

RESEARCH ARTICLE

# Wandering maidens in the Acropolis Propylaia: some considerations on the spatial setting of the cults of the Charites, Artemis and Hermes, their administration and related cult images

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## Abstract

This paper aims to develop a holistic view on the cults of the Charites, Artemis and Hermes which can plausibly be located in the Acropolis Propylaia. Based on the combined analysis of the spatial and architectural setting, which changed in the course of the erection of the Mnesiklean Propylaia in 437–432 BC, along with the imagery and textual evidence for these cults, I propose that due to the altered spatial distribution and the rotated building axes, initially separate cults were fused together. Consequently, iconographical shifts occur in the modes of depiction of these three divinities. The Charites, who were attached in Archaic imagery to Hermes, in the Classical period become iconographically intertwined with Artemis. The iconographic shift is detectable especially in the new cult images<sup>1</sup> for Hermes Propylaios and Artemis Epipyrgidia with the Charites, which had been created by the sculptor Alkamenes, presumably by order of the Athenian state. This article should not be seen as a contribution to the analysis of copies (Kopienkritik) for known statue types or an architectural study; instead, its focus lies in the concepts of visualization of divine images, which were developed for a highly specific spatial setting in the cultic landscape of the Athenian Acropolis.

**Keywords:** Acropolis at Athens; Propylaia; cult topography; Greek iconography; Greek epigraphy

## 1. The spatial setting of the Propylaia: framing an entrance to the city's sacred core

The entrance to the Acropolis rock had been of major importance since the beginning of human activities at the site, comprising a fortified settlement with neighbouring burials. Indications for habitation exist already in LH I.<sup>2</sup> The later fortification walls<sup>3</sup> had their opening on the western side of the hill. This access was kept in use until modern times, since the terrain structure facilitated the easiest ascent (Supplementary fig. 1). Fortification needs led to the construction of the western gate running north–south, which was guarded by the tower-like

<sup>1</sup> Mylonopoulos (2010) on the difficulty of the term ‘cult image’; more recently, Hölscher (2017) 13–25. In this paper, I use the term for sculptures and other objects worked in the round that depict deities, are intended to mark the deity's presence and are set up in spatial relation to the focal point of regularly practised ritual activity.

<sup>2</sup> Mountjoy (1995) 13–14; most recently on the absence of a palace centre on the Acropolis, Papadimitriou (2017), who convincingly embeds the Acropolis in the Attic settlement structure of the time.

<sup>3</sup> On the dating: Mountjoy (1995) LH IIIA.2; Iakovidis (2006) LH IIIB.2. Most recently on the Mycenaean Wall and its traceable remains including the other Mycenaean entrances, Sioumpara (2018).

promontory of the later *purgos* of Athena Nike.<sup>4</sup> As no indications for ritual practice in the area of the passageway through the wall can be identified for this early phase,<sup>5</sup> due to the many later phases and alterations of the Acropolis and the difficult excavation history, no hypotheses regarding cult continuity reaching back to the Bronze Age will be attempted.<sup>6</sup>

Even with the conversion of the Acropolis rock into the religious centre of the developing polis in the eighth century BC, the Acropolis kept its citadel-like character with a closed fortification wall.<sup>7</sup> On the southwest corner of the rock, the remains of the massive Cyclopean wall were kept visible<sup>8</sup> and contemporary buildings were integrated. The Archaic entrance building, here termed the pre-Mnesiklean Propylon<sup>9</sup> (fig. 2), lay embedded in the Mycenaean wall and consisted of a broader central passageway, which could be used for processions. The passage followed a northeast–southwest alignment and was flanked by two halls. The inner part was set off by pillars.<sup>10</sup>

After the Persian destruction of the Acropolis, building activity at the site concentrated at first on the wall structures and repairs<sup>11</sup> and resumed with new buildings, notably the construction of the Parthenon, only after several decades. With the latter's completion for the most part in 438 BC<sup>12</sup> (the finalization of the sculptures and other decorative parts was not concluded until 432 BC), the reshaping and restructuring of the Acropolis concentrated on the entrance situation under new spatial and aesthetic premises: the newly established temple buildings and colossal statues<sup>13</sup> called for adjustments to the building axes that highlighted the Acropolis' new aesthetics. Thus, for the erection of the Mnesiklean Propylaia (fig. 3) from 437 to 432/1 BC, the passageway was again rotated, now further to the east. A spatial relation between the Parthenon, which was visible from the inside of the new entrance building and the statue of Athena Promachos, which was positioned in the axis of the entrance, is highly plausible, although the exact chronological interrelations of the respective monuments are still under discussion (Supplementary fig. 4).<sup>14</sup>

The building concept of the entrance also comprised the aforementioned Tower of Athena Nike, where her cult had been located since the Archaic period.<sup>15</sup> In connection with the construction of the new entrance, the originally separate hill promontory underwent major changes, as its street level was raised by almost 2 m (Supplementary figs 5 and 6). This measure led to a spatial incorporation of the tower into the building's ambitious conception: the now elevated platform of the tower was annexed to the south wing of the Propylaia.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Mark (1993); Wright (1994); Eiteljorg (1995); Shear (1999).

<sup>5</sup> An early shrine on the west side of the Nike *purgos*, where two niches were detected, was first excavated by Nikolaos Balanos in the 1930s. The excavation and the actual remains are reconstructed by Mark (1993) 1–3, 12–19. See Lempidaki (2013) 369–70 on the cult tradition starting in the Mycenaean period.

<sup>6</sup> On the detectable finds, see Mountjoy (1995) 41 on Iakovidis' hypothesis of a gate shrine. On cult at gates in general cf. Weißl (1998); most recently Nawracala (2019).

<sup>7</sup> Doronzio (2017) 50–52; Meyer (2017) 32–146. Detailed study of the measures of repair after the Persian destruction: Sioumpara (2019).

<sup>8</sup> Heights of the later phases are unknown; see Sioumpara (2018) 150.

<sup>9</sup> Monaco (2010); Paga (2017); Sioumpara (2019) 31 referring to current, unpublished research on the Propylon by Manolis Korres.

<sup>10</sup> Dinsmoor (1980); Eiteljorg (1995); Shear (1999); Eiteljorg (2011).

<sup>11</sup> Sioumpara (2019) 31–32.

<sup>12</sup> In this year, the Athena Parthenos was finalized and the surplus material was sold off, which means that the construction of the Parthenon building was finished. Testimonies and evaluation in Lehmann and Raeder (2007).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Palagia (2013).

<sup>14</sup> Palagia (2013) refuted the creation of the Athena Promachos in the aftermath of the Battle of Marathon. She dates the creation of the Promachos to the period of the Perikleian building programme. This was strengthened most recently by Foley and Stroud (2019), who analysed the inscription IG I<sup>3</sup> 435 and disconnected it from the Promachos statue. Their proposed connection to the Chalkotheke has to be refuted due to its establishment in the fourth century BC; cf. Sioumpara and Papazarkadas (2020) 63 n.1; Dinsmoor (2004); Hurwit (2004).

<sup>15</sup> Most recently Meyer (2017) 23–28.

<sup>16</sup> Hoepfner (1997). I thank Elisavet Sioumpara for pointing me to the meticulous study of Lempidaki (2013).



Fig. 2. The Pre-Mnesiklean Propylon with the slightly rotated entrance axis viewed from southwest (plaster model © Acropolis Museum, 2013, photo: Socratis Mavromatis).



Fig. 3. The entrance building of Mnesikles viewed from the southwest (plaster model © Acropolis Museum, 2013, photo: Socratis Mavromatis).

Gates/gateways were *per se* generally adorned with specific cults for transitory deities due to their sacred character,<sup>17</sup> especially those of major sanctuaries, and the Propylaia was no exception, since it housed several cults. The place-bound nature of cultic veneration raises the question of how cults reacted to changes of their attributed places and spaces.<sup>18</sup> The development of the Propylaia offers insight into the adaptability of cults, as changes can be tracked and even explained, when all available testimonies are read against each other.

## II. How to detect cult: testimonies for cult in the Propylaia area

Cult practice at and in the entrance area of the Athenian Acropolis can be deduced from different types of evidence. However, only by a close reading of the entirety of all potential

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Weißl (1998) and Nawracala (2019). The regional approach to ancient religion, specially emphasized by Polinskaya (2013), necessitates specific case studies on the respective *panthea* of *poleis* and the particular local profile of divinities.

<sup>18</sup> Alluded to by Monaco (2010) 81: 'Una delle difficoltà di Mnesicle fu certamente quella di riunire in un edificio strutture tardo arcaiche rispettando, al contempo, impianti culturali probabilmente più antichi (le Charites, Artemis Epipyrgidia, Hermes Propylaioi)'.

sources is it possible to understand their placement in this area and identify the actual cult recipient. Therefore, a thorough analysis of the actual literary, epigraphic and material testimonies ranging from the Archaic to the Roman period is indispensable, since even individual pieces of evidence already present difficulties and uncertainties regarding the respective time-bound content. Epigraphical sources for cults do not refer to their location on the Acropolis Hill and, like the statuary evidence, the script-bearing materials were likely relocated during the manifold modifications of the architectural units.<sup>19</sup> Literary sources that describe the setting of the Propylaia will thus provide the starting point for this investigation even if they were written long after the time frame in question and despite their inaccuracy regarding actual cult practice.

Several ancient authors, mainly from the Roman Imperial period,<sup>20</sup> are relevant to this case study, since they describe the Propylaia, including the statues and images which were visible in their time. This temporal gap is problematic, since the statues could have been moved to the Propylaia at a later stage.<sup>21</sup> The following are known from written testimony: several equestrian statues,<sup>22</sup> in the immediate vicinity to the west of Athena Nike,<sup>23</sup> the Artemis Hekate/Hekate Epipyrgidia/Artemis Epipyrgidia,<sup>24</sup> the Hermes Propylaaios,<sup>25</sup> the Charites of Socrates,<sup>26</sup> a bronze lioness,<sup>27</sup> the Aphrodite Sosandra,<sup>28</sup> a statue of Diitrephes,<sup>29</sup> less distinguished portraits<sup>30</sup> and Athena Hygieia.<sup>31</sup> Beside a bronze statue of a boy made by Lykios and a Perseus,<sup>32</sup> just behind the Propylaia lay the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia with two cult statues.<sup>33</sup> Since all these statues were regarded as highly esteemed *opera nobilia*, they have long been the focus of sculpture research and consequently, various statue types have been proposed.<sup>34</sup> Regular ritual practice or an administered cult, which is, for example, attested in cult calendars and treasury lists,<sup>35</sup> can only be substantiated for Athena Nike,<sup>36</sup> Artemis-Hekate-Epipyrgidia,<sup>37</sup> Hermes,<sup>38</sup> the

<sup>19</sup> See Tanoulas (1997) on the medieval appearance of the Propylaia and the massive modifications to the fortifications.

<sup>20</sup> Still fundamental in the collection of the written sources is Jahn and Michaelis (1901). However, their combination of Pausanias with other testimonies and epigraphic evidence is partially outdated. For the most recent overview with bibliography, see Greco (2010).

<sup>21</sup> On the complexity of the actual archaeological evidence for equestrian monuments, see Krumeich (2010) 355–60.

<sup>22</sup> Paus. 1.22.4; Diog. Laert. 2.52. Both in Jahn and Michaelis (1901) 43. Epigraphic evidence attests that the equestrian statues were made by Myron's son Lykios (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 511), which makes a dating of 450–430 BC plausible. Nevertheless, they were erected as *anathemata* relating to war and therefore would not have been related to regular cult practice.

<sup>23</sup> See Paus. 1.22.4 on the temple and 5.26.6 and 3.15.7 on the statue. Harpokration s.v. Nike Athena; Nikarchus, *Anth. Pal.* 9.576; Dem. 24.121. All in Jahn and Michaelis (1901) 43.

<sup>24</sup> Paus. 2.30.2; Hsch. s.v. Propylaia. Both in Jahn and Michaelis (1901) 44.

<sup>25</sup> Paus. 1.22.8; Jahn and Michaelis (1901) 45–46.

<sup>26</sup> Paus. 1.22.8; Jahn and Michaelis (1901) 46.

<sup>27</sup> Paus. 1.23.2; Jahn and Michaelis (1901) 46–47.

<sup>28</sup> Paus. 1.23.2; Jahn and Michaelis (1901) 47. The statue is claimed to have been a votive of Kallias, which would make it an unlikely candidate for *ab initio* intended regular cult practice.

<sup>29</sup> Paus. 1.23.3; Plin. *HN* 34.74; Jahn and Michaelis (1901) 47; on the statue, Krumeich (1997) 140–44.

<sup>30</sup> Paus. 1.23.4; Jahn and Michaelis (1901) 47.

<sup>31</sup> Paus. 1.23.4; Harpokration s.v. Hygieia Athena. Jahn and Michaelis (1901) 47.

<sup>32</sup> Their location is mentioned on the Acropolis, likely outside the Propylaia: Paus. 1.23.7.

<sup>33</sup> Paus. 1.23.7; Jahn and Michaelis (1901) 48–49.

<sup>34</sup> See the recent edition of *Der Neue Overbeck* for possible attributions of image types. The attribution of the actual statue type has no bearing on the line of argument proposed here. For the statues that are relevant to the analysis of the Propylaia cults, the known copies share a common concept (see below).

<sup>35</sup> The varying contents of inscriptions have recently been summarized by Taylor (2015).

<sup>36</sup> Altar inscription *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 596.

<sup>37</sup> *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 234; *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 383; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 5050; *SEG* 39:93.

<sup>38</sup> *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 383.

Charites,<sup>39</sup> Athena Hygieia<sup>40</sup> and Artemis Brauronia.<sup>41</sup> The known placements of these cults after the erection of the Mnesikleian Propylaia shows that some were located in the vicinity of the building, but definitely not inside it. Athena Nike's altar and temple were situated on the *purgos*, Athena Hygieia's altar was attached to the outer surface of one of the Propylaia columns and the *temenos* of Artemis Brauronia was clearly distinguished by its surrounding walls. Before proposing that the images of Hermes, Artemis-Hekate-Epipyrgidia and the Charites were located inside the wings of the Propylaia building, the complex evidence for these cult recipients, starting already in the late Archaic period, needs to be reassessed, since the textual testimonies reveal discrepancies in the proposed denomination of the interlinked image types. The clarification of these inconsistencies between cult actually practised and locally specific image concepts is the first step for tracing the shift in imagery analysed here.

### III. Iconographic evidence: securing identifications

Iconographic evidence linked to the cults on the Acropolis is generally affected by the problem of dislocation.<sup>42</sup> This is also the case for objects in relation to the three respective cult recipients. Sculpture fragments from the sixth century BC found on the Acropolis and predating the erection of the Mnesikleian Propylaia are only attested for Hermes and the Charites. Their original location on the hill is unknown, since they came to light in secondary contexts.<sup>43</sup>

The oldest example is an Archaic relief fragment of a young beardless Hermes wearing a *pilos* and carrying a syrinx (Supplementary fig. 7).<sup>44</sup> This depiction is comparable to the so-called Aglauridenrelief (Supplementary fig. 8),<sup>45</sup> in which Hermes is depicted as an aulos player leading three female dancers and a young boy. Nikolaus Himmelmann-Wildschütz identified the scene as a depiction of Hermes with the Nymphs,<sup>46</sup> who have included a young boy in their dance as a *numpholeptos*. Taking the specific setting of the Auglauridenrelief into account, Himmelmann-Wildschütz's specific identification of the three females has to be questioned, since the Nymphs are not elsewhere attested on the Acropolis; moreover, the Archaic Athenian iconography of 'weibliche Dreivereine'<sup>47</sup> is highly vague.<sup>48</sup> Instead, a sacrificial calendar from the Acropolis,<sup>49</sup> dating to 480–460 BC, accounts unequivocally for the worship of the Charites at the site. This slightly later epigraphic evidence makes it plausible to identify the three maidens as the Charites and further allows the identification

<sup>39</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 234.

<sup>40</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 506. For the confirmation by the evidence of images from the Acropolis rock, see below. For the scarce evidence on an earlier Hygieia cult, see: <<https://www.atticinscriptions.com/inscription/IGI3/506#note-1>>. Most recently, Meyer (2017) 23–28.

<sup>41</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 369; IG II<sup>3</sup> 1 531, formerly IG II<sup>2</sup> 326; Lambert (2004); Lambert (2007) 82.

<sup>42</sup> On the complexity of visual evidence, see Gaifman (2012); Hölscher (2017).

<sup>43</sup> Gagliano (2014) 41–55.

<sup>44</sup> Inv. no. Akr. 622, dated to the second quarter of the sixth century BC.

<sup>45</sup> Inv. no. Akr. 702, dated to the late sixth century BC.

<sup>46</sup> Himmelmann-Wildschütz (1957) 13–18.

<sup>47</sup> Usener (1903) on the female groups of three and their similarities. The best example for the non-specific iconography of the Nymphs, Charites, Moirai, etc. is the Attic black-figure dinos of Sophilos, in the British Museum in London; for details see n.146. All female groups are shown as beautifully dressed women in straight seriality.

<sup>48</sup> The common iconography of the Charites shows them as three young females. Since this iconography is quite unspecific and overlaps with other female 'Dreivereine' (cf. Petersen (1881) 54, who uses this term for the first time with regard to the Hekateion), the epigraphic testimony from the Acropolis is decisive. No other 'Dreiverein' is known from the inscriptions referring to cult. On the cult of Hermes with the Charites, see Gagliano (2014), who addresses the cult of Hermes, starting with an analysis of the copies of the herms.

<sup>49</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 234; already decisive for Furtwängler (1878) 183.

of another late Archaic fragmentary relief depicting a frontally positioned woman dressed in a peplos (Supplementary fig. 9) as a Charis.<sup>50</sup> The young boy could be interpreted as the dedicant.<sup>51</sup>

A third monument to the Charites, the so-called Charites of Socrates, provides a complex and intriguing set of material and literary evidence. According to literary testimonia, the relief depiction of the Charites of Socrates was situated in the entrance area of the Acropolis.<sup>52</sup> Ancient authors identified the sculptor Socrates as the Athenian philosopher, who was the son of a sculptor.<sup>53</sup> Considering when the famous Socrates lived, the identification of a series of reliefs showing three dressed young maidens (Supplementary fig. 10) as the Charites of Socrates<sup>54</sup> seemed problematic, since the stylistic traits shown in the reliefs, such as heavy drapery, heavy chins and typical hairstyles, point to a dating in the period of the Severe Style.<sup>55</sup> Although this chronological problem was solved by identifying this Socrates with a Theban sculptor who had actually worked during the early Classical period, a connection of the relief to the Acropolis has to be regarded with caution. Since the fragments found in the area of the Acropolis<sup>56</sup> are Roman copies and not the actual 'Urbild', Olga Palagia argued that these fragments could have been transferred to the Acropolis as building material in medieval times.<sup>57</sup> Stressing the *de facto* unspecific iconographic traits of the three women depicted, she proposes an identification as Nymphs. According to Palagia, the Charites of Socrates, which were executed as cult images, are shown instead as half-figure miniatures with a chthonic implication, depicted in other votive reliefs with archaistic traits dating to the last quarter of the fifth century BC.<sup>58</sup> Palagia's assumption that actual sculptures or specific sculpture types are shown in the background of votive reliefs has to be questioned: depictions of other deities in the background as references to location indicating neighbouring cults of the recipient deity of the relief are attested for several votive reliefs.<sup>59</sup> Yet the depictions of specific statues, for example, through the depiction of statue bases, which also coincide with known statuary, are not retraceable in the Classical votive reliefs.<sup>60</sup> Moreover, the half-figured depiction would fit the presentation through a 'window', providing an outlook to the background. The actual frame is more clearly worked in comparable votive reliefs and emphasizes the spatial relation beside, but clearly separated from, the divinities shown in the foreground; a distinction through colouring could have been used instead. The

<sup>50</sup> Inv. nos Acr. 586 and 587; Gagliano (2014) 47–52.

<sup>51</sup> RE 3.2 s.v. Charites. Charis 2150–67, 2165.

<sup>52</sup> Plin. HN 36.32: *non postferuntur et Charites in propulo Atheniensium, quas Socrates fecit, alius ille quam pictor, idem ut aliqui putant*; Paus. 9.35.3–7 Σωκράτης τε ὁ Σωφρονίσκου πρὸ τῆς ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐσόδου Χαριτῶν εἰργάσατο ἀγάλματα Ἀθηναίσις, καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ὁμοίως ἅπαντα ἐν ἐσθῆτι.

<sup>53</sup> Testimonies summarized and evaluated in Lehmann and Kansteiner (2007).

<sup>54</sup> For a summary of previous literature with a convincing analysis of the known copies and the choice of ancient copyists, see Monaco (1999–2000).

<sup>55</sup> Lehmann and Kansteiner (2007); Palagia (2009) 30.

<sup>56</sup> Athens Acropolis Museum inv. no. 1341 α-γ and 2594, neo-Attic relief fragments.

<sup>57</sup> On the use of certain Acropolis buildings as early museums, where antiquities from the whole of Athens were gathered: Kokkou (2009); Krumeich and Witschel (2010) 32–33.

<sup>58</sup> Palagia (2009) 30–33. Palagia (1989–1990) 356 recognized in the reliefs showing three maidens an 'affinity to Alkamenēs' Hecate'.

<sup>59</sup> Lawton (2017) 49 with a summary on the reliefs of the Charites next to Athena Nike. For example, on the votive relief for Bendis and Deloptes from Mounichia, now in Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek inv. 462), three maidens guided by a male figure are shown. They are convincingly identified as Hermes and the Nymphs, since a Nymphaion neighbouring the Bendis sanctuary in Mounichia is known from IG II<sup>2</sup> 1283, l. 18.

<sup>60</sup> It seems that from the late Hellenistic period on, when some statues became *opera nobilia*, depictions of specific statues in other media increased. For example, coin images in the Athenian New Style, Roman Imperial coin images that make reference to the Olympian Zeus or the relief from the theatre of Miletus showing the Apollo Kanachos (now Berlin, Antikensammlung inv. SK 1592).

complexity of the evidence makes an unambiguous identification of the Charites of Socrates impossible. If the identification of the ‘Urbild’ of the Severe Style relief series, dating to 480–460 BC, as the Charites of Socrates is correct,<sup>61</sup> it would antedate the Mnesikleian Propylaia and thus provide another example of a depiction of one of the attested cult recipients.

Regarding their function, these relief depictions seem more likely to have served as votives than as cult images, since reliefs are less commonly used for this purpose.<sup>62</sup> Nevertheless, the images refer to the local cults of the Acropolis and the ‘Aglauridenrelief’ in particular represents a specific Acropolis-bound understanding of a cultic community, since the depiction was especially conceptualized for this context.<sup>63</sup> The relation visualized between Hermes and the Charites is iconographically documented for the late Archaic period. In the respective cult decrees, which date to a few decades later, the two cults are never jointly attested.

The imagery of Hermes drastically changes around the time of the erection of the Mnesikleian Propylaia. With the statue type of Hermes Propylaios,<sup>64</sup> explicitly linked to the entrance gates by Pausanias and attributed to the sculptor Alkamenes thanks to other testimonies,<sup>65</sup> Hermes adopts a completely different iconography from the Archaic examples from the Acropolis.<sup>66</sup> The complex information gained from the different copies, more or less directly dependent on the Alkamemenian original,<sup>67</sup> securely documents the following elements in the ‘Urbild’.

On top of a pillar-like, aniconic body is positioned the anthropomorphic bearded male head with features of Archaic hairstyle (fig. 11). The mode of depiction is not a new one, since herms are certainly known from the Archaic period.<sup>68</sup> However, the creation of Alkamenes dating to the last quarter of the fifth century BC, and thus close to the erection of the Mnesikleian Propylaia, was considered unique and a masterpiece already in antiquity, a perception which led to copies explicitly referring to the Alkamemenian original.<sup>69</sup> In contrast to the earlier images from the Acropolis, the Alkamemenian Hermes lacks the Charites as shown in the ‘Aglauridenrelief’, since he is depicted as a single figure in semi-anthropomorphic mode.

The evidence for the third cult recipient, Artemis-Hekate-Epipyrgidia, is strongly dependent on the chronology of the individual testimonies, ranging from the late Archaic to the Roman Imperial period. Material evidence predating the Mnesikleian building is difficult to pin down. Based on the finds of several late Archaic krateriskos fragments<sup>70</sup> with depictions relating to the *Arkteia* ritual (Supplementary fig. 12) practised by

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Monaco (1999–2000).

<sup>62</sup> Following the conclusion of Gagliano (2014) 54; Hölscher (2017) 21. Later examples, such as the Mithras reliefs, have monumental dimensions. However, select rock-cut reliefs might also have functioned as cult images.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. n.50.

<sup>64</sup> Still fundamental for the analysis of copies is Willers (1967). On the copies of the Propylaios and the attribution of the original to Alkamenes more recently, Hallof et al. (2007); *Der Neue Overbeck II s.v.* Alkamenes (Ἀλκαμένης) aus Athen 354–90, 374–78 no. 8. *Contra*: Francis (1998); Gagliano (2014).

<sup>65</sup> On the lost statue base SEG 48:262, see Gagliano (2014) 39.

<sup>66</sup> Most recently, *Der Neue Overbeck II s.v.* Alkamenes (Ἀλκαμένης) aus Athen 354–90, 374–78 no. 8.

<sup>67</sup> Willers’ set of basic features (Willers (1967) 39: ‘der allgemeine Eindruck, daß der Hermes des Alkamenes bärtig gewesen sei, zudem durch ein Lockentoupet über der Stirn und lange Schulterlocken gekennzeichnet’) is sufficient for the argument of this contribution, since it allows one to trace the core concept of the sculpture.

<sup>68</sup> LIMC V s.v. Hermes 285–387, especially 295–96.

<sup>69</sup> The Pergamon copy bears an inscription referring to Alkamenes and the location of the statue close to the gates. Despite propositions to untie the connection to the original developed for the Acropolis entrance by Alkamenes (summarized in Gagliano (2014) 34–37), I also follow *Der Neue Overbeck II s.v.* Alkamenes (Ἀλκαμένης) aus Athen 354–90.

<sup>70</sup> Pala (2012) 50.

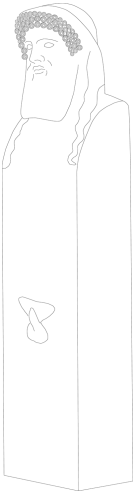


Fig. 11. Schematic drawing of the Alkamenian Hermes Propylaios with its core concept combining aniconic and anthropomorphic traits (C. Graml).

young girls for Artemis at Brauron and Mounichia,<sup>71</sup> cult activity for this deity seems plausible in the late sixth century BC,<sup>72</sup> yet the deity's appearance and attributes on the Acropolis remain unclear.<sup>73</sup> For the Classical period, a colossal female head was proposed with good arguments by Giorgos Despinis to be that of a statue for Artemis Brauronia; however, it does not bear any specific features that secure this identification.<sup>74</sup>

The second iconographic attestation for Artemis, which like the Hermes Propylaios marks a significant change in concept, needs a more detailed explanation. I propose that it is the original of the image type of the three-figured Hekateion,<sup>75</sup> also created by the sculptor Alkamenes. Comparable in concept to the Hermes Propylaios, it combines aniconic and anthropomorphic elements: the aniconic, column-shaped depiction of Artemis surrounded by the three maidens identifiable as the Charites.

#### IV. Pausanias' iconatropy,<sup>76</sup> research history and the renaming of the Hekateion type<sup>77</sup>

The identification of the three-figured statue from the Acropolis as Hekate, which is only known to us through copies and variations, is based on the singular testimony of the second-century AD writer Pausanias, who briefly describes it as follows: 'It was

<sup>71</sup> Literature on the *Arkteia* is vast. The written testimony is collected and clearly presented in Palaiokrassa (1991) 30–31. Krateriskoi were also discovered in the sanctuary at Mounichia and published by Palaiokrassa.

<sup>72</sup> The Peisistratid establishment of the cult for Artemis Brauronia and further Archaic finds are summarized in Camia (2010). The krateriskoi have also been found at other cult sites and are therefore less unambiguously indicative of Artemis cult; cf. Graml (2019).

<sup>73</sup> Described by Pausanias 5.26.6 as a *xoanon*: τὸ Ἀθήνησι τῆς Ἀρτέρου καλουμένης ξόανον.

<sup>74</sup> Despinis (1994).

<sup>75</sup> Various statue types derived from the Alkamenian statue, but reproducing its main features, the three females, more freely, are attested from the Hellenistic period on. Besides the prismatic-shaped herm-type with three female heads, additional maidens can be attached either to the herm-shaped or the anthropomorphic type; cf. LIMC III s.v. Charis, Charites 191–203, 198 nos 28–34. These dependent types will not be discussed in this paper, but are summarized in LIMC VI s.v. Hekate 985–1018, 1004–05.

<sup>76</sup> I thank Alaya Palamidis for pointing me to Catherine Keesling's splendid article on Pausanias' iconatropy: Keesling (2005). The term iconatropy was coined by Jan Vansina for aetiologies of objects which had been developed after their production. Fundamental is Vansina (1985).

<sup>77</sup> This passage on the development of the image type for the Athenian context has been published in more detail in Graml (2020). Previous publications have already observed that Pausanias' Hekate on the Acropolis has to be identified with Artemis, see Furtwängler (1878); recently Gagliano (2014) 56.



Alkamenes, in my opinion, who first made three images of Hecate attached to one another, a figure called by the Athenians Epipyrgidia (on the tower); it stands beside the temple of the Wingless Victory' (2.30.2).<sup>78</sup> The mention of Hecate drew scholarly attention to this Alkamenean statue, because the goddess was well known from a famous passage in Hesiod's *Theogony*<sup>79</sup> as well as from the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*,<sup>80</sup> and many later sources, ranging from Classical plays<sup>81</sup> and curse tablets<sup>82</sup> to magical papyri.<sup>83</sup> The characterization of Hecate based on the written sources shows an ambivalent goddess: benevolent in the Archaic period,<sup>84</sup> she was often linked to Artemis from Classical times on, acquiring a sinister touch and an association with magical rituals.<sup>85</sup> These varying traits and spheres of power were related to this peculiar image type, which was interpreted as a three-bodied goddess already in antiquity.<sup>86</sup> Early art-historical classical archaeology relied on Pausanias' words uncritically.<sup>87</sup> These approaches focused on the possible formal appearance and style of the three-bodied statue made by Alkamenes and on identifying the copy closest to the archetype.<sup>88</sup> Research was also conducted regarding the provenance and development of the figure of Hecate by collecting all available material, including literary records, inscriptions, vase paintings and sculpture.<sup>89</sup> Inscribed statues attesting the use of different names for the same type, such as Artemis, Artemis Soteira, Hecate, Hecate Soteira, Artemis Hecate Epekoos or Artemis Phosphoros,<sup>90</sup> did not lead to doubts regarding Pausanias' testimony. Both fields of research tried to link all existing data, on Hecate as well as the three-bodied statue type, and often neglected the chronological and geographical spread of these sources. Therefore, many 'specifics' were recognized and led to the image of a unique, strange

<sup>78</sup> Ἀλκαμένης δὲ ἔμοι δοκεῖν πρῶτος ἀγάλματα Ἐκάτης τρία ἐποίησε προσεχόμενα ἀλλήλοις, ἦν Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν Ἐπιπυργιδίαν: ἔστηκε δὲ παρὰ τῆς Ἀπτέρου Νίκης τῶν ναῶν. Tr. Jones and Ormerod (1918).

<sup>79</sup> Hes. *Theog.* 411–52.

<sup>80</sup> *Hymn. Hom. Dem.* 2.22–27, 52.438–40; earliest analysis: Schömann (1856).

<sup>81</sup> Compilation in West (1995) 188–214. The latest and most extensive compilation of textual sources, Serafini (2015).

<sup>82</sup> Examples, *IG III App.* 104, 105; *SEG* 30:326.

<sup>83</sup> Examples, *IG III App.* 104, 105; *SEG* 30:326. *PGM* IV.1390–1495, 2006–2125, 2241–2358, etc. compiled in West (1995) 211–14.

<sup>84</sup> Boedeker (1983) emphasizes the triple character apparent in her Hesiodic functions.

<sup>85</sup> Hopfner (1942); Nouveau-Piobb (1961); Lowe (1992); D'Este and Rankine (2009); Carboni (2015) 19–31; Serafini (2015) 165–258.

<sup>86</sup> Hadzisteliou Price (1971) 68, for example, saw a functional triplication in the Hekateion.

<sup>87</sup> The possibility of an erroneous attribution to Alkamenes has never been fully discussed, as Pausanias is the only author who wrote about the Epipyrgidia. Gagliano (2014) suggests a similar idea for the Hermes Propylaios mentioned by Pausanias 1.22.8: κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔσοδον αὐτὴν ἦδη τὴν ἐς ἀκρόπολιν Ἑρμῆν ὄν Προπύλαιον ὀνομάζουσι καὶ Χάριτας Σωκράτην ποιῆσαι τὸν Σωφρονίσκου λέγουσιν. She also refers to the relation of Hekate and Artemis; Gagliano (2014) 56. Due to the inscribed references to Alkamenes on the herms from Pergamon and Ephesos (differing in stylistic traits), one Classical herm statue type can plausibly be attributed to Alkamenes; see Hallof et al. (2007); *Der Neue Overbeck II s.v.* Alkamenes (Ἀλκαμένης) aus Athen 354–90, 374–78 no. 8. Francis (1998) rejected the identification of the herm types from Pergamon or Ephesos to Alkamenes, and is followed by Gagliano (2014).

<sup>88</sup> Köppen (1823); Rathgeber (1841); Furtwängler (1878); Petersen (1880) and (1881); Petersen (1889); Furtwängler (1893) 206–07.

<sup>89</sup> Kraus (1960). This approach is strongly criticized by Clarke (2012) 3–4.

<sup>90</sup> *ID* 2448 = Archaeological Museum Delos, inv. no. A 3057: Ἀντιγένης Διοσκουρ[ι]δου Σαλαμίνιος Ἐκά[τη] / [Σω]τεῖρα κατ' ὄνει[ρον],/[Α]γαθῆ τύχη; *SEG* 50:593 from Kastania Pierias (Macedon): face A Ἀρτέμιδι/Ἐκάτη, face B Ἰππύστρατος/Παραμόνου, face C κατ' ὄναρ; *IG* IV<sup>2</sup> 1 499 from Epidaurous: Ἀρτέμιδι Ἐκά[τη] / Ἐπικόωι Φάβουλλος; *ID* 2381 = Archaeological Museum Delos, inv. no. E 4: Ἀρτέμιδι ΧΑ — — — / ἄγορανομούν[των Δη] / μοχάρους τοῦ Δ — — — / ου καὶ Χαρίου τοῦ [Χαρί] / ου Αἰθαλιδῶν, Δίκα[ιος] / Ἰάσωνος Λαρισσαῖος; *ID* 2374 = Archaeological Museum Delos, inv. no. 3006: [Ο]νησακῶ Ἀρτέμιδι κατὰ πρόσταγμα ν ἐφ' ἱερέως / Πυλάδου τοῦ αἰσχρίου/Μεμηθοῖδου; *ID* 2380 = Archaeological Museum Delos, inv. no. A 3055: [— — — — —] ος Ἑρμο/[— — — — —] ἰος ὑπὲρ/[αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς γ]υναϊκὸς/[— — — — —] κατὰ/[πρόσταγμα] α Φωσφό/[ρωι Ἀρτέ]μιδι.

goddess.<sup>91</sup> A strict focus on the time of the establishment with regard to the specific place of the erection and the relevance for the cult on the Athenian Acropolis,<sup>92</sup> however, allows for a re-evaluation of Pausanias' testimony and, moreover, a renaming of the statue.

Pausanias states that Alkamenes was the inventor of the three-bodied depiction of Hekate, which was made by combining three *agalmata* together.<sup>93</sup> Pausanias also knew other image types used for Hekate, such as the single-figure *xoanon* from Aegina.<sup>94</sup> In referring to the statue as being composed of *agalmata*, he uses a term (*agalma*) that is not clearly specifiable, and could have different meanings, such as ornament or even cult statue.<sup>95</sup> Therefore, the actual function of the Alkamenian statue cannot simply be deduced from Pausanias' identification. The use of *προσεχόμενα ἀλλήλοις* to describe the appearance of the three figures can be clarified by another passage in Pausanias, where he uses the same expression for the description of the three-bodied giant Geryon on the Kypselos chest in Olympia.<sup>96</sup> Therefore, the three *agalmata* seem to have been merged together to a certain extent, in the way familiar from the different depictions of Geryon. The statue stood in the vicinity of the Tower of Athena Nike. Based on Alkamenes' creative period<sup>97</sup> and the assumed stylistic development, a date around 430–420 BC seems most plausible for the statue's erection.<sup>98</sup>

So far, modern scholarship, relying on the accuracy of Pausanias' identification of Alkamenes' statue, has tried to challenge his account by suggesting the possibility of examples antedating the three-figured character of the statue. Regarding the 'xoanon'<sup>99</sup> shape of the marble Hekateia, Erika Simon proposed wooden antecedents, which could have existed on the Greek mainland but long since decayed.<sup>100</sup> Instead of a statuary antecedent, Semni Karouzou assumed from the unscripted depiction on an Athenian black-figure lekythos<sup>101</sup> that the idea of Hekate's triplicity was already established at the beginning of the fifth century BC.<sup>102</sup> This idea has convincingly been proven wrong by Nicola Serafini, who was able to show that the depiction follows a common arrangement of

<sup>91</sup> On the Epipyrgidia, see Carboni (2007). On Hekate, Rudloff (1999); Fauth (2006); Lautwein (2009); Zografou (2010); Carboni (2015) 19–34.

<sup>92</sup> Polinskaya (2013) 99–100 summarizes the local aspects of cult.

<sup>93</sup> Paus. 2.30.2; see n.78.

<sup>94</sup> Paus. 2.30.2: θεῶν δὲ Αἰγινήται τιμῶσιν Ἐκάτην μάλιστα καὶ τελετὴν ἄγουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος Ἐκάτης, Ὀρφέα σφίσι τὸν Θράκα καταστήσασθαι τὴν τελετὴν λέγοντες. τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐντός αἰὸς ἔστι, ξόανον δὲ ἔργον μύρωνος, ὁμοίως ἔν πρόσωπόν τε καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα.

<sup>95</sup> Fundamental historical approach: Scheer (2000) 8–18. Non-specific ancient terminology versus modern definitions: Hölscher (2017) 15–18.

<sup>96</sup> Paus. 5.19.1: τρεῖς δὲ ἄνδρες Γηρυόνης εἰσὶν ἀλλήλοις προσεχόμενοι.

<sup>97</sup> Research on Alkamenes argues for a long creative period, starting already at the Temple of Zeus at Olympia in the second quarter of the fifth century BC and ending in the era of Thrasyboulos in 403 BC. On the possibility of mistaken literary sources, or the existence of two artists with the same name (Furtwängler (1893) 122–23), see *Der Neue Overbeck II s.v. Alkamenes (Ἀλκαμένης) aus Athen 354–90, 384 and 388.*

<sup>98</sup> Fullerton (1986) 673–74 argues for the erection of the statue in the context of the rebuilding of the Tower of Nike, about 430 BC; see below. But as Simon searches for antecedents of the statue in Archaic perirrhanteria, she ignores the fact that these sculptures do not serve as cult images. For the aesthetic concept, see below. Werth (2006) 46 proposes a date after the planning of the Mnesikleian Propylaia and before the rebuilding of the Tower of Nike. On the building programme: Lempidaki (2013). See below fig. 14.

<sup>99</sup> The difficulty of this term is rooted in its inconsistent use in Graeco-Roman antiquity. Nevertheless, *xoanon* has become an archaeological *terminus technicus* for old-fashioned cult statues; Scheer (2000) 19–21. See also Hölscher (2017) 230–38.

<sup>100</sup> Simon (1985) 271–73. The archaistic style of the Epipyrgidia is, according to Simon, a 'lingering sound' of its antecedents. See more recently Hölscher (2010) 111.

<sup>101</sup> Karouzou (1972).

<sup>102</sup> Willers (1975) 50–51 argues, due to the three-way connection, for the fundamental triplicity of Hekate and therefore of the Alkamenian statue. Yet the triple aspect is first emphasized by Charikleides (see below, n.131) several decades after the erection of the Alkamenian statue. For details, see Graml (2020) 114.

figures, which had been clumsily executed on the lekythos.<sup>103</sup> Both propositions merely assume that the idea of a three-figured Hekate can be traced back in time and both lack sufficient material proof. No material evidence for the three-figured depiction of Hekate is yet known from Greek culture prior to the late fifth century BC; provided of course that it was indeed Alkamenes' intention to depict Hekate!

Based on the analysis of copies<sup>104</sup> including the statue's depiction in 'official' media closely linked to the Athenian polis, namely numismatic evidence (fig. 13), the following traits are highly plausible and reveal its core concept (fig. 14): it consisted of a central pole or pillar. This pillar was surrounded by three frontally oriented female figures, standing shoulder to shoulder. The female figures were each dressed in a girdled peplos. The style of the drapery referred to Archaic *korai*. It is highly plausible that torches were held by the female figures.<sup>105</sup>

The connection of Pausanias' description to the widespread three-bodied image type was made in the 19<sup>th</sup> century without in-depth source criticism.<sup>106</sup> Written testimonies with references to regions other than Attica were intertwined with the image type and the resulting, apparently vast amount of textual and pictorial attestations was interpreted as an indication of the great importance of the goddess in antiquity. Scholarship tends to argue that a Hekate cult existed from the Archaic period<sup>107</sup> onwards due to mentions of her in the *Theogony* of Hesiod<sup>108</sup> and in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*,<sup>109</sup> but in doing so disregards the informative value of the testimonies and their regional, non-Attic nature. When it comes to concrete cult practice, neither of these literary sources are of help regarding Hekate, as she is not a major figure in them.<sup>110</sup> The alleged oldest known attestation of cult practised in Attica, a late Archaic terracotta statuette depicting an enthroned female figure with a votive inscription on the back,<sup>111</sup> however, has to be excluded, since the inscription is a modern forgery.<sup>112</sup>

In search of the earliest attestation of an actual Hekate cult in Attica, one might consider Athenian red-figure vase painting with named depictions of Hekate as an independent figure dating from the first half of the fifth century BC onwards.<sup>113</sup> Nevertheless, these iconographic sources only testify to knowledge of her existence. Definite veneration and cult practice, however, are not inferable. The name Hekate is quite rare in epigraphic sources from Attica. The first attestation, from the Attic deme Paiania, dates to the third

<sup>103</sup> Serafini (2012).

<sup>104</sup> The analysis of Eckstein (1965) aims to identify a fragmented copy from the Athenian Agora as the oldest known copy. More detail and with a wider focus for comparisons are Werth (2006) and Graml (2020).

<sup>105</sup> Cf. fig. 14. In the later copies and variations, the variety of attributes increases. The original torches are replaced by different items, such as *phialai*, jugs, knives, etc. Werth (2006) 147–218 focuses on the analysis of this spectrum.

<sup>106</sup> Furtwängler (1878) 193–94 is the earliest, but often ignored, example of a strict source criticism on the statue on the Acropolis and the sources which can plausibly be linked to it.

<sup>107</sup> Recently Carboni (2015); Serafini (2015).

<sup>108</sup> Hes. *Theog.* 411–52. I thank Andreas Schwab for elucidating the peculiar find circumstances and the neglected problems in research on the history of the Codex Mosquensis.

<sup>109</sup> *Hymn. Hom. Dem.* 2.22–27; see n.80.

<sup>110</sup> See Zografou (2010) 50–51 on the informative value of Hesiod regarding the attestation of 'official' cult. Whitmarsh (2016) 29–30 states that neither source is a sacred script, but literature relying on the 'bedrock of their [Greek] culture'.

<sup>111</sup> TC 7729, Berlin Staatliche Antikensammlung, bearing the incised inscription *IG I<sup>2</sup> 836*, first published by Fränkel (1882). First published as *IG I Supplement 422<sup>3</sup>*: ΑΙΤΟΝΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΝΘΕΚΑΤΕΙ with a drawing of the inscription; later revised as *IG I<sup>2</sup> 836*: Αἴτων ἀνέθεκεν θεκάται. The uncertain readings were left out.

<sup>112</sup> For details, see Graml (2013).

<sup>113</sup> Named Athenian red-figure vase depictions dating to the fifth century BC: Athenian red-figure kalix krater, Toronto, Beazley no. 15540; Athenian red-figure kalix krater, Ferrara, Beazley no. 213495; Athenian red-figure bell krater, New York, Beazley no. 214158; Athenian red-figure hydria, London, Beazley no. 215772.



Fig. 13. Athenian tetradrachm of the New Style Silver coinage, by Tryphon and Polycharmos 91/90 BC with a depiction of the three-figured statue holding torches (Staatliche Münzsammlung München, photo: Nicolai Kästner).

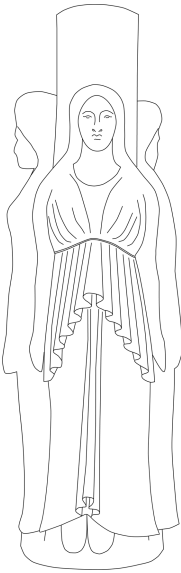


Fig. 14. Schematic drawing of the Alkamenian statue group of Artemis and the Charites with its core concept of combining aniconic and anthropomorphic traits (C. Graml).

quarter of the fifth century BC and refers to a priesthood of Hekate (IG I<sup>3</sup> 250)<sup>114</sup> that is closely related to the Eleusinian rites. This would strengthen the relation to Demeter and Kore, which is attested in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. More immediately related to the Acropolis is the reference in the treasury lists for the Other Gods for the year 429/8 BC (IG I<sup>3</sup> 383).<sup>115</sup> Lines 124–26 list the property of the gods Hermes and Artemis Hekate, a coin. However, in the context of the Athenian Acropolis, ‘Hekate’ is used only as an epithet for Artemis. This fact has to be emphasized: the Hekate on the Acropolis is not an independent goddess, as is attested for other regions such as Caria;<sup>116</sup> instead the name is used as a descriptor for Artemis.<sup>117</sup> Hermes and Hekate are probably also recorded together in

<sup>114</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 250, face B, ll. 33–34: *ηεκάτεεε : ηιερείαι : ηδὸν ἂν τε/ει : ηεκάτει θύεται :*

<sup>115</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 383, col. II. fr. IV ll. 124–26: — — [Ε]ρμῶ καὶ Ἀρ/[τ]έμιδος/[Ε]κάτεεε. (429/8 BC).

<sup>116</sup> See the altar inscription from the Delphinion in Miletos for the oldest reference to an independently worshipped goddess Hekate, *Milet I* 3, 129, ll. 5–7: [... ] ἀ/νέθεσαν τῆ/κάτηι. Kraus (1960) 53–54 sees Hekate’s ‘homeland’ in Caria. Berg (1974) assigns her a clearly Greek origin. Werth (2006) 27 argues against the equivalence of the Carian and the Athenian Hekate, and the theory of migration of the goddess suggested by Kraus.

<sup>117</sup> An iconographic parallel for Hekate’s relation to Artemis, probably as a divine aspect given individual form, is depicted in the kalyx crater from Toronto (see n.113 and n.135), where Hekate is shown as a demonic winged figure next to Artemis witnessing the killing of Aktaion, probably incarnating the rage of Artemis.

several fragmentary lists from the Athenian Agora, more precisely the area of the Tholos (IG I<sup>3</sup> 406<sup>118</sup> and 409,<sup>119</sup> 420–405 BC). Unfortunately, the very fragmentary state of the inscriptions makes it impossible to clarify whether the name is being used as an epithet. Later cult calendars from demes of Attica, namely Erchia (SEG 21:541,<sup>120</sup> 375–350 BC) and Thorikos (SEG 33:147,<sup>121</sup> 380–375 BC), also refer to Hekate but for Erchia the use as an epithet is unequivocal,<sup>122</sup> while the Hekate passage in the inscription from Thorikos is too fragmentary to verify its exact use. This is also the case for a dedication from Koroni (SEG 21:780,<sup>123</sup> end of the fourth century BC), where the reading proposed by Oikonomides is disputed.<sup>124</sup> If the inserted form Hekate is correct, the inscription would be a further attestation of the use of the name as an epithet of Artemis.

The impression given by the use of the name Hekate in literary sources referring to Athens and Attica is different. In the work of the Athenian playwrights Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, Hekate is mentioned with different characteristics,<sup>125</sup> but most of the references lack precision compared to official records of ritual norms. Some of them clearly show possible use as an epithet and therefore an immediate connection to Artemis,<sup>126</sup> but none of these refers to the Alkamenian statue.<sup>127</sup> Deciding if Hekate is conceived of as an independent goddess or as related to Artemis is often difficult. Thus, the evaluation of literary sources with regard to actual cult practice is less accurate than epigraphically attested ritual norms.<sup>128</sup> Literary testimonies do not generally clarify what the cult as practised constituted, and are difficult to interpret due to their ambiguity and often subjective distance from the events they describe.<sup>129</sup> The most important observation, though, is that none of these passages refers to the sculpture of Alkamenes.<sup>130</sup> Therefore, these sources do not seem sufficient for a reappraisal of Pausanias' naming of the three-figured statue on the Acropolis.

The literary sources of the third century BC differ from the older ones, as they refer to Hekate autonomously and, moreover, mention the goddess with her triple aspect, relating to the three faces or three bodies and her connection to forks in the road.<sup>131</sup> When mentioning Athenian cult places for Hekate, later written testimonies refer to known sanctuaries for Artemis<sup>132</sup> and complicate the distinction between the two

<sup>118</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 406 ll. 4–7: [Δ(?)· ἡάλυσις χρυσε] ἡεκάτε/[ς, σταθμὸν ἄγει] Η·καρχέ/[σιον ἄργυρον ἡ]ερμῶ, στ/[αθμὸν ἄγει] ΗΗ.

<sup>119</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 409, face B, ll. 13–14: [— — — ..] 'Εκάτ[ης — —]/[— — — 'Ερ]μῶ — — —].

<sup>120</sup> SEG 21:541, col. II, ll. 6–14: ἔκτετι ἐπὶ δέ/κα, Κοροτρόφ/ωι, ἐν [Ε]κάτης/Ἐρχιάσι, χοῖ/ρος, ΗΗ. vacat/ Ἀρτέμιδι Ἐκ/άτει, Ἐρχιά[σ]/[ι/ν, αἶ]ξ, Δ.

<sup>121</sup> SEG 33:147, face a.1, l. 7: [.....20.....]εαι Ἐκάτη[ι].

<sup>122</sup> Hadzisteliou Price (1978) 123.

<sup>123</sup> SEG 21:780: [ὁ δεῖνα στεφανωθείς χρυσο]ῶι στεφάνωι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ [Πρασιέων(?)]/[— — — — ἀνέθηκε]γ τεῖ [Oikonomides reading: Ἐκ]άτει] Ἀρτέμιδι.

<sup>124</sup> The current location of the relief fragment is unknown. Inquiries have been made at the Ephorate for East Attica and the museum at Brauron. The author of the SEG commentary used a photograph, which does not prove Oikonomides' reading.

<sup>125</sup> A brief summary of the written sources (epigraphic and literary) serves as an introduction to LIMC VI s.v. Hekate 985–1018, 985–88.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. n.81.

<sup>127</sup> See attestations in West (1995) 188–214.

<sup>128</sup> Most recently on the specifics of written evidence, see Willey (2015); Gagné (2015); Taylor (2015).

<sup>129</sup> On the problem of cultic and poetic epithets, see Parker (2003).

<sup>130</sup> Ar. *Vesp.* 804: ὡσπερ Ἐκάταιον, πανταχοῦ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν, with no specification of the appearance. As the play was presented in 422 BC, Aristophanes might have known the Epiryrgidia. But as the naming of the Alkamenian statue is more complex and Aristophanes does not make a comment on the appearance of a Hekateion (single- or three-figured), the passage should not be used in connection to the Alkamenian statue.

<sup>131</sup> Charikleides in Ath. 7.126: δέσποιν' Ἐκάτη τριοδίτι, | τρίμορφε, τριπρόσωπε, | τρίγυλαις κηλευμένα (third century BC?). A collection of Late Antique papyri is published in Theis (2018).

<sup>132</sup> See, for example, Hsch. s.v. Kalliste referring to a statue for Hekate in the Kerameikos. The archaeological record of the so-called sanctuary of Hekate clearly attests a sanctuary for Artemis through the inscriptions found

goddesses.<sup>133</sup> The archaeological records for sanctuaries of Hekate in Athens and Attica show no unambiguous evidence for their often hypothetical attribution.<sup>134</sup> So, apart from the Eleusinian Hekate known from literary, epigraphic and iconographic evidence, it seems plausible that there was a development of Hekate at Athens into an independent goddess from an epithet of Artemis that referred to a split-off character trait of the main deity.<sup>135</sup>

The denomination Epipyrgidia<sup>136</sup> is even more rarely attested in epigraphical sources from Attica. Only two references, in inscriptions dating from the first century BC from Eleusis and the first century AD from the theatre of Dionysus in Athens, mention the term in relation to an Athenian priesthood for Artemis Epipyrgidia and the Charites.<sup>137</sup> Therefore, Epipyrgidia is also an epithet for the goddess Artemis and both inscriptions prove, due to their joint mention and the composition of the inscription on the theatre seats,<sup>138</sup> the existence of a shared cult for Artemis and the Charites in Attica. In literary sources, Pausanias is the only writer who uses this epithet.<sup>139</sup> Its meaning refers, he claims, to the location of the Alkamenian statue on the *purgos* of Nike, the southwestern rock promontory of the Acropolis.<sup>140</sup> Pausanias admittedly is writing over 600 years after the erection of the statue, and he is the only one to connect Hekate to this epithet.<sup>141</sup> Due to this time span and developments in cultural and religious traditions, the accuracy of Pausanias' transmission of cult names has to be regarded with suspicion.<sup>142</sup> The distinct epigraphic sources referring to Epipyrgidia in Attica securely attest a joint cult for Artemis and the Charites, at least in the first century BC. Although there is also a time span of 400 years between the establishment of the Alkamenian statue and the attested cult for Epipyrgidia, these epigraphic sources clearly preserve a ritual norm, which is a rather conservative element in religious practice. The potential reference to the cult of Artemis Epipyrgidia in *IG II<sup>3</sup> 1 531* would bridge the gap and make it more plausible that the Alkamenian statue depicts Artemis Hekate Epipyrgidia.<sup>143</sup> Since the epigraphical cult attestation from Attica refers to two cult recipients, Artemis and the Charites, and the iconographical analysis highlighted two main components of Alkamenes' work, namely the three female figures draped in

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on site; Graml (2014; 2020). The Artemis sanctuary at Mounicha is also related to Hekate in Late Antique sources; see Orph. *Arg.* 935 and Schol. *Lycoph.* (J. Tzetzes) 1080.

<sup>133</sup> On the complexity of epithets and syncretistic epithets, see Pernot (2005).

<sup>134</sup> Proposed precincts in the Agora: most recently, Carboni (2015) 168–69 with literature. Also Lawton (2017) 58–59, who describes the actual archaeological evidence in the Agora as meagre. In the Kerameikos: most recently, Carboni (2015) 169–70 with literature. The examples listed by Carboni show no epigraphic evidence.

<sup>135</sup> The idea of a Hekate related to and yet independent of Artemis seems to be depicted on the Athenian red-figure kalix krater, Toronto, Beazley no. 15540 showing the killing of Aktaion. Artemis and a winged, demonic figure named Hekate are depicted supervising the dogs attacking Aktaion.

<sup>136</sup> LSJ 653.

<sup>137</sup> *SEG* 30:93, ll. 10–11: [... ] ἱερέως τῶν Χαρίτων καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐπι[υρ]/γιδίας [... ]; *IG II<sup>2</sup> 5050*: ἱερέως Χαρίτων/καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος/Ἐπιποργιδίας/πορφύρου. Lambert (2007) proposed that the male priest of Artemis mentioned in *IG II<sup>3</sup> 1 531* (350–335 BC) refers to Artemis Epipyrgida (in later editions Brauronia); *cf.* n.37. If the inscription actually referred to Epipyrgidia, it would close the temporal gap between the secure attestations.

<sup>138</sup> There are several inscriptions for shared cults, for example, *IG II<sup>2</sup> 5047* for the Demos and the Charites, *IG II<sup>2</sup> 5054* for Zeus Boulaios and Athena Boulaia or *IG II<sup>2</sup> 5063* for Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira.

<sup>139</sup> Paus. 2.30.2; see n.78.

<sup>140</sup> A comparable surname, Epipyrgitis, is attested for the goddess Athena in Thracian Abdera, see Hsch. s.v. Epipyrgitis: ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ οὕτως ἐν Ἀβδήροις ἐκαλεῖτο.

<sup>141</sup> Parker (2005) on the use of Hekate as an independent name but also as an epithet for Artemis.

<sup>142</sup> Pirenne-Delforge (2008) 270 points to Pausanias' mention of an Artemis Phosphoros and the epigraphically attested cult for Artemis Ortheia at Messene (Paus. 4.31.10: πλεῖστα δὲ σφισι καὶ θεᾶς μάλιστα ἀγάλματα ἄξια τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ παρέχεται τὸ ἱερόν. ... πόλις τε ἡ Θηβαίων καὶ Ἐπαμινώνδας ὁ Κλεόμιδος τύχη τε καὶ Ἄρτεμις Φωσφόρος, τὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦ λίθου Δαμοφῶν αὐτοῖς ἐργάσατο). Statue fragments coming from that exact site prove that Artemis Ortheia was depicted as a torch-bearer (Phosphoros). Pirenne-Delforge (2008) 287 therefore argues that Pausanias' descriptions of statues and the cult epithets he gives should be treated with caution.

<sup>143</sup> For comparison of the accumulated epithets, see the dedication to Athenaia Ergane Polias (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 4318*); Parker (2003) 181.

archaizing clothing and the central pole or pillar, the depiction might refer to all attested cult recipients by combining anthropomorphic with aniconic elements.<sup>144</sup>

Depictions of three female figures, often in straight seriality, are known in Greek art since Archaic times.<sup>145</sup> Named depictions of groups of three females attest their identification as Nymphs, Moirai, Horai or the Charites. In Archaic Athens, the iconographic scheme of the three Charites is in evidence, for example, through the named depiction on the black-figure dinos painted by Sophilos.<sup>146</sup> In general, the Charites are only depicted in two different ways in Athenian art. They are shown in movement,<sup>147</sup> holding each other's hands while dancing, or standing hieratically.<sup>148</sup> No early statue of the Charites sculpted in the round is known,<sup>149</sup> but all existing reliefs with provenance from Attica show rather unspecific traits:<sup>150</sup> the Charites are presented as three beautiful young women in elaborate clothing. Regarding the previously analysed traits of the Alkamenian statue, no difference can clearly refute the possible naming of the three females as Charites. Moreover, the Charites are clearly attested as cult recipients on the Athenian Acropolis by the fifth-century BC inscription *IG I<sup>3</sup> 234*,<sup>151</sup> whereas no other 'weiblicher Dreiverein' is epigraphically attested to have received cult on the Acropolis. Artemis is also listed in this pre-Mnesiklean cult calendar separately.

If the connection of the Alkamenian statue concept to the cult of Artemis Epipyrgidia and the Charites is correct, the second component, the central pillar-like structure, which was already recognized by Georg Rathgeber as meaningful,<sup>152</sup> must allude to the second cult recipient, Artemis. This meaningfulness becomes evident in contrast to the often-compared Archaic perirrhanteria with female figures.<sup>153</sup> These purely formal predecessors as well as formal, and partially monumental, successors, such as the Acanthus Column with three dancing maidens at Delphi, have a specific function, differing from the Alkamenian statue: they were aesthetically configured pedestals bearing objects of focal interest.

Since the Alkamenian statue certainly had no such function, the central pole's meaning was explained as a relic of the evolution of depictions of Hekate. As the goddess is, according to written sources, the guardian of crossroads, the existence of a primitive proto-

<sup>144</sup> Furtwängler (1878) 193–94 had already stated that the goddess of the treasury list (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 383*), the goddess of the theatre of Dionysus (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 5050*) and that of Pausanias (2.30.2; see n.78) are the same figure in different times.

<sup>145</sup> Petersen (1881) 39–54.

<sup>146</sup> The best example is the Athenian black-figure dinos made by Sophilos, London, British Museum inv. no. 1971,1101.1, dated to approx. 580–570 BC, Beazley no. 350099. Named groups of three females are attested as the Moirai, the Charites and the Nymphs; see *LIMC III s.v. Charis, Charites* 191–203, 194 nos 14 and 200.

<sup>147</sup> For example, Athens Acropolis Museum inv. nos 1341 α and β-γ, neo-Attic relief fragments of the 'Charites of Socrates'; see *LIMC III s.v. Charis, Charites* 191–203, 196–97 nos 25 d and g.

<sup>148</sup> Three Charites dancing: for example, Athens Acropolis Museum inv. no. 2556, dated to the fourth century BC, unnamed depiction, most likely the three Charites accompanying the aegis-bearing Athena; see *LIMC III s.v. Charis, Charites* 191–203, 194 no. 11; *LIMC III s.v. Charis, Charites* 191–203, 194–98: three Charites, standing; three Charites walking in procession; three Charites dancing. Only very few depictions are explicitly named.

<sup>149</sup> Pausanias 9.38.1 refers to aniconic cult images of the Charites at Orchomenos, where three stones were venerated as cult images and man-made depictions were erected only later on: Ὁρχομενίους δὲ πεποιήται καὶ Διονύσου, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαιότατον Χαρίτων ἐστὶν ἱερόν. τὰς μὲν δὴ πέτρας σέβουσι τε μάλιστα καὶ τῶ Ἐτεοκλεῖ αὐτὰς πεσεῖν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φασιν· τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα τὰ σὺν κόσμῳ πεποιημένα ἀνετέθη μὲν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ, λίθου δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ ταῦτα.

<sup>150</sup> Harrison rightly states that only from Hellenistic times on were the Charites unambiguously depicted with the type of the three nude females sculpted in the round; *LIMC III s.v. Charis, Charites* 191–203.

<sup>151</sup> *IG I<sup>3</sup> 234*, ll. 13–14: [...] [— — — — — Χά]/[ρ]ισιν : γάλαθε[ν — — — — —] (480–460 BC); Furtwängler (1878) 183.

<sup>152</sup> Rathgeber (1841) 63: 'da prima in qual modo Alcamene abbia aggruppate le single figure, e poi se le abbia collocate intorno ad una colonna'. On p. 65, he reviews older interpretations, for example, the assumption of a polos. Escher (1899) 2166 assumes that the image type of three females dancing around a pillar originated in Kyzikos. He sees this example as a predecessor for the three-figured statue on the Acropolis.

<sup>153</sup> Simon (1998) 140–41 argues for Archaic perirrhanteria as predecessors.

Hekateion<sup>154</sup> was assumed. Theodor Kraus reconstructed from a Late Antique source (without any clear reference to Hekate) that the first Hekateia were wooden pillars with masks hanging from them, looking towards the different paths meeting at the crossing.<sup>155</sup> This reconstruction relies strongly on the later literary tradition, where Hekate appears as *triodotis*, goddess of the three ways.<sup>156</sup> Due to the missing link to Hekate and, moreover, the inconclusive identity of Alkamenes' statue as an independent Hekate, this interpretation seems unconvincing. Erika Simon tried to identify the central pillar as a round altar, around which the three females danced.<sup>157</sup> This observation of the central element being framed by the female statues is highly important, but has not been associated with the attested cults of the Acropolis. The meaningfulness of the pillar is deducible from its specific reproduction in all media, be it two- or three-dimensional. Instead of seeing this pole or pillar as the depiction of a meaningful object, the possibility of an aniconic, namely a non-anthropomorphic, depiction of the goddess Artemis seems promising.<sup>158</sup> By taking into account the statue's possible concept with two main components and relating those to the attested shared cult for Artemis Epipyrgidia and the Charites, it could be hypothesized that the pole functions as the iconographical, yet aniconic, element referring to Artemis. Several studies have convincingly shown that non-anthropomorphic depictions are attested for many divinities;<sup>159</sup> there seem to be regions, like Arcadia, where the aniconic cult image was more favoured than in others<sup>160</sup> and where aniconic depictions of Artemis are actually preserved.<sup>161</sup> Nevertheless, Attica was also conversant with aniconic cult images, as depictions on red-figured vases plausibly attest.<sup>162</sup> Although, in Attica, an aniconic Artemis is documented neither in vase paintings nor in sculpture, this should not be seen as proof of general non-existence. Instead, the choice of an aniconic marker, which was highly dependent on the context, might have been strengthened in the later variations of the three-figured image type by emphasizing the pillar shape and by reducing the three full-bodied females to three heads attached to the pillar.<sup>163</sup> The original significance of Alkamenes' initial image concept was strictly bound to its setting on the Acropolis. Only with the spread of the image type were other meanings added, such as the three-figured Hekate. By separately analysing the sole textual attestation of the triple-bodied sculpture made by Alkamenes and the vast iconographic evidence for

<sup>154</sup> Kraus (1960) 151 suggests that the column was to be used as a base.

<sup>155</sup> Kraus (1960) 107–08 links Dionysiac mask pillars with the passages in *Ov. Fast.* 1.141–42 *ora uides Hecates in tres uertentia partes*, | *seruet ut in ternas compita secta uias*, and in Anonymous Antatticista s.v. *Korokosmia* κυρίας μὲν ἔστι τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν τριοδίων πρόσωπα ξύλινα, ἃ δὴ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ κόρας καλοῦσι, with the statuary evidence. Werth (2006) 61 rightly states that the given sources do not prove the existence of a mask pillar for Hekate.

<sup>156</sup> Charikleides *fr.* 1; see n.131. For a fifth-century BC connection to three-way roads, see *Soph. fr.* 535: ΧΟ. Ἥλιε δέσποτα καὶ πῦρ ἱερόν, τῆς εἰνοδίας Ἐκάτης ἔγχος, τὸ δι' Οὐλύμπου προπολοῦσα φέρει καὶ γῆς ἀνιοῦσ' ἱεράς τριοδούς.

<sup>157</sup> Simon (1985) 274: 'Bestimmte Hekateia scheinen also Idol und Opferstätte in einem gewesen zu sein'. She compares the Hekateia with the aniconic cult statue for Apollo Agueius.

<sup>158</sup> Weiß (1998) 169.

<sup>159</sup> Kron (1992); Gaifman (2012) 181–241; Hölscher (2017) 240–65. The objects function as markers of the deity or the deity's presence, imagined in anthropomorphic shape.

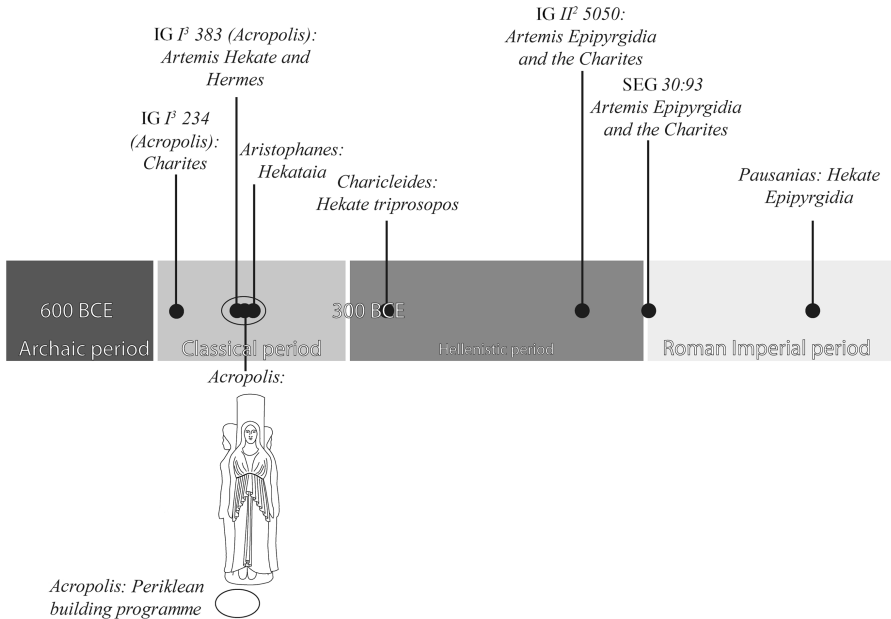
<sup>160</sup> Rhomaios (1911), who sees the stelai as evidence for the primitiveness of Arcadia.

<sup>161</sup> A third-century BC stele from Tegea with the nominative denomination Artemis (Archaeological Museum of Tegea, inv. no. 1437); Gaifman (2012) 217–18. Pausanias 2.9.6 even mentions a column-shaped Artemis in Sikyon: μετὰ δὲ <τὸ> Ἀράτου ἦρθον ἔστι μὲν Ποσειδῶνι Ἰσθμῖο βωμός, ἔστι δὲ Ζεὺς Μειλίχιος καὶ Ἄρτεμις ὀνομαζομένη Πατρώα, σὺν τέχνῃ πεποιημένα οὐδεμιᾶ· πυραμίδι δὲ ὁ Μειλίχιος, ἡ δὲ κίονι ἔστιν εἰκασμένη.

<sup>162</sup> Gaifman (2012) 243–69. The difficulty of the Athenian depictions is that cult practice is not shown on stelai marking the divine presence. Only a Lucanian vase painting from southern Italy (volute krater, National Archaeological Museum Taranto, inv. no. I.G. 8236) refers to rituals in the context of the Karneia, but the stele is not integrated into ritual actions; Gaifman (2012) 254–57. The depiction on an Apulian Panathenaic amphora (British Museum London, inv. no. F 331) shows a libation to Zeus on an altar in front of a pillar; Gaifman (2012) 262–67.

<sup>163</sup> The type is attested for Athens by a statue base in the Kerameikos; cf. Graml (2020) 114–15.





**Fig. 15.** Timeline of the epigraphical and literary sources with their temporal relation to the Alkamenian image. *IG II<sup>3</sup> I 531* has not been included due to its ambiguous relation to Artemis Epipyrgidia (C. Graml).

this statue type, it becomes evident that the presence of an independent Hekate in Athens may have been overestimated. This impression was created by the uncritical combination of Pausanias' reference with the passage from Hesiod that cannot be applied to Athenian cult and, moreover, the highly complex iconographical data. Archaic literary sources with no tie to Athens should not be uncritically brought together with the impression of a second-century AD traveller, whose cultural imprint and understanding of religion is not congruent with that of Classical Athens. Pausanias' perception of the triple-bodied statue was certainly coloured by contemporary religious beliefs and not by the knowledge of the religious *Zeitgeist* of late fifth-century BC Athens. For Athens at this time, no institutionalized cult for an independent figure called Hekate is detectable on the Acropolis. The statue of Alkamenes, standing in the most prominent sacred area of Athens, probably frequently viewed by the inhabitants and visitors of the city, and most certainly in use as a cult statue, had no connection to an independent Hekate at the time of its erection.<sup>164</sup> More plausibly, in view of the conservatism of cult, is the connection to the attested cult of Artemis Epipyrgidia and the Charites. Only later adaptations of the image, initially created for the specific Athenian context, tend to confuse the three Charites with the triple-bodied Hekate.<sup>165</sup> Eventually the often-copied three-bodied image shaped the literary record of the goddess, who became *trimorphos* and *triprosopos* in the Hellenistic literary tradition. The fragment attributed to Charikleides<sup>166</sup> provides the oldest attestation known so far (fig. 15).

The statuary concept of Alkamenes was such a success that both his works, the *Hermes Propylaios* and the *Artemis Epipyrgidia* with the Charites, were immediately reproduced,

<sup>164</sup> An independently worshipped Hekate is crucial for the argument of Serafini (2015) 307–22. Cf. Beschi (1967–1968) 536 on the Hellenistic invention of the Hekateion type with regard to the neighbouring Charites. However, he does not pay attention to whether the names are used as epithets.

<sup>165</sup> Furtwängler (1878) 193–95.

<sup>166</sup> See n.131.

including outside of Athens and Attica. With this translocation of the Propylaea-based image concept, the successive adaptation and reinterpretation of the images began,<sup>167</sup> ultimately ending in Roman iconatropy.

## V. Coming back to iconographic testimonies for cults in the area of the Propylaea

With regard to the previously identified cults in the area of the entrance of the Acropolis, images of Athena Nike, like the first image of Artemis Brauronia, are only known from written testimony and due to non-specific description, no statue type can plausibly be tied to her. Pausanias describes Athena Nike's and Artemis Brauronia's earliest images as *xoana*,<sup>168</sup> a term that offers no indication of their actual appearance, but certainly evokes their old age and the long tradition of their cults.<sup>169</sup>

With this overview on the interdependence of literary, epigraphic and iconographic attestations, it becomes evident that cult was practised for Athena Nike and Artemis Brauronia already prior to the erection of the Mnesiklean Propylaea in the areas around the entrance of the Acropolis. Athena Hygieia received a cult image only after the erection of the entrance building, although her cult was likely practised there earlier.<sup>170</sup> Artemis, Hermes and the Charites were put together in two groups; this is detectable in the peculiarity of the images of these three deities on the Acropolis: the Archaic, pre-Mnesiklean cult concept related them to Hermes while after the erection of the Propylaea they were attached to Artemis-Hekate. This means that after the erection of the new entrance building, the Charites 'wandered' from Hermes to Artemis.<sup>171</sup> The placement of the cults can be inferred from Artemis' epithet *Epipyrgidia*. The area near the Tower of Nike, commonly associated with a placement of the Alkamenian statue on the *purgos*,<sup>172</sup> would be applicable also to the south wing of the Propylaea, which was close to the *purgos*. The promontory was architecturally emphasized by reducing the south wing, presumably rejecting the idea of a counterpart space to the south, which would have mirrored the Pinakothek of the north side. The statue of Artemis and the Charites was likely erected in the south wing next to the tower, while Hermes could have been placed as a counterpart in the north wing.

## VI. The 'story'<sup>173</sup> of the wandering Charites

Based on the testimonies assembled so far, the erection of the Mnesiklean Propylaea seems to have stimulated the development of the cults they housed and their cult images (fig. 16).

<sup>167</sup> On the reproduction of images as 'situationsgebunden[...]', see Reinhardt (2019) 16, 131. The diversity among the three-figured images proves the adaptability of the Alkamenian concept.

<sup>168</sup> On Athena Nike, see Paus. 5.26.6; see also n.73. On Artemis Brauronia: Paus. 1.23.7: τὸ ἀρχαῖον ξόανόν ἐστιν ἐν Βραυρονί, Ἄρτεμις ὡς λέγουσιν ἡ Ταυρικὴ. Pausanias states that the wooden image was kept at Brauron. Only in the fourth century BC was a statue made by Praxiteles erected on the Acropolis.

<sup>169</sup> Cf. n.99.

<sup>170</sup> The statue base with the inscription IG I<sup>3</sup> 506 is attached to one of the columns on the east side of the Propylaea. Two small finds are dated prior to the building ca. 480–470 BC; cf. commentary on Attic inscriptions online <<https://www.atticinscriptions.com/inscription/IGI3/506>>. See also Meyer (2017) 23–28 n.41.

<sup>171</sup> Palagia (2014) 238, based on Luigi Beschi, assumes a precinct for the Charites next to the Tower of Nike close to the Mycenaean wall, where the Charites of Socrates functioned as a cult image.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. the summary in Werth (2006) 45, fig. 1.

<sup>173</sup> I use this term in homage to Ernst Gombrich and his monumental work *The Story of Art* (1950). All interpretations of artefacts aim to construct the most plausible story to explain every perceivable aspect and to provide their embedding into their respective 'Lebenswelt'.

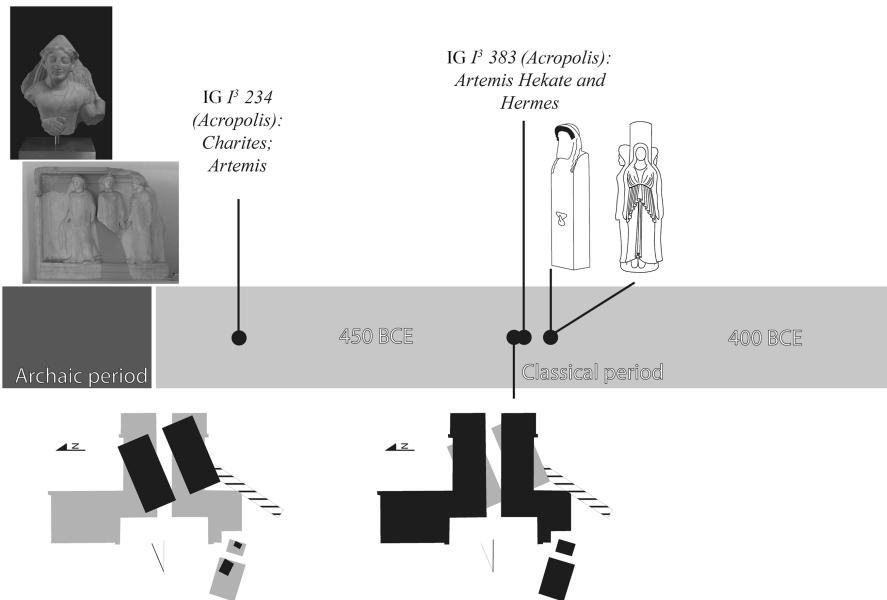


Fig. 16. Timeline of the iconographic evidence relating to the cult concepts of Artemis, Hermes and the Charites with regard to the likely spatial setting of the cults (C. Graml).

Already the wings of the pre-Mnesiklean Propylon were likely divided among the three cult recipients, with the north wing initially attached to Hermes and the Charites,<sup>174</sup> and the south wing to Artemis and the neighbouring Braurion. With the rotation of the new entrance building, the Charites became part of her cult.<sup>175</sup> The position of the statue of Artemis and the Charites is not known, but, with regard to the later reading of it as Hekate Epipyrgidia, has always been connected to the *purgos*, the Tower of Nike,<sup>176</sup> which had undergone massive changes as the level of the hilltop was raised and the entire promontory joined to the Mnesiklean building complex (fig. 17). The statue group therefore was likely placed in the south wing, keeping the assumed previous relation to Artemis and additionally establishing a new spatial connection to the adjoining *purgos*.

The post-Mnesiklean statues of Hermes and Artemis with the three Charites were all executed by the sculptor Alkamenes, who had previously worked on the Parthenon sculptures.<sup>177</sup> Mark Fullerton and Nina Werth have already argued for a correlation of the erection of the Epipyrgidia in the 430/20s BC<sup>178</sup> with the remodelling phase of the Propylaea and the Nike *purgos* all going back to the Perikleian programme for the entire Acropolis.<sup>179</sup> This background is of great importance for the embedding of the concepts embodied in the statues of Alkamenes. With regard to their congenial concept of mixing aniconic with

<sup>174</sup> Summarized in Gagliano (2014).

<sup>175</sup> Cf. Furtwängler (1878) 187.

<sup>176</sup> For a plan of the *purgos* with several proposed locations based on previous scholarship, see Werth (2006) 45.

<sup>177</sup> Palagia (1998) 8. *Der Neue Overbeck II* s.v. Alkamenes (Ἀλκαμένης) aus Athen 354–90, 389.

<sup>178</sup> Fullerton (1986) 673–74; Werth (2006) 46–57; Kraus (1960) 95–96, who therefore deduces an Archaic cult for Hekate. Palagia (2009) emphasizes the Peloponnesian War and argues that the stylistic traits might be indicators of a conservative climate at Athens.

<sup>179</sup> Lempidaki (2013) 384–85; Camia (2010) refers to the Peisistradeian dating for the Braurion deduced from archaeological finds and also refers to the Perikleian influence on the area, as the north wall is oriented in parallel to the Mnesikleian Propylaea.

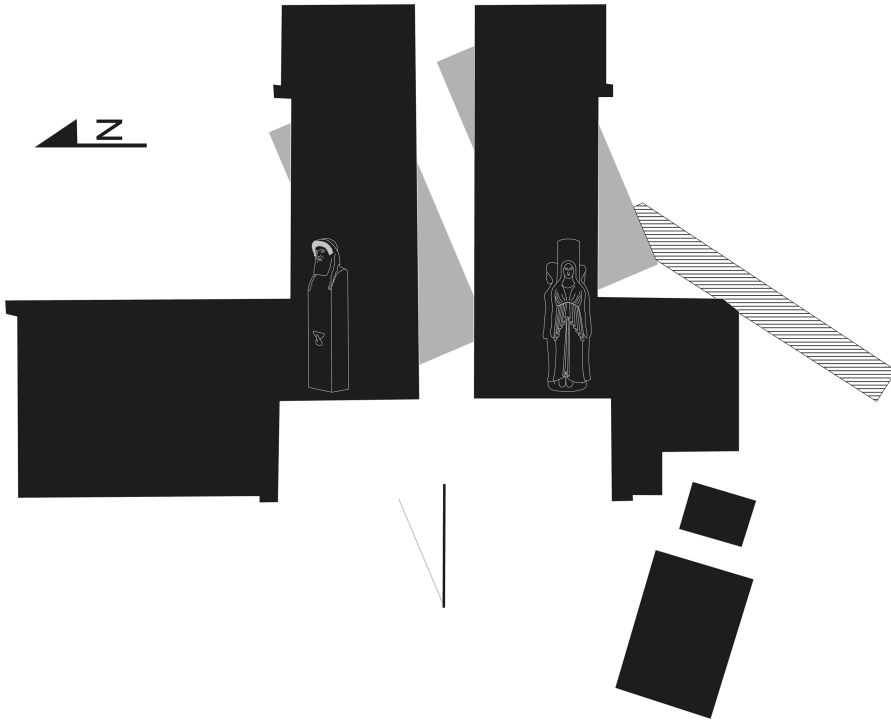


Fig. 17. Schematic drawing of the Mnesiklean Propylaea with proposed location of the Alkamenian statues (C. Graml).

anthropomorphic elements and including archaic traits,<sup>180</sup> it seems plausible that Alkamenes was commissioned by the authorities in charge of the Acropolis refurbishment to equip the cult places of the newly erected Mnesiklean Propylaea with new cult images of old, long-established cults. In the course of the remodelling phase, the spatial coherence of the sacred precincts of several deities was impacted by the rotation of the building, which most likely led to alterations.<sup>181</sup> The Alkamenian statues marked the newly established sacred areas for the three cult recipients and eventually symmetrically framed the passage. By choosing archaizing and aniconic elements, Alkamenes created visual allusions to antiquity and tradition, which generated visual tension in juxtaposition to the progressive architectural setting of the Propylaea: the innovative architectural elements alluded to change overcoming the Persian destruction, while the divine images appeased the longing for continuity, tangibly experienced by allusions to religious tradition.<sup>182</sup>

**Supplementary material.** To view supplementary material for this article, please visit <https://doi.org/10.1017/S007542692200009X>

**Acknowledgements.** Parts of this paper have been presented on several occasions, such as the research seminars at Bochum University and Hamburg University, the EASR conference 2019 in Tartu and the Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik in Munich. I am grateful to the audiences for their interest and helpful

<sup>180</sup> Willers (1975) 33.

<sup>181</sup> Already Furtwängler (1878) 187 and Welter (1923) 200 suggested that cult activity might have been hindered for many years during the erection of the Propylaea. The long construction phase might have been caused by the general remodelling of the Acropolis. This began with the Parthenon and was only later finished with the Propylaea and the Nike temple; Shear (1999) 124–25.

<sup>182</sup> Cf. Hölscher (2017) 189–91 on the Propylaios, 196–97 on the Alkamenian statue.

suggestions. Special thanks go to Soi Agelidis for discussing the idea of shared image concepts, to Elisavet Sioumpara for her precious comments on the monuments of the Acropolis, to Ralf Krumeich for his manifold suggestions, which helped clarify the argument and prevented me from errors, and to the two anonymous reviewers for indicating to me several unclear points. Last, but certainly not least, I thank Henry Heitmann-Gordon for accompanying the development of the idea to writing and for making this text readable. For all remaining errors, I of course remain solely responsible.

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**Cite this article:** Graml, Constanze (2022). Wandering maidens in the Acropolis Propylaea: some considerations on the spatial setting of the cults of the Charites, Artemis and Hermes, their administration and related cult images. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 142, 274–297. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S007542692200009X>