ἔμμεν καὶ*] *τοῦν* Σουτειρίουν.
λει[*τορ*]*εύοντος τοῖ* Ἀσκλαπι[*οῖ*]
. . . . . *δαο* Ἀγελαείοι, *μεινὸ*<*ς*>
[Ἀ*γαγυ*]*λίοι τρακάδι· ἔδοξε ἀ*<*γο*>-
[*ρᾶ· . . .*]<*οι*> <*πλ*>*είονες τοῦν πολιτᾶν*
. . . . . <*ἐν*> *τᾶ τοῖ* Πλούτουνος *καὶ*
[*τᾶς* Φ]*ε*[*ρσε*]*φόνας χούρα τᾶ λεῖμε*[*ν*]
. . . . . **ἐ *ν***]*αράτιον καὶ λεῖμεν ἐπὶ χού-*
[*ρα*]*ν ε . . . . . οὔστε ἐνοικοδομείσουντ*
. . . . . *εν . . . . το οἰκοδόμειμα ει*
. . . . . *απ . . . φοδι οὔστε συμφανὲ*[*ς*]
. . . . . *δι*]*έκι δεὶ τοῖ θεοῖ ἃ χούρα ἐστίν ν.*,
. . . . . *επι . . . . ν τοῦ βελλομένου*
. . . . . *γαοργεῖμ*[*ε*]*ν ἐν* Ἀ[.*ς*]*ούνα καὶ ἐν*
. . . . . *λλρας* [*ἐ*]*λα*<*ί*>*ας? βε*[*λ*]*λομένου γαοργεῖμεν,*
. . . . . *ἐ*]*ν τὸ ἱερὸν κατὰ μεῖνα τᾶ πόλι,*
. . . . . *ἐκ*[*ά*]*στου ἔταξαιν οἱ*
[*ταγοί, τοῖ*] *μεινὸς ἑκάστοι ὀβελλόν· αἰ μά*
[*κε κις βέλ*]*λε*[*ι*]*ται τοῦν ἐποικοδομεικόντουν ἀ-*
[*πίμεν*] *ἀ*[*τ*] *τοῖ ἐποικίοι, ἀπίτου λαβοὺν το*[*ῖ*]
κεράμο[*ι κ*]*αὶ τοῦν ξύλουν τὰν δαπάναν*
[*ἃτ*] *τᾶς πόλιος, τάν κε φάσουντι ἄνδρε*[*ς*] *τοῦν*
[*πολ*]*ιτᾶν ἑξείκοντα, ὀμόσαντες καὶ καρού-*
[*σ*]*αντες· τὸ μὰ λοιπὸν οἰκοδόμειμα ἐά-*

[314] All letters in bold were supplemented by Schwyzer (1923) 289 no. 614.

του μενέμεν· αἰ μά κέ κις κατασπάσει
τὸ οἰκοδόμειμα, ἀππεισάτου τοῦ θεο[ῦ]
[μ]ν[ᾶς] χελλίας· ἐπιμελὲς μὰ γενέσθου
30 τοῖς ταγοῖς τοῖς πὲρ Φιλόλαον Εὐμέν[ει]-
ον, ὅπους τόνε τὸ ψάφισμα ὀνγραφὲν ἐ[ν]
[κιό]ν[α]ν λιθίναν ἀντεθεῖ ἐν τὸ τέμε-
[ν]ος τοῖ Πλούτουνος καὶ τᾶς Φερσεφό-
νας, ἐ[πι]δεὶ καὶ ἃ διεσαφειμένα χού-
35 ρα ἱερά ἐστι τοῖ Πλούτουνος, καὶ συμ-
φανὲς εἶ πάντεσσι, διέκι δεὶ ἔστι ἃ χού-
[ρ]α τοῖ θεοῖ. καὶ οἱ ταγοὶ οἰκονομείσαν-
[τ]ες τὰ ἐν τοῦ ψαφίσματι διεσαφεί-
μενα καὶ τὰν δαπάναν τὰν ἐσσομέ-
40 [ν]αν ἔν τε τὰν κιόναν καὶ τὰν ὀνγρα-
φὰν δόντες ἀπὸ τᾶν κοινᾶν ποθόδουν
καὶ θέμενοι ἐν δαπάνα τᾶ πόλι ἀθοῦ-
οι ἔστουσαν καὶ ἀνεύθυνοι κατὰ πάν-
τα τρόπον. ὑπαρχέτου μὰ τὸ ὅμοιον
45 καὶ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐνοικοδομεικόν-
τεσσι τοῦν πολιτᾶν ἐποίκιον ἐν τᾶ δι-
εσαφειμένα χούρα.

Agathe Tyche: the land in A.souna is consecrated to Hades and the (*theoi) Soteres*. When [- - -]das son of Agelas was the priest (*leitor*) of Asklepios, in the 30th day of the month Agagylios. The assembly decided. [- - -] the majority of the citizens [- - -] the land of Plouton and Persephone shall remain [- - -] rent for the corn-land/right of tillage and shall remain with the land (of Plouton and Persephone) [- - -]. So that those willing to build houses [- - -] the building [- - -] so that it is evident [- - -], since it is necessary for the land to belong to the god, [- - -] one wishing to [- - -] be a farmer in A.souna and

in [- - -] one wishing to be a farmer, [- - -] every month for the city to the temple, [- - -] the *tagoi* will assign for everyone individually, a metal rod (?) for every month. If someone among those building wants to go away from the farmstead, let the one who is going away take (his) expense for the tiling and the wood back from the city, (the expense) which 60 men, after swearing and valuing, (chosen) from the citizens, will estimate. The rest of the building will remain there. If someone pulls down the building, let him give back 1000 minas to the god. Let the *tagoi* under Philolaos, son of Eumenes, be responsible for inscribing this decree on a stone pillar and setting it up in the *temenos* of Plouton and Persephone, since the above-mentioned land belongs to Plouton, and so that it is evident for all that the land belongs to the god. Also the *tagoi,* having administered those things, above-mentioned in the decree, and having given (money) for the following expense for the pillar and the inscription from the common fund and recorded as an expense of the city, let them be unharmed and free from liability in all regards. Let the same be the case for those of the citizens who had built (their) farmstead earlier on the above-mentioned land.

The stone and the inscription itself are problematic and raise certain questions, which we should address here. The upper part of the stele was damaged in the course of transport from Tyrnavo (original dimensions, according to Kern in the *IG* edition: 97 x 32 x 10; Lucas noticed that the remaining part, now in the museum at Volos, measures ca. 30 cm less)[315], so we cannot be sure whether the first 3 lines of the inscription (bigger, according to the lemma, by ca. 0.003 cm) belong to the same inscription. It

[315] For the details see Lucas (2002) 107-8, with information about dimensions in n. 2.

might have been the ending of a preceding text, especially given that the name of the city, according to Lucas, does not appear in the preserved text[316]. However, the size of the letters, the mention of the 'place' (A.souna) in line 2 and then in line 16 as well as the fact that the decree refers to the same gods allow us to assume that the first three lines belong to the superscript of the inscription, which usually introduces the content of the decree[317]. The lost part of the decree (ca. 30 cm) might have contained a relief, which is not unusual for this type of document. Supportive for understanding it as a superscript are also the supplements proposed by Schwyzer for lines 1 and 3[318].

The inscription was found built into the wall of the church of Phaneromeni in Tyrnavo, together with some other inscribed stones of various proveniences, which had also been reused in the construction. Helly[319] noted that the majority come from cities in the northern part of Thessaly which are located in the vicinity of the confluence of two rivers Titaresios and Peneios. This led Lucas to assume that the inscription in question comes from one of the following poleis: Larisa, Leimon, Mopsion or Phalanna[320]. His guess seems plausible, especially given that stones do not travel far; however, the stele in question is not big enough to cause excessive problems in transport. The name of the 'land' (mentioned in the inscription in ll. 2 and 16), I suspect[321], could be supplemented A[ι]souna, which would send us to Aison, the mythical city-founder in Thessaly and the

[316] Rhodes & Lewis (1997) 175 suggests (with a question mark) that they belong to a different decree; and so they are treated also by Lucas (2002) 112. He believes that the name of the city most probably had appeared in the lost part of the preceding decree, inscribed above our text, and that hence it was not repeated in the new inscription hence. It seems, however, quite odd that the name of the city would not be mentioned in the next decree again: compare, for instance, *IG* IX 2, 6, where the city is mentioned each time when a new statement is introduced.
[317] Henry (1977) xi and 21, with the example of the superscript in *IG* II^2 127 (366/365 BC).
[318] Reuter (1885: 8, iii) suggested ψάφισμ[α for the beginning of line 1, but Schwyzer (above) is more convincing, given that the two alphas are visible on the stone: ……α.α.
[319] Helly (1991) passim.
[320] Lucas (2002) 112-13.
[321] The plausibility of such an assumption has been confirmed by Dr Jaime Curbera, who kindly took a look at the squeezes of the stone preserved in the Academie der Wissenschaften in Berlin.

father of Iason[322]. The city named Aison, though with a question mark, has been localised in eastern Thessaly, near Demetrias[323]. Nevertheless, we should be aware that these are only guesses because the stone was not found *in situ*; the information we can get from the inscription itself is not decisive as to the place either.

The text provides us with the information that there was a sacred land in A.souna dedicated to Hades and *theoi Soteres* (l. 1-2), which in the rest of the text appears as the sacred land of Plouton (l. 34-5), belonging to the god (*scil*. Hades/Plouton, ll. 14, 36-7), or as the land of Plouton and Persephone (l. 8-9). Apart from that, the inscription also mentions a *temenos* of Plouton and Persephone (l. 32-3) and a *hieron*[324] (l. 18), probably within this sacred land. It seems quite puzzling why the two names of the god were used within one text: he appears as Hades in l. 2, and in the rest of the inscription as Plouton (ll. 8, 33, 35), but it might have been deliberate; as we have seen above, both names designate the same god[325]. Hades is paired with theoi Soteres, Plouton with Persephone (or alone).

The obscure *theoi Soteres* pose another problem here. Nothing in the inscription suggests that they should be connected with ruler cult, even if at the beginning of the 2nd BC this was possible in Thessaly, judging from an inscription found in Demetrias[326]. It seems reasonable to see disguised under this name Demeter and Kore, as they appear

[322] Steph. Byz. s.v. Αἴσων. Suda gives Αἰθώ: ὄνομα πόλεως, the city is otherwise unattested (Suda online supposes that it stands for Aison).
[323] *BAtlas* 55 D2; *Pleiades* webpage gives an alternative localisation, near that indicated in *BAtlas*, though without any justification.
[324] For the frequent identification of *hieron* with *temenos* see Hellman (1992) 169-172.
[325] See the relevant sections III 1, 2.
[326] *IG* IX 2, 1099b, with Habicht (1970) 75-6.

with this epithet elsewhere and Hades is usually worshipped along with them[327]. However, the nether god does not have to be excluded either because Pausanias mentions altars of the underworld rulers in the temple of Artemis *Soteira* in Troezen (2.31.2)[328]: the epithet given to them in Thessaly might have pointed to a protective aspect of the cult (both in the agricultural and underworld dimensions)[329]; they are known not only from the dedicatory inscription and gold leaves (mentioned above), but also from funerary inscriptions[330]. The cult of the nether god along with the two goddesses in Thessaly is implied also in a dedication from Larisa: Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρηι καὶ Δεσπότηι[331]. *Despotes* as the epithet of Plouton appears in an inscription from Aiane in Macedonia: Θεῶι δεσπότηι Πλούτωνι καὶ τῆι πόλει Ἐανῆι Τ. Φλαούιος Λεωνᾶς [ἐλθὼν ἰδ]ών τε τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸν ναόν[332]; thus, it seems that it was Plouton who was meant under this title in the dedication from Larisa.

The localisation of the sanctuary somewhere by the Titeresios river, assumed by Lucas[333], seems attractive, especially given the mythological associations of the river itself as a branch of Styx (*Il*. 2.750-5), which may give us similar characteristics of the

[327] Pausanias mentions that the Arcadians (8.31.1) and Spartans (3.13.3) call Kore *Soteira*. See also Jost (1985) 340-1 and Robert (1978) 461 for the inscriptions from Cyzicus. For the joint worship with Hades see section IV 2.

[328] There exists an inscription (*IG* IV 1553) on a bronze mirror or disc found in a tomb: Σίμον θεοῖς σωτηρίοις, considered by Kern as fake though.

[329] Although the epithet 'soter' in the nether god's case is usually used in an ironic sense; for references see section III 1.

[330] *IG* IX 2, 313 (Trikka, 1st c. BC); Hades appears on three funerary inscriptions from Larisa: *IG* IX 2,658, *SEG* 16.380 (5th c. BC), *SEG* 28.361 (1st c. BC), on one from Trikka: *SEG* 23.440 (Imperial), on one from Atrax: *SEG* 25.668 (4th c. BC), and one from Pagasae *IG* IX 2, 367 (3rd c. BC); Persephone can be found alone on a funerary inscription from Pheres: *IG* IX 2, 429 (3rd c. BC), and on one from Larisa: *SEG* 23.410 (AD 150-200). For funerary sanctuaries and underworld beliefs in Thessaly see Mili (2015) 268-285.

[331] Arvanitopoulos (1910) 377-8 no. 24. There is also a dedication to Demeter and Kore from the 2nd c. BC (*IG* IX 2, 1235), found to the east of Tyrnavo, a dedication from Atrax, dated to the same time (*SEG* 35.506) and from Pyrasos (*IG* IX 2, 134); Strabo (9.5.14), quoting Homer (*Il*. 2.695), tells us that there existed a temple and a sacred precinct of Demeter in Pyrasos.

[332] Heuzey (1868) 18-28.

[333] Lucas (2002) 122ff, giving the references to the ancient sources connecting the river with the Underworld; similar assumptions: Helly 2010: 98 n. 20. Mili (2005) 42 n. 133 noticed that Aelian (*VH* 3.1) mentions regular offerings at the banks of Peneus, but according to her, the reference might be to the sanctuary of Apollo *Pythios* at Tempe.

topography as we noticed in the case of the cult of Hades in Elis. However, the eastern part of Thessaly (not north-western) was considered most fertile in ancient times and seems to be so nowadays[334]. Helly noticed that it was customary for the Thessalians to move to the east in certain seasons of the year and settle there for the purpose of farming the land[335]. This may be the situation mentioned in the inscription in question, where it seems that the land was occupied illegally (and probably also without knowledge that the land belonged to Plouton and Persephone, which is possibly the reason for the setting up of the decree) and that the magistrates decided to regulate the farmsteads built before the issuing of the decree (note ἐ**ν**]αράτιον in l. 10). We know that it was quite a usual practice in antiquity to rent the *temene* of the gods for the purpose of farming[336] and it usually involved some expense on the part of the tenant connected with the building of houses, stables, etc; therefore, the main materials, such as bricks, tiles or wood, were supposed to be taken away by the tenant after leaving the land (mentioned also in our inscription, l. 23)[337].

Unfortunately, due to scarce archaeological attestations of the cult indicated by the inscription in question, we cannot assume anything certain either about the cult character or its actual location.

[334] Helly (1991) 138 with the Thessalian decree on requisition of wheat to the benefit of Rome (Gallis 1978: 176-8). For antagonisms towards the Thessalians of the other Greeks because of their luxurious way of life see Mili (2015) 260-8.
[335] According to Helly (1991: 140-1), Thessalians do it even now.
[336] Parker (1983) 162, Papazarkadas (2011) 92-8.
[337] For similar cases see Horster (2004) 182-5, especially *IG* II^2 2499 ll. 11-14, discussed on p. 183.

3.2 Locri Epizephyri

As we have noted[338], representations of the nethergod can also be easily found among the religious figural scenes depicted on the votive clay plaques called Locrian *pinakes*, destined to be hung on the walls of Persephone's temple or on the trees of her *temenos*. Most of them were found in the sanctuary of Persephone situated on the hill of Manella at Locri Epizephyri[339], which (according to Diodorus Siculus)[340] was the most famous and sacred sanctuary among all those in Italy. The nethergod appears in scenes belonging to two categories: the abduction scenes and the scenes of homage[341]. However, we identify him as the bearded figure only on the basis of interpretation of the attributes and of Persephone's company – his name is inscribed on none of them. The nethergod always appears here as Persephone's husband or husband-to-be and he seems to receive honours and cult as such.

The first question which arises from analysis of the iconographical representations on *pinakes* regards the myth which they refer to. A further question should be asked about the character of the Locrian cult and the role of Hades in it – taking into consideration the fact that he never occurs alone (without Persephone) on the *pinakes*, it may seem that his role was rather secondary. On the one hand, the character of this cult may refer

[338] See section I 3.2.
[339] *Atti*, III: 3. It should be pointed out that many fragments of *pinakes* in general (sometimes of local production) come from areas connected with Locri Epizephyri in cultural and political aspects, such as Medma, Scrimbia (Hipponion): Montesanti (2010) 122-138, as well as from Sicily (Francavilla): Spigo (2000a, 2000b), Hinz (1998) 202-212. Some were found in local houses and graves: Zuntz (1971) 165.
[340] 27.4.2-3: *καὶ γὰρ ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἱερῶν τοῦτ' εἶναι λέγεται καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἁγνὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων τετηρῆσθαι.*
[341] For representations see section I 3.2.

to marriage (or marital ritual, as Sourvinou-Inwood believed[342]); on the other hand, there are many indications of connections with death and the funeral (similarities pointed out by Jenkins[343]). The problem seems insoluble, for there exist numerous possibilities for interpretation of the scenes depicted[344] and the representations have so many variations that it seems almost impossible to connect them in a sensible way. They could, of course, reflect different moments of a local myth depicted in different types of *pinakes*; however, in this case we would have to assume the existence of a local version of the myth told in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* which would differ from the 'original' one so significantly and at so many levels that it seems quite implausible. In favour of an Italian or local version, however, there are some indications in the lines on a lead tablet ($5^{th}/4^{th}$ c. BC) from Himera (?) which tells how Hecate led Demeter to Persephone (to the Underworld?) and shows some connections with the 'Orphic' gold tablets.[345]

The interpretation of the character of the Locrian cult is additionally complicated by the fact that the *pinakes* were not its only manifestation and should not be treated as such. The offerings deposited in the sanctuary constitute another point (or, in fact, a set of points) of reference, which cannot be disregarded. There have been found terracotta offerings of vegetables and fruits (mainly pomegranates or apples), piglets, figurines and *protomai* of a goddess[346] and even a bronze snake[347]. These undoubtedly cannot be

[342] Sourvinou-Inwood (1973) 12-21.
[343] Jenkins (1983) 141-2.
[344] For instance, the abduction scenes might reflect 1) the real ritual of marriage (and because of that they could have been offered to Persephone in regard to the prayers for future happiness); 2) the myth of abducting Kore (and may have been used in her cult without connections with the real marital ritual); 3) the ritual for the unmarried dead; or even something else. Similarly, the 'homage' scenes, the 'opening box with a child or bird' scenes or 'door' scenes (*thalamos* or the gate of the Underworld?).
[345] Jordan & Kotansky (2011) 57-8.
[346] Both these offerings were also found in graves. What is more, all the objects present on the *pinakes* are somehow connected with death and the grave: Sourvinou-Inwood (1991) 158-163. The infernal atmosphere is additionally evoked by the presence of Sirens (a motif common on *stelai*). Zuntz pointed

connected exclusively with marital ritual; they seem to refer to the complex relation between fertility, life (in all its possible forms) and death. Importantly, Plouton was very probably worshipped in the *Thesmophorion* in the district of Parapezza at Locri as is confirmed by a dedication on a *skyphos*: Πλού[τ](ωνος)[348].

Sourvinou-Inwood claimed that Persephone occurs at Locri in the role of protectress of marriage and weddings, creating this interpretation in connection and opposition to the cult of Aphrodite[349]. But this hypothesis seems to be deceptively simple. It is true that the marriage of Persephone was at the centre of Locrian cult. But how could 'the most famous and sacred sanctuary in Italy', comparable to the Eleusinian, have been dedicated merely to human marriage or connected with the marital rite? What is more, the institution of human marriage, apart from resistance to sexual savagery, pointed out by Sourvinou-Inwood, has as its goal to ensure legal offspring; how, thus, could a

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out (1971: 170-1) that naked female or male figurines (sometimes in a kneeling position) or *protomai* and figurines of a seated goddess placed the dead under the protection of the deities whose realm they are entering. Worth remarking seems also the fact that the dead represented on many Attic grave *stelai* (both sexes) sometimes hold a figure of a naked woman.

[347] This, however, was found in the *Thesmophorion* and refers to (I imagine) the *Thesmophoria* and the rite of *megarizein*. Agostino & Milanesio Macrì (2014) no. pl. viii.

[348] *IGI.Locri* 86 (4th/3rd c. BC).

[349] Sourvinou-Inwood (1991) 153-155, 175-180. Her interpretation is based on the conviction that certain types of *pinakes* belong to different goddesses – but they could as well belong to none of them and the represented scene could depend on the particular occasion. The main point of cultic opposition (and the principal reason for dividing the cultic areas of the goddesses) lies, according to Sourvinou-Inwood, in different incarnations of love they represent (Aphrodite and Hermes: a temple of the couple, with an altar's relief representation of a satyr copulating with a hind, represented on the type 3/6 – illicit; Persephone and Hades – institutionalised love), which are deliberately manifested in two different cults connected in one, or one cult divided in two stages. It is hard to imagine a coexistence of such a variation within Locrian worship, unless the cults are regarded as not connected to each other and unless it is assumed that there were two differently oriented groups of worshipers. Furthermore, as far as I know, no temple of Aphrodite and Hermes has been found at Locri; the cult of Aphrodite is attested in the sanctuary in the district of Marasà, Grotta Caruso, and probably stoa 'ad U': Costabile (1991) 137ff, Gullini (1980) 11-127. I am not convinced either by Sourvinou-Inwood's opinion that Persephone adopted Aphrodite's attributes because most of them are simply woman's attributes, such as a mirror or an *alabastron* (which in Apulia was used for funerary purposes instead of *lekythoi*, see section I 3.1); as to the dove, the author herself pointed out that wild doves were associated with Persephone (187, n. 142); perhaps the idea of a dove was somehow audible in her name (phere-phatta). The motif of holding a dove is also common on the Attic grave *stelai* of the dead of both sexes. For rites for the dead in which birds were probably involved see *Derveni Pap*. col. 6 (Betegh).

sterile divine marriage, like that of Persephone and Hades[350], have been regarded as an ideal model for the human? The attributes held by both deities can indicate fertility in general, but we should not forget that the same attributes occur in the context of the Eleusinian cult and there they specify the fertility of the earth/soil, and we know from the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* that initiation in the Eleusinian Mysteries promises food from corn and hope for a better lot after death, not a happy marriage. Of course, the main Eleusinian cultic theme is connected with Demeter's grief and the return of Kore, but if we look deeper, we will understand that hope for a better lot after death must have been connected with Persephone's marriage there too; this conclusion can be reached even if Demeter, as the representations on *pinakes* and other finds in the sanctuary indicate, was not present in Persephone's cult[351].

3.1.1 Second basis of the Eleusinian myth: *Theogamia*

The Italian version of the myth of the abduction of Kore-Persephone locates the event in the meadows of Enna or Syracuse in Sicily (Diod. 5.2.3-5.5.1) or of Hipponion (Strab. 6.1.5): the meadows were said to be luxuriantly abundant in flowers[352]. Moreover, in

[350] It is true that the literary tradition ascribes to them certain offspring, but the sources are too ambiguous to permit any certain conclusion: see section II 1.4.3.

[351] Zancani Montuoro (1964) 387-391 pointed out that in type 10/6 Demeter may be represented, with a torch, approaching a girl carried on waves (in the upper corners of the *pinax* are probably represented Eos and the head of Helios, which may indicate the Eleusinian myth). Interpretation of this scene is quite confusing: we know no myth of Kore returning from the sea. The author claims, referring to *Arg. Orph*. 1191-1196, that the abducted Persephone was carried to the sea, because the palace of Demeter was imagined on an ocean island (but I could not find any reference to defend this theory). The Underworld, not only 'Orphic', is situated underground (see section II 1.2). On the other hand, we know from Homer and Hesiod that the Elysian fields were situated on the banks of Okeanos (*Od*. 4.563, 10.508; Hes. *Th*. 736f.; it should be pointed out that Okeanos is considered as the sea by Herodotus for the first time: Hdt. 2.21.23, 4.8.96), so perhaps this representation is not so isolated as it may seem at first sight. Anyway, there is no evidence that Demeter was worshipped together with Persephone in the sanctuary of Manella; as *Thesmophoros*, she had her temple in the district of Parapezza (Hinz 1998: 206-208).

[352] In the case of Enna we hear also about the incredibly sweet odour of the flowers growing there – the smell was so strong that trained hunting dogs were unable to hold the trail, because their natural sense of smell was balked.

Diodorus' account we find another interesting fact: the island of Sicily was Zeus' wedding gift to Persephone. According to Pollux (1.1.37), in Sicily there were two festivals of Kore, *Theogamia* and *Anthesphoria*[353], Locrian equivalents to which were both perhaps somehow represented on the *pinakes*. On the basis of what was said above, I risk the interpretation that the *pinakes* were produced on the occasion of both these festivals and depict the cultic character of the place: a link between life and death as in the case of Eleusinian Mysteries, but with the stronger stress on death. It seems, however, that the Eleusinian myth is explored here only partially, as if to make it possible to know what happened to Kore during the time Demeter was searching for her: from the flower-picking, through the abduction and preparation for wedding, to the marriage[354].

3.1.2 Death or fertility?

There remains a question of how death's part in the Locrian cult and its eschatological dimension is manifested, if at all, in *pinakes*. There are types of *pinakes* that may indicate, say, an ideal representation of the dead, there are 10/11 and 10/20 with sympotic scenes and type 9 named 'opening of the chest'. Sympotic scenes show us a couple lying on a *kline* in a schema like that of the Etruscan funeral banquet depicted in

[353] Since Diodorus also mentioned before the festivals of Demeter (*Demetria*, *Thesmophoria* and *Eleusinia*), we can treat *Theogamia* and *Anthesphoria* as exclusively Persephone's feasts (maybe with the inverted theme of the Eleusinian myth: abduction and marriage of Kore instead of grief of her mother).

[354] The act of marriage – giving the pomegranate seed to Persephone by Hades in the *Hymn* – can be found among the *pinakes* representations as well: on the fragments associated with type NT 5 we see a woman, seated probably on a kline, facing left, who with her right hand is taking something (a flower/ a pomegranate – only the lower part of the object is preserved/visible on 5/3) from the hand of a person seated probably on the left (the person is not preserved, only their left hand with a part of the object: 5/5). We can connect these fragments with type NT 4 (claimed as a scene of rape/abduction), which presents fragments of representation of a half-naked bearded man in a wreath (the same type of wreath is worn by the nethergod in *pinakes*), who is moving slowly along a kline towards a woman seated on it on the right; the man has both his hands stretched towards the woman – the right one in a gesture of intending to touch her and the left one as if he were giving her something (*Atti* III: 5. pl. CCXIII and CCXII).

tombs; behind them grows a pomegranate tree (this may indicate that the scene happens in the world of no-return) and on both sides of it there are two naked winged figures (one of them is putting a wreath on a woman's head, the other is giving her a pomegranate). Type 9 could be interpreted in two ways: the first as a birth (presentation of a new-born child to Persephone). This, however, does not exclude the other possibility. The body of the figures in the chests, interpreted usually as children, has a mature shape (both male and female) and the attributes which accompany them (wreath, lyre) could indicate heroised dead rather than a child.[355] Perhaps, as in the case of the Eleusinian Mysteries, this (mystery?) cult was meant to offer its worshippers a hope for a better lot in Persephone's meadows after death. Perhaps it was a kind of initiatory rite, treating death as marriage[356] as in Persephone's case, and that is why the Locrians did not weep at funerals, but feasted (Arist. *fr*. 611.60 Rose). Nevertheless, a bridal *thalamos* in art is usually depicted with its doors half open; here, on the *pinakes*, they are always closed (as in the case of doors depicted in Etruscan tombs): perhaps the secret of Persephone's cult was meant to stay behind them.

3.2 Kamarina

Not much can be said about the nether god's cult in Kamarina owing to the lack of archaeological or literary evidence; it is worth signalling, however, that he was apparently worshipped there together with Persephone. This is implied by an inscription

[355] It might have been linked in some way with funeral symbolism or ritual (?). Note a clay figurine of a goddess (Persephone? Demeter?) from the necropolis at Kamarina (Orsi 1905: 115-118, fig. 74, tomb 444 (318)) holding a chest in her right hand; in her left hand she has a *phiale*, and between her breasts a small naked winged figure with a wreath and a dove in its hands is represented.

[356] The connection, for instance, between the *thalamos* of Persephone and the grave is visible in funerary inscriptions throughout the Greek world. For the interpretation of literary testimonies and conflation of characteristic features of both the 'rites' see section II 1.4.2.1; see also Keuls' (1985: 134, fig. 115) remark about representation of a deceased woman as a bride.

(4th/3rd c. BC)[357] mentioning a road above the sanctuary of Gaos[358] and Persephone: [ὐ]πὲρ Γάου κα Φ[ϵ]ρσσ{σ}οφάσας. The sanctuary has not been identified so far.

3.3 Summarising remarks

In his worship together with Persephone the nether god apparently received honours and cult as her husband or husband-to-be. Although the evidence is too scarce and ambiguous to permit any firm conclusion, it seems that at least in Italy his cult was connected with marriage and death. Thessalian cult, apart from a marital connection, indicates Plouton's place next to the *Theoi Soteres*; it is hard to guess whether this protection was connected with agriculture or life more broadly. In both regions so-called 'Orphic' gold leaves were found addressing the underworld couple, which may confirm the strong death aspect inscribed in the nethergod's cult. Whether the cult itself was to provide the worshippers with hopes for the afterlife remains an open question.

4. With other gods

4.1 Semnai Theai at Athens

We hear from Pausanias (1.28.6-7) about the statue of Plouton along with Hermes and Ge (κεῖται δὲ καὶ Πλούτων καὶ Ἑρμῆς καὶ Γῆς ἄγαλμα) in the sanctuary of the Semnai Theai, located probably on the north-east slope of the Areopagus in Athens; no remains

[357] Cordano (1984) 34-41 (=*SEG* 34.940)
[358] For discussion of the name, see section III 4.1.

of this precinct have been identified so far[359]. Judging from the literary sources, the sanctuary was probably located in a rocky fracture on the slope[360], as may be supposed on the basis of the words of the Dioskouroi in Euripides' *Electra* (1270-2): δειναὶ μὲν οὖν θεαὶ τῷδ' ἄχει πεπληγμέναι | πάγον παρ' αὐτὸν χάσμα δύσονται χθονός, | σεμνὸν βροτοῖσιν εὐσεβὲς χρηστήριον[361].

Pausanias reports that those who have received an acquittal on the Areopagus sacrifice by the statues of Plouton, Hermes and Ge, and that sacrifices are also offered by both citizens and foreigners on other occasions (but we do not know which): ἐνταῦθα θύουσι μὲν ὅσοις ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐξεγένετο ἀπολύσασθαι, θύουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ξένοι τε ὁμοίως καὶ ἀστοί. Demosthenes (23.22) and Aristotle (*Ath.Pol*. 57.3) list as crimes judged by the court of the Areopagus deliberate homicide, deliberate wounding, homicide by poisoning and arson. Taking into consideration what has been said about the nature of Hades[362], we can observe that the crimes for which the nether god was supposed to punish are the same as those for the acquittal of which he received sacrifices in the precinct of the Semnai Theai. What is interesting is that the crimes in question can be gathered under the category of the heaviest and capital ones.

4.2 Hades with Athena *Itonia* at Koroneia

In Boeotia, apart from the relief from Thebes, discussed above[363], Hades' statue, according to Strabo (9.2.29), for some mysterious reason was dedicated along with that

[359] Boegehold (1995) 44.
[360] Acc. to Beschi & Musti (1987) *ad loc*. p. 370-1.47-54, the sanctuary was probably without architectonic structures, but there were standing numerous statues there.
[361] Cf. Aesch. *Eum*. 1006-9: ἴτε καὶ σφαγίων | τῶνδ' ὑπὸ σεμνῶν κατὰ γῆς σύμεναι | τὸ μὲν ἀτηρὸν χωρὶς κατέχειν, | τὸ δὲ κερδαλέον | πέμπειν πόλεως ἐπὶ νίκῃ.
[362] See section II 2.2.
[363] See section I 1.2.1.

of Athena *Itonia* at Koroneia (*συγκαθίδρυται δὲ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ὁ Ἅιδης κατά τινα, ὥς φασι, μυστικὴν αἰτίαν*)[364]. Pausanias seems to confirm this claim by saying that a certain Agorakritos created two bronze images of Athena and Zeus[365].

Farnell and Schachter[366] pointed out that Athena *Itonia* might have been originally a chthonian goddess, and Ure[367] suggested that Hades might have pre-dated the goddess at Koroneia. The cult, according to Strabo, originated in Thessaly (*κρατήσαντες δὲ τῆς Κορωνείας ἐν τῷ πρὸ αὐτῆς πεδίῳ τὸ τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἱδρύσαντο ὁμώνυμον τῷ Θετταλικῷ*)[368], and it seems that for a long time it was quite an important place, as a pan-Boeotian festival was celebrated there (*ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὰ Παμβοιώτια συντέλουν*).

It is very hard to say anything certain about the cult character of the place, especially given that even its localisation to the north of the acropolis of Koroneia is doubtful[369]. Furthermore, even if Hades was Athena's consort at Koroneia, it does not mean that his cult was also transferred from Thessaly[370]; the character of the Thessalian cult of the goddess is ambiguous as well[371]. Schachter suggested that the cult of Athena *Itonia* might have been connected with war on the basis of lines by Alkaios (fr. 325 Vogt),

[364] There is no need to emend Hades to Ares, as is sometimes done in editions: Schachter (1981) 120 n. 3.
[365] According to Schachter (1981) 121, this Zeus might have been the one popular in Boeotia under the epithet *Karaios*/*Keraios*; however, he does not exclude the possibility of Hades or of an underworld character of the deity at the establishment of the cult.
[366] Farnell (1896) i 301, Schachter (1981) 119 n. 4.
[367] Ure (1929) 170.
[368] Strab. 9.2.29. It seems that both the poleis shared also a cult of Zeus *Laphystios*: Paus. 9.34.5, Hdt. 7.197.
[369] Schachter (1981) 119: the localisation has been assumed on the basis that the oldest building among the complex can be dated to the 6th c. BC.
[370] For Hades' cult in Thessaly see section IV 3.1. There are no explicit traces of Hades' presence in *Itonia*'s cult in Thessaly; note, however, a figurine of a reclining male figure holding a *rhyton* (6th c. BC) and pendants in the shape of pomegranates, found in the sanctuary of Athena *Itonia* in Philia: Kilian-Dirlmeier (2002) 63, 92, Pl. 180, fig. 1437; for various types and usage of pendants see Mili (2015) 337 n. 55.
[371] Mili (2015) 226-232.

quoted by Strabo, who invokes her with an epithet 'warrior lady' (ὦ 'ν]ασσ' Ἀθανάα πολε[μηδόκος]), combined with vase painting; but the vase representations do not provide this information if taken out of context because, as Schachter admits himself, 'they could be regarded as a purely conventional depiction of the goddess'[372]; the same, I believe, may be said about the epithet given to the goddess by Alkaios.

Whether the cult in both Thessaly and Boeotia refers to Athena specifically as the warrior goddess remains disputable due to the lack of convincing evidence[373]; it seems, however, that there existed a habit of commemoration of victories in the Thessalian sanctuary at Philia, the earliest archaeologically attested sanctuary of the goddess, judging from the great concentration of weapons found *in situ* (spearheads, shields, knives); it should be noticed, however, that the predominant type of votive offerings consisted in numerous fibulae of various types and size and jewellery items as well as pendants and rings[374]. Athena's connection with maidens is not surprising, but Farnell's suggestion that Athena in certain cultic circumstances might 'have been specially regarded as the goddess who protected the clan and who gave offspring in marriage'[375]

[372] Schachter (1981) 119 with n. 6. For representations of Boeotian festival scenes with Athena see Scheffer (1992) 119ff.
[373] For further interpretations as amphictionic cult: Mili (2015) 231 with n. 91; as 'migratory traditions': Kowalzig (2007) 362 (for testimonies see n. 73).
[374] Kilian-Dirlmeier (1979) 231, 250. See also Mili (2015) 229 (on the comparison with the Enodia sanctuary at Pherai with great concentration of jewelry and fibulae), 337 (for a summary of the quantity of finds at Pherae), and 339-340 (for the finds from *Itonia*'s sanctuary at Philia).
[375] Farnell (1896) i 302 n. 64b. He refers especially to the custom of dedication of their girdles by maidens on the eve of marriage to Athena *Apatouria* at Troezen, described by Paus. 2.33.1; note too Phot. s.v. προτελείαν ἡμέραν ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐν ᾗ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὴν γαμουμένην παρθένον ἄγουσιν οἱ γονεῖς ὡς τὴν θεὸν καὶ θυσίαν ἐπιτελοῦσιν. Furthermore, from Plato (*Symp*. 197B) onwards Athena is called the inventor of weaving – cf. *Il*. 5.734ff. Mili (2015) 233 points out that in Apollonius Rhodius (*Arg*. 1.721) Athena *Itonia* appears as a protectress of young heroes (note the bizarre representation of the nethergod on the Athenian black-figure amphora in section I 2.4, where the god is represented seated with young men). To some extent these features could be seen as parallel in both deities; Athena, however, has nothing to do with agriculture (Athens and the goddess' connection with an olive tree is a specific case): *ThCRA* vi 322. See also section I 2.4 for an interesting representation on the red-figure amphora from Trachone of Demeter, Kore and Plouton on one side and a scene of olive oil sale in the presence of Athena on the other.

remains disputable. Nothing certain can be said about the role of Hades in this shared cult, which still remains as mystic as its *aition*[376].

4.3 Plouton and Herakles at Ilissos

A small sanctuary in the form of an open-air court delimited by outcrops of bedrocks was discovered by the Ilissos river in the area of the modern Truman square at Athens during two short emergency excavations conducted by Ioannis Miliadis and Spyridon Iakovidis[377]. An inscription on one of the votive reliefs found in the precinct leaves no doubt that the nethergod was worshipped there in the mid-4th c. BC: [...]η εὐξαμένη ἀν[έθηκεν Πλ]ούτωνι[378].

Only one of the 58 votive reliefs found on the site (all dated between *ca*. 350 and *ca*. 250 BC)[379] mentions Plouton; apart from that, there are preserved two dedications to Palaimon[380], one to *THEOS*[381], five to Pankrates[382] and one to Herakles (and?)

[376] Note, however, the observations by West (1995) 127-130 on the connection between a Mesopotamian owl-daemoness (*Kilili*) and Athena: he points out that there are traces of a direct link between Athena and death (but still mostly through killing) and claims that the virginity of Athena 'is almost certainly a 'Greek' mythological idea of the much later classical era' (for references see n. 17). The latter point remains speculative; nonetheless, quite attractive for establishing a certain link with the Underworld (and through it with Hades himself) seems to be the gemstone he refers to (in Farnell 1896: 323, 328 pl. xiiib) which depicts 'Athena, helmeted and leaning on her spear, seated to the left on an altar flame. She is holding a disc-shaped object over the flames. Farnell thinks that she is pouring a libation, which is possible. To the right of the altar stands a three-headed dog, clearly Kerberos, and to his right a god who is pointing at the flame. He may be Hades, the god of the Netherworld'.
[377] Miliadis (1953) 47-60, (1954) 41-9.
[378] Vikela (1994) A2: 11-12, pl. 2. For the representation see I 1.2.1.
[379] It seems that there is no evidence for the worship before the 4th c. BC, with the exception of a fragmentary inscription dated to the end of the 5th c. BC: Kaloyeropoulou (1987) 299, but Vikela (1994) 58 suggested that the lack of earlier material may be a result of some kind of 'clear out' of votives, often necessary in small shrines.
[380] Vikela (1994) A10: 19-20, pl. 8; A21: 28, pl. 16.3.
[381] Vikela (1994) A11: 20-21, pl. 9.
[382] Vikela (1994) A4: 13-14, pl. 4; B5: 32-33, pl. 19.2; B10: 36-7, 22.2; B12: 38-9, pl. 23.2; B19: 44, pl. 26.2.

Pankrates[383]. Although only 10 (out of 58) inscriptions have the name of the recipient preserved, which seems to be far too small a number to draw any firm conclusion on its basis, scholars seem to agree that the main deities of the sanctuary were Pankrates and Palaimon[384]. According to Vikela's classification, Plouton, Palaimon, Pankrates and *THEOS* belong to the same category of representation (A; 22 reliefs in total); it is true, however, that Pankrates within this category occurs only once in the preserved corpus of inscriptions (A4): he mostly occurs in type B (21 reliefs in total), usually representing Herakles (although his name occurs once, in the inscription on relief B8)[385]. The remaining 15 reliefs were divided by Vikela into two categories: preserved fragments of reliefs with suppliants or sacrificial victims (F1-11), and reliefs with body parts (S3-4; S4 is dated to the 2nd c. CE)[386]. Among other finds worth mentioning are three huge male heads identified as *protomai*[387], a curse tablet asking Palaimon for justice[388], 150 terracotta lamps[389] and 9 inscriptions on *stelai*[390].

What Plouton's role was within this apparently joint cult remains inaccessible. Chthonic cult associations are evoked by a fissure in the middle of the *temenos*[391], the curse tablet

[383] Vikela (1994) B8: 35, pl. 21; see also the inscription from Koroneia (*IG* VII 2874) which mentions Herakles (and?) Palaimon in a similar way, with Parker's commentary (2005: 421 n. 15). Furthermore, interestingly, Pankrates is represented in the Herakles' type (B), but never the other way round.
[384] Gorrini (2015) 219-36 with earlier bibliography.
[385] See n. 383.
[386] The fragment of S1 seems to represent *thysia* and that of S2 bears a couple of letters of an inscription.
[387] Kaloyeropoulou (1988) 129-31, pl. 25.1-3, 26.1-4, *LIMC* VII 1, I.3-4 s.v. *Pankrates I* (Vikela). One of them certainly represents Herakles (the lion head used as a cap), the other two should probably be identified with the god of relief type A as they represent a bearded male figure with short (*LIMC*, no. 4) and long (*LIMC*, no. 3) hair. The oldest (*LIMC*, no. 4) belongs to the 4th c. BC. Both Kaloyeropoulou (p. 129-31) and Vikela in her comm. in *LIMC* VII, 1 s.v. *Pankrates I* (p. 169) think the *protomai* represent Pankrates (chthonic Herakles or Zeus of the Underworld respectively).
[388] Jordan (2008) 133-44.
[389] Kaloyeropoulou (1987) 299.
[390] Mainly honorary decrees, but there is a catalogue of names of *orgeones*, on which see Kaloyeropoulou (1987) 298-304, and there is also a large inscribed *baitulos*. All these inscriptions are at various stages of publication; a good summary of them with bibliography may be found in *SEG* 41.247.
[391] Milaiadis (1953) fig.1, Vikela (1994) 2, app. 2C, Gorrini (2015) 219-20.

(usually found in graves or wells)[392], *protomai*[393] and kneeling suppliants[394] represented on the reliefs; the sacrificial offerings are also typical for the nethergod: a ram[395], a pig[396], cakes/fruits[397]. Interestingly, no specific group of suppliants in terms of age, gender or social status is visible. Furthermore, incidentally or not, several features of the cult surroundings allow for comparison with the cult of Zeus *Meilichios*: (i) representations of type A are similar to those dedicated to this god[398], (ii) the *temenos* by Ilissos is oriented towards the river, as was the temple of Zeus *Meilichios* in Selinus[399], (iii) the sanctuary itself is not far from Agrai, where *Diasia* were performed in honour of Zeus *Meilichios*[400]. Another interesting element is introduced by reliefs of body parts, which may suggest a healing cult[401]: not uncommon for Herakles[402], and in the case of the nethergod (though we do not have any unambiguous testimonies) such an association is not impossible and would even be quite natural[403]; however, one of

[392] Interestingly, it is the oldest (later 4th c. BC) and the first curse tablet found in an Athenian sanctuary: Jordan (2008) 134-5 with n. 4 for the list of Demeter's sanctuaries where curse tablets (dating from the early 5th c. BC) were found, and now Stroud (2013) 82 for the bibliography on this matter.
[393] See n. 11 and Vikela (1994) B10: 36-7, pl. 22.2; B13: 39-40, pl. 24.1; B18: 43, pl. 26.1; it should be noted that *protomai* are mostly connected with the cult of Demeter and Kore, found in great number in their sanctuaries as well as in graves: for references see Gorrini (2015) 222-3 and Hinz (1998) passim.
[394] Vikela (1994) A3: 12-13, pl. 3; A10: 19-20, pl. 8; A12: 21-22, pl. 10; A20: 27-8, pl. 16.2. Note, however, Van Straten (1981: 83), who stresses that the Greeks, and especially Greek women, knelt 'before the deities from whom they expected assistance and salvation, in particular circumstances and in fervent prayers of supplication'.
[395] Vikela (1994) A1: 10-11, pl. 1.
[396] Vikela (1994) A4: 13-14, pl. 4; A9: 18, pl. 6.3; A17: 26, pl. 15.1 (the last one, acc. to Vikela (p. 26), represents a tuna (in *LIMC*, see n. 387, she says it is 'a big fish' and connects it with the Phoenician custom of fish-offering for sea gods). Gorrini (2015) 236 n. 162, supporting her argument with Sguaitamatti (1984) T29, T42 and Agrigento S115, thinks the object held should be interpreted as a piglet. On B6 (Vikela 1994: 33-4, pl. 20.1) also Herakles gets a pig as an offering.
[397] Vikela (1994) A12: 21-2, pl. 10; A16: 25, pl. 14 (a suppliant holds a round object, perhaps an apple/pomegranate, like Herakles on B14: 40-1, pl. 24.3).
[398] Vikela (1994) pls. 34-5 provides very good examples of votive reliefs for Zeus *Meilichios*. Note, however, that the style of one of the *protomai* (no. 3: see n. 387) is similar to that characteristic for representations of Sarapis (acc. to Tagalidou 1993: 159 n. 693); see also *LIMC* VIII, 2. 200 s.v. *Zeus* (Leventi).
[399] Grotta (2010) 23-5.
[400] Parker (2005) 56, 162, 466, Jameson (1965) 164-5.
[401] Vikela (1994) 117, S 3-4: 55-6, pl. 33.2-3, Forsén (1996) 59-60, nos. 7.1-2, Gorrini (2015) 221. For similarities in features with other healing deities see Gorrini and Melfi (2002) 254.
[402] Gorrini (2015) 181-218, 221, Parker (2005) 423.
[403] Note the nethergod's cult association with Nymphs and Acheloos in art and at Locri (sections I 1.2.1), his presence on Kos (IV 2.6(iv)) and his sanctuary at Acharaka (Strab. 14.1.44-5), certainly associated with healing properties (though the association may be secondary, through reinterpretation of an

these reliefs is dedicated to Pankrates[404]. Let us, thus, focus on the names occurring in the inscriptions.

First, it should be noted that apart from this precinct there is no other place attested by the sources or excavations as that of the cult of Pankrates[405]. The name itself refers to a giant fighting with Herakles on an Attic *dinos* (6th c. BC)[406] or serves as a title for various gods[407], including Zeus (if Hesychios is to be trusted), worshipped under this title exclusively in Athens[408], and probably Persephone[409]; it is never used for Herakles himself[410]. According to Pleket[411], divine titles denoting omnipotence are given to healing or underworld deities; thus, bearing in mind the dichotomic division of the representations in reliefs, *pankrates* could designate both the deities present in the sanctuary by the Ilissos, as a case of homonymy rather than conflation, which would explain its occurrence in both the types. Titles referring to omnipotence are frequently applied to the nethergod[412], whereas in Herakles' case the epithet was earned by his deeds[413]. Quite an important difference, as it seems, in the representations is that the suppliants never kneel before Herakles.

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indigenous cult, as suggested to me by Robert Parker); in Thessaly he is joined with Demeter and Kore, who are called *theoi soteres* (IV 3.1). Although Demeter and Kore were not particularly associated with healing, note votive *pinakes* with breast representations dedicated to Kore at Smyrna (1st/2nd c. CE): Forsén (1996) 91-2, nos. 23.1-2, fig. 93.

[404] Vikela (1994) S4: 56, pl. 33.3.

[405] Vikela (1994) 57.

[406] *SEG* 36.54, *LIMC* VII,1.1 s.v. *Pankrates II* (Vian).

[407] For references see Gorrini (2015) 225; several times it occurs also as a human name: Vikela (1994) 66 n. 68.

[408] Hesych. s.v. *παγκρατής· Ζεύς. Ἀθηναῖοι*; cf. Aesch. *Th*. 255, *Eum*. 918, *Supp*. 815, *PV*. 389, Soph. *Phil*. 679, fr. 684 (Radt), Arist. *Th*. 368, and Gorrini (2015) 225 n. 57.

[409] Grotta (2010) 32-3 with n. 50; Persephone as *pambasilea* is evoked in a funerary inscription from Paros (*IG* XII 5.310; 2nd c. CE): *παμβασίλεια θεά, πολυώνυμε κούρα*.

[410] Herakles' epithet in Argos *Παγκάμης* (*SEG* 26.429; 1st c. CE) is probably the closest parallel here; cf. Gorrini (2015) 225.

[411] Pleket (1981) 171-183.

[412] See II 2.1, III 6-7.

[413] Scholars commonly interpret the epithet as referring to Herakles in this context: Gorrini (2015) 225 with n. 52.

The other name which deserves some attention is Palaimon. Although the god was in various ways associated with Herakles[414], no myth is known which could explain this particular joint worship in the sanctuary by the Ilissos[415]. Furthermore, scholars tend to associate his figure with Palaimon-Melikertes at Isthmus and seek the answer in the Phoenician foundation of the shrine[416]. Nevertheless, in the light of the evidence, the Athenian Palaimon seems to have nothing in common with the Isthmian cult[417] and the scarcity of evidence does not allow Phoenician presence to be shown to be meaningful in the sanctuary so far[418]. The occurrence of the name on the curse tablet allows, however, for a quite certain association with Plouton, frequently evoked in such contexts[419].

Although the finds seem to be a bit contradictory and do not betray any consistent pattern, let us summarise the potential linking points. An element frequently occurring in the reliefs, surely suggesting a certain connection between the representations and between the deities at Ilissos, is the cornucopia: the nethergod's genuine attribute, which manifests wealth and fertility of the earth[420]. Yet there is one more name appearing on a relief in Plouton's type (A), usually left aside in scholarly interpretations due to its unsurpassable ambiguity, which by reference to the nethergod immediately

[414] Parker (2005) 421 n. 15. Some etymological traits have been mentioned by scholars (Jordan 2008: 139), to explain the name through the meaning of παλαίω (wrestle) or πάλος (vote), which would suggest Herakles, but this does not help in finding the proper cultic link between the two deities. If the wrestling could have referred to the fight between Herakles and the nethergod over Kerberos (?), it must have been a myth unknown to us or a late modification; we know from the *Iliad* that the hero hurt Hades with an arrow: see sections I 2.2 and II 1.1.
[415] Perhaps the puzzling representations on vases with Herakles carrying an old bearded god with a cornucopia, discussed above, are of relevance here: see section I 2.2.
[416] Vikela (1994) 89-108.
[417] Gorrini (2015) 226-7 with n. 79.
[418] Tagalidou (1993) 164-5. On fragmentary Phoenician inscriptions found in the sanctuary see Vikela (1994) 124. Jordan (2008) 134 n. 3 stresses, however, the fact that the reference to punishment of injustice on the curse tablet found in the precinct is not typical for Athens and belongs to an Eastern background.
[419] See section III 2.
[420] For the cornucopia see section I 2.1.

evokes Eleusis and through this association enhances the fertility aspect of the cult: ΘΕΟΣ[421]. The Eleusinian association itself could emerge out of two further things: Herakles' own initiation and a crane (if I am not mistaken in my interpretation of relief B9[422] as representing Herakles facing left with his right arm stretched out and holding a *kantharos* in a sharing gesture[423] and a club in his left hand; the crane's head[424] is leaning over his left shoulder). If Porphyry is to be trusted, the crane was sacred to Demeter[425]; the bird occurs also on one of the vases (mentioned above) alluding to a myth involving the cornucopia, Herakles and the nethergod (and probably connected with the precinct at Ilissos)[426]. Nevertheless, we do not know much about Herakles' initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries either; the known traditions are inconsistent as to whether it happened during his stay in the Underworld or before entering the realm of the dead to possess Persephone's favour in advance[427]. On the other hand, the whole area of Agrai was probably connected with the Lesser Mysteries, which according to some accounts were founded for Herakles' initiation[428], and the presence of Herakles in the sanctuary by Ilissos could have been equally well motivated by this[429]. Two uncertain (due to their poor preservation) but interesting representations involve Herakles (?) standing among suppliants (F6)[430] or putting / holding something above the head of a suppliant, perhaps the dedicator of the relief, Dionysodoros (B16)[431]. On at

[421] See n. 382; for the name see section II 3; for Eleusinian cult see IV 2.1.
[422] I cannot see the lion head on the relief: Vikela (1994) 36.
[423] Cf. Vikela (1994) B5, B6, B8, B10.
[424] Note, however, Pausanias' remark (8.22.4) that the Stymphalian birds killed (or, according to some other story, shunned away) by Herakles during his 6th labour were similar to cranes; if this was meant in the representation, it would be just another and quite extraordinary (?) representation of the hero, since nowhere is he said to have made a cloak out of the Stymphalian birds.
[425] Porph. *De Abst*. 3.5.25. Cranes' cry was a sign to plough or sow (cf. Hes. Op. 448-51).
[426] See section I 2.2.
[427] See section II 1.1.
[428] Parker (2005) 345 n. 81.
[429] Vikela (1994) 70-2, 77: she suggested that the hero could have been worshipped at Ilissos as a god of the pious and the initiated. For Herakles' popularity see Parker (1996) 97-101.
[430] Vikela (1994) 49, pl. 29.3.
[431] Vikela (1994) 41-2, pl. 25.1.

least one of the reliefs (A3)[432] a goddess is represented standing with a *phiale* and a sceptre next to the god with the cornucopia; her identity, unfortunately, can be merely guessed as perhaps Persephone.

It seems that nothing certain can be said about this specific cult flourishing in the 4th c. BC down to the Roman period, except that it was probably a private one, as may be suggested by the decrees of *eranistai*, non-citizen *thiasotai* and a catalogue of *orgeones* found within the precinct[433] as well as by the fact that the cult escaped the attention of literary sources. Although many distinctive elements, such as lamps, a fissure in the middle of the *temenos*, body part reliefs, the cornucopia, *protomai*, and the curse tablet, could allow for an assumption that the cult had some fertility and healing dimensions, in the light of the lack of a myth which would provide us with its *aition* and without full publication of the material from the precinct the question of its character must remain open.

4.4 Summarising remarks

Cult of the nethergod together with deities other than Demeter and Kore does not seem to have any clear mythical references known to us. However, it seems to reflect the spheres of activity inscribed in the god's nature discussed in the previous parts: justice and agricultural fertility; a healing aspect has not been clearly proved so far. It is true that nothing certain can be said about his cult with Athena *Itonia* or Herakles, as their *aitia* remain unknown, but it seems that, on the basis of the attribute of a cornucopia at

[432] Vikela (1994) 12-13, pl. 3; she may also appear together with the god in the characteristic iconography of the 'banqueting hero' on relief A22 and perhaps next to the god on A8: Vikela (1994) 29, pl. 17; 17, pl. 7 respectively.
[433] For the summary see n. 390. Gorrini (2015) 236 thinks that the reliefs represent private sacrifices too.

Ilissos and the fact that the festival at Koroneia was pan-Boeotian in character, at least a fertility aspect may be conjectured.

6. General conclusions

Analysis of the evidence for the cult of the nether god (both written and archaeological), has proved, contrary to scholarly opinion, that he received cult, and, what is of more significance, he participated in the most important and sacred cults of the Greek world, i.e. those of Demeter and Kore. All spheres of his activity, such as agriculture, death, and justice, identified by his names and epithets as well as myths discussed in the previous parts, find their reflection in his cultic contexts and surroundings; however, though alluded to several times, healing features, in the light of the available evidence, cannot be proved meaningful so far.

Demeter and Kore were certainly the nether god's most prominent cultic associates. This joint cult allowed for the recognition of him as not merely the grim lord of the dead, but the god of fertility and agriculture to whom, as to Demeter, the farmers prayed for a rich harvest: for it depended on his disposition whether he allowed the crops to grow, or prevented the earth from giving fruits; as if he were not only the giver of riches, but also the dispenser of fertility. The most important festival in which he partook, and through which he acquired popularity and importance, we may assume, being present everywhere in the Greek world, was the *Thesmophoria*: the festival attested to be exclusively female. According to our analysis, however, the nether god's cult was not confined to the female sphere; he partook also in panhelleninc festivals like *Chthonia* and the pan-Boeotian festival of Athena *Itonia* at Coroneia; his presence is

also visible in some cults of private character like that he shared with Herakles by the Ilissos and that of initiations (?) connected with the production of the so-called 'Orphic' gold leaves. He was also an important figure in the great Eleusinian Mysteries where both his cultic characteristics (agriculture and death) were marked. He had also his own, individual and mysterious, cult in Elis and Triphylia where his underworld aspects are clearly visible. Nevertheless, although he was worshipped alongside various deities, he does not seem to be a subsidiary deity in their cult, at least not in the cult of the two goddesses: his presence was motivated by the myth and his being well-disposed was the *conditio sine qua non* for a rich harvest. The evidence for the other cults is too ambiguous to provide any firm conclusion

The nether god as fruitful source of life, however, may be seen mostly (if not only) through the prism of the cult of the two goddesses; for whenever separated, he seems to slip into his most famous domain: death. Contrary to expectations, however, he does not seem to be worshipped in connection with the dead or an ancestral cult; but, importantly, contact with him is made through graves and Demetriac contexts as confirmed by curse tablets.

Although his main sphere of activity in Greek beliefs seems to be connected with agriculture, he is evoked also in the contexts of justice, manifested through curse tablets and his presence in the sanctuary of the Semnai Theai at Athens. The connection with these goddesses is probably not as much motivated by the alleged family relationships as by the fact that 'pollution and fertility are the two sides of a coin', as noted by Parker[434], and the joint cult of Plouton, Semnai Theai, Ge and Hermes at Athens may

[434] Parker (2005) 418, (1983) 107.

represent the moral dimension to fertility which 'depends on observance of certain rules of conduct'.

The nether god's connection to justice through its moral reflection introduces, however, also a different issue, *i.e.* the question of his connection with afterlife beliefs and through them also of his contribution to fostering piety and justice among men. Indirect evidence is provided perhaps by his occasional appearance among the gods of the city or in core cultic areas. Association with afterlife contexts appears so far only through some private (?) practices such as the so-called 'Orphic' gold leaves, and it is hard to state where the god's role as the protector of justice and order has its beginnings.

All in all, though the catalogue of the cult places of the nethergod encompasses significant variations in terms of cult realisation and characteristics, in the light of the available evidence it seems that he was not an exeptional deity in terms of his spheres of activity: he was very closely connected to human life, needs, and expectations, as if their direct reflection. Equal for everyone, regardless of civic status, age, gender, assets, origins; in an ironic way this openness reflects also his most underworldish character as the host of all.

Conclusions

Hades/Plouton may prove to be one of the most sophisticated figures in the Greek pantheon: embodying non-existence, present through the absence he caused, perceptible through almost all senses: such is the image of the cold lord of many, veiled by darkness, silent and still. No other Greek deity was equipped with details so peculiar, reflecting the needs and desires of the living as well as their eternal pursuit of familiarisation with what is unknown or beyond perception.

The analysis carried out in this work showed, first of all, that Hades/Plouton is one figure. It showed also that this single god with two names had a firm and permanent place in Greek thought and beliefs of the Archaic and Classical periods. He belonged to myths known and important throughout the Greek world, preserved both in visual and literary representations. Let us summarise the most important points of the outcome of this analysis.

The image of Hades/Plouton had great impact on the visual representations of other Greek deities connected with the earth, and lent to them his most authentic attribute: the cornucopia. Judging by the variety of preserved testimonies, both in terms of material and location, as well as the depiction of certain myths apparently unknown to us, the god, despite his intrinsic invisibility, was quite often visible to Greek eyes. The main features of his iconography, which seem to differentiate him from other deities, point to an idealisation of his image by a kindly, majestic or even melancholic representation, which apparently renders the best known side of his nature: death; the

dead are represented in a similar way on funerary *stelai*. Here another specific attribute of his also enters the picture: the key to his realm.

From literary testimonies we may infer that the nethergod existed in the ancient imagination only antithetically, being associated on different levels of experience both with other abstract concepts and with distinct gods. As an idea he existed as a kind of reversal, opposition and a negative reflection of all that belongs to the world of the living, as an embodiment of the ‘lack of’ or ‘nothingness’, as an inherent, irrevertible and indispensable element of the world. His most detectable feature remains the permeability between himself and the Underworld: the god and the place are intimately connected. His other side, connected with the riches of the earth, may be inferred only from the association with the earth itself and through the last thread of the myth according to which together with Kore everything returns to life, but this conception is never explicitly expressed. Let us also remember that even Plouton is 'the rich one (in corn)', not 'the one who gives'.

The variety of the nethergod's names is a result of his polyvalent and complex nature manifesting itself in his spheres of activity rather than of ambivalence or reluctance to use the god’s name, leading to euphemism; the nethergod is never anonymous. All his names gravitate around the idea of ‘earth’, conceptually understood as source (*e.g.*, of crops, life) and home (of the living and the dead). Individually as much as collectively, they were means of reference to certain aspects and features intrinsic to the nethergod and consistent with the conception of him as a whole.

As far as cult is concerned, he was worshipped in the most important and sacred cults of the Greek world. Although mainly visible in the company of the two goddesses, he was not a subsidiary deity in their cult; and there are also good reasons to think that he had individual cult in several places. All his spheres of activity find their reflection in the cultic contexts and surroundings in which he is found.

Although our picture has to remain incomplete if not distorted due to the predominance of Attic testimonies in our anyway sparse evidence, which is additionally scattered and complicated by local interpretations (often undecipherable through their intricacy and occurrence of otherwise unknown elements), the notion of the nethergod, seemingly contradictory at times, emerges from all the accessible testimonies as a consistent idea which manifests itself in his two inseparably united spheres of activity, which developed simultaneously. These spheres belong literally to the double-sided surface of the earth, metaphorically linking the world of the dead with that of the living, which are essentially the same.

The motif of the key is in this context very interesting and important; the idea itself, if Pausanias is to be trusted, was connected with the closure of the world of the dead, so that nobody could leave it, which means that among the Greeks that world was considered to be without return. It seems surprising indeed that the lord of the dead, while belonging to the Underworld and mirroring it, does not seem to be intrinsic to the general idea of personal survival associated with afterlife. It is true that we know almost nothing about the Greeks' expectations connected with post-mortem existence. But it must be significant that in the little that we hear (through the so-called 'Orphic' gold leaves, the Eleusinian promise, and occasional tentative allusions in funerary epitaphs

and other places introduced by a simple but meaningful and emphatic 'if'), Hades/Plouton is never mentioned. In Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* Persephone rather than Hades seems to be the focus for such eschatological hopes as there were. On the other hand, early testimonies which explicitly deny any post-mortem existence are also insignificant in number[1433]. It is hard to find an explanation of such a situation, as if we were dealing with a coincidental consensus of unreliable accounts. Perhaps all this testifies only to the fact that their hopes were completely different from our expectations, which intuitively include the nethergod in the picture.

Taking into consideration the nethergod's main roles, *i.e*. ruling and judging, as well as his double-sided sphere of activity related to earth, it seems that the figure of Hades/Plouton was essentially a product of a very sophisticated reflection on death and mortality, which eventually included also a subtle digression on morality. It seems that the nethergod might have contributed to fostering piety and justice among men through the fertility expected in exchange for the observance of certain conduct (as noticed by Parker in the Erinyes' case)[1434] rather than through the fear of post-mortem punishment, though these two factors do not necessarily exclude each other, as may be assumed on the basis of Diodorus' claim (1.2.2): *εἰ γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἐν ᾅδου μυθολογία τὴν ὑπόθεσιν πεπλασμένην ἔχουσα πολλὰ συμβάλλεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πρὸς εὐσέβειαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην*. Whether the Greeks believed in the old women's tales, *i.e*. myths about the Netherworld, according to Kallikles (Plat. *Gorg*. 527a), is a different question, to which we will probably never possess the answer.

[1433] Parker 2005, 365-6.
[1434] See section IV 6.

What seems to be valid, according to our analysis, is that Hades/Plouton was a deity very closely connected to human life, needs, and expectations: as a product of thought, he was their direct reflection. Although we must admit his image accessible to us is immersed in literary and artistic conventions, not directly in religious thought, it should be kept in mind that beliefs are rooted in imagination and nourished by it. For there is nothing in life that becomes less real for having been described.

Appendix 1: Plato's etymology of Hades

Sokrates says in Plato's *Cratylus* that people prefer to call Hades 'Plouton' due to the fear which arises at the thought of the grim lord because his name means 'invisible'[1]; there is nothing surprising in the preference for a euphemistic way of talking about terrifying things and it is quite clear that prelogically everything that is hidden, unseen, invisible must be evil in essence and evoke fear through its mysterious properties. But Sokrates reassures us that people are unduly afraid of Hades because of their false notions about his power, which in fact consists not (as is assumed) in annihilating, but in arousing desire (*ἐπιθυμία*) which overcomes all beings influenced by his enchantments as the words used by the god are so beautiful. The philosopher, playing with another etymological proposition for explaining the meaning of Hades' name (*εἰδέναι*), apparently presents the god as *τέλεος σοφιστής* and *μέγας εὐεργέτης*[2] of those both in his realm and in the upper world, and as a result as 'the bestower of knowledge' or 'dispenser of *gnosis*'; and knowledge of this kind not only is but even should be desired from the Platonic point of view.

Sokrates' considerations could be taken, perhaps, as a subtle allusion to the 'Platonic cave' (*Resp*. 514a-517a) and leaving it after death; 'could be taken' because *prima specie* in the Platonic sense *philosophia* is what releases from 'the shades/illusions of

[1] Plat. *Crat*. 403a-404b: *τὸ δὲ Πλούτωνος, τοῦτο μὲν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ <πλούτου> δόσιν, ὅτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς κάτωθεν ἀνίεται ὁ πλοῦτος, ἐπωνομάσθη· ὁ δὲ "Ἅιδης," οἱ πολλοὶ μέν μοι δοκοῦσιν ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸ <ἀιδὲς> προσειρῆσθαι τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ, καὶ φοβούμενοι τὸ ὄνομα "Πλούτωνα" καλοῦσιν αὐτόν*. See also Ademollo (2011) 193-5 for commentary on this passage. See also Plat. *Gorg*. 493b (n. 6 in section III 1). Cf. Plut. *E ap. Delph*. 394a (for quotation see n. 51 in section III 1.1), who differentiates between the features and aspects of the god rather than his spheres of activity.

[2] The latter may serve also as a hint at Plouton, a better or even more proper name for Hades in this context.

the cave'. However, the metaphorical image consisting in the reversal of the spheres of life and death symbolised by the contrasted light and darkness (the cave, the shades and the darkness in the eyes belong to the sphere of life, whereas, for instance, in Homer they are ascribed to the domain of the dead[3]; 'light', 'seeing the sun' are generally connected with life) sheds light on the curious etymology of Hades' name in *Cratylus* as 'the one who knows': the god sees the whole 'picture' (literally, what is up and down there). Thus, philosophy, like death, is a kind of passage which releases by revealing[4] and what people generally feel fear for and label 'Hades' has no more than symbolic value and might be considered as a 'state of mind'[5]. According to Plato, there is nothing terrifying in the 'invisibility' of the god and his name should not be avoided. Of course, we should be cautious in treating *Cratylus* as evidence and take into consideration Plato's tendentious use of facts for explaining certain ideas, but these considerations show, on the one hand, the popular notion of the etymology of Hades' name (at the time of Plato) and on the other, the way it could be interpreted in philosophical thought.

[3] See sections II 2.1 and III 1.
[4] On the basis of this principle we may also assume that a philosopher is in fact a seer: see *Resp*. 516e. Cf. Sedley (1998) 153-154, (2003) 95 (supplementary rather than contradictory argument).
[5] Dodds (1951) 221 and n. 77 to Plat. *Leg*. 904d: *Ἅιδην τε καὶ τὰ τούτων ἐχόμενα τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπονομάζοντες σφόδρα φοβοῦνται καὶ ὀνειροπολοῦσιν ζῶντες διαλυθέντες τε τῶν σωμάτων*.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations of periodicals are consistent with those in *L'Année philologique*; for ancient authors with the ones in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*[4] (S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth, E Eidinow, Oxford 2003) and *A Greek English Lexicon*[9] (H.G Liddell, R. Scott, H.S. Jones; Oxford 1940).

ABV	Beazley, J.D., Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters, Oxford 1956
ARV^2	Beazley, J.D., Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters, 2nd edition, Oxford 1963
Bernabé	*Poetae Epici Graeci. Testimonia et fragmenta. Pars II Orphicorum et Orphicis similium testimonia et fragment, fasc. 1-3*, Bernabé A, Monachii et Lipsiae 2004-2007
BNP	*Brill's New Pauly: encyclopaedia of the ancient world*, Cancik H. and Schneider H. (eds.), 2002-
CEG	*Carmina epigraphica Graeca*, P. A. Hansen (ed.), Berlin 1983-1989
Diels-Kranz	*Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, H. Diels, W. Kranz, Berlin 1934-1937
Dindorf	*Scholia graeca in Homeri Iliadem*, G. Dindorf (ed.), Oxford 1875
DT	*Defixionum tabellae quotquot innotuerunt: tam in Graecis orientis quam in totius occidentis partibus praeter Atticas in Corpore inscriptionum Atticarum editas*, A. Audollent (ed.), Paris 1904
Erbse	*Scholia graeca in Homeri Iliadem (scholia vetera)*, H. Erbse (ed.), Berlin 1975
Foerster	*Libanii opera,* vols. 1–4, R. Foerster (ed.), Leipzig 1903-8.
GIBM	*The Collection of Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, 5 vols. London 1874-1916: Part IV, Sect. I, *Knidos, Halikarnassos and Branchidae* (1893), G. Hirschfeld (ed.), 1893
GVI	*Griechische Vers-Inschriften*, W. Peek (ed.), Berlin 1955-1957
Hercher	*Artemidori Daldiani Onirocriticon libri V*, R. Hercher (ed.), Leipzig 1864
IGI.Locri	*Iscrizioni Greche d'Italia. Locri,* L. Del Monaco (ed.), Roma 2013
IEG	*Iambi et Elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati*, vol. I et II, M.L. West (ed.), Oxford 1972
I.Eleusis	*Eleusis, the inscriptions on stone. Documents of the Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses and public documents of the Deme*, K. Clinton (ed.), Athens 2005-2008
I.Ital.	*Imagines italicae. A Corpus of Italic Inscriptions*, M.H. Crawford (ed.), London 2011
I.Kourion	*The Inscriptions of Kourion*, T.B. Mitford (ed.), Philadelphia 1971

I.Lindos	*Lindos. Fouilles de l'Acropole 1902-1914, II Inscriptions*, vols. I-II, Blinkenberg C. (ed.), Berlin-Copenhague 1941
IvO	*Die Inschriften von Olympia*, W. Dittenberger, K. Purgold (eds.), Berlin 1896
Kaibel	*Epigrammata graeca ex lapidibus conlecta*, G. Kaibel (ed.), 1878
Kannicht	*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (TrGF), vol 5, R. Kannicht (ed.), Göttingen 2004
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologie Classicae* I-VIII, Ackermann H.Ch., Gisler J.-R., Kahil L. (eds.), Zürich-München, 1981-
Littré	*Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*, É. Littré (ed.), Paris 1849
LSCG	*Lois Sacrées des Cités Grecques*, F. Sokolowski (ed.), Paris 1969
LSCGsupp	*Lois Sacrées des Cités Grecques. Supplément*, F. Sokolowski (ed.), Paris 1962
Merkelbach/Stauber	*Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten*, R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber (eds.), vols. 1-5, Leipzig 1998-2004
Merkelbach/West	*Fragmenta Hesiodea*, R. Merkelbach, M.L. West (eds.), Oxford 1967
NIvO	*Neue Inschriftern von Olympia. Die ab 1896 veröffentlichten Texte*, P. Siewert, H. Taeuber (eds.), Wien 2013
Page	*Select papyri. Vol. 3 Literary papyri, texts, translations and notes* by D.L. Page, Cambridge [MA]-London 1970
PCG	*Poetae Comici Graeci*, R. Kassel and C. Austin (eds.), Berlin 1983-
Pfeiffer	*Callimachus*, R. Pfeiffer (ed.), Oxford 1949.
PGM	*Papyri Graecae Magicae (= die griechischen Zauberpapyri)*, K. Preisendanz, Leipzig 1928-31
Pleiades	http://pleiades.stoa.org
PLG	*Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, T. Bergk (ed.), Leipzig 1878-1882
PMG	*Poetae Melici Graeci*, D.L. Page (ed.), Oxford 1962
POxy ii	*The Oxyrynchus Papyri. Part II*, B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt (eds.), London 1899
RE	*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, A.F. von Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Witte (eds.), 1894-
Roscher	*Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, W.H. Roscher (ed.), Leipzig-Berlin 1924-37
Radt	*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (TrGF), vol 4, S. Radt (ed.), Göttingen 1999
RVA 1	*The red-figure vases of Apulia*, vol 1. *Early and middle Apulian*, A.D. Trendall, A. Cambitoglou, Oxford 1978
RVA 2	*The red-figure vases of Apulia*, vol 2. *Late Apulian*, A.D. Trendall, A. Cambitoglou, Oxford 1982
RVASupp 1	*First supplement to the red-figure vases of Apulia*, A.D. Trendall, A. Cambitoglou, Oxford 1983

RVASupp 2.1	*Second supplement to the red-figure vases of Apulia*, Part 1, A.D. Trendall, A. Cambitoglou, Oxford 1991
RVASupp 2.2	*Second supplement to the red-figure vases of Apulia*, Part 2, A.D. Trendall, A. Cambitoglou, Oxford 1992
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, H.W. Pleket, R.S. Stroud, A. Chaniotis, J.H.M. Strubbe (eds.), Amsterdam 1923-
ThCRA	*Thesaurus cultus et rituum antiquorum*, 1-7, 2004-2011

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Catalogue

Cat No	Type	Form	Provenance	Date	Mus. Inv.	LIMC	Beazley Archive	Other	Image
1	Att RF vase	Amphora	Nola	475-25 (*c*. 470)	Nap. NM H3091	Hades 77	207533		Schauenburg (1958) fig. 1
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3	Att RF vase	Plate	Vulci	450-400 (430-420)	BM E 82	Hades 44	217212		Plate 3
4	vase				Bochum S258		205401		Bemmann (1994) A11, figs 5-7
5	RF vase				Paris G370		207405		Plate 5
6	Att RF vase	Amphora	Nola	440-30	Cambridge MA, Fogg 1959.187	Hades 38	213756		Clinton (1992) fig. 66
7	Att RF vase	Amphora	Trachones	450-400 (*c*. 430)	Piraeus 343	Hades 29	215292		Clinton (1992) fig. 67
8	RF vase						28188		Bemmann (1994) 37, fig. 8
9	RF vase					Melikertes 58	218099		LIMC Melikertes 58
10	Att RF vase	Krater		4th cent.	Berlin, Pergamonmuseum 31094		218149		Parker (2005), fig. 29
11	RF vase				Paris, Cabinet des Medailles 822	Herakles 3497	231110		LIMC Herakles 3497
12	RF vase				Benevento,		30254		Schauenburg

					Museo del Sannio 635				(1986) 37.2
13	Att RF vase	Hydria	Nola	*c*. 430	BM E 183	Hades 39	215772		Bemmann (1994) 303, fig. 2
14	Att RF vase	Bell krater		425-375	Athens, P. Kanellopoulos 140		30263		Schauenburg (1986) 41.1
15	Fal RF vase	Skyphos		375-350	Heidelberg Univ. E 49	Aita, Calu 16		CVA 2 Taf. 66, 2	Schauenburg (1955) 38 fig. 1
16	?Att RF vase	Pelike	?Attika	440-30	Athens, Archaeological Mus. 16346				Plate 16
17	Att RF vase	Cup	Vulci	525-475	Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau-Museum 233	Persephone 268	201142		LIMC Persephone 268
18	Att BF vase	Hydria	Vulci	550-500 (*c*. 520)	Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. L 308	Hades 146	320029		LIMC Hades 146
19	Att BF vase	Amphora		500-490	NY MMA 41.162.178	Hades 147	305534		Plate 19 / Beazley Archive
20	BF vase	Skyphos	Hermione	525-500	Nauplion Archaeological				Plate 20

					Museum				
21	Att BF vase	Amphora		550-500 (520-10)	BM B 261	Hades 148	302171		Plate 21 / Beazley Archive
22	Att BF vase	Neck amphora	Orbetello	550-500	WUSTL Museum 3274	Kerberos 15	301753		LIMC Kerberos 15
23	BF vase		Amiens		Amiens 3057.225.47A		302870		Plate 23 / Beazley Archive
24	Att BF vase	Hydria	Vulci	530-20	Toldeo Mus. of Art 50.261	Hades 140	701	CVA Toledo I, 22, 1-2	Plate 24 / Beazley Archive
25	Att BF vase	Amphora	Caere	550-500 (520-10)	Vatican Mus. Greg. 372	Hades 137	302102/		Plate 25 / Beazley Archive
26	Att BF vase	Cup	Vulci	575-25 (540-30)	BM B 425	Hades 14	302436		LIMC Hades 14
27	Att RF vase	Bell krater		450-40	NY MMA 08.258.21	Hades 151	214585		Plate 27 / Beazley Archive
28	Att BF vase	Amphora		575-25	Hannover 1967.11		3271		Plate 28-9 / Beazley Archive
29	Att BF vase	= above reverse							Plate 28-9 / Beazley Archive
30	BF vase frags	Oinochoe		525-475	Basel HC912		7863		Schefold (1981), fig. 370

31	Att BF vase	Neck amphora		*c*. 520	New York 1974.11.1a, b			Plate 31
32	Att BF vase	= above reverse						Plate 32
33	?BF vase base	Cup	Eleusis	550-500	Eleusis Archaeological Mus. 2534	Demeter 303	44273	Oakley, Palagia (2010) 284, fig. 7, pl. 22B
34	Att BF vase	Lekythos		*c*. 520	New York 07.286.41			Plate 34
35	Att BF vase	= above reverse						Plate 35
36	Att RF vase frags	Skyphos		440-30	Eleusis Arch. Mus. 624	Hades 110	7971	Schefold (1981), fig. 372
37	Att RF vase	Hydria		475-25	Würzburg H4307		214708	Plate 37 / Beazley Archive
38	Att BF vase	White-ground lekythos		525-475	Berlin F 1998		390244	Hatzivassiliou (2010) pl. 7, 2
39	Att BF vase	= above reverse						Hatzivassiliou (2010) pl. 7, 3
40	RF vase frags	Phiale Mesomphalos		490	Malibu, J. Paul Getty Mus . 85.AE.18.1-9,	Hades 28		Robertson (1991) fig. 1b

					85.AE.185.1-3, 81.AE.213			
41	Att RF vase	Stamnos	Orvieto / Vulsinii	440-30	Florence, Mus. Arch. 75748	Hades 24	ARV 1028, 8	LIMC Hades 24
42	RF vase	Kylix	Vulci	*c*. 450			ARV 837, 9	Clinton (1992) 184, fig. 37
43	RF vase	Kylix			London, Leventis Collection: Sotheby, sale catalogue, 13-14.12.1982, p. 61, no. 219			Clinton (1992) 135, fig. 38
44	RF vase	= above reverse						Clinton (1992) 135, fig. 39
45	Att RF vase	Stamnos			Louvre G187		203793	Plate 45 / Beazley Archive
46	Att BF vase	Amphora	Vulci	*c*. 520	Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. L 197	Hades 34	404	Simon (1969) 108, fig 101
47	BF vase frag	Amphora	Lokroi	575-25	Reggio Calabria MN 4001		310415	Oakley, Palagia (2010)
48	RF vase	Volute krater	Sicily	490-80	Karlsruhe, Badisches	Hades 35		Clinton (1992)

					Landesmuseum 68.101			fig. 48
49	RF vase	Footed dinos		*c*. 470	Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 89.AE.73			Clinton (1992) fig. 44
50	RF vase	= above reverse						Clinton (1992) fig. 47
51	Att vase	White ground lekythos	Athens	500-450 (*c*. 450)	Berlin, Staatl. Mus. 3276	Hades 22	209258	LIMC Hades 22 / Beazley Archive
52	RF vase	Lekythos	Eretria	470-60	Athens, Archaeological Mus. 1301	LIMC Persephone 171	19896	Plate 52
53	RF vase	= above reverse						Plate 53
54	Sculpture	Semi-nude statue	Peiraios	Late 4th cent.				Eschbach (1986) pl. 7.1
55	Sculpture	Semi-nude statue	Peiraios	Late 4th cent.				Eschbach (1986) pl. 7.2
56	Painting	Tympanon fresco	Lefkadia	3rd cent.				Descamps-Lequime (2011) 514 fig.

					160
57	Terracotta	Mould-made relief plaque	Athens		Vikela (1994) A2, pl. 2
58	Terracotta	Mould-made relief plaque	Athens		Vikela (1994) A11, pl. 9
59		Relief	Eleusis	350-25	Parker (2005) 335-336, fig. 24
60		Relief		4th cent.	Bemmann (1994) B3, fig. 15
61		Relief	Tegea	4th cent.	Mitropoulou (1975) 68-9, fig. 50
62		Relief	Melos	4th cent.	Mitropoulou (1977) 170, fig. 85
63		Relief	Kyrene	300	Schauenburg (1955) 58-9, fig. 15

64	Sculpture	Stone relief	Melos	380-70		Comella (2002): 146-7, fig. 149
65		Relief	Oreos	4th cent.		Daux (1964) Pl. 19, fig. 1
66	Sculpture	Stone relief	Thebes			Bemmann (1994) B8, fig. 13
67	Sculpture	Stone relief	Delos			Bruneau (1970) pl. II, 2
68		Relief	Rhodes	Archaic		Fraser (1977) fig. 16
69	Terrcotta	Mould-made heads	Korinth	4th cent.		Merker (2000) C 278-80, pl. 23
70	Sculptured marble figurine	Seated figue	Sparta	6th cent.		Milchhöfer (1881) 297, pl. 17, figs. 3-3a
71a	Sculpture	Krater-shaped grave-marker		Late 4th cent.	Taranto Mus. Naz. 33330	Plate 71a
71b	Ap RF vase	Krater			Taranto Mus.	Plate 71b

					Naz. 4605			
72	Sculpture	Stele						Clairmont (1993-5) 2.464
73	Ap RF vase							Montanaro (2007) xxviii 56.1
Ad 73 (i)	Sculpture	?Stele		4th cent.	Paris, Louvre Ma 805			Plate Ad 73
Ad 73 (ii)	Scupture	?Stele		4th cent.	Athens, National Mus. 773			Plate Ad 73
74a	Ap RF vase				Münster, private collection		RVA Supp. II, 2 22a3: 274	RVA Supp. II, 2 22a3: 274
74b	Ap RF vase	Hydria		320-10	Bari, coll. Macinagrossa 26	Hades 113	RVA 871, 57	LIMC Hades 113
74c	Ap RF vase frag	?Bell krater	Taras	370-60	Amsterdam, Allard Pierson 2588	Hades 112	RVA I, 42, 39	LIMC Hades 112
75a	Ap RF vase	Volute krater		*c*. 360	BM F 277	Hades 84	RVA I 193, 5	LIMC Hades 84

75b	Ap RF vase	Loutrophoros	340-30	Port Sunlight, Lady Lever Art Gallery LL 5040	Hades 86	RVA II 501, 63	LIMC Hades 86
75c	Ap RF vase	Hydria	320-10	Sotheby 17.7.1985 no. 341 / 22.5.1989 no. 20	Hades 90	RVA Supp II.2 353	LIMC Hades 90
75d	Ap RF vase	Hydria	320-10	Hamburg Mus. KG 1982/4 / Swiss Market, Ascona, Galleria Casa Serodine??	Hades 89	RVA 871, 57a; Supp. I, 183	LIMC Hades 89
75e	Ap RF vase	Volute krater	*c*. 320	Basel art market	Hades 88	RVA Supp I, 175, 117a	LIMC Hades 88
75f	Ap RF vase	Volute krater	340-30	Berlin, Staatl. Mus. 1984.40	Hades 85	RVA Supp. II, 1, 17b, 147	LIMC Hades 85
75g	Ap RF vase	Lekythos	340-30	London art market	Hades 116	RVA Supp. I, 83, 281a	LIMC Hades 116
76h	Ap RF vase	Hydria	350-40	NY MMA 1907.128.1	Hades 115	RVA I 427, 66	LIMC Hades 115

76	Ap RF vase	Dish		?4th cent.	Vienna, private collection		RVA Supp. II, 1, 164, 331b	Linder 1984: Pl. 6-7
77a	Ap RF vase	Krater		?4th cent	Leningrad, Hermitage 1717=St424		RVA II, 930, 117	Pensa (1977) pl. 8
77b	Ap RF vase	Volute krater		330-310	Urbana, Univ. Illinois, World Heritage Museum 82.6.1	Hades 134	RVA Supp. I, 152, 23a	LIMC Hades 134
77c	Ap RF vase	Amphora		*c.* 320	BM F 332	Hades 149	RVA II, 733, 45	LIMC Hades 149
77d	Ap RF vase	?Krater		?4th cent.	Leningrad, Hermitage 1716 = St426		RVA II, 864, 19	Pensa (1977) pl. 9
78	Ap RF vase	Volute krater	Armento	?4th cent.	Naples stg. 11		RVA I, 424, 54	Pensa (1977) pl. 7
79	Ap RF vase	Volute krater		?4th cent.				Moret (1993) 1a; Edmonds (2004)
80a	Ap RF vase	Volute krater		?4th cent.	Swiss private collection		RVA II, 865, 22a	Schauenburg (1990) fig. 6

80b	Ap RF vase			?4th cent.	Münster, private collection		RVA Supp. I, 2, 274, 22a3	Moret (1993) fig. 13
80c	Ap RF vase			?4th cent.	Basel BS464		RVA 2, 865, 23	Pensa (1977) pl. 15
80d	Ap RF vase			?4th cent.	Pulsano, Guarini collection		RVA Supp. II, 2, 274, 22a2	Schauenburg (1989) fig. 6
80e	Ap RF vase			?4th cent.	German private collection		RVA Supp. II, 2, 274, 22a4	Schauenburg (1990) figs. 1-3
81a	Ap RF vase	Volute krater	Canusium	*c*. 320	Munich, Antikenslg. 3297	Hades 132	RVA Supp. I, 69	LIMC Hades 132
81b	Ap RF vase			Late Apulian	Karlsruhe B4		RVA I, 431, 81	Keuls (1974) pl. 9
81c	Ap RF vase	Volute krater		?4th cent.	Kiel B 585	Herakleidai 13	RVA Supp. II, 2, 351, A1	LIMC Herakleidai 13
81d	Ap RF vase	Volute krater		*c*. 320	Bari, Rizzou collection 51	Hades 126	RVA Supp. II, 2, 351, A2	LIMC Hades 126

81e	Ap RF vase	Amphora		340-30	Leningrad, Hermitage 1701 = St. 498	Hades 156	RVA II, 733, 46	LIMC Hades 156
82	Ap RF vase	?Krater		?4th cent.	NY market, Royal Athene Galleries HNH47, ex Hesperia Arts Ltd – Antiquities, Sale cat. 27 Nov, 1990, Part II, no. 40, 2		RVA Supp. II, 2, 274, 22a1	Schauenburg (1989) figs. 4-5
83	Ap RF vase	Volute krater		340-30	Naples NM Stg. 709	Hades 154	RVA II, 533, 284	LIMC Hades 154
84	Ap RF vase	Volute krater	Altamura	Late Apulian	Naples 3222 (inv. 81666)		RVA I, 431, 82	Pensa (1977) pl. 1-2
85	Ap RF vase	Amphora			Basel			Schmidt et al. (1976) pl. 11
85 Ad	Ap RF vase	Krater						Ciancio (1997) T21
86a	Terracotta	Relief plaque	Lokroi	500-450 (480-70)	Heidelberg Univ / MN Reggio Calabria / MN Taranto	Hades 58	Atti 8/20	LIMC Hades 58

86b	Terracotta	Relief plaque	Lokroi	500-450 (480-70)	?Heidelberg Univ / MN Reggio Calabria / MN Taranto	Atti 8/31	Plate 86b
87a	Terracotta	Relief plaque	Lokroi	480-50	?Heidelberg Univ / MN Reggio Calabria / MN Taranto	Atti 2/5	Plate 87a
87b	Terracotta	Relief plaque	Lokroi	480-50	?Heidelberg Univ / MN Reggio Calabria / MN Taranto	Atti 2/10	Plate 87b
87c	Terracotta	Relief plaque	Lokroi	480-50	?Heidelberg Univ / MN Reggio Calabria / MN Taranto	Atti 2/12	
87d	Terracotta	Relief plaque	Lokroi	480-50	?Heidelberg Univ / MN Reggio Calabria / MN Taranto	Atti 2/3	
88	Terracotta	Relief plaque	Lokroi	500-450	?Heidelberg Univ / MN Reggio Calabria / MN Taranto	Atti 2/30	

89a	Sculpture	Naiskos akroterion	Taras	?*c*. 330	Taras MN 117514	Hades 92		Carter (1975) 39-40, Pl. 1, 2a-d (1)
89b	Sculpture	Naiskos stone relief						Carter (1975) 45, Pl. 10a-c (31)
89c	Sculpture	Pedimental relief						Carter (1975) 83, Pl. 50 (290)
90	Sculpture	Semi-naked statue	Morgantina	Early 3rd cent.				Lyons et al. (2013) fig. 31
91	Sculpture	Statue head	Morgantina	*c*. 350	J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 85.AD.105			Lyons et al. (2013) fig. 133
92	Painting	Tomb wall fresco	Orvieto / Vulsinii, Tomba Golini I	*c*. 350		Aita, Calu 5	Steingraber 286 no. 32	LIMC Aita, Calu 5
93a	?Painting	Tomb wall fresco	Tarquinii, Tomba dell'Orco II	340-20		Aita, Calu 5	Steingraber 357 no. 94	Messerschmidt (1930) fig. 26
93b	= above							Plate 93b

94	RF Vase	Oinochoe	Caere	4th cent. (350-25)	Louvre K471	Aita, Calu 11ß	LIMC Aita, Calu 11
95		Sarcophagus relief	Torre San Severo	*c*. 300		LIMC IV, 1: 396.10	Messerschmidt (1930) fig. 3
96	RF vase	Stamnos	Vulci	375-350	Vatican, Mus. Greg. 14963	Aita, Calu 1	LIMC Aita, Calu 1
97	2 x RF vases	Neck amphorae	Orvieto / Vulsinii	4th cent. (350-25)	Orvieto, Mus. Faina 19 & 21 (2645.2647)	Aita, Calu 9	LIMC Aita, Calu 9
98	RF vase	Volute krater	Orvieto / Vulsinii	4th cent. (350-25)	Orvieto, Mus. Faina 20 (2646)	Aita, Calu 14	LIMC Aita, Calu 14
99	RF vase	Hydria	Vulci	4th cent.		*LIMC* IV, 1: 397.19	Haynes (2000) fig. 255
Ad 1.1	Sculpture	Relief statue base	Korinth				Williams (1974) no. 28, pl. 9
Ad 1. 1. 1.	Painting	Tomb wall fresco					Kottaridi (2007) fig. 7

Figures



Fig. 1
Fot. Schauenburg (1958) fig. 1



Fig. 2
Fot. Schauenburg (1955) fig. 4



Fig. 3
(inscriptions: *Plouton*, *Pherephatta*)
Fot. KS



Fig. 4
Fot. Bemmann (1994) A11, figs. 5-7



Fig. 5
Fot.KS



Fig. 6
Fot. Clinton (1992) 201, fig. 66



Fig. 7
(inscriptions: *Plouton*, *Pherephatta*)
Fot. Clinton (1992) 202, fig. 67



Fig. 8
Fot. Bemmann (1994) 307, fig. 8



Fig. 9
Fot. LIMC VI 2 Melikertes 58



Fig. 10
Fot. Parker (2005) 422, fig. 29



Fig. 11
Fot. LIMC V 2 Herakles 3497



Fig. 12
Fot. Schauenburg (1986) 37.2



Fig. 13
Fot. Bemmann (1994) 303, fig. 2; LIMC IV 2 Hades 39



Fig. 14
Fot. Schauenburg (1986) 41.1



Fig. 15
Fot. Schauenburg (1955) 38, fig.1



Fig. 16
Fot. KS



Fig. 17
Fot. LIMC VIII 2 Persephone 268



Fig. 18
Fot. LIMC IV 2 Hades 146



Fig. 19
Fot. Beazley Archive, University of Oxford



Fig. 20
Fot. KS



Fig. 21
Fot. Beazley Archive, University of Oxford



Fig. 22
Fot. LIMC VI 2 Kerberos 15



Fig. 23
Fot. Beazley Archive, University of Oxford



Fig. 24
Fot. Beazley Archive, University of Oxford



Fig. 25
Fot. Beazley Archive, University of Oxford



Fig. 26
Fot. LIMC IV 2 Hades 14





Fig. 27
(inscriptions: *Hades*, *Pherephatta*)
Fot. Beazley Archive, University of Oxford



Figs. 28-29
Fot. Beazley Archive, University of Oxford

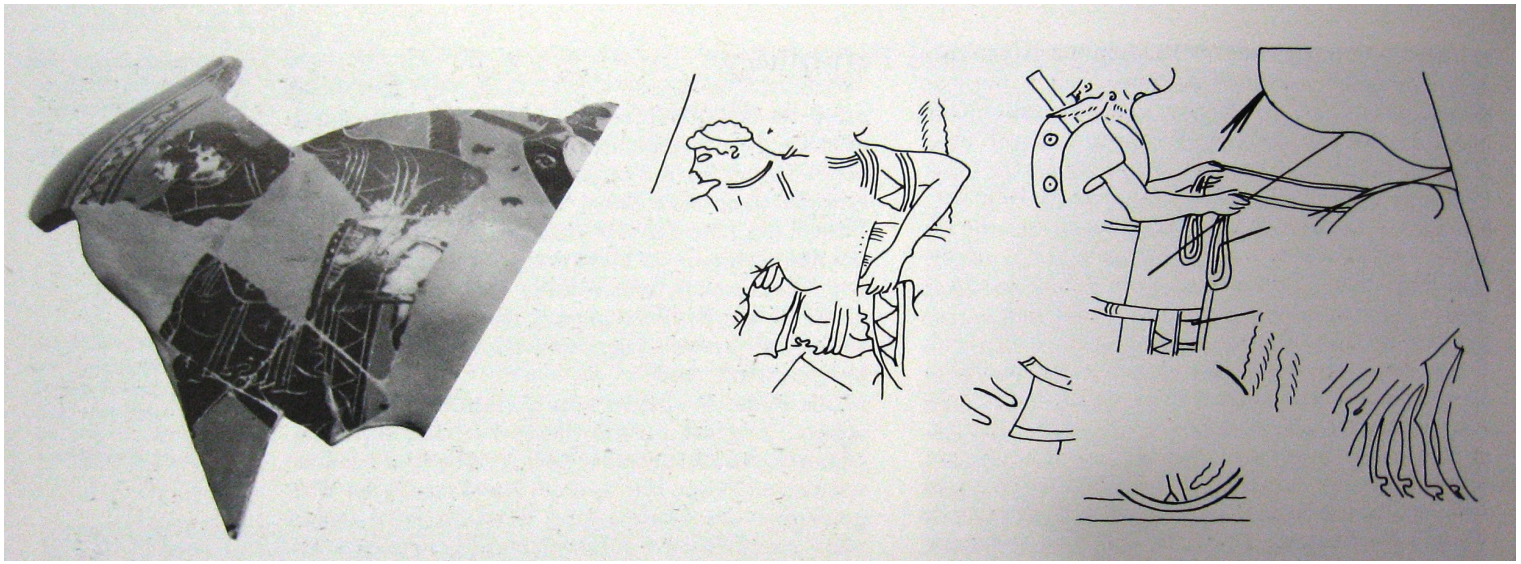


Fig. 30
Fot. Schefold (1981) fig. 370



Fig. 31-32
Fot. KS



Fig. 33
Fot. Oakley, Palagia (2010) 284, fig. 7, pl. 22B



Fig. 34-35
Fot. KS

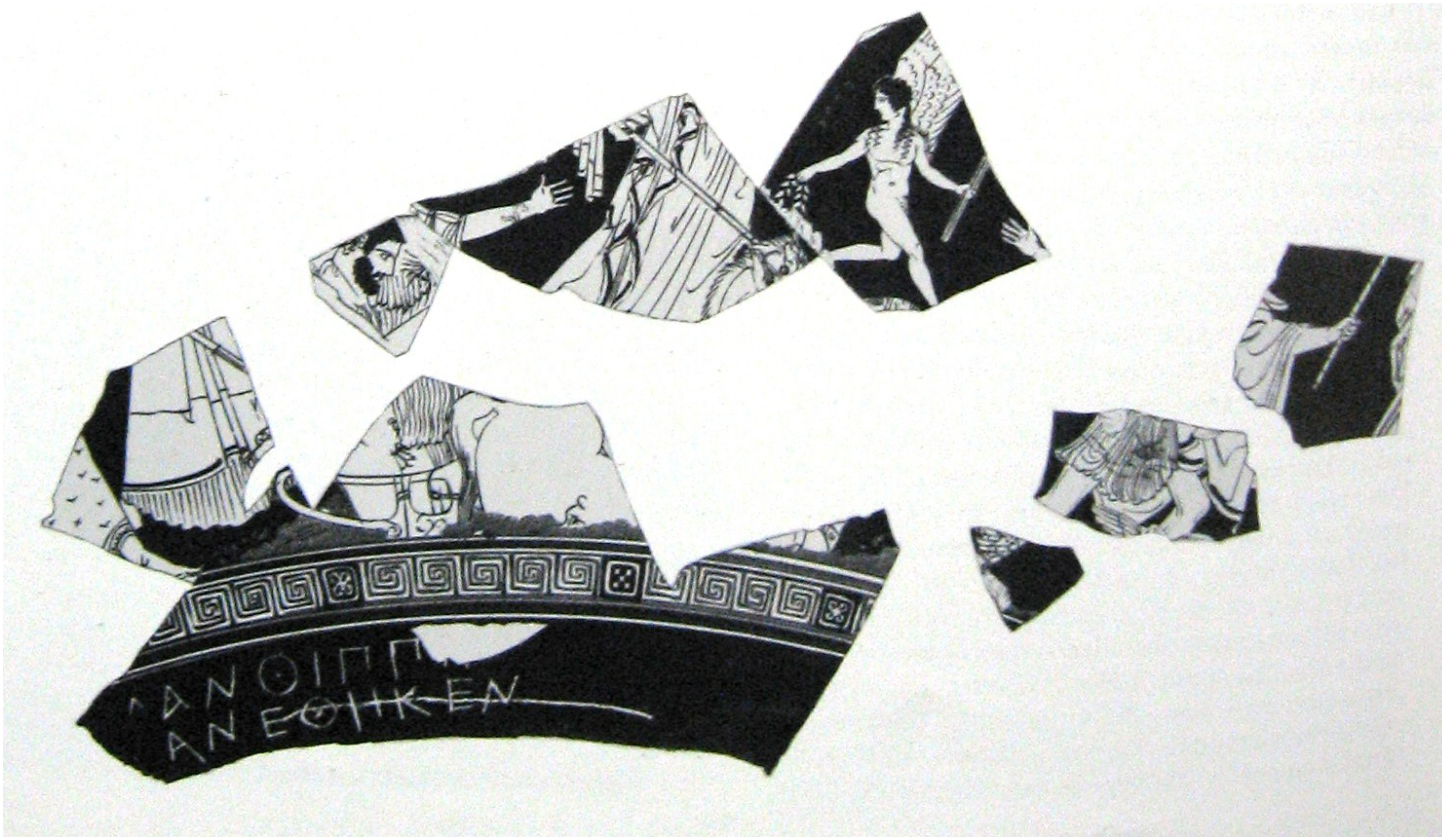


Fig. 36
Fot. Schefold (1981) fig. 372



Fig. 37
Fot. Beazley Archive, University of Oxford



Figs. 38-39
Fot. Hatzivassiliou (2010) pl. 7, 2-3



Fig. 40
Fot. Robertson (1991) fig. 1b



Fig. 41
Fot. LIMC IV 2 Hades 24

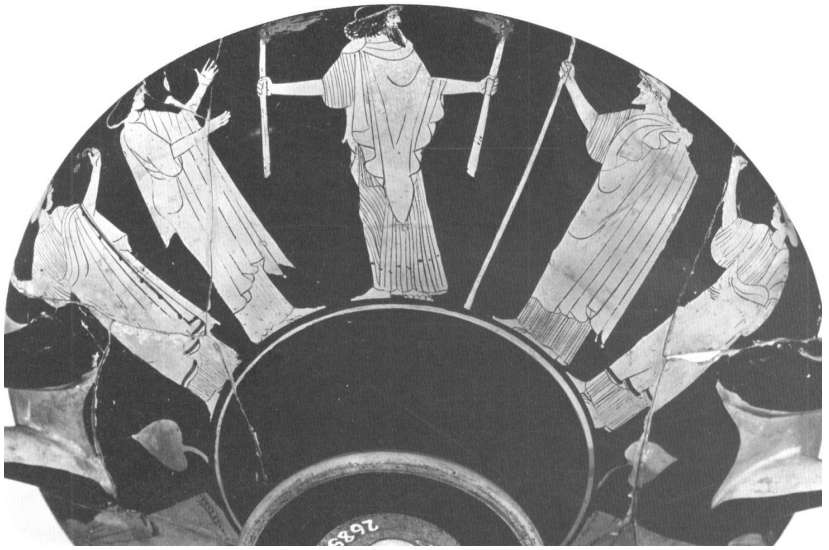


Fig. 42
Fot. Clinton (1992) 184, fig. 37

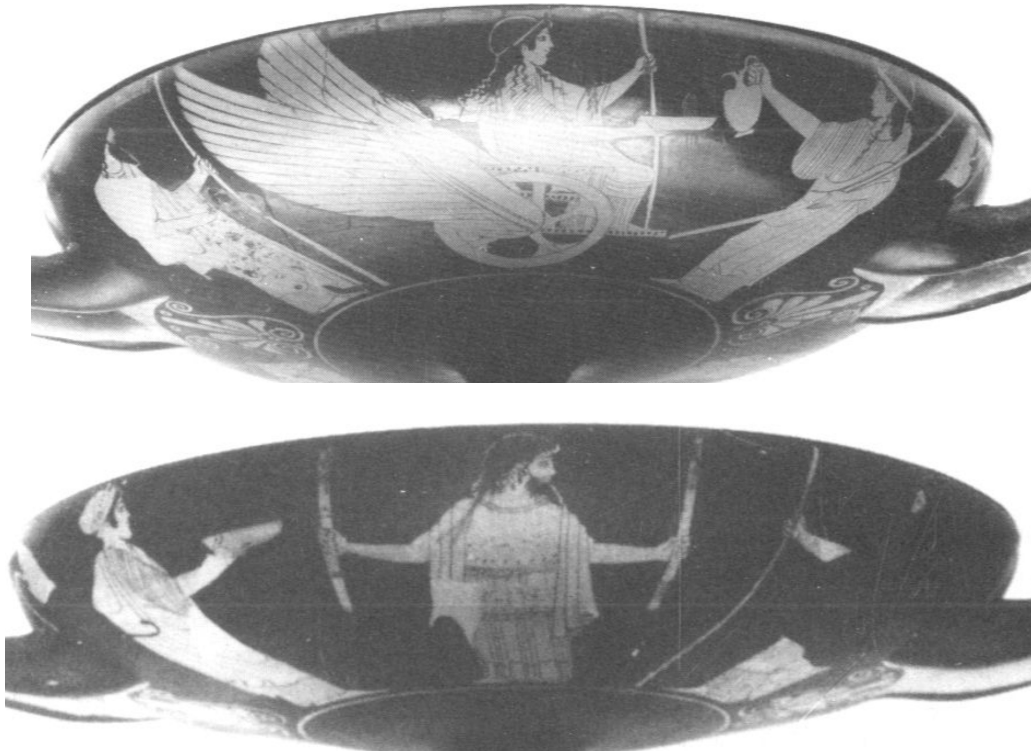


Fig. 43-44
Fot. Clinton (1992) 135, figs. 38-39



Fig. 45
Fot. Beazley Archive, University of Oxford



Fig. 46
Fot. Simon (1969) 108, fig 101

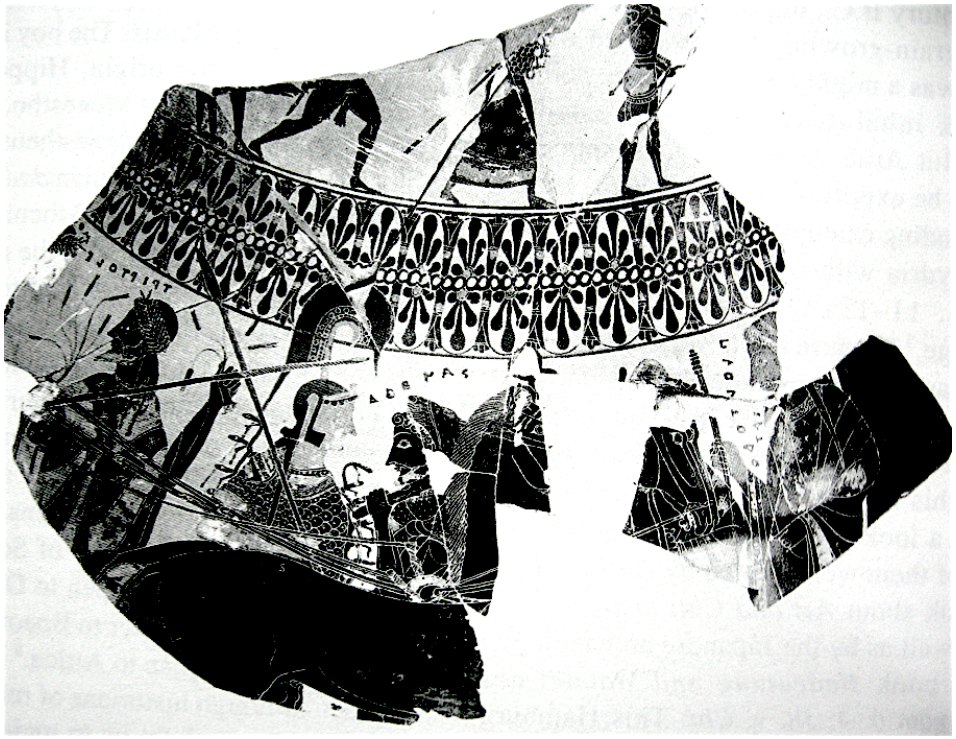


Fig. 47
Fot. Oakley, Palagia (2010)



Fig. 48
Fot. Clinton (1992) fig. 48





Fig. 49-50
inscriptions: *Theos*, *Pherephatta*
Fot. Clinton (1992) 188, 190, figs. 44, 47



Fig. 51
Fot. LIMC IV 2 Hades 22; Beazley Archive, University of Oxford



Fig. 52
Fot. KS



Fig. 53
Fot. KS



Fig. 54
Fot. Eschbach (1986) pl. 7.1



Fig. 55
Fot. Eschbach (1986) pl. 7.2



Fig. 56
Fot. Descamps-Lequime (2011) 514 fig. 160



Fig. 57
Fot. Vikela (1994) A2, pl. 2



Fig. 58
Fot. Vikela (1994) A11, pl. 9

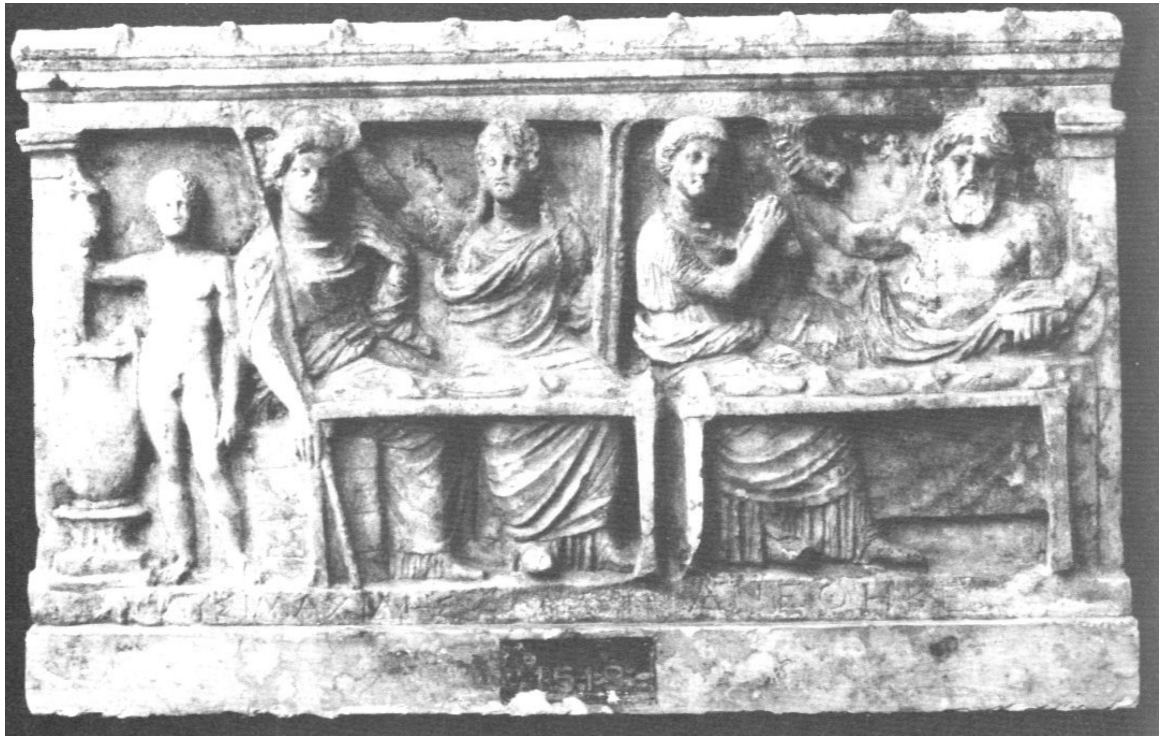


Fig. 59
Fot. Parker (2005) 335-336, fig. 24



Fig. 60
Fot. Bemmann (1994) B3, fig. 15



Fig. 61
Fot. Mitropoulou (1975) 68-9, fig. 50



Fig. 62
Fot. Mitropoulou (1977) 170, fig. 85



Fig. 63
Fot. Schauenburg (1955) 58-9, fig. 15



Fig. 64
Fot. Comella (2002): 146-7, fig. 149



Fig. 65
Fot. Daux (1964) Pl. 19, fig. 1



Fig. 66
Fot. Bemmann (1994) B8, fig. 13

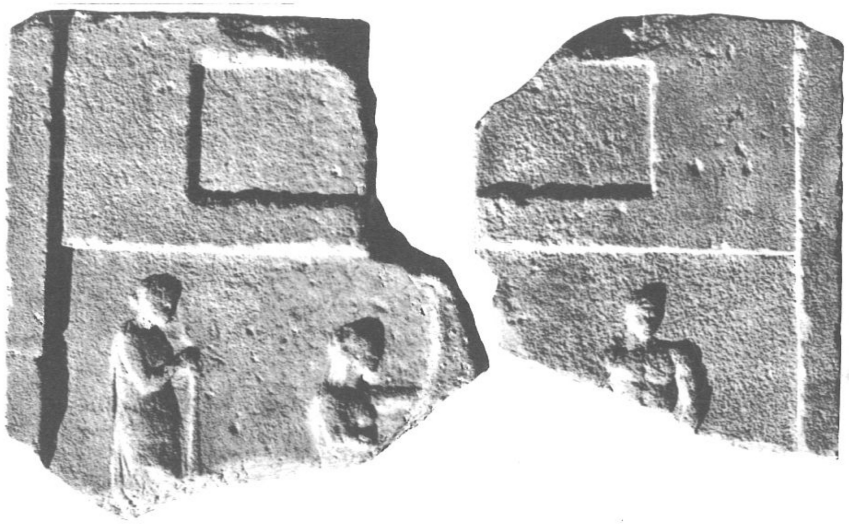


Fig. 67
Fot. Bruneau (1970) pl. II, 2



Fig. 68
Fot. Fraser (1977) fig. 16



Fig. 69
Fot. Merker (2000) C 278-80, pl. 23

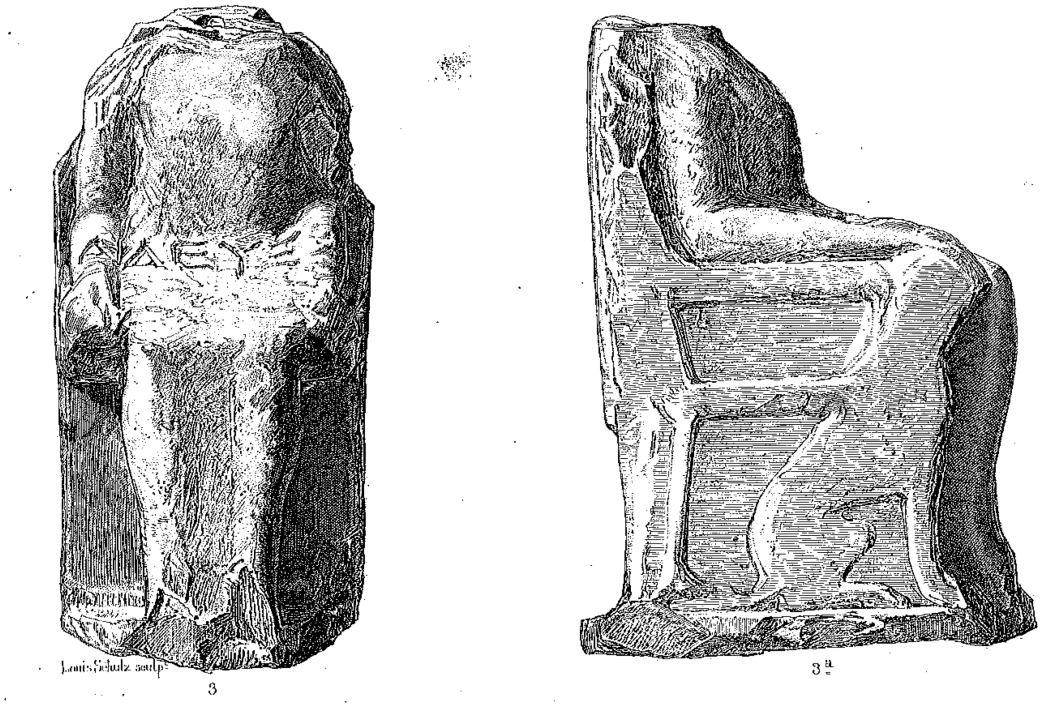


Fig. 70
Fot. Milchhöfer (1881) 297, pl. 17, figs. 3-3a

Fig. 71 (a,b)



Grave marker in the shape of
volute krater late 4th BC
Taranto Mus. Naz. 33330
Fot. KS



Apulian krater, 4th BC
Taranto 4605



Fig. 72
Fot. Clairmont (1993-5) 2.464



Fig. 73
Fot. Montanaro (2007) xxviii 56.1



Ad 73 (Paris, Louvre Ma 805, 4th BC and Athens, National Mus. 773, 4th BC)
Fot. KS



Fig. 74a
Fot. RVASupp. II, 2 22a3: 274



Fig. 74b
Fot. LIMC IV Hades 113

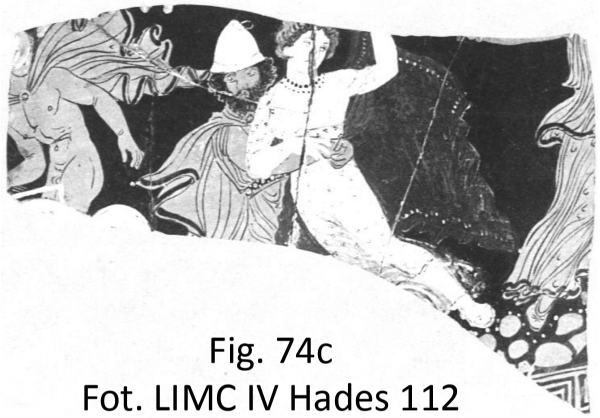


Fig. 74c
Fot. LIMC IV Hades 112



Fig. 75a
Fot. LIMC IV Hades 84



Fig. 75b
Fot. LIMC IV
Hades 86



Fig. 75c
Fot. LIMC IV Hades 90



Fig. 75d
Fot. LIMC IV Hades 89



Fig. 75e
Fot. LIMC IV Hades 88



Fig. 75f
Fot. LIMC IV Hades 85



Fig. 75g
Fot. LIMC IV Hades 116



Fig. 75h
Fot. LIMC IV Hades 115



Fig. 76
Fot. Linder 1984: Pl. 6-7



Fig. 77a
Fot. Pensa (1977) pl. 8



Fig. 77b
Fot. LIMC IV Hades 134

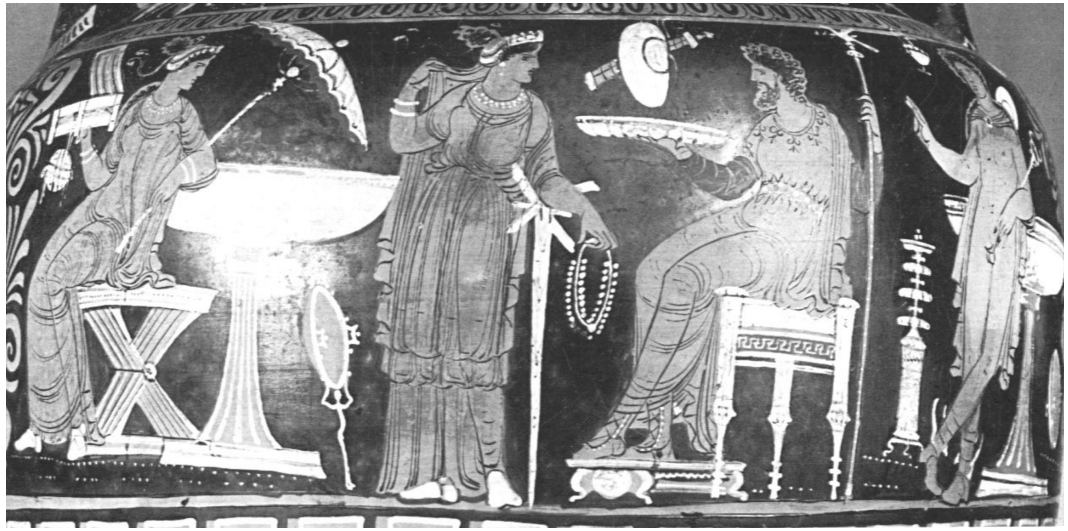


Fig. 77c
Fot. LIMC IV Hades 149



Fig. 77d
Fot. Pensa (1977) pl. 9



Fig. 78
Fot. Pensa (1977) pl. 7





Fig. 79
Fot. Moret (1993) 1a; Edmonds (2004)



Fig. 80a
Fot. Schauenburg (1990) fig. 6



Fig. 80b
Fot. Moret (1993) fig, 13



Fig. 80c
Fot. Pensa (1977) pl. 15



Fig. 80d
Fot. Schauenburg (1989) fig. 6



Fig. 80e
Fot. Schauenburg (1990) figs. 1-3



Fig. 81a
Fot. LIMC IV Hades 132



Fig. 81b
Fot. Keuls (1974) pl. 9



Fig. 81c
Fot. LIMC IV Herakleidai 13



Fig. 81d
Fot. LIMC IV Hades 126

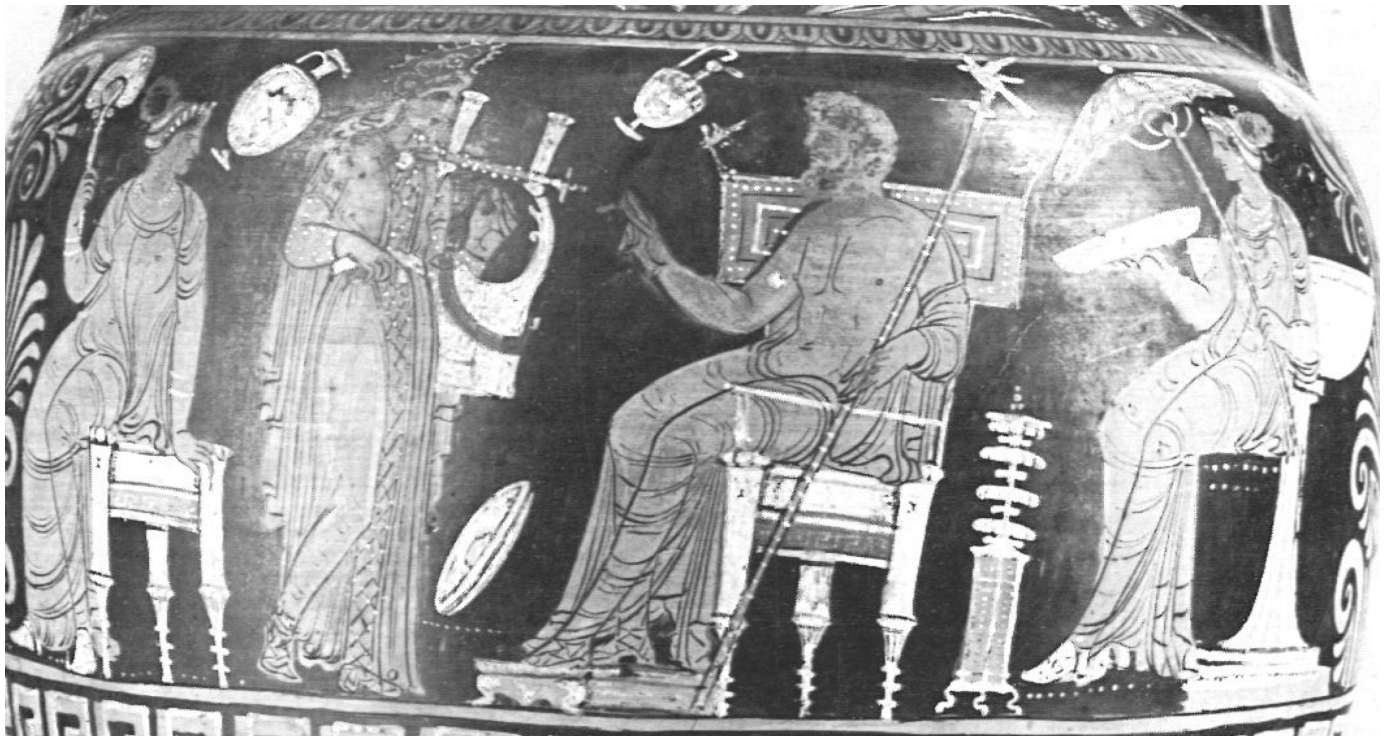


Fig. 81e
Fot. LIMC IV Hades 156

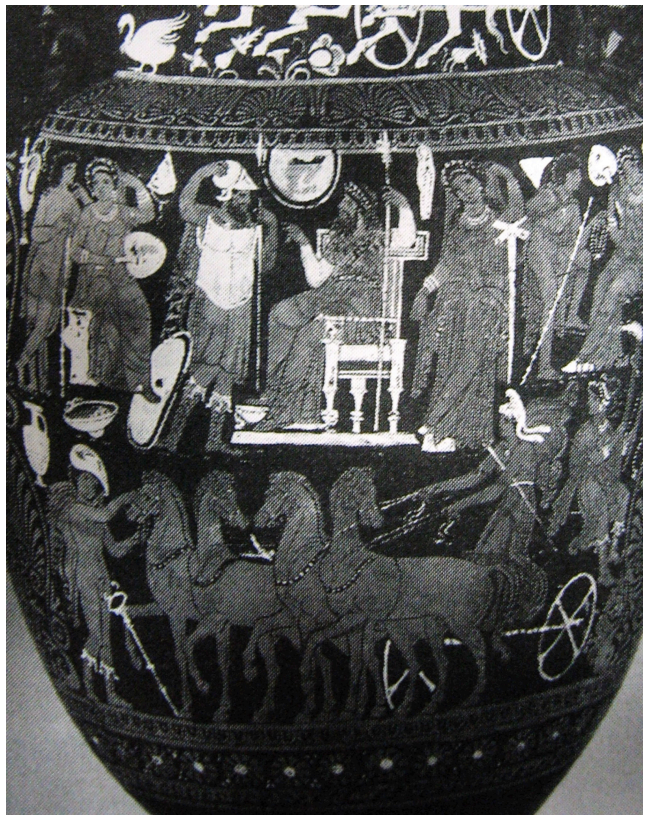


Fig. 82
Fot. Schauenburg (1989) figs. 4-5

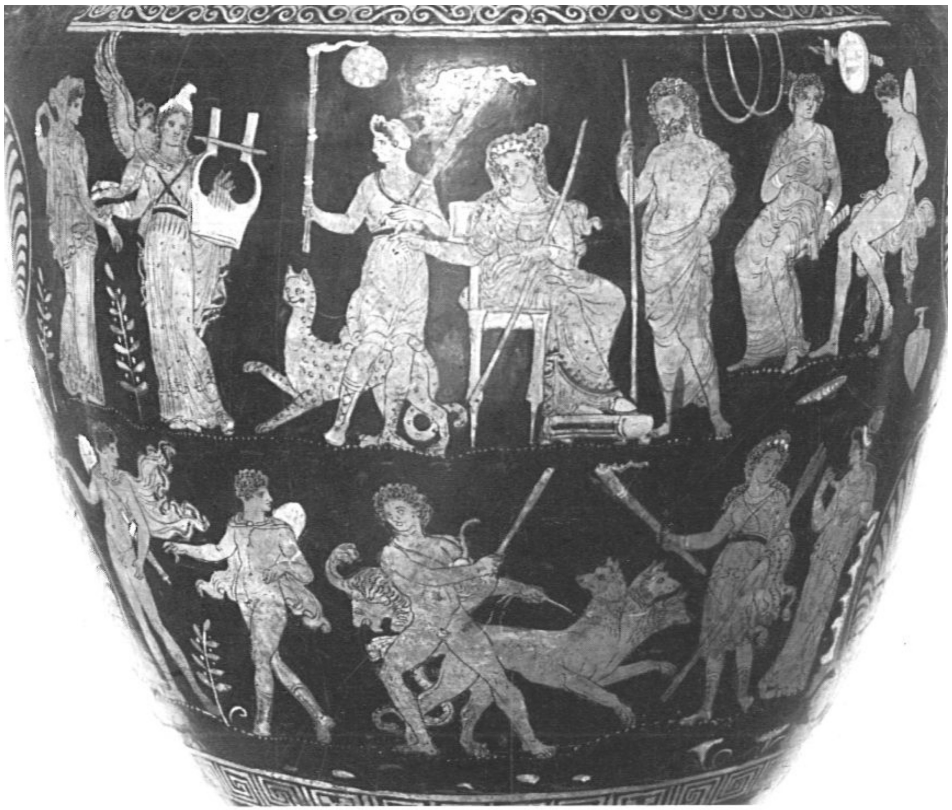


Fig. 83
Fot. LIMC IV Hades 154

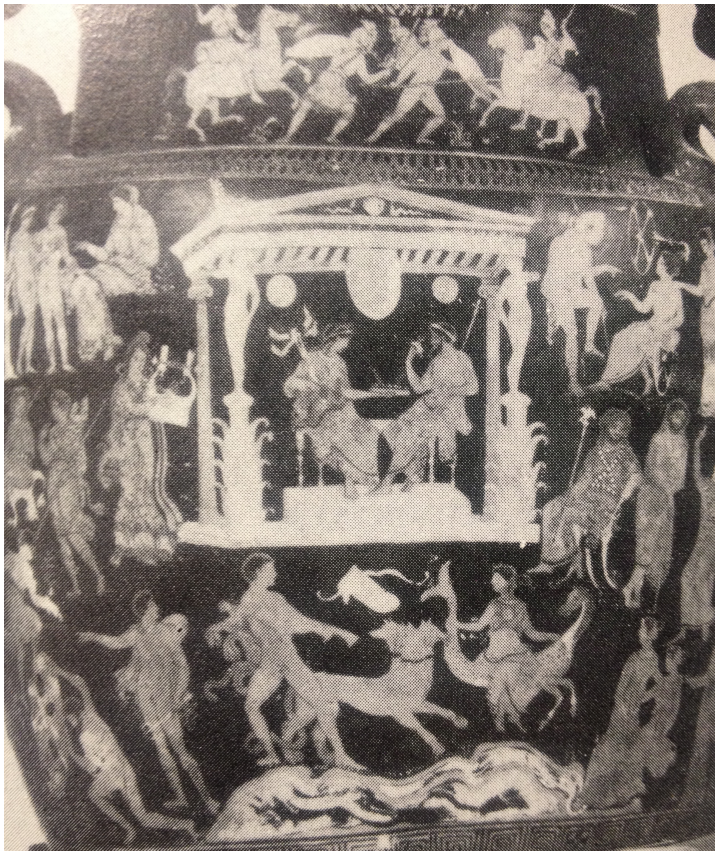


Fig. 84
Fot. Pensa (1977) pl. 1-2



Fig. 85
Fot. Schmidt et al. (1976) pl. 11



Ad Fig. 85
Fot. Ciancio (1997) T21



Fig. 86a (Atti type 8/20
Fot. LIMC IV Hades 58



Fig. 86b (Atti type 8/31)
Fot. KS



Fig. 87a (Atti type 2/5)
Fot. KS



Fig. 87b (Atti type 2/10)
Fot. KS



Fig. 87c
Fot. Atti (type 2/12)

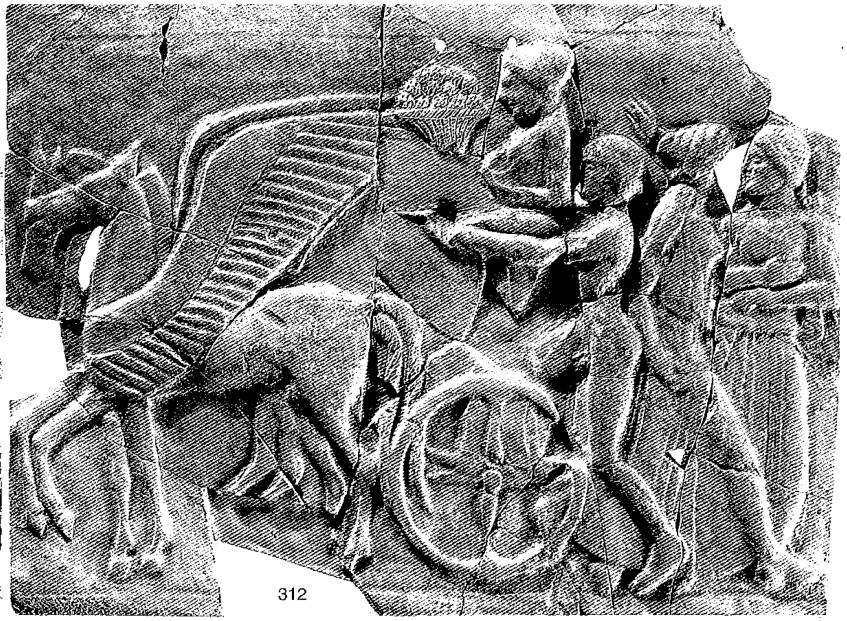


Fig. 87d
Fot. Atti (type 2/3)

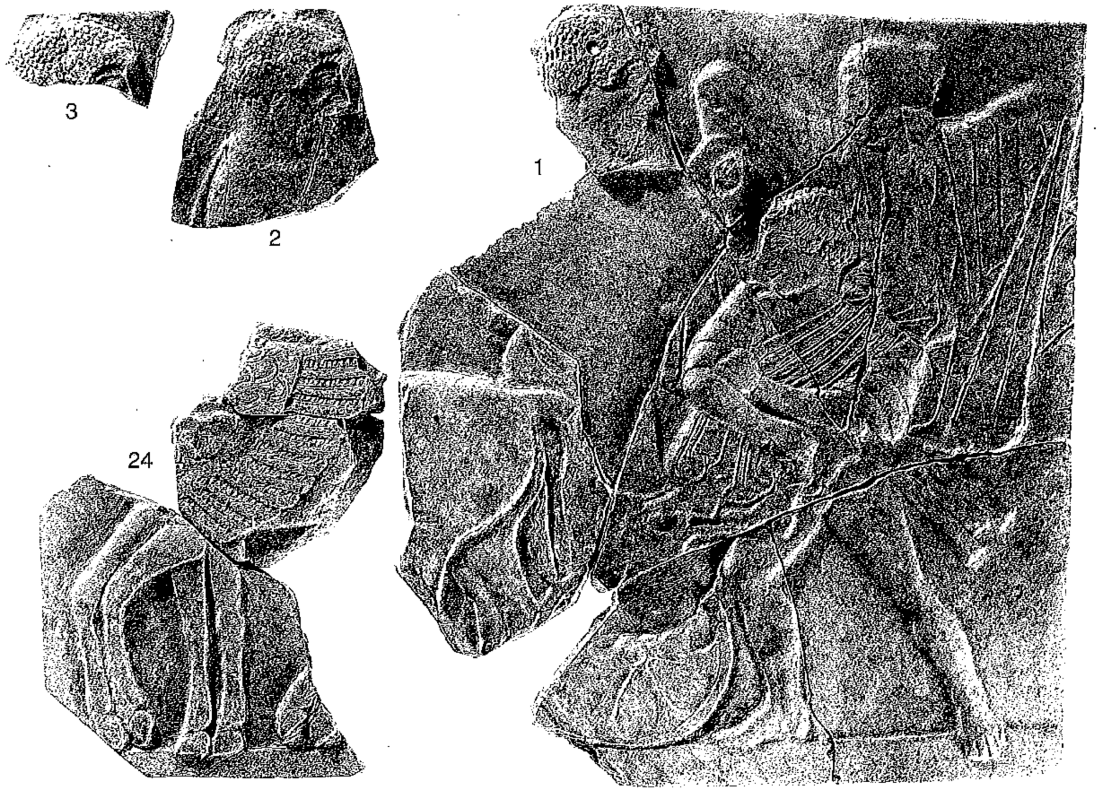


Fig. 88
Fot. Atti type 2/30



Fig. 89a
Fot. Carter (1975) 39-40, Pl. 1, 2a-d (1)

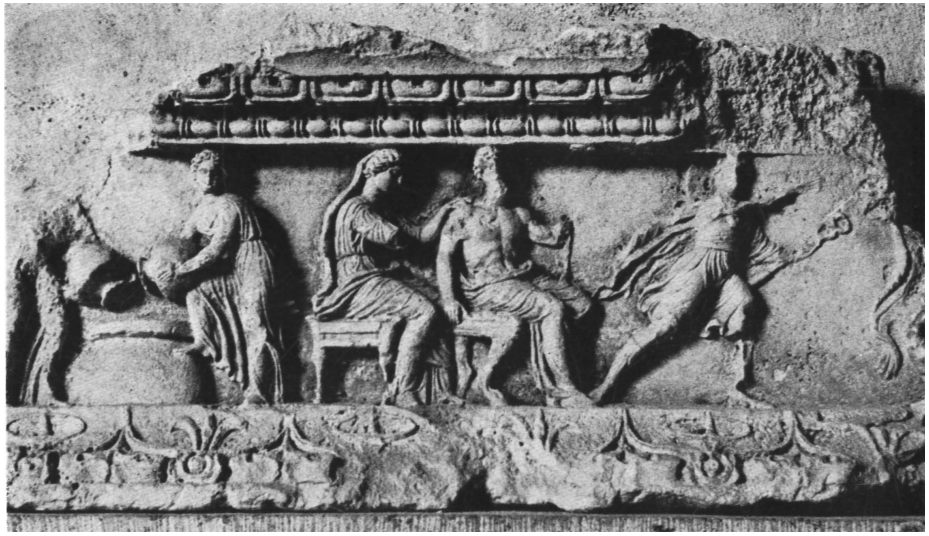


Fig. 89b
Fot. Carter (1975) 45, Pl. 10a-c (31)



Fig. 89c
Fot. Carter (1975) 83, Pl. 50 (290)



Fig. 90
Fot. Lyons et al. (2013) fig. 31



Fig. 91
Fot. Lyons et al. (2013) fig. 133

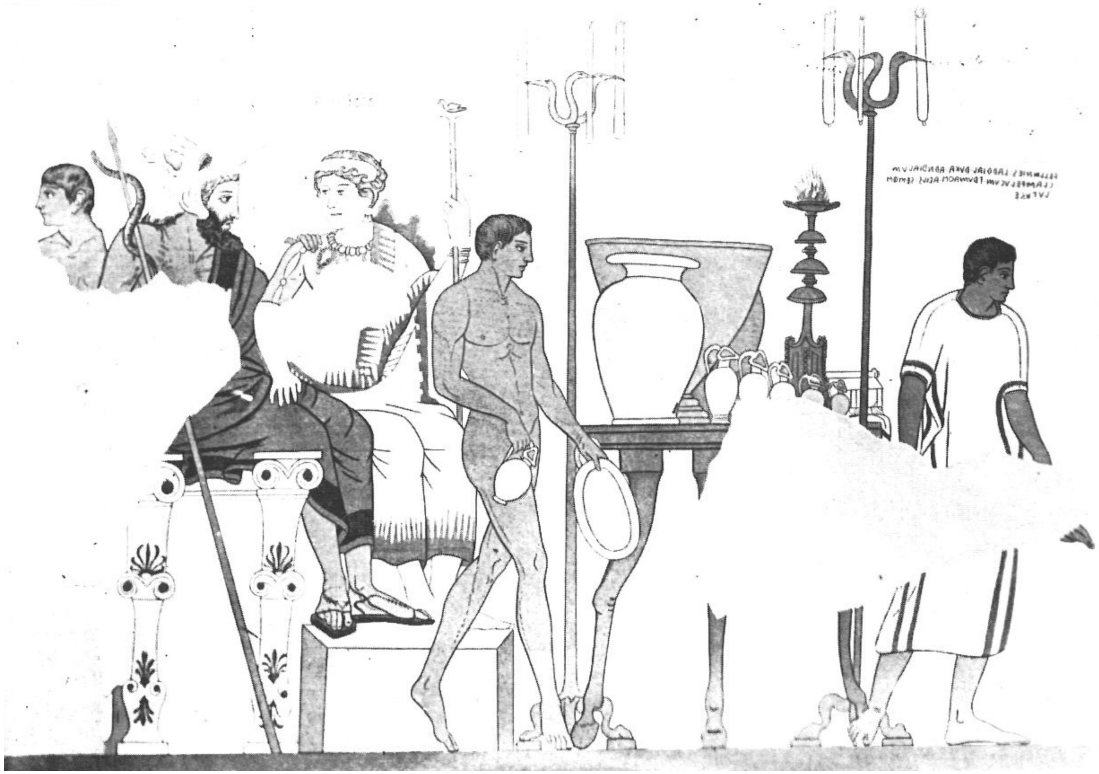


Fig. 92
Fot. LIMC IV Aita, Calu 5



Fig. 93a
Fot. Messerschmidt (1930) fig. 26



Fig. 93b
Fot. KS



Fig. 94
Fot. LIMC IV Aita, Calu 11



Fig. 95
Fot. Messerschmidt (1930) fig. 3



Fig. 96
Fot. LIMC IV Aita, Calu 1



Fig. 97
Fot. LIMC IV Aita, Calu 9

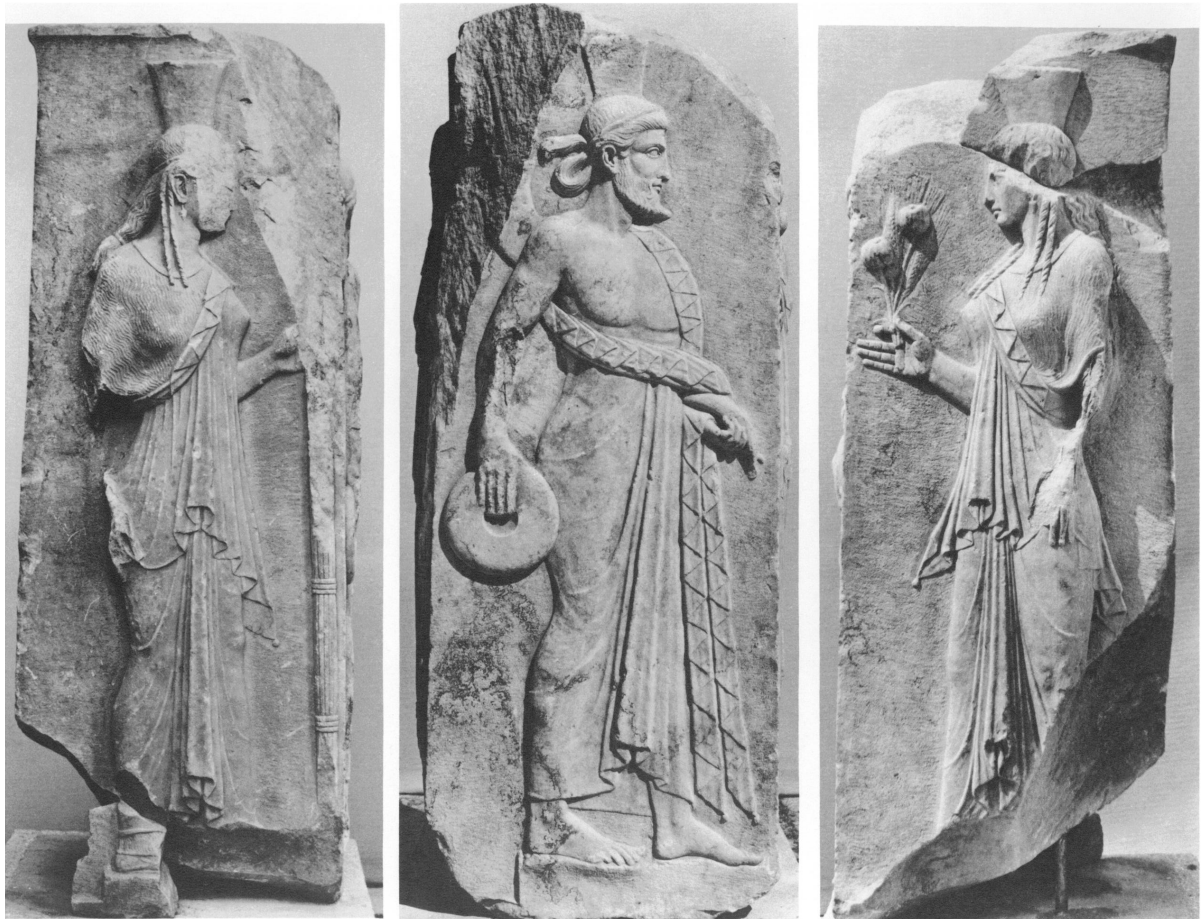


Fig. 98
Fot. LIMC IV Aita, Calu 14



Fig. 99
Fot. Haynes (2000) fig. 255

Ad 1.1 Mentioned in literary sources



Corinthian rectangular statue base (n. 13)
Fot. Williams (1974) no. 28, pl. 9

Ad 1.1.1 Plouton with a key



Tomb of Persephone (n. 25)
Fot. Kottaridi (2007) fig. 7

Ad 3.2.1 ‘Homage’ scenes

Giant fennel (ferula communis; n. 271)
Fot. Baumann (1993) fig. 95

