

Evgenia Vikela, **Apollo, Artemis, Leto. Eine Untersuchung zur Typologie, Ikonographie und Hermeneutik der drei Gottheiten auf griechischen Weihreliefs.** Athenaia, volume 7. Publisher Hirmer, Munich 2015. 296 pages, 69 black and white plates with approximately 200 photographs.

Since Apollo and Artemis are among the deities most frequently depicted in Greek votive reliefs, this study is an ambitious and welcome investigation into their iconography. Evgenia Vikela is known for her work on Attic votive reliefs, particularly her 1994 publication of the reliefs from the Pankrates sanctuary on the Ilissos in Athens, her 1997 study of votive reliefs and the cult topography of Attica, her 2005 article on the iconography of Athena in Attic votive reliefs, and her contribution on the worship of Artemis in Attica in the catalogue of the 2008 exhibition *Worshipping Women. Ritual and Reality in Classical Athens*. The scope of this study is much broader, ranging chronologically from the Archaic through the late Hellenistic periods and geographically from mainland Greece and the islands to Asia Minor, Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, Cyprus, and even Italy. The material is arranged iconographically, treating Apollo, Artemis, and Leto separately and then addressing the iconography of the Apollonian triad, since the deities signify and function differently when depicted alone or in combinations. These chapters are followed by one with general observations on all of the reliefs. The study is supported by a catalogue of a hundred-seventy-nine reliefs, including several unpublished examples, almost all of them illustrated with photographs of good quality. The catalogue entries at the end of the book include find spots, present locations, dates, dimensions, and bibliography. The author does not claim to provide a comprehensive corpus of all known reliefs dedicated to these deities, but rather a selection made for the purposes of providing a representative overview and laying the basis for an investigation of the iconography and meaning of the compositions.

The text of the chapters devoted to Apollo, Artemis, Leto, and the Triad consists largely of descriptions of individual reliefs, arranged first chronologically according to period and then iconographically according to attributes, poses and gestures, each chapter concluding with a (sometimes somewhat repetitious, again describing individual examples) summary of the preceding material. The description and interpretation of each relief take into account figure type, attributes, and dress as they may relate to known or proposed statuary prototypes, the provenance as it may relate to local cults and thus the different aspects or epithets of the deities represented, the composition as it may be related to mythological narrative. Each of these chapters concludes with a summary of the geographical distribution of the reliefs. The last, concluding chapter summarizes and enlarges upon general observations.

After a short introductory chapter outlining the scope and goals of the study, the second chapter focuses

on Apollo, outlining his various iconographic types and their geographical distribution, with the largest group coming from Hellenistic Asia Minor, followed by the second largest group from Classical Attica. Apollo appears first as Apollo Kitharodos on Archaic votive reliefs of Paros and Thasos, but the largest number of reliefs depicting him come from the late Classical and Hellenistic periods, in which the Kitharodos type continues to be preferred. When he is shown alone, he is usually quietly standing or seated. In the Classical period he is usually depicted with Artemis and Leto. In several Attic reliefs from the late fifth century Apollo is identified as Pythian Apollo with the addition of Delphic attributes, the tripod and omphalos. In Athens he is also equated with Apollo Patroos, the father of Ion and the patron deity of the Ionians, as particularly demonstrated by several reliefs in which the figure is clearly based upon the statue of Apollo Patroos by Euphranor. Apollo also appears as Daphnephoros in Attic reliefs. The clear preference for the Kitharodos type is seen as partly influenced by cult statues, but also as an expression of his Delphic identity, his musical aspect seen as an expression of harmony and balance. In the fourth century another group of reliefs depicting Apollo Pythias as Kitharodos comes from Thessaly, where there were several sanctuaries dedicated to him. In these he is again shown with Artemis and Leto. In Thessalian reliefs there is also an unusual tradition of depicting Apollo with a bow as Toxophoros or Toxobolos. In the Hellenistic period Apollo is largely absent from Athens, where the production of votive reliefs falls off, but the long-robed Kitharodos type becomes very popular in Asia Minor, particularly in reliefs from Ionia, Mysia, and Bithynia, which together constitute the largest group of votive reliefs depicting Apollo. In these he usually appears alone, and in many the statue of Apollo at Daphne by Bryaxis appears to have exerted an indirect influence.

The third Chapter is devoted to Artemis, who also first appears in the Archaic period only on a few reliefs from Paros and Thasos and then in Attic reliefs of the Classical period, when she appears as a huntress with bow, quiver, and sometimes a spear, or sometimes merely quietly standing or seated with animals. She is also frequently depicted carrying one or two torches, as in the well-known reliefs from her sanctuary in Brauron, where she presides over childbirth and the well-being of women and children and where there may have been a torchbearing statue of her. Unlike Apollo, when she is depicted alone she is frequently active. Reliefs depicting Artemis increase in number in the late Classical period in Attica and Thessaly, where she is depicted with a variety of attributes but now usually as a torchbearer in the triad, with the emphasis shifting away from her identity as a huntress, although she is frequently accompanied by animals. Reliefs representing her increase still further in the Hellenistic period, primarily outside of Attica, in Delos, and in Asia Minor, where she is usually depicted as a torchbearer and associated with childbirth. In some of these reliefs her torch is held upright like a scepter.

In reliefs from Asia Minor she appears with Apollo and Zeus, but in Delos, where most of her reliefs come from her sanctuary on Mount Kynthos, she is alone.

The fourth chapter reviews the scant evidence for the cult of Leto. Although from the archaic period she had an important sanctuary on Delos, the birthplace of her children, she does not appear alone on reliefs from the island nor, with one possible exception, the enigmatic relief from the late fifth century in the Louvre depicting an enthroned figure by a palm tree, does she appear alone elsewhere. She also had sanctuaries on Chios, Crete and in Asia Minor. She is primarily worshipped and depicted in her capacity as the mother of Apollo and Artemis.

The fifth chapter concerns the Apollonian triad of Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, a motif especially popular in Attic votive reliefs of all periods. Although they appear together in the sixth century in vase painting, the triad makes its first appearance in votive reliefs in the late fifth century in Attica, and then they are increasingly found in the fourth century in reliefs from Attica, Thessaly, and Ionia before becoming relatively uncommon in reliefs of the Hellenistic period. In these groups Leto is distinguished as a matronly figure, with her mantle drawn over her head and holding a scepter or pouring a libation. In the beginning Apollo is the central figure in the triad, but later he gives way to Artemis or Leto. The frequent mention of Leto in addition to Apollo and Artemis in the inscribed dedications points to the inseparability of the group. In only two reliefs does she adopt a slightly different identity, as a wife in the presence of Zeus. The significance of the triad is seen as reaching far beyond their familial relationship, to the commonality of their functions in securing political and social order, promoting the family, and maintaining purity, productivity, and morality.

The concluding chapter offers general, summarizing observations on various aspects of the reliefs. There are three main types of them, those depicting the deities alone, those with worshippers, and those with mythological scenes or references, these three types appearing in chronological order. The topics dealt with are the identity of the dedicators, the compositions, the form and frames of the stelai, regional thematic and stylistic differences, and finally, some observations on the form and content of the inscriptions. The author explores very fully but cautiously the evidence for the reliance of the sculptors of the reliefs upon statuary prototypes.

A very useful part of the last chapter for providing an overview of the wealth and diversity of the material presented here is the section on regional distinctions in the reliefs, their thematic, typological and stylistic differences. The two most important and productive centers are Attica and Asia Minor, followed by Thessaly. From Attica come the largest number and at the same time the highest quality reliefs, not only from the point of view of their workmanship but also the originality of their compositions. They appear first in the Early Classical period and dwindle in the Hellenistic period.

Most characteristic of this series are the broad rectangular reliefs with architectural frames, the so-called adoration reliefs depicting the deities with worshippers, a number of which highlight the prominence of women in the worship of Artemis. Vekela designates the few reliefs from Asia Minor that are stylistically related to the Attic series as »Ionic« in order to distinguish them from the characteristic products of the Asia Minor workshops of Mysia and Bithynia. These primarily late Hellenistic reliefs are more »artisanal« (»handwerklich«) in workmanship, the stelai divided into two zones, the upper with the main relief panel, the one below sometimes with a subsidiary scene in lower relief or more often inscribed. The main relief panels are relatively flat and have an almost standard composition featuring deities and worshippers at an altar often set before a tree. The secondary scenes often depict sacrifices or banqueting, interesting for their apparent reference to actual cult activities. On many of the reliefs from Asia Minor, Apollo has a series of epithets that refer to localities or various aspects of his local worship.

The third area with a distinctive type of relief in the fourth century and the Hellenistic period is Thessaly, where the reliefs are either on tall, slender stelai similar in form to funerary Bildfeldstelen, with the relief panel above and the inscription on the plain surface below, or they are almost square reliefs with shallow pedimental tops. Stylistically their figures often display a plasticity that reveals knowledge of Attic examples. Of the other areas exhibiting stylistic and iconographic differences in their approaches to votive reliefs, perhaps the most distinctive is the area of Golgoi on Cyprus, which in the Hellenistic period produced some reliefs so rough as to justify the term »provincial«, but at the same time reliefs strikingly ambitious in their iconography. Like many of the Hellenistic reliefs from Asia Minor, they are divided into two zones, but in these cases both zones have narratives given equal emphasis, in one relief a scene of veneration coupled with a scene of banqueting and dancing, in another, unfortunately fragmentary relief a probable veneration scene coupled with a scene from the life of the dedicator, in which he is apparently being saved from a rockslide. Less stylistically and iconographically distinctive groups from Macedonia, the Peloponnese, and the islands are also discussed.

The concluding chapter also explores more fully the reasons for the popularity of the deities, both generally as gods of political and civic consequence, but also as recipients of private votives. While in the public sphere Apollo assumes his oracular role, and together Artemis and Apollo preside over political assembly and counsel, their importance for individual dedicators resides in their complementary roles as initiators of youth in important social transitions and as protectors of the family, with the triad as the exemplar of the family. Apollo is usually depicted unarmed, and, with only a few exceptions, Artemis' bow and her animals are merely attributive, their iconography in the reliefs, with the exceptions of a few mythological depictions, having nothing to do with

their capacities for hunting or vengefulness; on the contrary, their demeanors in the reliefs are calm and beneficent, the deities often coming into direct and personal contact with their worshippers and dedicators.

In this last respect, the meaning of the votive reliefs for their dedicators, I wished that the catalogue entries had included the dedicatory inscriptions or at least transcriptions of them (only a few can be read with difficulty from the photographs). Although some of the dedications are mentioned in passing in the text, usually just giving the name of the dedicator, and although the last chapter summarizes the general form and content of the inscriptions, the reader who wishes to deal more specifically with issues of, for example, cult epithets or the prosopography of the dedicators, is forced to rely upon earlier publications of the reliefs. Granted that this is a study of iconography, but as such it is not a study of the iconography of the deities generally, but of depictions of them on a particular type of artifact, votive reliefs, in which the images provide only part of the story. The last chapter includes, for example, a general discussion of several unusual cases in which the stelai functioned simultaneously as votive and honorary stelai, examples which would have benefited greatly from the inclusion of the inscriptions. Nevertheless, this volume provides an excellent starting point for the study of the reliefs as evidence of the beliefs and concerns of their dedicators and more generally as evidence for regional variations in their function as ritual objects.

In conclusion, this review has concentrated on some of Vikelá's more important observations about the major groups of votive reliefs dedicated to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, but as the eccentric examples from Cyprus attest, this well-produced volume also brings together much far-flung and often neglected material that provides a wealth of information about and insight into these complex and many-sided deities. And while it does not claim to be comprehensive, it nevertheless provides a thorough exploration of the significance of these gods and the multifaceted ways in which they were envisioned by their worshippers.