

Demeter's Arrival at Eleusis on an Apulian *Oinochoe* kept in Foggia

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Abstract

This article offers an interpretation of the scene depicted on the body of an Apulian red-figured *oinochoe*, assigned to the Darius Painter, now kept in the storage of the Museo Civico of Foggia. This interpretation is based on the analysis of the iconographic language of the Apulian imagery as well as on the connexion in series of this scene with those appearing on contemporary vases produced in the same cultural community. This article is also accompanied by a set of previously unpublished colour pictures of the entire vase and of several details taken on site by the author.*

A fragmentary Apulian *oinochoe* (figs 1-20), kept in the Museo Civico at Foggia, offers a scene - assigned to the Darius Painter by Arthur D. Trendall - whose interpretation has remained uncertain since the finding of the vase, in June 1972, among the rich grave goods of a chamber tomb in one of the Daunian necropoleis of Arpi (fig. 21).¹ These grave goods were published a year later by Ettore De Juliis, in the *Atti del Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia* but he did not give any particular comment about the scene depicted on the *oinochoe*.² Trendall had the hunch that this scene has something to do with the myth of Demeter and Kore-Persephone but was not able to define which episode.³ In an article in 1983, K. Schauenburg used this vase as a parallel for its shape - a type 8 *oinochoe* - and for the vegetal decor on its neck, identical to those of the vase he studied in his article. However he gave no interpretation for the scene depicted on it. In note 44 of this article, he thanked De Juliis for having provided him with the pictures of this *oinochoe*. He also declared that De Juliis was preparing a comprehensive study of this vase.⁴ De Juliis did indeed publish this vase in 1992 but he still remained undecided regarding the interpretation of the scene. He quoted Trendall's first idea and also spoke of an 'ambientazione [...] dionisiaco-eleusina'.⁵ By comparing this scene with those appearing on other contemporary Apulian vases, I think that I have enough factors to suggest a convincing interpretation to this *hapax*.

The scene unfolds over two registers. On the left end of the higher register, Eos, nimbus-headed, drives a *biga* through a starry sky and brings the first gleams of a new day (fig. 5). This motif indicates the beginning of a new episode inside the

mythological temporality on which the divinity of dawn sheds her beams. Next we can see six Korybantes⁶ (figs 6-11). Because of the break in the middle of the upper register, one of them is only evident by his feet and the lower part of a pillar on which he must be leaning (fig. 7). Three of them are seated on vanished ground lines. Two of these seated Korybantes have left their shields on the ground (figs 6 and 10), the third one is casually holding his (fig. 8). A fourth Korybant, wearing a *pilos*, is leaning on what looks like a basin. He is about to drink some water that he has drawn with a *patera* (fig. 11). The last one, with his right leg lifted, is about to blow in the trump that he raises to his lips⁷ (fig. 9). Three other Korybantes appear on the lower register. One of them shows the same resting posture as his fellows from the upper register. He sits on a rocky pile on which he also lays down his spear (fig. 17). Behind him stands a half-vanished male character. He only wears a chlamys and high sandals (fig. 18). He may be another Korybant. Meanwhile, the last two Korybantes of the lower register are still running, fully equipped with their arms (figs 13 and 16, a). Each holds a torch. Although the white highlight has nearly vanished, the cross-bar on the top of one torch is still visible⁸ (fig. 16, b). The top of the other torch is lost within the break but it is very likely that this was also a cross-bar torch.

This peculiar attribute, endemic to South Italian iconography,⁹ appears in Demeter's hands on many pictures of the abduction of Kore or on those of the wanderings of the goddess following this abduction. On an Apulian *hydria* kept in New York (fig. 22),¹⁰ the goddess brandishes this cross-bar torch while the Korybantes chase Hades' chariot on foot. In a similar composition on an

Apulian *lekythos* once on the London art market (figs 23-24),¹¹ the cross-bar torch is to be found both in Demeter's and in one of the Korybantēs' hands. In the upper register of the scene of an Apulian volute krater kept in Naples and assigned to the Darius Painter (fig. 25),¹² Demeter, about to begin her wanderings holding this attribute, has stepped into Helios' quadriga while, in the middle register, the Korybantēs on horseback are about to chase Hades' chariot in the lower register. Demeter and Helios appear in the same quadriga, jumping over a boat,¹³ on the neck of another Apulian volute krater kept in Paris (fig. 26).¹⁴ This time, the cross-bar torch is in the hands of Hermes who guides the horses by holding the reins. The god of travelers bears the attribute symbolizing the wanderings of the goddess. The fully armed Korybant on the right end of the scene strengthens the identification of the mythical episode.

On all those vases, the Korybantēs are always depicted running or ready to look for Demeter's daughter. The two running Korybantēs on the lower register of the Foggia *oinochoe* are thus still searching for Kore. But the one seated on the rocky pile holds out a crown to his companions (fig. 17). This action could mean the end of the search, it crowns its success. All the other Korybantēs are quiet, far from the hurry that puts them in motion on the images of the abduction of Kore and on those of the wanderings of Demeter. The Korybant with the trumpet takes the iconographic pose of the public speaker (fig. 9). He is about to declare the end of the search to his fellows - or perhaps he already has.

The centre of the lower register of the Foggia *oinochoe* should then present that which puts an end to the search. We see a *biga* drawn by felines on which stand a female character holding another cross-bar torch and a male character who seemingly drives the chariot (fig. 14). A second female character, with a scepter placed on her shoulder, faces the chariot (fig. 15). We could think of a depiction of the *anodos* of Kore-Persephone on a chariot, welcomed by Demeter, as it is shown on a *patera* kept in Chicago (fig. 27).¹⁵ Indeed, the cross-bar torch is also the attribute of Demeter's daughter when she assumes her Persephone-side.¹⁶ But on this *patera*, the chariot is a quadriga drawn by horses guided by Hermes.¹⁷ It is thus probably not an *anodos* of Kore-Persephone that is depicted on the Foggia *oinochoe*.

The feline-drawn *biga* belongs rather to Demeter as can be seen in the gigantomachy illustrated on the fragments on an Apulian krater, assigned to the Darius Painter, kept in Hamburg (figs 28-31).¹⁸ The

goddess holds a cross-bar torch with which she is throwing a giant to the ground.¹⁹ Once again, on the Foggia *oinochoe*, the female character standing on a feline-drawn *biga* and holding a cross-bar torch is then unlikely to be Kore-Persephone.

The female character welcoming the chariot is also unlikely to be Demeter. She is carrying a young child who stretches his arms toward the female character on the chariot (fig. 15). The Korybantēs bearing cross-bar torches set the scene during the wanderings of Demeter and her search for Kore. The female character on the chariot holding this very torch must then be Demeter. In the abduction of Kore depicted on the Apulian volute krater kept in Berlin and assigned to the Darius Painter (fig. 32),²⁰ the feline-drawn *biga* is also to be seen and it looks like Demeter is about to step in it along with a Korybant. In my opinion, the Foggia *oinochoe* presents the same iconographic motif. While she is flying with Helios on the Naples' krater (fig. 25) and on the neck of the Paris' krater (fig. 26), Demeter is traveling on a feline-drawn *biga*, along with one of her Korybantēs, on the Berlin krater and on the Foggia *oinochoe*.²¹ The light outfit - a *chlamys* - of the Korybant on the feline-drawn *biga* seems to contrast with his fully armed companions. However, on the Foggia *oinochoe*, the Korybant with the trumpet (fig. 9) and the one on the right end of the lower row (fig. 18) are also lightly dressed. Likewise, on the Berlin's krater (fig. 32), the Korybant with the bell, on the higher row, in front of the chariot, only wears a *chlamys*. Unfortunately the head of the Korybant on the feline-drawn *biga* on the Foggia *oinochoe* is lost because of the break (fig. 14). He might have been wearing an attribute allowing a certain identification.

But, as I previously demonstrated, the scene on this *oinochoe* rather seems to mark the end of the search. The key to understanding this picture is given by the female character carrying the child who gladly welcomes Demeter's arrival (fig. 15). This woman possesses a scepter which gives her royal dignity. In the myth of the abduction of Kore followed by the wanderings of Demeter, the only female character with such attributes is Metaneira, the queen of Eleusis who, in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, welcomes the goddess (then unrecognizable in the traits of the old *Dôsô*).²² The child must thus be her new-born son Demophon. In the *Hymn*, the latter remains disconsolate once bereaved of his divine nurse's care.²³ In the iconographic language, showing the child trying so hard to leave his own mother's arms to join those of his nurse-to-be translates the same attachment.

On an Apulian *pelike* kept in Kiel (figs 33-34),²⁴ the new-born Helen, whose egg has just hatched, is extending her arms with the same resoluteness to Leda, frightened by such a weird birth. This idea of attraction is strengthened by the Eros above.

Everything looks like the episode depicted on the Foggia *oinochoe* is Demeter's arrival at Eleusis. In some manner, the encounter between the goddess and the child brings an end to her wanderings. When she becomes his nurse, she devotes herself to making him immortal, in other words, she makes him some kind of substitute child to soothe her sorrow. Relating the subject depicted on this object to its funerary context, to represent the encounter between Demeter and Demophon is to recall the benevolence that a deity showed to a mortal and above all the design of immortalization that she had for him. This immortalization failed in Demophon's case but it must not be forgotten that, in the *Hymn*, Demeter reassures Metaneira about the fate and great destiny of her son.²⁵

The scene on the Foggia *oinochoe* takes place inside a sanctuary as is indicated by the *bucranium* and the garland hanging over the Korybantes on the higher register (figs 19-20). Behind one of the running Korybantes on the lower register, there is also a small structure, probably a fountain (fig. 12). It may allude to the *Parthenion* well of Eleusis cited in the *Hymn*, the place where Metaneira's daughters meet the old Dôsô for the first time.²⁶

A comparable fountain appears on an Apulian volute krater kept in Princeton, also assigned to the Darius Painter.²⁷ There is a cross-bar torch plunged into it (fig. 36). On the other side of this krater, we see Medea, accompanied by her two sons, inside the sanctuary of Eleusis labeled ΕΑΕΥΣΙΣ · ΤΟ ΙΕΡΟΝ (fig. 35).²⁸ However, trying to link a text with a picture on each and every detail may be a difficult and even hazardous task. Those two fountains may not directly refer to the literary episode. Another example: in the *Hymn*, Demeter does not step into Helios's chariot, she only questions him about what he saw of the abduction of Kore.²⁹ But as demonstrated above, some iconographic versions of this myth present Helios' chariot as the vehicle used by Demeter during her wanderings. On the other hand, the nimbus-headed Eos on the Foggia *oinochoe* might recall the same character in the *Hymn* given that she imparts to the scene a temporal reference.³⁰

Other properly Eleusinian topics appear in Apulian iconography.³¹ Among them, the scene of an Apulian *hydria* kept in Berlin (figs 37-38)³² offers

an interesting parallel to the Foggia *oinochoe*. If the analysis given by Luca Giuliani is accurate, the picture on this *hydria* represents Demeter's stay at Eleusis where she receives offerings.³³ In the 'mythological chronology' narrated in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, this episode follows the goddess' arrival depicted on the Foggia *oinochoe*. On the Berlin's *hydria*, Demeter, wearing a *polos*, sits on a throne surrounded by a mostly feminine assembly. A woman kneels before her and offers her ears of wheat.

The other six young women on the lower register also bear the same kind of ears in their hands or in their hair. They are surrounded by *kistai*, *patera* and *kana*. All these objects belong to cultic scenes, regarding the present case, an offering of wheat to Demeter. In the *Homeric Hymn*, the goddess finally reveals herself in all her magnificence - but also in all her wrath - when she is interrupted by Metaneira while she is plunging Demophon into the flames to make him immortal.³⁴ 'And straightaway her knees buckled' narrates the *Hymn* concerning Metaneira.³⁵ Perhaps the Painter remembered this detail and took the initiative to show her kneeling in front of the goddess.

In the same passage, Demeter orders a temple to be built in Eleusis so that the Eleusinians worship her. Such a scene seems to take place on the Berlin's *hydria*. The six young women with the worship materials in the lower register could be Metaneira's daughters who also witness Demeter's *epiphaneia* in the *Hymn*. In the poem there are four of them, on the *hydria* there are six but this does not invalidate this identification. Is it necessary to recall that pictures are not illustrations of texts?

Two pairs of male characters surround Demeter and Metaneira. The right pair is formed by a pedagogue, a recurring character in Apulian imagery,³⁶ and a young man with a horse. This young horseman is a high-rank character and the fact that he is speaking with the pedagogue means that he is high-born. The myth narrated in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* gives the new-born Demophon as Metaneira's only son whose nurse is to be Demeter. He is thus unlikely to be this young man. In some later versions of the myth, Demophon does not appear anymore and Triptolemos, the Eleusinian hero par excellence, becomes the son of the royal couple.³⁷

If it is indeed Triptolemos on the Berlin's *hydria*, the chlamys and the high sandals that this character is wearing as well as his mount could allude to his forthcoming journey. The horse is rather a way to emphasize his aristocratic rank -

as well as the spear which might refer to the martial or cynegetic activities in which young nobles indulged in ancient societies. The two other male characters can also be seen as young aristocrats. Giuliani proposes to identify them as Eumolpos and Eubuleus.³⁸ The *Homeric Hymn* also cites Diocles, Polyxeinos, Dolichos and king Keleos among the Eleusinian aristocrats to whom Demeter entrusts her cult.³⁹ The names of these characters do not matter nor does the exact identity of the young women of the lower register. The picture on this vase evokes the cults by which the Eleusinians worship the goddess. It looks like this image is inspired by the tradition narrated within the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* that the Painter however 'reworked' with the iconographic language.

The upper register of the Berlin *hydria* (fig. 37) contains a divine assembly among which are seated Pan, Hermes, Poseidon, Aphrodite, Apollo and Artemis. These deities are talking with each other without paying attention to what is happening below them. They may evoke the Olympus that Demeter has just left by settling in Eleusis. I point out that Poseidon is beardless and sits in the centre of this divine row. Giuliani proposes to explain his presence by Eumolpos' hypothetical one in the middle register. Indeed, according to some traditions, Eumolpos is Poseidon's son.⁴⁰ The fact that this god is beardless - and thus younger from an iconographic point of view - might be a way to mark some kind of temporality. In the 'mythological chronology', the abduction of Kore and the wanderings of Demeter directly follow the sharing of the world between the Cronids.⁴¹ The 'young' Poseidon on the *hydria* would just have received his part of the world. Whatever it is there for, this detail must not be meaningless.

The significance of the picture on the Berlin *hydria* is really close to the one on the Foggia *oinochoe*. The goddess spreads her benevolence to mankind, this time by sharing the secrets of agriculture. If we look at these two pictures through an 'Eleusinian glass', the agrarian dimension of the Berlin *hydria* is completed by the eschatological aspect implied by the Foggia *oinochoe*.

In conclusion, connecting the scene depicted on the Foggia *oinochoe* in series with those appearing on contemporary vases coming from the same cultural context allows to recognize a subject linked to the Eleusinian cycle. All the components of the iconographic language that are used in this picture tend to identify the episode of Demeter's arrival in Eleusis. On one hand, the composition

alludes to the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* and, on the other hand, brings back the layouts and the motifs of other contemporary Apulian pictures which undeniably depict Eleusinian topics (abduction of Kore-Persephone, wanderings of Demeter, sanctuary of Eleusis).

The episode of the Eleusinian cycle depicted on the Foggia *oinochoe* - as well as those on the other vases to be associated with it from a thematic point of view - draw attention to the importance and the complexity of Demeter (and the beliefs surrounding her) in Southern Italy.

Finally, I once again draw attention to the fact that this picture was designed by a notable painter of Greek culture and was ordered by a member of the Daunian aristocracy to embellish his grave. This is very important because it gives evidence of a deep knowledge of the eschatological (even Eleusinian) beliefs of the cult of Demeter among the indigenous communities of Southern Italy which were strongly hellenized.

NOTES

* This article resumes some of the research that I initiated during my Master's thesis (presented in January 2015, at the University of Liège, supervised by Thomas Morard) on *The reception of the Eleusinian Iconography in South Italian Pottery*. I take the opportunity of this first footnote to deeply thank Francesca Silvestrelli, Italo Maria Muntoni, Luigi La Rocca and Riccardo Cappelli who allowed me to study this vase and to take photographs of it. I also would like to thank Claudine Paris, Emilie Motte and Jean MacIntosh Turfa for their help with the English translation of this article.

¹ Apulian red-figured type 8 *oinochoe* (h.: 57 cm, diam. lip: 40 cm, diam. max. body: 45 cm, diam. foot: 28 cm), Darius Painter (RVAp II, 494-495, 502/71), ca 340-320 BC, from Arpi (locality Arpinova), Foggia, Museo Civico, FG 6367: De Juliis 1973, 392-393, pl. 39, 1; De Juliis 1974, 520-521, pl. 90, b; Schauenburg 1983, 266, fig. 17.18a-17.18b; De Juliis 1992, 74-75, fig. 331-333; De Juliis 1996, 270, fig. 242.

² De Juliis 1973, 392-393, pl. 39, 1. The same report and the same images were published the year after in the *Studi Etruschi*: De Juliis 1974, 520-521, pl. 90, b.

³ RVAp II, 494-495.

⁴ Schauenburg 1983, 266, n. 44, fig. 17.18a-17.18b.

⁵ De Juliis 1992, 74-75, 105, fig. 331-333. That would not be incompatible given the 'Dionysiac touch' which affected Apulian imagery during the second half of the fourth century. A picture of this vase also appears, anecdotally, in De Juliis 1996, 270, fig. 242.

⁶ The Korybantes, these dancer-warriors, were originally connected with the deeds of Cybele, the Great Goddess of Phrygia. Cybele was associated with Demeter from the fifth century as can be read in Euripides, *Helen*, 1302-1320. The Korybantes then became attendants to Demeter. Cybele embodies Nature under its wild animal aspect (in the idea of the Eastern Πόντια Θηρών, 'Mistress of the Animals') whereas Demeter embodies its vegetal aspect. As Mother of Gods, Cybele was also associated with Rhea but Demeter shows this motherly

aspect too, particularly in the myth of the rape of Kore-Persephone. For further readings about the links between Demeter and Cybele, I recommend Borgeaud 1996, 39-45, 129-130, 161-163. The Korybantes were also associated with the Kouretes. Such a correlation from the Kouretes to the Korybantes is explained by Strabo, 10.3.19.

⁷ Following the idea of dancer-warriors, Korybantes are also musicians. They escort the goddess, screaming, clashing their shields, playing drum, cymbals and flute. This particularly noisy procession is described by Ovid, *Fasti* 4.179-190. A scholion on Nicander, *Theriaca*, 485a tells us about Demeter being affected by the grief of her daughter's loss and by the 'sound of cymbals' (τὸ δὲ Ἀχαιῆ Δημήτηρ ἢ διὰ τὸ ἄχος καὶ τὴν λύπην τῆς θυγατρὸς ἢ διὰ τὸν τῶν κυμβάλων ἦχον). These cymbals belong to the Korybantes escorting her wanderings. Pindar, *Isthmian* 7.3, already spoke of a Demeter 'with the sound of bronze cymbals' (χαλκόκροτος) which might refer to her 'assimilation' with Cybele from the fifth century (cfr *supra*, previous footnote).

⁸ This detail did not escape Trendall (*RVAp* II, 502/71).

⁹ The main study relating to the cross-bar torch is the thesis of Leonhard 1974. However, since this publication, several objects bearing cross-bar torches have been found (among them the Foggia *oinochoe*) and essential compilations as those of Trendall have been published. Given its importance and significance in South Italian iconography, a new study concerning this motif would be welcome and precious.

¹⁰ Apulian red-figured *hydria*, Group of BM F 308 (*RVAp* I, 427/66), ca 350-330 BC, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1907.128.1: Schauenburg 1958, 58-59; Leonhard 1974, 139, T 5; Lindner 1984, 21-22, cat. 14, pl. 10; *LIMC* IV, 'Demeter' (Beschi), 871/316; Todisco 2012, vol. I, 175-176, vol. III, pl. 436, 1. Schauenburg 1983, 279, n. 44 compares this *hydria* with the Foggia *oinochoe*.

¹¹ Apulian red-figured *lekythos*, Underworld Painter (*RVAp* Suppl. I, 83/218a, pl. XVII, 1-2), ca 330-310 BC, once on the London art market: Lindner 1984, 27, cat. 18, pl. 8-9.

¹² Apulian red-figured volute krater, Darius Painter (*RVAp* II, 495-496/40, pl. 176.2), ca 340-320 BC, from Ruvo, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 81667: Heydemann 1872, 591-598, cat. 3256; Schauenburg 1958, 57; Leonhard 1974, 140, T 10; Moret 1975, cat. 100, pl. 81-82, 83.1; Lindner 1984, 20-21, cat. 13; *LIMC* IV, Demeter (Beschi), 871/313; Ællen 1994, 207, cat. 40, pl. 50-51, 214, cat. 96, pl. 117; Morard 2009, 179, cat. 34, pl. 27-28.

¹³ This peculiar motif certainly refers to the idea of a journey across the world and thus across the sea. The stars shining above the characters refer to the celestial aspect of this journey.

¹⁴ Apulian red-figured volute krater, Group of Taranto 7013 (*RVAp* II, 1023/39), ca 320-300 BC, Paris, Musée du Louvre, N 3512: *LIMC* IV, Demeter (Beschi), 882/459.

¹⁵ Apulian red-figured knob-handled *patera*, Baltimore Painter (*RVAp* Suppl. I, 158, 67b, pl. XXX, 3), ca 330-310 BC, Chicago, Art Institute, 1984.10: Schauenburg 1984, pl. 118, 1.

¹⁶ This can be seen on numerous Underworld scenes on Apulian vases. For instance, there are a volute krater kept in Kiel (Kunsthalle, B 585: *RVAp* Suppl. II, 351/A1; Schauenburg 1984, 361-362, pl. 100, 1-3; *LIMC* IV, Hades (Lindner), 385/124; Moret 1993, fig. 10, cat. 38; Schauenburg 1999-2010, vol. IX/X, 48, 165, fig. 114; Todisco 2012, vol. I,

284-286, vol. III, pl. 219, 4); a volute krater kept in Malibu (John Paul Getty Museum, 77.AE.13: *RVAp* II, 863/17, pl. 323, 3-4; *RVAp* Suppl. I, 182/A; Schauenburg 1984, 359, pl. 94, 1-2; *LIMC* IV, Hades (Lindner), 385, 125; Moret 1993, cat. 37); a volute krater kept in Matera (Museo Archeologico Nazionale Domenico Ridola, 164.510: *RVAp* Suppl. II, 351/A2; Schauenburg 1984, 368, pl. 113-115; *LIMC* IV, Hades (Lindner), 385/126; Moret 1993, cat. 39; Denoyelle/Iozzo 2009, 158, fig. 227); a volute krater kept in Munich (Antikensammlungen 3297: *RVAp* II, 533/282, pl. 194; Leonhard 1974, 140, T 11; Pensa 1977, 23-24, fig. 5; *LIMC* IV, Hades (Lindner), 385, 132; Moret 1993, cat. 17, fig. 5; Ællen 1994, 208, cat. 50, pl. 64-66; Denoyelle/Iozzo 2009, 152, fig. 220; Morard 2009, 153, n. 939; Todisco 2012, vol. I, 201-203, vol. III, pl. 171, 1); a volute krater kept in Naples (Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 80854 (Stg 11): *RVAp* I, 424/54; Heydemann 1872, 629-631; Schauenburg 1958, 66, fig. 11; Leonhard 1974, 140, T 14; Pensa 1977, 25, pl. VII; Moret 1993, cat. 6; Ællen 1994, 205, cat. 27, pl. 32-33; Morard 2009, 150, n. 897; Todisco 2012, vol. I, 118-119, vol. III, pl. 122, 1-2); a volute krater kept in Naples (Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 81666: *RVAp* I, 431/82, pl. 160.2; Heydemann 1872, 510-516, cat. 3222; Leonhard 1974, 140, T 13; Pensa 1977, 24, pl. I-IV; Moret 1993, cat. 8; Ællen 1994, 202, cat. 2, pl. 2-3; Schauenburg 1999-2010, vol. XIV, 15, 60, fig. 32 a-b; Todisco 2012, vol. I, 120, vol. III, pl. 123, 1); a volute krater kept in Ruvo (Museo Giovanni Jatta, 36819 (J 1094): *RVAp* I, 397/14, pl. 139.3; Sichtermann 1966, 33-34, cat. 36, pl. 52-54; Leonhard 1974, 140, T 8; Pensa 1977, 29, pl. XIII; *LIMC* IV, Hades (Lindner), 387/152; Moret 1993, cat. 4; Ællen 1994, 205, cat. 24, pl. 28-29; Morard 2009, 77, n. 466; Todisco 2012, vol. I, 107, vol. III, pl. 112, 4); a volute krater kept in Toledo (Museum of Art, 1994.19: *RVAp* Suppl. II, 508/41a1; Moret 1993, 295-300, fig. 1-2, cat. 10; *LIMC* Suppl., Hades (Pouzadoux), 236/11; Morard 2009, 125-126, pl. 115; Todisco 2012, vol. I, 198-192, vol. III, pl. 164, 3).

¹⁷ This iconographic version of the myth agrees with the literary version narrated in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, v. 375-378 in which we learn that Kore-Persephone comes back to the surface on Hades' quadriga drawn by horses and guided by Hermes. Pindar, *Olympian* 6.160-161 speaks of Hiero of Syracuse celebrating Demeter and her daughter 'with white horses' (ἀμφέπει Δάματρα λευκίππου τε θυγατρὸς ἑορτάν). According to a scholion on these verses (Drachmann 1969, 192/160a), Demeter looked for Kore after her abduction and brought her back to earth aboard a chariot drawn by white horses (ὅτι ἡ Δημήτηρ τὴν Κόρην εὗρε μετὰ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν καὶ λευκοὺς ἵππους ὑποξέυξασα ἀνήγαγεν αὐτήν). The same scholiast (Drachmann 1969, 192/160c) tells us that after her abduction by Plouton, Kore met her mother again and was brought to Olympus, near her father, on a chariot drawn by white horses (λευκίππον δὲ εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ λέγεται μετὰ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν ἢ Κόρη, ἦν ὑπέστη ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλούτονος, εὗρεθεῖα λοιπὸν ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς Δήμητρος, λευκοπῶλον ἄροματι ἀνήχθαι εἰς τὸν Ὀλύμπου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τὸν Δία). Thus Kore's return to her mother, then among the Olympians, happened aboard a chariot drawn by white horses, as it can be seen on the Chicago *patera* (fig. 27).

¹⁸ Fragments of a Apulian red-figured volute krater, Darius Painter (Schauenburg 1999-2010, vol. IV/V, 52-55), ca 340-320 BC, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 2003.130: Schauenburg 1999-2010, vol. IV/V, 39-58, fig. 77-92 & XII-XIII (pictures in colour); Morard 2009, 43-44; *LIMC* Suppl., Gigantes (Ioannitis), 222/10.

- ¹⁹ I also draw attention to the fact that the cross-bar top of this torch has been depicted with a white highlight (fig. 31) exactly as the one of the Korybant on the Foggia *oinochoe* (fig. 16, b). These two white highlights have nearly vanished.
- ²⁰ Apulian red-figured volute krater, Darius Painter (RVAp Suppl. II, 147/17b, pl. XXXV, 2), ca 340-320 BC, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 1984.40; LIMC IV, Hades (Lindner), 381-382/85; Giuliani 1995, cat. 3, 33-37, 102-108, fig. 10, 12, 14, 16, 76; Todisco 2012, vol. I, 189-192, vol. III, pl. 163, 3. On this krater, one of the three Korybantes has a bell hanging from his arm. This instrument may allude to the noisy procession constituted by these characters (cfr *supra*, n. 7).
- ²¹ Euripides, *Helen*, 1310 speaks of Demeter yoking wild beasts to her chariot (θηρῶν [...] ζυγίους). Moret 1975, 260-272; Morard 2009, 55-72; 2015 have demonstrated the importance of Euripides' work in the transmission of myths into Southern Italy. About the role played by Euripides for the comparison between Demeter and Cybele, one can refer to note 6.
- ²² v. 96-223. The main study related to this hymn is Richardson 1974. This epic poem has also been discussed by Rudhardt 1981, 227-244; Clinton 1992, 13-37, 96-99, Foley 1994 and Bowden 2010, 26-29, 46-47.
- ²³ v. 289-291: ἀγρόμενα δὲ μὲν ἀμφὶς ἐλούεον ἀσπείροντα ἀμπαγαπαζόμενα · τοῦ δ' οὐ μελίσσετο θυμὸς · χειρότεροι γὰρ δὴ μὲν ἔχον τροφοὶ ἢ δὲ τιθῆναι: gathered around him, they bathed him, surrounding him with great care while he struggled. He did not calm down because the nurses holding him were of a lesser kind (author's translation).
- ²⁴ Apulian red-figured *pelike*, Painter of Athens 1680 (RVAp I, 243/137), ca 360-350 BC, Kiel, Antikensammlung, B 501; LIMC IV, Helene (Kahil), 503/6; RVAp Suppl. II-1, 54, 243/137. We can see a young boy showing the same posture, in the arms of a female character, on a fragment of an Apulian red-figured volute krater coming from Taranto (Arsenale Militare, 1913; D'Amicis 2014, pl. IV, 2). The son of Hector is trying to get to his father's arms showing to same posture on an Apulian red-figured volute krater kept in Berlin (Staatliche Museen, 1984.45; RVAp Suppl. II, 161, 18/283a; Ællen 1994, 206, n. 36, pl. 45; Giuliani 1995, 43-45, 122-132, cat. 5, figs 80-83).
- ²⁵ v. 263-264: τιμὴ δ' ἀφθίτος αἰὲν ἐπέσσειται οὐνεκα γούνων ἡμετέρων ἐπέβη καὶ ἐν ἀγκοίνῃσιν ἱαυσεν: he will always enjoy everlasting honours because he climbed on our knees, because he slept in our arms (author's translation).
- ²⁶ v. 98-110. It is called Παρθένιον φρέαζ ('well of the maidens') in verse 99 whereas it is named Καλλίχορον ('well of the fine dances') in verse 272.
- ²⁷ Apulian red-figured volute krater, Darius Painter (RVAp Suppl. I, 78, 41a, pl. XII, 1-2), ca 340-320 BC, Princeton, University Art Museum, 1983.13; Trendall 1984, 5-17; Schmidt 1986, pl. 32.1; LIMC IV, Demeter (Beschi), 883/468; Morard 2009, 179, cat. 35, pl. 29; Todisco 2012, vol. I, 189-192, vol. III, 164, 1.
- ²⁸ The sole known depiction of this peculiar episode in Medea's deeds has been discussed by Moret 2004. On the other hand, Morard 2009, 114-116 demonstrates that this version of the myth could also appear on an Apulian red-figured *oinochoe* kept in Fiesole. Todisco 2012, vol. I, 176 does not consider Morard's observations and maintains the identification of the scenes as the return of Alcestis to Admetus. A personification of the Eleusinian sanctuary - also identified by an inscription - is shown on an Apulian red-figured *loutrophoros* kept in Malibu (John Paul Getty Museum, 86.AE.680; RVAp Suppl. II, 180-181, 278-2, pl. XLVII, 2; Schauenburg 1989, 45-47, fig. 31-32; LIMC VI, Leda (Kahil), 233/17; Ællen 1994, 212, cat. 85, pl. 101-104; Morard 2009, 184, cat. 49, pl. 40, 119; Todisco 2012, vol. I, 173-174, vol. III, pl. 154, 2).
- ²⁹ v. 62-89.
- ³⁰ v. 51: ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτη οἱ ἐπήλυθε φαινόλις Ἥώς: when, on the tenth day, appeared the resplendent Eos (author's translation).
- ³¹ This was the topic of my Master's thesis - see *-note. Aside the representations of the abduction of Kore and the wanderings of Demeter discussed above, we also find the departure of Triptolemos, perhaps the most Eleusinian topic there is. For other Eleusinian pictures, see note 28.
- ³² Apulian red-figured *hydria*, Varrese Painter (RVAp Suppl. II, 88/30d), ca 360-340 BC, from Canosa, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 1984.46; LIMC IV, Demeter (Beschi), 879/420; Ællen 1994, 183, n. 26; Giuliani 1995, 45-49, 132-138, cat. 6, fig. 29-32, 84-87; Morard 2009, 166, cat. 1, pl. 1. I also draw attention to the fact that this *hydria* belongs to the same grave goods as the krater that I discussed previously. This krater shows Demeter's feline-drawn *biga* in a scene of the abduction of Kore.
- ³³ Giuliani 1995, 132-138. Trendall had already come to this hypothesis but did not comment on this scene (RVAp Suppl. II, 88/30d).
- ³⁴ v. 268-280.
- ³⁵ v. 281: τῆς δ' αὐτίκα γούνατ' ἔλυντο.
- ³⁶ In Apulian iconography, the pedagogue (or the nurse, his female counterpart) is the wise old character who advises the other protagonists on what is happening in the picture (Morard 2009, 109-113).
- ³⁷ Pausanias, I.14.2-3 gives not less than five different traditions for Triptolemos' ascent, among which the Attic one which makes him the son of Keleos. By the Pseudo-Apollodorus, I.5.1-2, Triptolemos is the elder son of Keleos and Metaneira, and by Hyginus, *Fabula* 147, there is no more mention of Demophon. By Ovid, *Fasti* 4.550-560, Triptolemos is the one plunged into the flames by Demeter instead of Demophon.
- ³⁸ Giuliani 1995, 137-138.
- ³⁹ v. 153-156 & 473-477. The verse 474 introduces Diocles as a horse tamer (πλήξιππος).
- ⁴⁰ It is to be found by Pseudo-Apollodorus, 3.15.4.
- ⁴¹ Rudhardt 1981, 234-244 has demonstrated how Demeter's stay in Eleusis following the abduction of her daughter interferes in the completion of this shared task.

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*Figs 1-20. Apulian oinochoe Foggia FG 6367 (photos author).
Figs 1-4.*



Figs 1-20. Apulian oinochoe Foggia FG 6367 (photos author).
Figs 5-7.



*Figs 1-20. Apulian oinochoe Foggia FG 6367 (photos author).
Figs 8-9.*



Figs 1-20. Apulian oinochoe Foggia FG 6367 (photos author).
Figs 10-13.



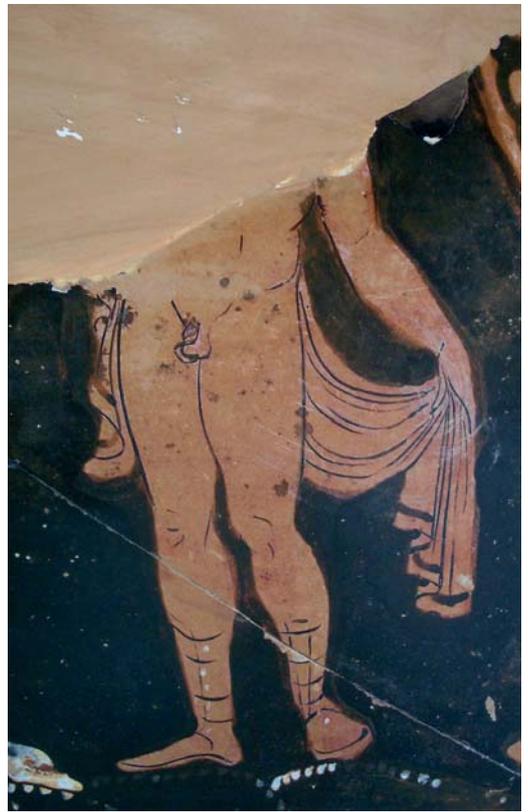
*Figs 1-20. Apulian oinochoe Foggia FG 6367 (photos author).
Figs 14-15.*



*Figs 1-20. Apulian oinochoe Foggia FG 6367 (photos author).
Figs 16, a-b.*



*Figs 1-20. Apulian oinochoe Foggia FG 6367 (photos author).
Figs 17-19.*



*Figs 1-20. Apulian oinochoe Foggia FG 6367 (photos author).
Fig. 20.*



Fig. 21. A selection of the vases from the grave goods of the chamber tomb in Arpi (locality Arpinova). In the middle, the oinochoe now kept in Foggia (De Juliis 1973, pl. 39, 1).



Fig. 22. Apulian hydria New York 1907.128.1 (Lindner 1984, pl. 10).



Figs. 23. Detail of the body of the Apulian lekythos once on the art market in London (Lindner 1984, pl. 8).



Fig. 24. Detail of the body of the Apulian lekythos once on the art market in London (Lindner 1984, pl. 9).



Fig. 25. Apulian volute krater Naples 81667 (Morard 2009, pl. 28).



Fig. 26. Detail of the neck of the Apulian volute krater Paris N 3512 (LIMC IV.2, 597/459).



Fig. 27. Apulian knob-handled patera Chicago 1984.10 (© Art Institute Chicago).

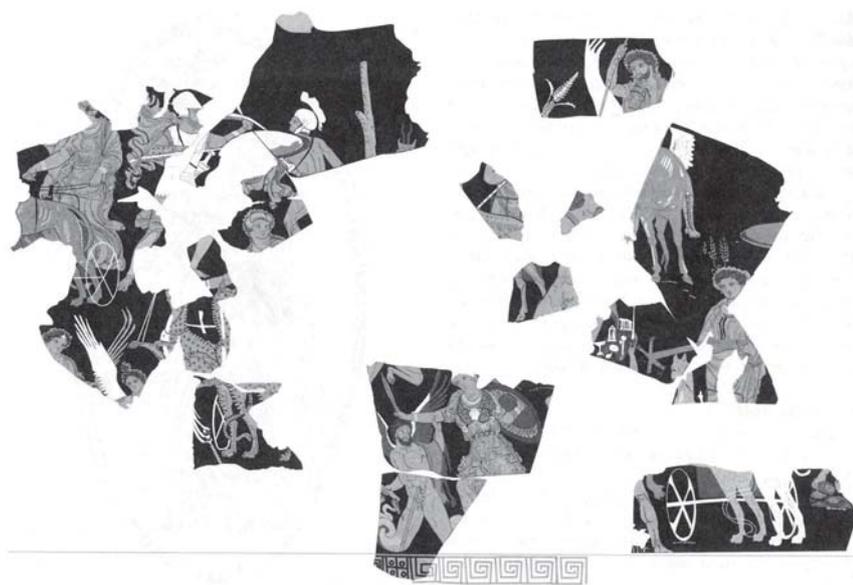
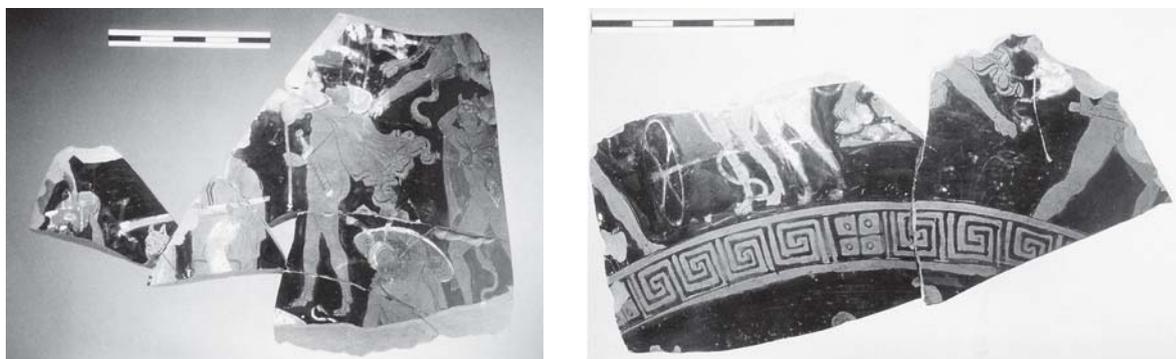


Fig. 28. Drawing of the fragments of the Apulian volute krater Hamburg 2003.130 (LIMC Suppl., Gigantes (Ioannitis), 222/add. 10).



Figs 29-30. Some fragments of the Apulian volute krater Hamburg 2003.130 (Schauenburg 1999-2010, vol. IV/V, 162, fig. 81a & 81c).



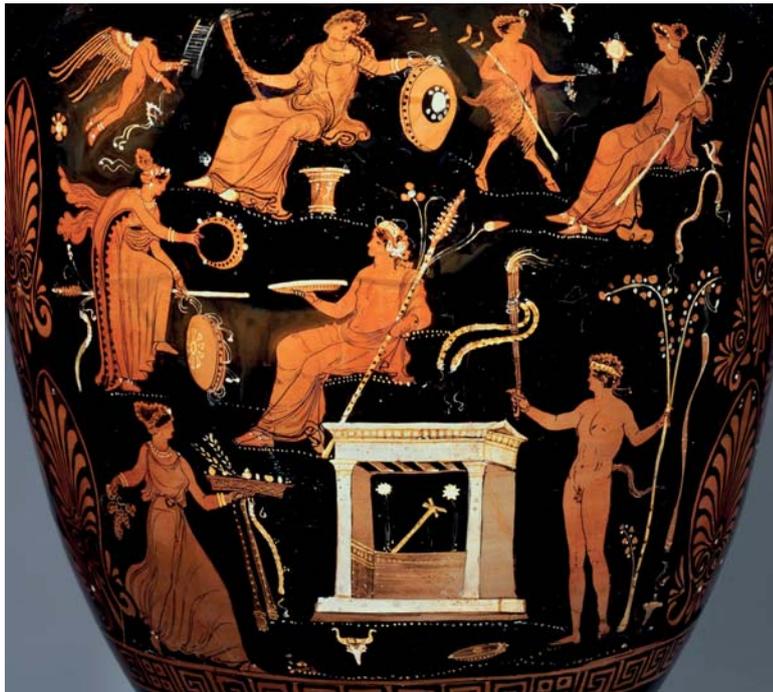
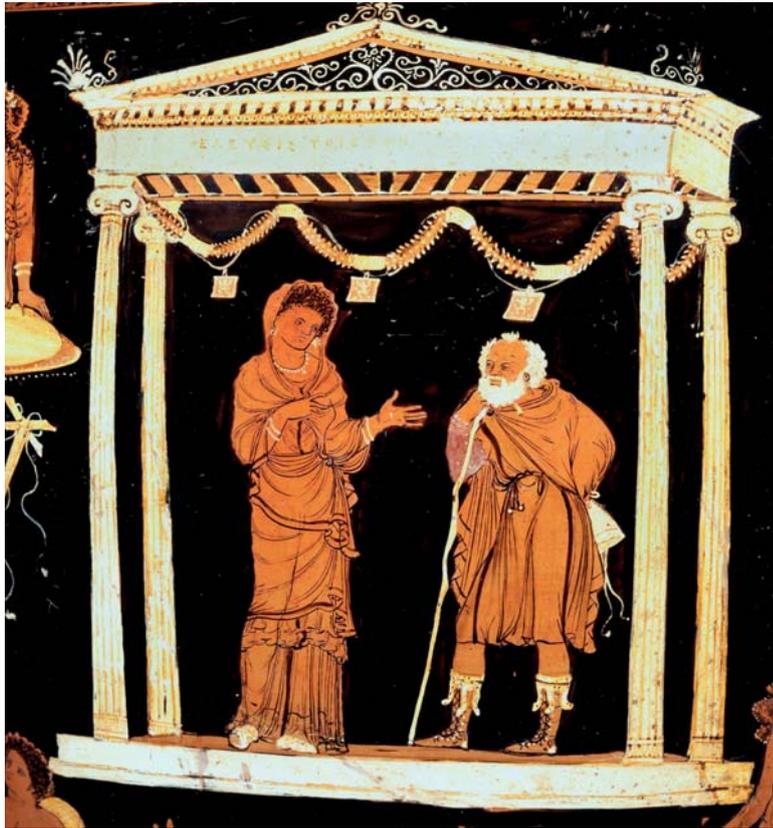
Fig. 31. A fragment of the Apulian volute krater Hamburg 2003.130 (Schauenburg 1999-2010, vol. IV/V, 222, fig. XIII).



Fig. 32. Detail of the body of the Apulian volute krater Berlin 1984.40 (photo author).



Figs 33-34. Apulian pelike Kiel B 501 (© Antikensammlung Kiel).



Figs 35-36. Details of the two sides of the Apulian volute krater Princeton 1983.13
(© University Art Museum of Princeton).



Figs 37-38. Details of the body and shoulder of the Apulian hydria Berlin 1984.46 (photos author).