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Leto as Mother: Representations of Leto with Apollo and Artemis in Attic Vase Painting of the Fifth Century B.C.

Apollo, Leto, and Artemis occupy high positions in the Greek pantheon. Leto, the Titaness daughter of Coeus and Phoebe (Hes. theog. 406–408), gave birth to the most glorious children, Apollo and Artemis, who instantly became part of the Olympian family and were worshipped all over the Greek world[1]. A very common representation on fifth-century vases is one of Leto appearing with her children, the ›Apollonian triad‹, either alone or accompanied by other mainly divine figures, holding phialai and oinochoai and often pouring or about to pour liquids from these vessels onto the ground or onto an altar as will be demonstrated[2]. The act of pouring a liquid, such as wine[3], usually onto an altar or onto the ground – libation – is considered among the most common ritual acts of the ancient Greeks[4].

Depictions of the Apollonian triad involved in the performance of libations have been interpreted as an artistic representation of Apollo's atonement for slaying the monster Python, guardian of the oracle at Delphi[5]. Alternatively, the libation scenes have been understood as religious propaganda, exercised by the Athenians after the formation of the Delian League (478/477 B.C.) because Apollo was regarded as the protector of the newly-formed League centered around the god's sanctuary on Delos[6]. In addition, various scholars have used the Apollonian triad motif in libation scenes, along with other examples of gods making libations, to analyse and interpret the ritual act itself in various ways as will be indicated.

My survey of 50 Attic vases of the fifth century B.C. depicting the Apollonian triad in libation scenes led me to investigate this iconographical motif from a different perspective[7]. No previous study has given adequate attention

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1 E. g. see Burkert 1987, 143–152 and Larson 2007, 87–113, who list locations where the two deities were worshipped.

2 The study is limited to fifth-century vase paintings given that the motif under consideration, that is, the Apollonian triad performing libations, is not (yet) attested in other media (e. g. sculpture) during the fifth century B.C. See most recently Vikela 2015 for a study of Apollo, Artemis, and Leto in votive reliefs.

3 Wine was a favorite liquid for libations, but water, milk, oil, or honey have been also reported. See Patton 2009, 33.

4 Humans offered libations to the gods or heroes on several occasions, such as before voyaging (e. g. Hom. Od. 2, 430 f.), before departing for war (e. g. Thuk. 6, 32, 1 f.), before any sacrifice (e. g. Aristoph. Pax 1051–1060), as part of prayer (e. g. Hdt. 7, 192), to seal an oath, a contract or a peace treaty (e. g. Xen. hell. 7, 4, 36), at the start of a symposion (e. g. Thgn. Eleg. 1, 757–764), etc. For the libation ritual in general, see Burkert 1987, 70–73; ThesCRA I (2004) 237–241 s. v. libations (E. Simon); Lissarrague 1985, 3–8. 14; Lissarrague 1995; Patton 2009, 27–56.

5 Simon 1953, 13–38.

6 Tiverios 1986; Shapiro 1996.

7 The Attic material has been compiled from a comprehensive study of the published corpus of Attic vases listed in the CVA, the Beazley archive (ABV, ARV^2, Beazley, Para., Beazley Addenda^2, Beazley Archive Pottery Database [BAPD] <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/pottery>), and the LIMC, museum catalogues, monographs and any other

to the idea that a divine family[8] is represented and instead focused particularly on Apollo. The underlying assumption in this research is that images of Leto with children evoke certain connotations, which are different from those evoked by scenes that show only the two siblings. Therefore, this article does not examine depictions of Apollo and Artemis alone making a libation, that is, without Leto, which are well-attested in Attic vase painting of the fifth century B.C. My aim is to demonstrate that Leto's presence with her children is more significant than previously thought, that the literary, epigraphic, visual, and archaeological evidence particularly emphasised Leto's capacity as a mother. Therefore, the inclusion of Leto in the iconographical motif under examination here emphasises Apollo's and Artemis' kourotrophic function as gods who preside over children's growth into adulthood.

Leto as Mother

Before discussing depictions of Leto with her children in libation scenes on Attic vases of the fifth century B.C., it is essential to acknowledge Leto's association with motherhood. Therefore, I consider Leto's role in Greek literature, where her maternal aspects receive special emphasis. Then we shall turn to the earliest certain depiction of Leto in Greek art, which offers visual evidence for the same perception of the goddess.

The close family ties between Apollo, Leto and Artemis are present in the earliest extant Greek literature. Apollo and Artemis are the offspring of Leto and Zeus and their family relations are well attested by the two Homeric poems (eighth century B.C.)[9], the Iliad and Odyssey. They fight together as a family on the side of the Trojans (Il. 20, 38–40) and take part in the battle of the gods (Il. 20, 58–72). When Artemis, beaten by Hera on the battle field (Il. 21, 480–496), leaves all her weapons behind and runs weeping to her father Zeus in Olympos, it is Leto, who retrieves the weapons of her beloved daughter (Il. 21, 497–504). In Iliad 5, mother and daughter take care of the wounded Aeneas after Apollo rescued him from the battlefield (445–450). In addition, the strong relationship between the mother Leto and her children is well demonstrated by the myth of Niobe, mentioned in Iliad 24 (605–609). Niobe boasted that she had more offspring, namely six sons and six daughters, than did Leto. Apollo and Artemis did not leave this offense towards their mother unpunished and mercilessly killed Niobe's twelve children in revenge[10]. The story of Niobe is not the only incident where brother and sister protect the honour of their beloved mother. They are later mentioned in the account of Tityos' punishment for insulting Leto (e. g. Pind. P. 4, 90) and in the story of Apollo killing the monster Python who threatened Leto on her way to Delphi (e. g. Eur. Iph. T. 1239–1251; Paus. 2, 7, 7).

Leto's capacity as a mother is not only demonstrated by her close relationship with her children and vice versa, but also accentuated by her experience of childbirth, specifically with her difficult and painful delivery of Apollo on the island of Delos as the Homeric Hymn to Apollo recounts (seventh or sixth century B.C.)[11]. According to the Homeric Hymn, Leto was in pain nine days and nine nights (91 f.) because Hera kept Eileithyia, the goddess of childbirth (e. g. Hom. Il. 16, 187), on Olympos (99 f.). However, as soon as Eileithyia set foot on Delos, Leto gave birth to Phoebus (115–117). The Hymn goes on to present the delivery of the two children separately – Apollo's on rocky Delos and Artemis's on Ortygia (16) – and it is not until the fifth century that the two are said to have been born in the same location: in his twelfth Paian, Pindar

article that includes representations of the motif in question.

8 It should be noted that this is not a complete family, since Zeus, the father of Apollo and Artemis, does not appear with the divine trio. As far as I know, representations of the Apollonian triad together with Zeus pouring libations in fifth-century vase paintings, as well as in other media (e. g. sculpture, coins, etc.) of the same period, have not yet been attested. It seems to me that Zeus' absence from the iconography should not surprise us, since the god is hardly attested in scenes that show members of Zeus' family (child/children with its/their mother), such as for example scenes of Demeter and Kore.

9 The issue, among others, of when the Iliad and Odyssey were first written down has been the focus of scholarly attention and debate. Some scholars, such as Kirk 1985, 4–16 and West 1995, 203–219 argue that the poems were written down as soon as they were composed, that is, between the eighth and seventh century B.C. Other scholars, such as, for example, Nagy 1996, 65–112 and Seaford 1994, 144–154 date their written form to the sixth century B.C.

10 For Artemis in Homer, see Skafte-Jensen 2009, 51–59; for Apollo, see Graf 2009, 9–14; for Leto, see LIMC VI (1992) 256 s. v. Leto (L. Kahil – N. Icard-Gianolio).

11 Scholars debate the date of the Hymn usually regarded as a combination of two separate hymns (Delian and Pythian). Richardson 2010, 15 dates the Hymn as a whole to the early sixth century B.C., but see also Chappell 2011, 59–81, who discusses the problem of the Hymn's unity, argues for its division, and provides earlier bibliography.

Fig. 1 London, British Museum inv. 1971.11-1.1. Sophilos' lebes (detail), ca. 580 B.C., Leto in the procession of deities attending the wedding of Peleus and Thetis

calls Apollo and Artemis »twins« (δίδυμοι παῖδες) and locates both children's birthplace on Delos (fr. 52m 14–17).

Leto's association with childbirth is well attested in later literary tradition, as well. The fourth-century B.C. orator Hyperides (fr. 67, C. Jensen) refers to an Attic tradition according to which Leto loosened her girdle on Cape Zoster on the south coast of Attica before giving birth to Artemis and Apollo on Delos. In his Hymn to Delos (205–259), Callimachus narrates the legendary birth of Apollo preceded by Leto's wanderings in search of a place to give birth. The poet emphasises her suffering by the long list of places where she attempted to do so. Lucian in Dialogi Marini (10) informs us about the intervention of Poseidon, who provided a safe place for Leto to give birth by drawing forth Delos from the depths of the sea and fixing the island in place[12].

In addition to these texts, Greek epigraphic evidence equates Leto and the ›mother goddess‹ in Lycia during the fourth century B.C.[13]. It seems that the ancient Greeks linked Leto with εὐτεκνία, as well the blessing of good, healthy children as Theocritus' 18 Idyll (50 f.), a wedding song for Helen, testifies: »may Leto kourotrophos give good children to you« (Λατὼ μὲν δοίη, Λατὼ κουροτρόφος ὔμμιν εὐτεκνίαν).

Thus, literary sources provide evidence of Leto's role as the mother of Apollo and Artemis and emphasise the strong bond that ties this mother to her children, while her connection with childbirth is well demonstrated by her own story of giving birth. The earliest certain representation of Leto in Greek art also offers evidence for the same perception of Leto already from the first quarter of the sixth century B.C.

Leto appears in the procession of deities attending the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, which is depicted on the top frieze of an Attic black-figure nuptial lebes of ca. 580 B.C. signed by Sophilos[14]. All the figures are labeled, thus securing their identification. Sophilos has included Leto in the first group of guests, where she walks next to Chariklo and behind the pair Hestia and Demeter (Fig. 1). Although Leto is known to be Apollo's and Artemis' mother already from the Homeric poems, she does not appear alongside her children. Instead, Apollo carrying his kithara rides the chariot alongside Hermes, while Artemis holding her bow appears with Athena. As Williams argued, Sophilos places the three deities – Leto, Chariklo, and Demeter – in proximity to Hestia,

12 For the literary sources regarding the birth of Apollo and Artemis in general, see R.E Suppl. V (1931) 565–569 s. v. Leto (F. Wehrli); LIMC VI (1992) 256 s. v. Leto (L. Kahil – N. Icard-Gianolio).

13 See Bryce 1983, 10. See also the Lycian-Greek-Aramaic trilingual inscription (fourth century B.C.), found at the sanctuary of Leto in Xanthos of Lycia. Leto occurs in the Greek and Aramaic text, while in the corresponding Lycian text she is named »Mother of the temenos«. For the Greek text, see Metzger 1974, 82–93, for the Lycian text, see Laroche 1974, 115–125, and for the Aramaic text see Dupont-Sommer 1974, 132–149.

14 London, British Museum inv. 1971.11-1.1; Beazley, Para. 19, 16bis; Beazley Addenda^2 10; BAPD 350099.

goddess of the hearth and home (Hom. h. Ven. 30 f.), who was linked with family life[15], in order to emphasise the common association that these three goddesses had with motherhood[16]. Leto, as noted, is the mother of Apollo and Artemis, the Nymph Chariklo is the wife of the centaur Cheiron – teacher of the great hero Achilles (Hom. Il. 11, 832) – thus Chariklo is considered to be Achilles' foster-mother[17], and finally Demeter is the caring mother par excellence who desperately searches for her daughter and mourns her loss when Persephone was carried off by Hades to be his bride as narrated in the Homeric hymn to Demeter. The inclusion of Leto in a nuptial scene (i. e., marriage of Peleus and Thetis) suggests that Sophilos was familiar with the mythological tradition and accentuated Leto's maternal character.

Having discussed Leto's association with motherhood let us now move on and focus on depictions of Leto, Apollo and Artemis in libation scenes.

Leto and Children in Ritual Performance

In Attic vase painting, Leto appears with her children in some narrative scenes, such as the abduction of Leto by Tityos and the killing of Python, but mainly in scenes without a clear mythological context. While in sixth century the divine family occurs in scenes where Apollo plays the kithara between Artemis and Leto[18], from the beginning of the fifth century B.C. and persisting throughout the century we find the Apollonian triad in a new iconographical context where the deities perform or are about to make libations[19]. Approximately 48 red- and two black-figure vases of the fifth century B.C. bear depictions of Leto, Apollo and Artemis holding phialai and oinochoai, either alone or in the presence of other, usually divine, figures, who are involved in the act of making libations. Although the motif is attested from the beginning of the fifth century B.C., most examples date between 475 and 450 B.C.

Let us look at some examples focusing particularly on the way the triad is depicted, that is, attributes and dress, pose, movements, action and gestures. All the deities can be identified by their names, painted above the figures on an Attic red-figure pelike by the Villa Giulia Painter of 460–450 B.C., where Apollo (ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝ) stands between Artemis (ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ) and Leto (ΛΕΤΩ) holding vessels (Fig. 2)[20]. As a beardless youth, Apollo is dressed in a long chiton and himation, has long hair and wears a laurel wreath around his head. The god holds a kithara and extends a phiale towards Artemis. The kithara or lyre and the phiale are the most typical attributes of Apollo, but he may also appear holding a laurel staff as we see on a red-figure neck-amphora of ca. 460–450 B.C. attributed to the Niobid Painter (Fig. 3)[21]. The goddess carries an oinochoe and is about to pour (or has already poured) a liquid into Apollo's phiale in order to make a libation. Leto extends a second phiale that indicates her involvement in the process of the libation. Artemis and Leto wear long chitons and himatia and apart from one instance where Artemis has an animal skin above her chiton differentiations in dress between Artemis and Leto cannot be observed[22]. Both goddesses have their hair tied up in a knot and are crowned with a diadem.

Despite their similarities of dress and hairstyle the two goddesses are visually distinct even when their names are not present, which is true of the majority of vases[23]. This is the case for Artemis and her special attributes, the quiver and bow (e. g. Figs. 2. 3), both features that express Artemis' character as goddess of the hunt (e. g. Hom. Od. 6, 102–105). In addition, Leto sometimes appears with a veil and scepter as on a red-figure hydria attributed to the Niobid

15 For Hestia, see Blundell 1995, 31 f.; DNP VI (1998) 512 f. s. v. Hestia (F. Graf).

16 Williams 1983 suggests that every figure's position in the scene can be explained in regard to the nuptial theme of the Sophilos' lebes.

17 For the literary sources, see LIMC III (1986) 189 s. v. Chariklo I (U. Finster-Hotz).

18 The motif appears on vases dating from the second half of the sixth to the early fifth century B.C. – though the examples found in the fifth century are considerably fewer. See also Simon 1953, 17; Shapiro 1989, 57.

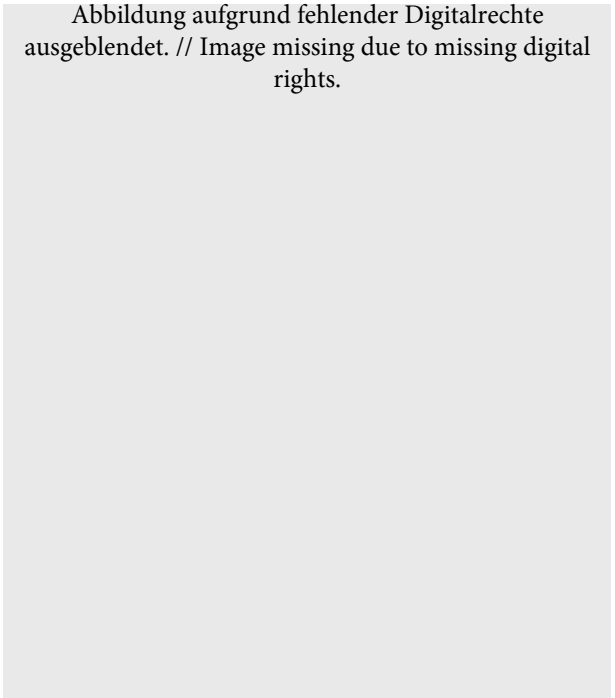
19 Simon 1953, 15.

20 Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig inv. LU 49; Beazley, Para. 399, 48bis; BAPD 275769; LIMC II (1984) 263 no. 645b s. v. Apollon (M. Daumas).

21 Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität H 4533 ; ARV² 611, 32; Beazley Addenda² 268; BAPD 207079; LIMC II (1984) 264 no. 653 s. v. Apollon (M. Daumas); Simon 1953, 39 no. 3; Patton 2009, 341 no. 162.

22 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum inv. 295 (1879.170); ARV² 627, 2; Beazley Addenda² 271; BAPD 207279; LIMC II (1984) 264 no. 651e s. v. Apollon (M. Daumas); Simon 1953, 39 no. 5; Patton 2009, 340 no. 159.

23 The names of Artemis and Leto are found in two more occasions: (a) New York, Metropolitan Museum inv. 24.97.96; ARV² 619, 17; Beazley Addenda² 270; BAPD 207169; LIMC II (1984) 263 no. 645a s. v. Apollon (M. Daumas); Simon 1953, 40 no. 12; Patton 2009, 334 no. 119. (b) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts inv. 1978.45; BAPD 84; LIMC II (1984) 289 no. 860 s. v. Apollon (E. Mathiopoulou-Tornaritou); Patton 2009, 322 no. 29.



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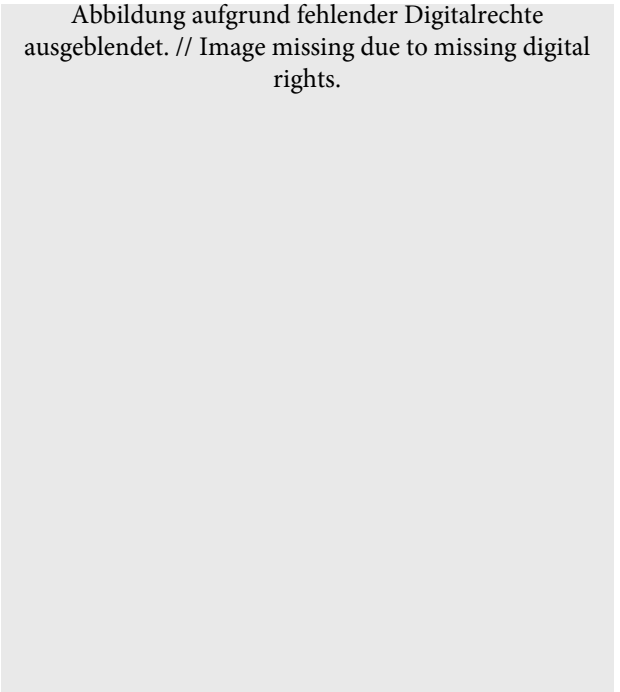

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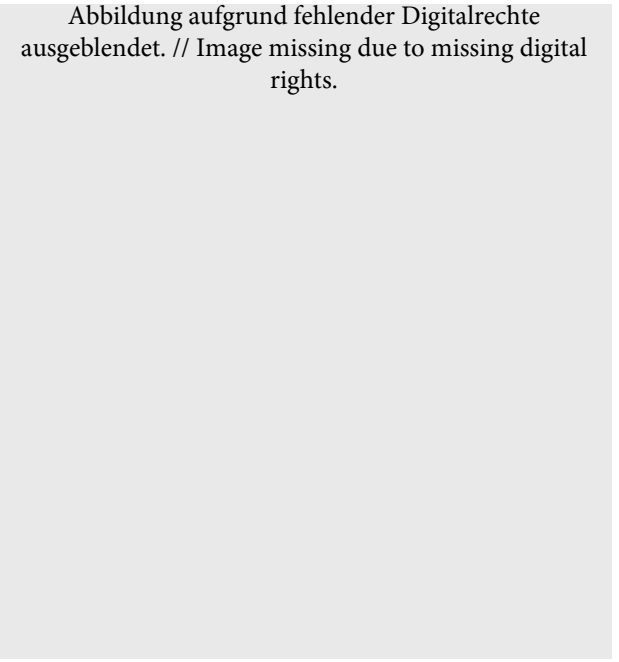

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Fig. 2 Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig inv. Lu 49. Red-figure pelike attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter, 460–450 B.C., the Apollonian triad

Fig. 3 Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität inv. H 4533. Red-figure neck-amphora attributed to the Niobid Painter, 460–450 B.C., the Apollonian triad at an altar

Fig. 4 Paris, Cabinet des Médailles inv. 443. Red-figure hydria attributed to the Niobid Painter, ca. 460 B.C., the Apollonian triad accompanied by Hermes

Painter of ca. 460 B.C. where the divine family is depicted in the company of Hermes (Fig. 4)[24]. Artemis, carrying her quiver and bow, pours liquid from an oinochoe into the phiale, held by a seated Apollo, while a veiled Leto stands next to her holding a scepter and another phiale for the performance of the libation. The veil is a well-known element of wedding iconography, and the scepter is an attribute of both royal and divine status, shared by gods and goddesses, kings and queens, and priests and priestesses[25], but we should keep in mind that any figure with veil or scepter must be read in its iconographical

24 Paris, Cabinet des Médailles inv. 443; ARV^2 606, 71; Beazley Addenda^2 267; BAPD 207012; LIMC II (1984) 276 no. 745a s. v. Apollo (G. Kokkourou-Alewras); Simon 1953, 41 no. 23; Patton 2009, 340 no. 160.

25 See Oakley – Sinos 1993 for the veil in nuptial scenes. For the use and meaning of the veil in ancient Greece, see

context, here a company of deities. Therefore, we may consider that the veil, as has been remarked, is suitable for Leto's maternal nature[26], and the scepter denotes her prestige and authority underlying her high status as the mother of Apollo and Artemis. While Leto's most common attribute is the phiale, Artemis' is the oinochoe. Nevertheless, there are instances where Artemis holds both vessels as, for example, on a red-figure hydria from Athens of 460–450 B.C. attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter (Fig. 5)[27]. Leto may carry only a scepter (e. g. Fig. 5), or another attribute, such as a wreath, as we see on a red-figure volute-krater of ca. 460–450 B.C. attributed to the Painter of the Berlin Hydria (Fig. 6)[28].

I turn now to the action itself. Libation scenes with the Apollonian triad vary in their compositions. There are cases where one or more of the gods pour a libation onto the ground[29], sometimes onto an altar (e. g. Fig. 3) and very rarely onto an omphalos, as on an Attic red-figure bell-krater from Nola attributed to the Manner of the Dinos Painter of 420–400 B.C. (Fig. 7)[30]. In other cases, vase painters choose to represent the moment before performing the rite, where Artemis (or Leto or any other figure) pours from an oinochoe into Apollo's phiale without tipping the liquid onto the ground or altar. Such an example we can observe on the Niobid Painter hydria (Fig. 4), where Artemis pours liquid into a phiale held by Apollo. There are also occasions where the act of pouring is not represented. However, since (at least) one of the deities carries a phiale we might consider the scene as implying a libation, which either has finished or has not yet started as we see, for example, on the Painter of the Berlin Hydria volute-krater (Fig. 6): Apollo extends his phiale towards Artemis who carries an oinochoe, while Leto stands aside with a wreath. It is clear that the gods do not pour a libation, but Apollo's gesture, that is, holding out his phiale to be filled, recalls the familiar rite.

Finally, a word must be said about the setting of the scene. In general, representations of the Apollonian triad do not specify where exactly the scene takes place due to the lack of iconographic or epigraphic evidence[31]. In some instances, however, a sacred space, most likely a sanctuary, is indicated by the depiction of an altar (eleven times, e. g. Fig. 3)[32] – not only considered to be the focal point of ritual activity but also a space marker –, a column (three times, e. g. Figs. 3. 6)[33], and an omphalos (three times, e. g. Figs. 5. 7), a distinctive attribute of Apollo[34].

McNiven 1982, 103–106; Cairns 2002; Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 103 f. For the scepter as an attribute of both divine and royal status, see Connelly 2007, 87–90.

26 Noted briefly by Oakley 1995, 69. See also Cairns 1996, who considers the representation of a veiled Leto on a red-figure amphora of 510–500 B.C. by Phintias that depict the abduction of Leto by Tityos and suggests that the veil may symbolize Leto's modesty (aidos).

27 Athens, Benaki Museum inv. 35415; BAPD 9029955; LIMC Suppl. (2009) 41 no. 30 s. v. Apollon (W. Lambrinudakis); CVA Athens, Benaki Museum (1) pl. 2.

28 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts inv. 00347; ARV² 616, 1; Beazley Addenda² 269; BAPD 207120; LIMC II (1984) 264 no. 651b s. v. Apollon (M. Daumas); Simon 1953, 40 no. 11; Patton 2009, 339 no. 153.

29 E. g. Attic red-figure hydria from Vulci attributed to the Altamura Painter, ca. 460 B.C. (London, British Museum inv. E177); ARV² 594, 56; Beazley Addenda² 265; BAPD 206880; LIMC II (1984) 697 no. 1004 s. v. Artemis (L. Kahil); Simon 1953, 40 no. 10; Patton 2009, 334 no. 115.

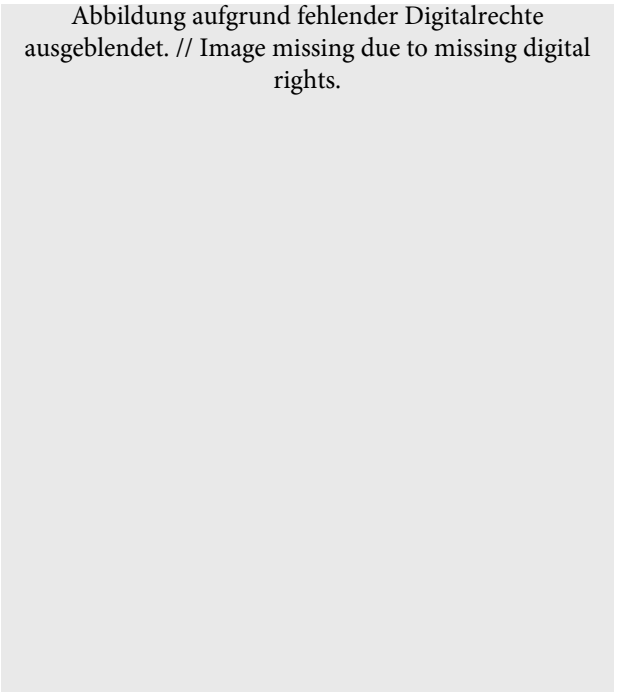
30 London, British Museum inv. E502; ARV² 1156, 10; Beazley Addenda² 337; BAPD 215310; LIMC II (1984) 276 no. 745 s. v. Apollon (G. Kokkourou-Alewras); Simon 1953, 44 no. 62; Patton 2009, 346 no. 204.

31 A red-figure pyxis from Spina, attributed to the Marlay Painter and dated between 440 and 400 B.C., is the only exception that shows the Apollonian triad on Delos because the personification of Delos (ΔΗΛΟΣ painted above the figure) appears with the divine trio; ARV² 1277, 22; Beazley Addenda² 357; BAPD 216209; LIMC III (1986) 368 f. no. 1 s. v. Delos I (P. Bruneau).

32 For representations of altars on Attic red-figure vases and their function, see Ekroth 2009.

33 On columns in Attic vase painting, see Lynch 2006. Note that Simon 1953, 24 considers that columns in libation scenes with Apollo allude to the sanctuary at Delphi because her interpretation regarding libation scenes with Apollo are associated with a Delphic myth. Contra: Metzger 1977, 427, who finds no reasons to assume that the iconography brings to mind the sanctuary at Delphi.

34 Considering the close-association of the omphalos with the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, it is often assumed that its presence in libation scenes with Apollo alludes to the Delphic sanctuary (e. g.



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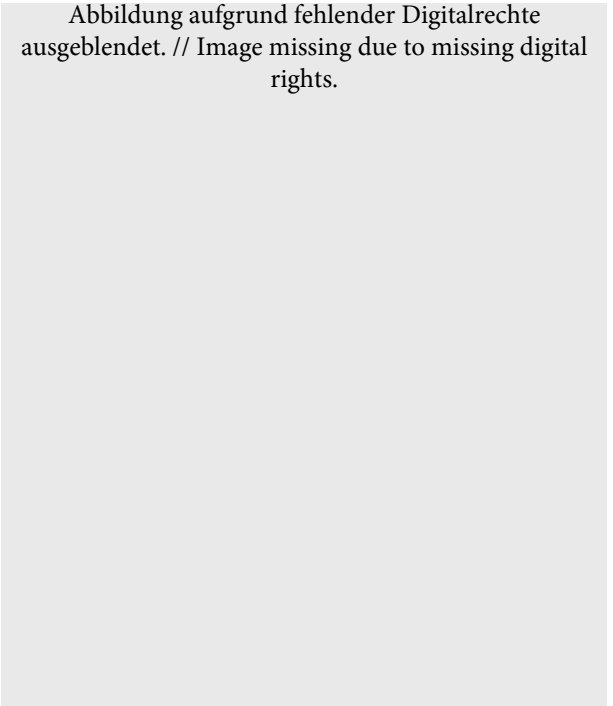

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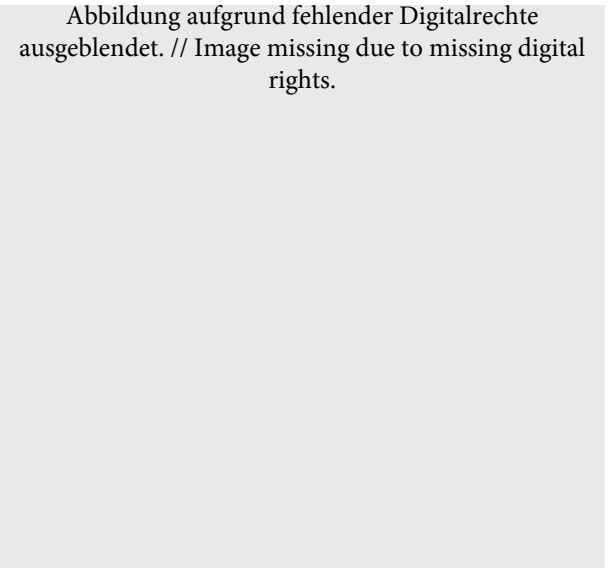

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Fig. 5 Athens, Benaki Museum inv. 35415. Red-figure hydria attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter, 460–450 B.C., the Apollonian triad at omphalos

Fig. 6 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts inv. 00347. Red-figure volute-krater attributed to the Painter of the Berlin Hydria, ca. 460–450 B.C., the Apollonian triad

Fig. 7 London, British Museum inv. E502. Red-figure bell-krater from Nola attributed to the Manner of the Dinos Painter, 420–400 B.C., the Apollonian triad performs a libation onto an omphalos, Hermes

Simon 1953, 24). But the omphalos is not exclusively connected with Delphi, since it is found in other places where Apollo was worshipped as verified by epigraphic and archaeological evidence (e.g. an omphalos once stood at the sanctuary of Apollo in Argos as we can infer from a third-century B.C. inscription from Argos; see Vollgraff 1903, 270–272. 275 no. 28). The widespread worship of Apollo Pythios probably explains why representations of Apollo with an

To sum up thus far, depictions of the Apollonian triad, either alone or in the company of other figures, show the divine family carrying phialai and oinochoai. In most cases they pour (or they are about to pour) a libation onto the ground, sometimes over an altar, and very rarely over an omphalos. Apollo's typical attributes are a kithara (or lyre), a phiale, and in some cases a laurel staff (e. g. Figs. 3. 6). The distinction between Artemis and Leto is obvious as they both appear quite often with characteristics that denote their identity, such as the bow and quiver for Artemis, veil and scepter for Leto. Finally, representations of the Apollonian triad do not show where the scene is taking place, but there are some exceptional efforts to designate the sacred setting.

Considering the examples I have discussed, one wonders if Leto's appearance with her children served a function and if so, what and why? The identifications of Apollo and Artemis do not depend on her presence, but are easily distinguished without her, so why is she included? To approach these issues it is essential to explore the wider iconographical context within which libation scenes with the Apollonian triad occur.

Wider Iconographical Context

Apart from the Apollonian triad, several other examples of deities – alone, in pairs or in groups – appear pouring (or about to pour) libations on Attic black- but mainly red-figure vases dated from ca. 520/510 to 400 B.C.[35]. In most instances, we find a particular set of deities who are closely linked to each other and whose intimate relationship is well-established in the mythological tradition (e. g. Athena/Herakles, Zeus/Hera, Poseidon/Amphitrite, Zeus/Ganymede, etc.)[36]. A detailed discussion of divine libation scenes as a whole is beyond the scope of this article. Here, I focus on examples of ca. 475–450 B.C. that show deities, in pairs or in groups, who are also associated with each other by ties equal, or similar, to those between close family members. Because of the large number of vase paintings depicting such scenes, I will confine myself to a few examples of the period under consideration.

A libation scene that shows deities closely associated with each other appears on an unattributed white-ground lekythos of ca. 460–450 B.C. from the Athenian Kerameikos (Fig. 8)[37]. One female holds a flaming torch in her left hand and pours a libation onto the ground (liquid visible) with her extended right hand. A woman, crowned with a polos and holding a staff and ears of wheat stands before her. Scholars identify the two as Demeter and Persephone (Kore)[38] on the basis of attributes (ears of wheat, torch) and because of their close mother-daughter relationship they are often seen together in images[39]. The figure holding the wheat might be Demeter considering that ears of wheat are Demeter's most common attribute (Hes. erg. 467; Hom. h. Cer. 450–456). However, it should be noted that Demeter and Kore are not easily distinguished from each other given that differentiation in age, clothing, and attributes cannot be observed, unless identified by their painted names[40]. In general, both goddesses may wear a polos, hold a torch, a scepter, and/or sheaves of wheat. Considering the funerary function of the shape, Simon interprets the scene as Demeter's farewell to her daughter and the performance of a libation before Kore's descent to Hades[41]. Rejecting Simon's mythological interpretation, Oakley considers that no particular story is intended and the appearance of Demeter and Kore on a funerary vessel is explicable solely because of their chthonic nature[42].

The most numerous representations of Demeter and Kore performing libations, however, are in scenes that show the mission of Triptolemos. According to the Homeric Hymn to Demeter (474–479), Triptolemos was one of the kings of Eleusis to whom Demeter taught her Mysteries. His role as Demeter's agent in distributing her gift of agriculture to mankind is first attested in Sophocles' play Triptolemos (TrGF 4 F 596–617a), dated to 468 B.C. (Plin. nat. 18, 12), and he is principally known in Greek literature for this missionary role[43].

Scenes of Triptolemos' mission appear in Attic vase painting ca. 540 B.C.[44], where we see Triptolemos sitting on a wheeled vehicle, holding grain and surrounded by other figures. The iconography exhibits a change in the fifth

omphalos in different media are attested in many Greek places (e. g. a mid-fourth century relief from Aegina, Aegina, Archaeological Museum inv. 1506; Svoronos 1912, 254). For the widespread worship of Apollo Pythios, see Davies 2007. See also van Straten 1995, 21 and Lissarrague 2000, 55–59, who view the omphalos as a generic indicator of sacred space that is closely associated with Apollo rather a marker of specific location.

35 For the purposes of this study I have taken into account a great number of Attic vases dating between ca. 520/510 and 400 B.C. The material has been collected from the published corpus of Attic vases, including those listed in CVA, LIMC, Beazley Archive (ABV, ARV^2, Beazley, Para., Beazley Addenda^2, and BAPD).

36 For examples, see Patton 2009, who offers a catalogue of libation scenes.

37 Athens, National Archaeological Museum inv. 1754; BAPD 1280; Oakley 2004, 90. 94 figs. 59. 60.

38 For the names of Persephone *infra* n. 50.

39 Several scholars identify the couple as Demeter and Kore, e. g. Simon 1953, 72; Oakley 2004, 93. 98.

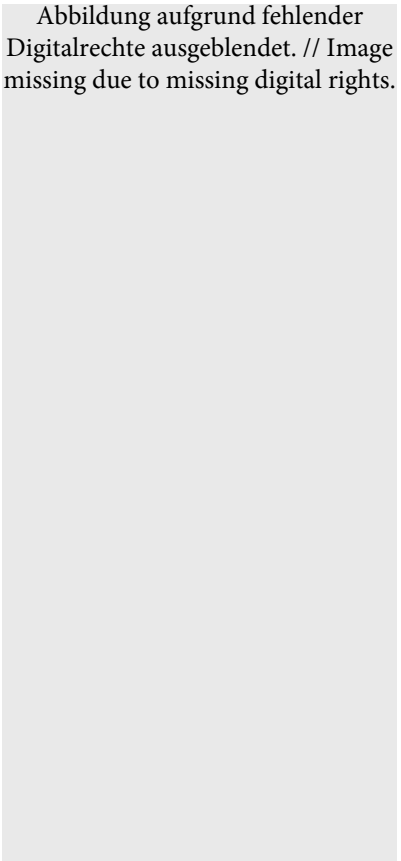
40 Noted by several scholars, e. g. Simon 1953, 67; Matheson 1994, 335; LIMC IV (1988) 890 s. v. Demeter (L. Beschi). See also Peschlow-Bindokat 1972, 78–102. 108, who discusses their iconography in fifth-century vase paintings.

41 Simon 1953, 72.

42 Oakley 2004, 98. He also notes that the pair appears performing libations on red-figure vases as well.

43 For Triptolemos in Greek literature, see Schwarz 1987, 1–6. 7–27, who provides a list of literary sources; LIMC VIII (1997) 57 s. v. Triptolemos (G. Schwarz).

44 See Schwarz 1987, 29 no. 2; Shapiro 1989, 76.



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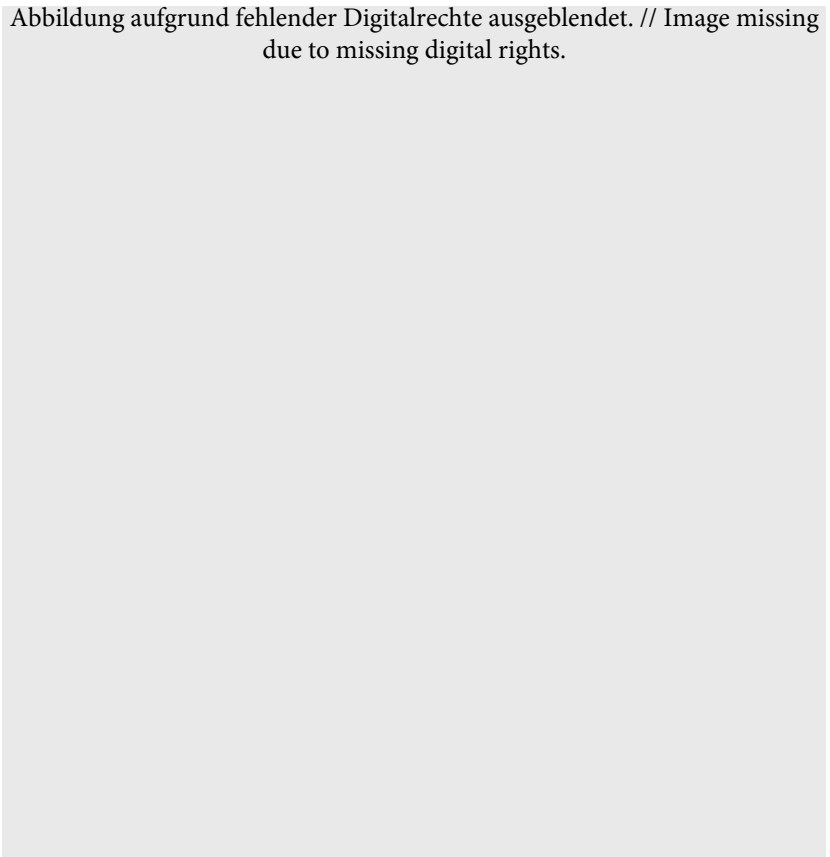

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Fig. 8 Athens, National Archaeological Museum inv. 1754. White-ground lekythos (unattributed), ca. 460–450 B.C., Demeter and Kore

Fig. 9 Munich, Antikensammlungen inv. 2432 (J340). Red-figure hydria attributed to the Chicago Painter, 450–440 B.C., Triptolemos between Demeter and Kore

century B.C., where he is often shown in a libation scene flanked by Demeter and Kore[45]. The Demeter–Triptolemos–Kore trio, also known as the Eleusinian triad because their joint worship has been confirmed at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore both at Eleusis[46] and Athens (City Eleusinion) already well established by the fifth century B.C.[47], perform libations alone or are accompanied by other figures closely linked to the Eleusinian realm. The painting on a red-figure hydria from Vulci attributed to the Chicago Painter of 450–440 B.C. names all figures (Fig. 9)[48]. The beardless Triptolemos (ΤΡΙΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΣ) sits in a wheeled cart equipped with wings, carries sheaves of wheat and a scepter, and holds out a phiale tipped slightly downwards. The wheeled cart is not just an attribute of Triptolemos but also an indicator of his long journey to bring grain and teach its cultivation to humans[49]. Demeter (ΔΕΜΕΤΕΡ) and

45 For the theme of Triptolemos' mission in Attic vase painting, see e. g. Dugas 1950, 7–23; Simon 1953, 67–69; Peschlow-Bindokat 1972, 78–92; Matheson 1994, 345–372, etc. For a detail analysis of fifth-century vase paintings, see Schwarz 1987, 84–144.

46 For the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis, its site and history, see e. g. Mylonas 1961, 23–129; Evans 2002, 227–239. For the Eleusinian festivals in general, see e. g. Parker 2005, 327–368, who provides a range of evidence. Note that Triptolemos is mentioned as a recipient of sacrifice at the Eleusinia (IG I^3 5, ca. 500 B.C.; Clinton 2005, 16 f.) and the Proerosia (IG I^3 78A, line 38, ca. 440–435 B.C.; Clinton 2008, 52). Further evidence for Triptolemos worship at Eleusis: IG II^2 142, line 21 (353/352 B.C.); Paus. 1, 38, 6 (temple); representations on coins from Eleusis (see e. g. Kroll 1993, 27–34 pls. 4–6); votive reliefs with Triptolemos (e. g. Eleusis, Archaeological Museum nos. 5060. 5062. 5287).

47 For a detail analysis of the Eleusinion in Athens, see Miles 1998, who provides a variety of evidence.

48 Munich, Antikensammlungen, inv. 2432 (J340); ARV^2 630, 31; Beazley Addenda^2 272; BAPD, 207314; Schwarz 1987, 46 no. 95; LIMC IV (1988) 874 no. 367 s. v. Demeter (L. Beschi); LIMC VIII (1997) 64 no. 132 s. v. Triptolemos (G. Schwarz).

49 The wheeled cart with wings as an allusion to Triptolemos' journey is noted by several scholars, e. g. Dugas 1950, 11.

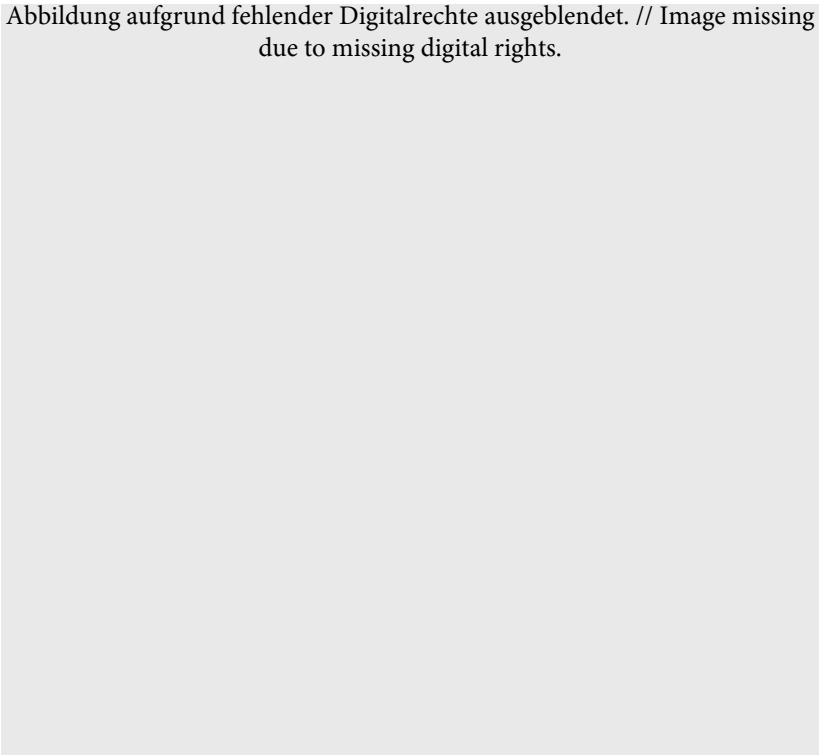

Fig. 10 Kassel, Staatliche Museen inv. T716. Red-figure column-krater attributed to the Harrow Painter, ca. 470 B.C., warrior between woman and man

Kore (ΠΕΡΟΦΑΤΑ)[50] stand on either side of the vehicle. Demeter carries an oinochoe, while Kore holds a wreath.

As some scholars suggest, Triptolemos' association with Demeter and Kore can be considered like that of close family members[51]. This view is supported by comparing libation scenes with the mission of Triptolemos to libation scenes of departing warriors[52]. The comparison, as we shall see below, reveals compositional and iconographic similarities between the two types of libation scenes as well as demonstrates how the particular group of deities, that is, Triptolemos, Demeter, and Kore are linked to each other by ties similar to those between family members.

Before making any comparison, let us briefly examine a representative example of a scene depicting a warrior departing for battle. A red-figure column-krater attributed to the Harrow Painter of ca. 470 B.C. is painted with a beardless hoplite armed with a shield, helmet, and spear standing between a woman and a bearded man with a staff (Fig. 10)[53]. The woman holds an oinochoe with one hand, while she raises a phiale with the other to pour a libation as was expected before one's departure for battle[54]. The central placement of a warrior between the members of his family is typical for these scenes[55]. The

50 ΠΕΡΟΦΑΤΑ for ΦΕΡΡΕΦΑΤΤΑ. Pherrephatta is an Attic variant of the name Persephone/Kore, and it is the only form of the goddess name that we find in a few mission scenes. For the different forms of Persephone's name, see DNP IX (2000) 600 s. v. Persephone (Ch. Sourvinou-Inwood).

51 E. g. Simon 1953, 69; Peschlow-Bindokat 1972, 91.

52 Matheson 1994, 357 notes that the libation theme appears in the mission scene at about the same time that it occurs in scenes of departing warriors, that is, in the late Archaic period (examples are cited).

53 Kassel, Staatliche Museen inv. T716; BAPD 1205; CVA Kassel (1) pl. 33, 1.

54 *Supra* n. 4.

55 For the theme of departing warriors in fifth-century Attic vase paintings, see especially Matheson 2005, 23–33 and Matheson 2009, 373–413. Note that according to Matheson's criteria (2009, 377) a warrior could be a hoplite, a light-armed infantry man, an ephebe, or a cavalry man.

woman could be his mother or wife, while the man with a staff, sometimes white-haired[56], his father. This identification, as Matheson points out, is supported by a few occasions where the figures are given heroic names[57].

The representation of a warrior within his close family environment before departing for battle, as shown in Figure 10, in several other variations of the same theme[58], and in scenes depicting mythical warriors, emphasises his connection to his family. This association is further accentuated by the libation. The ritual not only marks the warrior's departure from his family, but also underscores the familial ties and the family's connection to the gods whom they honour[59].

Let us return to scenes of Triptolemos' mission and consider them in connection to libation scenes that show a departing warrior in order to understand how Triptolemos' strong relationship with Demeter and Kore can be regarded as analogous to that between close family members. The two above-mentioned types of scenes share thematic and compositional similarities. Both Triptolemos and warriors receive special attention owing to their central placement in the scene (at least most of the time). They both set out on an expedition: Triptolemos, at Demeter's service, embarks to bring the gifts of Demeter to humankind, while a warrior, in service to the polis[60], leaves for battle. In both cases, the offering of a libation marks their departures and reinforces the connection between those who perform it[61]. Taking the two types of departures into account, we can observe that Demeter and Kore assume the roles of a warrior's mother and sister, that is, his close family members and the ones who were responsible to prepare and assist in the libation. As scenes of departing warriors emphasise the relationship between a warrior and his family, scenes that show the mission of Triptolemos accentuate Triptolemos' close association with Demeter and Kore, as well as his prominent role within the Eleusinian realm[62]. Libation scenes with Triptolemos' mission show a group of deities who are also closely linked to each other making a libation that emphasises the bond between them.

The divine libation scenes I have discussed so far, including scenes with the Apollonian triad, show deities behaving as if they are humans[63], holding cultic

56 E. g. an Attic red-figure neck-amphora attributed to the Niobid Painter of 460–450 B.C. (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum inv. 280); ARV² 604, 56; Beazley Addenda² 267; BAPD 206995.
57 For example, the hoplite is named Hektor, the bearded (old) man Priamos, and the woman Hecuba (e. g. Rome, Museo Etrusco Gregoriano Vaticano inv. 16570; ARV² 1036, 1; Beazley Addenda² 318; BAPD 213472) or Andromache (e. g. Basel Market; BAPD 7019; LIMC I [1981] 768 no. 6 s. v. Andromache I [O. Touchefeu-Meynier]). See further Matheson 2009, 407.
58 For further examples, see Matheson 2005 and Matheson 2009.
59 Lissarrague 1989, 45; Lissarrague 2001, 144; Lissarrague 2012, 570.
60 See Matheson 2005, 33 and Matheson 2009, 410–412, who argues that fifth-century representations of warriors setting out for battle accentuate their roles as Athenian citizens. Notable is a red-figure cup from Nola attributed to Aison of 420 B.C. (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. H2634; ARV² 1174, 2; Beazley Addenda² 339; BAPD 215558; LIMC II [1981] 589 no. 8 s. v. Argeia [G. Berger-Doer]) that provides further evidence for the military obligations of an Athenian citizen. The particular vase depicts a departure scene with warriors in which one of them is actually labeled citizen (ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ). For military service in fifth-century Athens, see MacDowell 1978, 159–161; Sinclair 1988, 55 f. See also Ridley 1979, who discusses the hoplite's role as a citizen in fifth-century Athens.
61 See also Hayashi 1992, 84, who considers that the libation alludes to the proclamation of the sacred truce, the period according to which the spondophoroi travelled to announce the Mysteries on the basis of textual evidence (e. g. IG I³ 6, just before ca. 460 B.C.; Aischin. leg. 133). For Hayashi, Triptolemos appears as the peace-giving hero. Clinton 1994, 166 views the role of Triptolemos as spondophoros, as well.
62 Matheson 1994, 358 also argues that scenes of Triptolemos' mission might also be understood as a dedication of Demeter's ambassador to the service of Athens on the basis that scenes of departing warriors emphasise, among other things, the civic role of a family, i. e. providing sons to serve the polis.
63 We should note that Furtwängler 1881, 106–118 was one of the first to discuss scenes of divine libations based on the idea that gods act as humans. For Furtwängler (116 f.), the act of pouring was understood as indication of honour by the younger god for the older (e. g. Kore pours into Demeter's phiale). In other words, the one who pours, the younger deity, serves the older (deity), the one who occupies a higher place in the divine hierarchy. This view, however, cannot be supported, since several vase

instruments for libations, and performing the ritual. A number of scholars focusing on the issue of why deities, the ones who receive libations from mortals, should be shown in the act of giving offerings give various interpretations on the subject[64]. Some scholars argue that the deities are not offering libations to themselves[65]. Instead, they carry the objects that serve to honour them and in their hands these become symbols of the offerings that they receive[66], or indicate the link between the divine and mortal realms[67]. Others support the idea that gods perform libations in their own divine sphere, and by manifesting their own sanctity they represent themselves as archetypes, that is, positive examples for religious behavior towards the divine on the part of mortals[68].

Humans offered libations to the gods on several occasions[69]. As already noted, the ritual not only marks their connection to gods whom they honour, but also strengthens the relationship between those who make it. Recalling that divine and mortal libation scenes share thematic and compositional similarities, we may consider that vase painters chose to depict deities who are closely associated with each other in this context to underscore the relationship that unites them[70].

According to the above, each of the aforementioned examples (i. e., Kore/Demeter, and Kore/Triptolemos/Demeter) highlights a particular type of close, usually familial, relationship. Scenes of Demeter/Kore emphasise a maternal bond, and scenes with the Eleusinian triad stress connections which, as argued, can be consider parallel to that between close family members. Therefore, libation scenes with the Apollonian triad underscore the familial bond that connects Artemis, Apollo, and Leto.

The Apollonian Triad: A Kourotrophic Triad

Why did vase painters combine Leto, Apollo, and Artemis in scenes of libation? I propose that the presence of Leto in this iconographical motif reinforces Apollo's and Artemis' kourotrophic functions. The growth of children, particularly boys, under the protection of Apollo and Artemis would guarantee the continuation of an oikos and the integrity of the polis. Moreover, the consideration of the socio-historical context within which depictions of the Apollonian triad occur will further our understanding of the meaning that the motif under discussion conveys.

paintings show the contrary as, for example, Athena pouring into Herakles' phiale, namely a goddess of high status serving a hero (e. g. Athens, Acropolis Museum inv. 2.328; ARV^2 460, 19; Beazley Addenda^2 244; BAPD 204700).

64 This issue has been a scholarly debate over a century and several theories have been advanced to date. For an analysis of the different interpretations with extensive bibliography, see Patton 2009, 121–159.

65 Arafat (1990, 90), a great supporter of the idea of the humanization of the deities, explicitly says that »nothing is going on beyond the libation we see.« For Arafat, gods perform libations in the same way as they are involved in other human activities such as drinking, fighting, etc.

66 Lissarrague 2001, 144. 150; Ekroth 2009, 97 considers that the deities are represented in their capacity of receiving attention (gods receive cult). See also Veyne 1990, 19. 27 f., who maintains that the phiale, held by deities, should be understood as an equivalent to an adjective such as »holy« or »saint«.

67 Eckstein-Wolf 1952, 64 maintains that the phiale, as cultic equipment, belongs to the human as well as to the divine sphere and in the hands of the gods it serves to link the two spheres together. Note that for libation scenes with Apollo, she rejects the idea that the god himself performs the act. Instead she considers that »the bowl is pouring libations not the god« (54). This view obviously does not correspond to the several representations in which Apollo is actually shown in the act of pouring.

68 Himmelmann 1998, 125–129. The idea that gods perform a libation in an archetypal way is also supported by Bakalakis 1967, 54–67. See also Patton 2009, especially 170–180, who suggests a new theoretical approach on the subject: divine reflexivity. According to this theory the libating gods should be seen as both natural objects of cult and as natural source of cult, the ones who perform their rites in on-going cultic time thus reinforce their own worship.

69 See *supra* n. 4.

70 See also Laurens 1985, 51. 54. 56, who views the libation as a sign of agreement (or a contract) and peace that guarantee alliances between the deities

The kourotrophic role of Apollo and Artemis is well-documented in classical Attica. We may briefly refer to the participation of girls in the rite of the Arkteia in honour of Artemis Brauronia, a puberty rite in which young girls (age 5–10) marked their transition to womanhood[71]. We may also mention that literary evidence indicates that in Athens Apollo Delphinios presided over youths' maturation[72]. Moreover, as Apollo Lykeios, the god was responsible for the protection of youth (Aischyl. Suppl. 687), as well as the cavalry and hoplites, of Athens (IG I^3 138, 434 B.C.; Aristoph. Pax. 356)[73]. In addition, Attic boys played a prominent role in two major festivals of Apollo, that is, the Pyanopsia and Thargelia[74]. Apollo also had an association with the phratries, namely, the hereditary associations in which every Athenian citizen was enrolled, and their festival, the Apatouria (Hdt. 1, 147, 2)[75], during which children were admitted to phratries (Xen. hell. 1, 7, 8), and issues regarding their legitimacy were resolved (And. 1, 126)[76]. Finally, we may also note the close association that Artemis had with ephebes as indicated by their participation at Artemis' festival the Mounichia[77] and the sacrifices of ephebes to Artemis Agrotera before starting their military service[78].

After this brief review of the role of Apollo and Artemis as deities who protect children and preside over their growth into adulthood, let us examine how Leto's presence in the scene stresses the aforementioned functions. We may find some answers by considering the nature of Leto's worship in Attica. Despite the scarcity of evidence, Leto's cult is attested in Attica. In fact, the sanctuary of Apollo at Cape Zoster, founded in the late sixth century B.C., included Leto's worship with that of Apollo and Artemis, as known from literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence[79]. As already mentioned, this is the place where Leto loosened her girdle before giving birth to Artemis and Apollo on Delos.

Furthermore, epigraphical evidence of the late fifth and fourth centuries B.C. from elsewhere in Attica often lists Leto as a recipient of sacrifices. For example, the late fifth-century calendar of Thorikos (SEG 33, 147, lines 40–46) mentions Leto receiving offerings together with Artemis Mounichia, Apollo

who are each time engaged in its performance. The deities pour libations to exalt the cohesion of Olympos.

71 Scholars have interpreted the Arkteia as a puberty rite on the basis of literary (e. g. Aristoph. Lys. 645) and archaeological evidence (krateriskoi dated from the late sixth to the late fifth century B.C.); see e. g. Kahil 1965, 1977, and 1981; Sourvinou-Inwood 1988; Parker 2005, 233–248; Nielsen 2009, 84–99, etc.

72 See Parker 2005, 436. See also Graf 1979, 2–22, who stresses the connection of Apollo Delphinios to ephebes.

73 For the worship of Apollo Lykeios in Athens, see Jameson 1980, 213–235; Parker 2005, 402.

74 Evidence for the participation of boys at Pyanopsia: Plut. Thes. 22, 4–5; Suda, s. v. Ειρεσιώνη; Sch. Aristoph. Equ. 729; Plut. 1054. Evidence for the participation of boys at Thargelia: Aristot. Ath. Pol. 56, 3; Suda, s. v. Ειρεσιώνη; Sch. Aristoph. Equ. 729; Plut. 1054; bases of choragic dedications at Thargelia (e. g. IG II^2 3022, mid-fourth century B.C.; IG II^2 3063, fourth century B.C.). Also see, Deubner 1956, 192. 198–200; Simon 1982, 76. 78; Parker 2005, 204. 436. 480; Wilson 2007.

75 For the festival in general, see Deubner 1956, 232–234; Cole 1984, 233–237; Lambert 1993, 152–161; Parker 2005, 458–461.

76 According to late literary sources (e. g. Hesych., Suda, s. v. Κουρεώτης), Artemis was also associated with the Apatouria, particularly on the third day, during which boys offered their hair to the goddess. The rite was called koureion (IG II^2 1237, line 28, 396/395 B.C.; Poll. 8, 107, 8, etc.). Several scholars discuss the koureion as a rite that marks boys' transition from childhood to adolescence, e. g. Cole 1984, 234; Lambert 1993, especially 161–163, etc.

77 According to epigraphic evidence, ephebes took part in processions (e. g. IG II^2 1029, line 13; 95/94 B.C.), sacrifices (e. g. IG II^2 1009, 116/115 B.C.; IG II^2 1028, line 21, 100/99 B.C.) and naval contests (IG II^2 1006, lines 29 f., 123/122 B.C.; IG II^2 1011, line 16, 106/105 B.C.) at the festival of Artemis Mounichia; for the evidence, see Palaiokrassa 1983, 12 f. For the Mounichia in general, see Palaiokrassa 1983, 21–26; Parker 2005, 231. 476.

78 Aristot. Ath. Pol. 58, 1; Xen. an. 3, 2, 12. Epigraphic evidence for the association of ephebes with Artemis Agrotera: IG II^2 1006, lines 6–8 (122/121 B.C.); SEG 21, 476, lines 3 f. (120 B.C.); IG II^2 1008, lines 4–7 (118/117 B.C.); IG II^2 1011, line 7 (106/105 B.C.); IG II^2 1028, lines 5–8 (101/100 B.C.); SEG 24, 189, lines 3 f. (late second century B.C.); IG II^2 1029, line 6 (95/94 B.C.); IG II^2 1030, line 5 (94/93 B.C.); IG II^2 1040, line 5, (47/46–43/42 B.C.); for Artemis Agrotera, see also Jameson 1991, 210 f.; Barringer 2001, 47–49.

79 For the literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence, see Kourouniotis 1927, 2–46; Goette 2001, 197.

Pythios, and Kourotrophos in the month Mounichion[80]. Moreover, Leto's name appears in three of thirteen preserved fragments of the sacrificial calendar of the Athenians[81]: one (403/402–400/399 B.C.) mentions her together with Apollo, Kourotrophos, and Zeus[82]; on another (403/402–400/399 B.C.), her name appears with that of Poseidon and after the name of Apollo with a reference to his shrine on Delos[83]; and her name occurs with Kourotrophos and Athena on the third (410/409–405/404 B.C.)[84]. Additionally, the calendar of the deme Erchia (first half of fourth century B.C.) mentions a substantial deme festival in honour of Leto, Apollo, Zeus, the Dioskouroi, and Hermes on the fourth of Thargelion[85]. A different type of epigraphical evidence, an arbitration report concerning religious issues of the genos of the Salaminioi (SEG 21, 527) of 363/362 B.C., mentions Leto as a recipient of offerings[86]. According to this text inscribed on a stele re-used on the Kolonos Agoraios[87], sacrifices were made on the seventh of Metageitnion to Apollo Patroos, Leto, Artemis, and Athena Agelaa (SEG 21, 527, lines 89–90).

Although the aforementioned inscriptions are fragmentary, it is worth noting that the presence of Leto's name alongside that of Apollo and Artemis denotes that her worship is linked to that of her children. In addition, the frequent appearance of the appellation Kourotrophos in connection with the names of Leto, Apollo, and Artemis underscores the kourotrophic function of this divine family group.

Finally, we should consider the appearance of Leto's name on a stele of 400 B.C. – found at the old mouth of the Kephisos River – because it provides more evidence regarding the nature of Leto's worship in Athens. The stele lists the following deities: Hestia, Kephisos, Apollo Pythios, Leto, Artemis Lochia, Eileithyia, Acheloos, Kallirhoe, and the Geraistian Nymphs of Birth and Rhapso (IG II^2 4547)[88]. Leto here appears once again with her children, Apollo Pythios and Artemis Lochia but in her capacity as goddess of childbirth which is highlighted by the mention of deities who are associated with childbirth, that is, Eileithyia and the Geraistian Nymphs of Birth, and among river-deities, that is, Acheloos, Kephisos, and Kallirhoe, who are known as nurturers of children[89].

As demonstrated, the worship of Leto in Attica, attested from the late sixth century B.C. onward, is closely linked with that of her children and other kourotrophic deities. Leto's maternal character, well-established in the mythological tradition, is stressed in her Attic cult. To return to the iconography, when we look at libation scenes with the trio, it is clear that Leto's presence is of the utmost importance and should encourage us to view these scenes as representing a divine family whose function was concerned with the nurturing of the young in Athens. Leto's appearance together with her children emphasises their close family ties and highlights Apollo's and Artemis' kourotrophic nature.

Having discussed that representations of Leto with children in libation scenes promote the idea of Apollo and Artemis as kourotrophoi, I turn now to explore the socio-historical context within which this motif appears.

80 Humphreys 2004, 156–160.
81 See Lambert 2002, with previous bibliography.
82 Athens, Agora Museum inv. I 4310.
83 Athens, Agora Museum inv. I 251. Lambert 2002, 382 considers that the fragment might refer to the theoria to Delos.
84 Athens, Agora Museum inv. I 945.
85 Dow 1965, 180. 191; Humphreys 2004, 187.
86 Lambert 1997, 85–88.
87 Athens, Agora Museum inv. I 3244.
88 Stais 1909, 244; Purvis 2003, 15. 18 f.
89 For the kourotrophic role of rivers and nymphs, see Hadzisteliou-Price 1978, 126. 194 f.; Larson 2001, 98 f. It should be noted that the name Rhapso is enigmatic given that we do not know anything about her.

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Fig. 11 Athens, National Archaeological Museum inv. 1172. Red-figure nuptial lebes from Athens attributed to the Earliest Mannerists, ca. 470 B.C., body: wedding; stand: the Apollonian triad, Hermes (not visible)

The representation of the Apollonian triad on a stand of a nuptial lebes from Athens attributed to the Earliest Mannerists of ca. 470 B.C. (Fig. 11)[90], a shape closely associated with the wedding[91], offers evidence of the motif in a nuptial setting. The lebes depicts a wedding procession where the groom leads his veiled bride by the wrist, a gesture known as χείρ ἐπι καρπῷ. In this scene we can observe further features closely associated with the wedding iconography, such as a man playing on his lyre, thus evoking the integral part that music played in the bridal ceremony[92], and a woman carrying torches, namely, the mother of the bride (e. g. Eur. Iph. A. 732) or the mother of the groom (e. g. Eur. Phoen. 344–346), who usually carried torches in the procession[93]. Considering that the primary purpose of marriage was the production of children (e. g. Xen. oik. 7, 11; Demosth. or. 59, 122), the appearance of the motif on a nuptial vessel and the juxtaposition of the Apollonian triad motif to a wedding scene provide further support to the idea that the motif under discussion promotes the role of Apollo and Artemis as deities who preside over the successful growth of children into adulthood.

The majority of shapes on which we find depictions of the Apollonian triad, however, indicates a link to the world of the symposion (i. e. kraters, oinochoai, pelikai, amphorae, hydriai, black-figure lekythoi, a stamnos, and a cylindrical support), since their presence in a sympotic context has been confirmed by literary, iconographic, and archaeological evidence[94]. In fact, two of them were actually found in a large deposit (H 4 : 5) of debris (ca. 475–425 B.C.) from a public dining place (syssition) at the northwest corner of the Athenian Agora where public officials dined and drank together[95].

The consideration that the motif appears predominantly on sympotic shapes and the fact that two of our vases were found in archaeological context where sympotic activity has been confirmed suggest that the intended setting at least for the majority of vases under discussion was the symposion. In fifth-century Athens, the symposion continued to be an important male institution of the Athenian society, especially of its wealthier members, where values, both public and private, were promoted[96]. In this context, the motif, which highlights,

90 Athens, National Archaeological Museum inv. 1172; ARV² 585, 33; Beazley Addenda² 263; BAPD 206763; Simon 1953, 40 no. 17; Patton 2009, 333 no. 111.

91 Although the specific use of a lebes gamikos during the bridal ceremony is uncertain, its close association with the wedding is supported by its depiction in nuptial scenes and by the fact that this type of vessel is usually decorated with nuptial scenes or scenes that show women's quarters. For the shape, its function, and iconography, see e. g. Oakley – Sinos 1993, 6 f.; ThesCRA V (2005) 173–176 s. v. lebes gamikos (I. Krauskopf). See also Sgourou 1997, 72, who notes that lebetes gamikoi have been attested in domestic contexts both in Attica and Olynthus as well as in funerary contexts, particularly female burials.

92 See Bundrick 2005, 179–192, who provides literary and iconographic evidence on the subject. Note that the identification of the man playing the lyre as Apollo (as some may suggest) requires further indications, such as a painted name, more attributes, etc.

93 Oakley – Sinos 1993, 26.

94 For the shapes in general, see, for example, Richter – Milne 1935, 3–9. 11 f. 14 f. 18 f. Most of these shapes, such as oinochoai and kraters, are frequently depicted in symposion scenes, thus providing visual evidence for their use in sympotic context (see e. g. Gericke 1970, 32. 36–42). Also, the fact that these shapes have been recovered from sites where sympotic activity has been attested (e.g. a house near the northwest corner of the Athenian Agora, ca. 525 B.C., Lynch 2011) suggests that they were intended for sympotic use. For further archaeological evidence, see also Rotroff – Oakley 1992, 11 f.

95 A red-figure bell-krater attributed to the Hermonax Painter of ca. 450 B.C. (Athens, Agora Museum inv. P30019); BAPD 44673; Rotroff – Oakley 1992, 76 no. 48. A red-figure stamnos of 460–450 B.C. (Athens, Agora Museum inv. P30126 A–C); BAPD 44817; Rotroff – Oakley 1992, 94 no. 126. See Rotroff – Oakley 1992, 46 f., who argue that the high proportion of vases associated with mixing, pouring, and drinking wine points to the importance of wine consumption at this particular syssition. Because kraters are present in considerable numbers, Rotroff – Oakley suggest that at least some of them may have been gifts to the syssition from the participants, i. e. cavalry officers and some of the archons who were active at this site of the Agora based on epigraphic and literary evidence (37–41. 43–45).

96 The idea of the symposion as a social institution that belonged primarily to the wealthier classes in fifth-century Athens has been pointed out by many scholars; e. g. Steiner 2007, 256–262; Murray 2009, 514. 522. For objections to this view, see e. g. Topper 2012, 13–22. 159–161.

as noted, the idea of Apollo and Artemis as kourotrophoi, reflects a concern of the Athenian society for the well-being of children. Under the protection of Apollo and Artemis, children would grow and fulfill their roles within their family units and the polis. Boys contributed to the perpetuation and survival of their oikoi (e. g. Eur. Iph. T. 57), while as future citizens and warriors would have ensured the prosperity and security of the polis (e. g. Thuk. 2, 44, 3). That the idea of the protection of the polis was held in high esteem, especially in the period under discussion, can be better understood when one considers that this time was marked by ongoing military campaigns, which the Athenians and their allies undertook in order to eliminate the Persian threat (e. g. Thuk. 1, 94, 2; 1, 98). Girls' important role in the Athenian society lay primarily on their capacity as future wives and mothers of Athenian citizen[97].

The importance of children within Athenian society of the fifth century B.C. is emphasised by the increasing interest in children's iconography[98], particularly in vase painting[99], which can be observed especially between 475 and 450 B.C.[100], that is, the period when most examples of the Apollonian triad have been produced. In black-figure vase painting of the sixth century B.C., children – shown as miniaturized adult figures – were not a common subject and were restricted to specific contexts (e. g. scenes of departing warriors, marriage processions, funerary ceremonies, etc.). However, in fifth-century red-figure vase-painting, children, whose artistic representation developed so that three principal life stages of childhood can be identified, are represented with greater frequency and in a wider variety of iconographic contexts (e. g. domestic scenes)[101]. An important development of children's iconography concerns also the representation of deities or heroes as infants in scenes associated with a particular story or without a clear mythological context[102]. In fact, some scenes depicting divine/heroic and mythological children are placed in a family setting (i. e. child with his mother and father)[103], thus stressing the idea of family unity and devotion.

This article examined depictions of Leto with Apollo and Artemis performing (or about to make) libations in Attic vase painting of the fifth century B.C. focusing particularly on the issue whether Leto's presence with her children served a function and if so, what and why. As demonstrated, her inclusion in libation scenes with Apollo and Artemis not only underlines their familial ties, well emphasised in literary sources, but also accentuates the functions of Apollo and Artemis as deities in charge for the successful growth of children. This view is closely connected to values of the fifth-century Athenian society concerning the great importance of children, especially boys, for the maintenance of an oikos and the polis' survival.

97 For woman's position in classical Athens and her role within the oikos and the polis, see e. g. Lacey 1968, 151–176; Blundell 1995, 113–149.

98 This interest does not imply a change in the social status of children as well; for Athenian social attitudes towards children, see e. g. Golden 1990, 5–7; Beaumont 1995, 358.

99 See Beaumont 2003, 69. 72. From the second half of the century examples in sculpture also appear, such as architectural sculpture (e. g. the west pediment of the Parthenon, 438/437–434/433 B.C., IG I^3 445–449), votive reliefs (e. g. dedication of Xenokrateia, IG II^3 987, ca. 400 B.C., Athens, National Archaeological Museum inv. 2756) and grave stelai (e. g. Athens, National Archaeological Museum inv. 3845, ca. 420 B.C.).

100 According to a pottery database, constructed by Giudice – Giudice 2009, 58, scenes depicting children, including youths, reach their peak of production the period between 475 and 450 B.C.

101 Beaumont 2003, 61 f. 65. For a detail analysis of the artistic representation of children in classical Athens, see most recently Beaumont 2012.

102 Vollkommer 2000, 381 refers that young mythological children are found in relatively few episodes in Archaic art. For mythological children in fifth-century vase-painting, see Beaumont 1995.

103 E. g. Hyllos with his father Herakles and his mother Deianeira (e. g. Attic red-figure pelike of 480–470 B.C. attributed to the Siren Painter; Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. G229; ARV^2 289, 3; Beazley Addenda^2 210; BAPD 202630), a theme known in Attic vase painting from ca. 500 B.C. onwards (see examples in LIMC IV [1988] 834, s. v. Herakles [J. Boardmann]). See also Shapiro 2003, 104 f., who provides examples of a satyr family as a different model of family life.

Abstract

Lavinia Foukara, Leto as Mother: Representations of Leto with Apollo and Artemis in Attic Vase Painting of the Fifth Century B.C.

This article examines representations of Apollo, Leto and Artemis engaged in the performance of libations in Attic vase paintings of the fifth century B.C. Previous studies have focused mainly on Apollo and Artemis, often neglecting the function that Leto serves in the iconography. The present study discusses the importance of Leto's appearance among her children in this context and argues on the basis of literary, visual, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence that her inclusion in this particular iconographical motif promotes the concept of family and thereby reinforces the kourotrophic function that Apollo and Artemis had in Attica as deities in charge of the well-being of children.

Keywords
Attica • vase painting • Leto • children • libation

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Address
Dr Lavinia Foukara
Honorary Lecturer
Centre for Classical Studies
A.D. Hope Building (Building 14)
The Australian National University
Acton ACT 2601
Australia
U1043557@anu.edu.au
laviniafkr@gmail.com