The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: The Portrayal of Corinthian Gender Ideologies in Ritual Landscape

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THE SANCTUARY OF DEMETER AND KORE: THE PORTRAYAL OF CORINTHIAN GENDER IDEOLOGIES IN RITUAL LANDSCAPE

By

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B.A., University of South Dakota, 2020

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth reflects gender ideologies and concerns within the larger region of Corinthia. Archaeological finds particularly serve to illustrate the sanctuary’s role in maintaining these gender ideologies and concerns. This thesis focuses on the depiction of gender ideologies that reflect a shift toward a wealthier material culture in sixth-century Corinth with themes of feminine virtue and fertility prevalent in the sanctuary.

The study of certain ceramics shapes and iconography serves to reveal the sanctuary’s role within the larger religious landscape it was located in. The kalathos, pyxis/Frauenfest scene, and the liknon illustrate the presence of a fertility concern in the early sixth century while indicating a shift in material wealth through shapes associated with expensive material like jewelry.

Thesis Advisor

Dr. Clayton Lehmann
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# Table of Contents

Committee Signature Page ........................................ i  
Abstract ................................................................ ii
Acknowledgments ...................................................... iii
List of Figures .......................................................... v
Introduction ................................................................ 1
The Kalathos: A Symbol of Feminine Virtue ................. 15
The Pyxis: A Scene of Dancing Women ....................... 45
The Liknon: A Symbol of Feminine Responsibility ......... 73
Conclusion .................................................................. 86
Glossary ................................................................... 93
Bibliography ............................................................. 94
## List of Figures

1.1. Scene of domestic work using wool kalathos on an Attic red-figure Hydria 18  
1.2. Map of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore including findspots of the eleven pottery groups 22  
1.3. Chart of the eleven deposit groups from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth 23  
1.4. Chart of kalathos styles and numbers at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth. 24  
1.5. Miniature flaring kalathiskoi, ca. 6th century BCE 26  
1.6. Concave type 1 kalathos, early 6th century BCE 29  
1.7. Concave type 2 kalathos, later 6th century BCE 29  
1.8. Concave type 3 kalathos, early 5th century BCE 29  
1.9. Concave type 4 kalathos, later 4th century BCE 29  
1.10. Three handmade kalathiskoi, Late Protocorinthian 32  
1.11. Perforated kalathiskos, late 7th through 6th century BCE 37  
1.12. Perforated kalathiskos with attached protome head, early 6th century BCE 37  
1.13. Basket kalathiskos, 5th century BCE 39  
1.15. Orchard scene on Attic black-figure lekythos, 490-470 BCE 41  
1.16. Woman feeding animals on Attic red-figure cup, ca. 480 BCE 41  
2.1. Pyxis-kalathos with Frauenfest scene, Early Corinthian 48  
2.2. Kotyle with Frauenfest scene, Middle to Late Corinthian 48  
2.3. Red-ground Krater with Frauenfest scene, Late Corinthian 48  
2.4. Phiale with Frauenfest scene, Late Corinthian 48  
2.5. Attic black-figure Oinochoe with Frauenfest scene, end of 6th century BCE 48
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.6.</td>
<td>Bottle with Frauenfest scene, Middle Corinthian</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.7.</td>
<td>Convex pyxis, last quarter of 6th century BCE</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.8.</td>
<td>Powder pyxis lid, mid-5th century BCE</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.9.</td>
<td>Table of grave periods at North Cemetery in Corinth</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.</td>
<td>Miniature liknon, 6th to 5th century BCE</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.</td>
<td>Liknon with cakes, 6th to 5th century BCE</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Time Periods

Bronze Age: 3500-1200 BCE
Early Iron Age (EIA): 1100-900 BCE
Geometric Period: 900-650 BCE
Archaic Period: 650-580 BCE
Classical Period: 580-323 BCE
Protocorinthian Period (PC): 725-600 BCE
Early Protocorinthian Period (EPC): 725-690 BCE
Late Protocorinthian Period (LPC): 650-640 BCE
Early Corinthian Period (EC): 620-590 BCE
Middle Corinthian Period (MC): 590-570 BCE
Late Corinthian Period (LC): 570-550 BCE


Introduction

In the last fifty years, research regarding ancient women evolved from a reliance on literary sources to an interdisciplinary study involving archaeological remains that challenged modern understanding of ancient (and modern) gender ideologies. Women in ancient Greece were thought to lead a restrictive lifestyle, bound by a separation of three main spheres: the political, public, and domestic. Scholarship in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century challenged this concept and the misconceptions that rose as a result. The discovery of the free movement of women outside domestic contexts led to a new narrative that highlighted the roles and experiences of women in public and religious landscapes. This thesis seeks to contribute to the narrative surrounding ancient women, analyzing the relationship between women and sacred space through a centralized study on the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth. This thesis offers an interdisciplinary approach to the study of women, primarily using archaeological evidence rather than literary sources to construct an understanding of gender ideologies and concerns at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in the archaic period.

Ancient sources regarding Greek women are often centered around Athens and Sparta, mainly coming from Athenian sources. A reliance on evidence from these two poleis means relying on two extremes in the treatment of women: the liberal behavior of women in Sparta that inspired a biased fascination from outsiders, on the one hand, and on the other, an oppressive behavior pushed forth by ancient writers in Athens. Athenian sources often supported a gender ideology that exhibited a clear distinction between the labors of men and women, specifically idealized by Xenophon in *Oikonomikos*. Here, in the discussion between Socrates and Ischomoachos, Xenophon described the ideal gender roles prescribed to husband and wife, claiming men and women were formed to inhabit roles only befitting them physically, aligning
the nature of women to household management and men to outdoor labor and profit.¹ Earlier scholars like Sarah Pomeroy relied too heavily on accounts like that of Xenophon, who merely stated an ideal rather than reality. Studies centered on ethnography and archaeology challenged the concept that women rarely left the confines of their homes. Sian Lewis addressed these misconceptions in *The Athenian Woman: An Iconographic Handbook*, using evidence from iconography and agricultural studies in the Mediterranean as clues to the reality of ancient life for women.² And yet, regardless of regionality, women were pushed into a lifestyle dominated by their role in childbearing. Religion often highlighted this role.

This thesis addresses the portrayal of women and gender in sacred space by specifically looking at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth. Demeter’s status as the primary agriculture deity of ancient Greece, known for originally gifting agriculture to the Greeks, played a key role in a major turning point in human history, the discovery of agriculture. Sanctuaries and altars to Demeter dot the land of Greece, ranging from the famous sanctuary at Eleusis to the sanctuaries of Kos. Most sanctuaries of Demeter outside of Attica remain unexcavated, numbering nearly forty-six sanctuaries and altars in the Peloponnese alone, leaving Demeter’s sanctuary on Acrocorinth the most important excavation of the goddess’s religious space in the Peloponnese.³ Demeter highlighted the importance of agriculture within her sanctuary while simultaneously emphasizing the importance of fertility and motherhood within the same space, establishing an appealing quality to both men and women. The level of importance Demeter

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wielded was evident in the size of her sanctuaries in Corinth and Eleusis and emphasized in a festival, the Thesmophoria, that was exclusive to women.

Demeter’s significant position as a goddess appeared in a single mythology and obtained its longest rendition in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter. In the hymn, however, the extent of Demeter’s power remained secondary to her relationship with Persephone. The hymn emphasized the mother-daughter relationship between the two and the extent of Demeter’s efforts to recover her daughter when she was stolen by Hades. Demeter’s gift of agriculture quickly became a curse after the disappearance of Persephone, and only returned when Zeus struck a deal with Hades, ensuring that Persephone return to the underworld for part of the year. Demeter’s power proved to be catastrophic in the drought she cast over Greece, yet even the expanse of her powers could not prevent Persephone from aging from a *parthenos* to a *gyne*. The *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* reflected a feminist view of marriage that pulled away from the preoccupation of ancient male sources with marriage. The hymn reiterated what ancient women writers like Sappho emphasized in their surviving fragments, the importance of mother-daughter relationships in the transition to marriage rather than the fixation on the event of marriage itself.

The three chapters of this thesis focus on gender ideologies in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in the archaic period. Ceramics and iconography symbolic of gender norms and concerns reveal the importance placed on fertility and wealth in the sixth century BCE. The kalathos, pyxis, Frauenfest scene, and the liknon provide evidence for a shift in gender ideologies in the sixth century that emphasize material wealth. This shift, conspicuously appearing near the end of the Cypselid tyranny in the 580s, reflects a similar phenomenon that appears in Athens in the fifth century: a shift away from ideologies that exhibit women in
physical labor to an ideology that emphasizes a leisure lifestyle particularly fit for upper class, wealthy women.

Literature that describes the origin story of Corinth typically attempts to assign the founding of Corinth under Aletes, who was one of the Heraclids, the descendants of Heracles. Literature that follows this legend attempts to put Corinth on par with the origin stories of Sparta and Argos, two equally powerful poleis in the Peloponnese founded by the Heraclids. This tradition originates from the belief that prior to Aletes and the later ruling Bacchidae family, Corinth was a backwater polis that only gained recognition as a powerful city-state in the tenth century BCE under this new rulership instituted by a Heraclean descendent.

The Dorians took the field against Corinth, their leader being Aletes… so Doridas and Hyanthidas gave up the kingship to Aletes and remained at Corinth, but the Corinthian people were conquered in battle and expelled by the Dorians.

The oral and literary tradition that places Corinth’s founding under the same family tree as Sparta and Argos was late in comparison to these two other poleis, placing Aletes at least a century after the founding of Sparta and Argos. Whether Aletes and the Heraclids were actual descendants of Heracles or mere characters later attached to a divine legend, the common feature of Doric raids remains in each ancient source that mentions the origin of Argos, Sparta, and Corinth. Prior to the establishment of a Dorian Corinth, the inhabitants of the region were likely practicing an egalitarian-like society that was displaced by a monarchal society under Doric rulers in the tenth century. Egalitarian traditions persisted, however, evident in the continued lack of display of wealth in the polis. Previous scholars like Catherine Morgan have noted a shift

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5 Pausanias, Travels in Greece, translated by W. H. S. Jones and H. A. Ormerod (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918), 2.4.3.
6 Salmon, Wealthy Corinth, 53.
towards clearer displays of material wealth to the early fifth century. This thesis suggests that this shift occurred earlier, in the mid-sixth century, through the study of specific ceramic shapes that reflect feminine gender ideologies.

The first chapter focuses on the kalathos, the clay model of the wool basket. The kalathos was symbolic of the woman’s role in agriculture in the basket form but largely highlighted domestic work, primarily wool-working. The second chapter focuses on the earliest appearance of the Frauenfest scene or chain dance and its appearance on a singular pyxis. Like the kalathos, the pyxis found a dual role in sanctuaries as a votive and in domestic housing as a jewelry box, though it was associated with cemeteries and dining. The object’s presence in Demeter’s sanctuary, coupled with the appearance of the Frauenfest scene, suggests that the shape wielded strong ritual meaning associated with female fertility. The third chapter focuses on the appearance of the votive likna within Demeter’s sanctuary. The likna, modeled after an agricultural tool, the winnowing fan, and used to separate the grain from the chaff, appeared with startling popularity beginning in the sixth century BCE. The shape’s presence addressed the role of women in agriculture while highlighting the ritual significance this object held to women.

These three chapters share various themes, from the symbolic appearance of the mother-daughter relationship to the establishment of gender roles in agricultural and domestic space.

Women in antiquity first gained the attention of modern scholars in the 1970s. The movement of women’s studies in the ancient Greco-Roman world was initiated in 1975 by Sarah Pomeroy in her work, Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves, which introduced feminist theory to the study of ancient Greece and Rome. In 1995, Women in Antiquity: New Assessments, edited by Richard Hawley and Barbara Levich, brought together essays that questioned the

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existing scholarship and offer new perspectives on ancient women. Several historians included in *Women in Antiquity* addressed various aspects of ancient women: Marilyn Katz’s work, “Ideology and ‘the Status of Women’ in Ancient Greece,” addressed the preoccupation of past scholars with the status of women; Ken Dowden’s work, “Approaching Women through Myth: Vital Tool or Self-Delusion?” addressed the problem of learning about the real Greek women through mythology; and Lucia Nixon’s work, “The Cults of Demeter and Kore,” addressed the status of Demeter as an agricultural goddess within the misogynistic, patriarchal society of Greece, with particular emphasis on the Eleusinian Mysteries and the Thesmophoria. More recent work by Sian Lewis in *The Athenian Woman: An Iconographical Handbook* (2002) addressed the movement of citizen, metic, and slave women within the domestic and public spheres. In 2004, Susan Cole provided another recent study of Greek women in *Landscapes, Gender, and Ritual Space: The Ancient Greek Experience*. Cole analyzed ritual and productive space in relation to the social articulation of gender as enacted in ritual, using sanctuaries of Artemis as a test case to fully divulge the relationship of gender and space within sanctuaries and surrounding poleis.

Study of gender and space in ancient Greece has looked at the presence of women within the political, domestic, public, and religious spheres. Ancient sources like Xenophon suggested that women were almost completely absent from the political sphere and had little presence in the public sphere. Dana Stauffer’s article, “Aristotle’s Account of the Subjection of Women,”

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offered an analysis of Aristotle’s *Politics* that discussed the subjugation of women and explored this ideology presented by ancient literature. What Xenophon and other sources expressed seemed to be more of an ideology rather than a reality.\(^{12}\) Recent archaeological studies analyzed the relationship and movement of women outside of the domestic household. Ian Morris studied the establishment of harsher gender ideologies in the archaic period by using ancient sources like Homer and additional evidence from archaic domestic housing to illustrate a shift in gender norms by 750 BCE.\(^{13}\) The establishment of gender ideologies, first introduced in the archaic period, became concrete by the classical period in the more restrictive treatment of women.

Ruth Westgate provided a more recent study in 2015 that explored the increasing segmentation and specialization of domestic space. She focused on the social complexity of gendered space between the eighth and fourth centuries BCE, introducing the idea of “mini” communities where women would have been freer and perhaps more comfortable in moving around than in large poleis like Athens.\(^{14}\) Attention to gender and ritual space presents a unique opportunity to study the movement of women outside of the domestic sphere because of the host of archaeological remains present at most sanctuaries. Ancient Greek women were allotted a role in religion that was often unobtainable in other areas of their lives. The constraints often witnessed within the public or private spaces of society were absent once women entered a religious space.\(^ {15}\)

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Religion was one of the most common subjects of iconography and appeared in different Greek states due to its popularity in export production. Women as individual worshipers commonly appeared across iconography, often depicted offering a libation at an altar.\textsuperscript{16} The presence of these individualizing scenes illustrated the existence of the ancient woman outside of her family, emphasizing the woman’s individual involvement in ritual. The general power associated with women in ritual stemmed from this independent imagery, specifically in the woman’s ability to safeguard the religious well-being of the household, as well as experience her own relationship with the divine.\textsuperscript{17} Women’s close relationship with religion, and their significant role within religious space, was evident in the dedication of votives. Votives could be identified as any material object, like the kalathos or a cake, and were often physical prayers for a deity’s favor.\textsuperscript{18} Dedications offered by women, though these cannot be clearly identified in Demeter’s sanctuary due to the lack of inscriptions, were documented on the Athenian Acropolis and illustrated the presence and agency of women within religious space.\textsuperscript{19} The primary role of women as child bearers and mothers in Greek society meant women were especially connected to the religious outlet of the household and supervised rituals that oversaw birth.

Religious space promoted gendered roles that highlighted the importance placed on fertility while providing freedom that women, specifically free women, could not experience elsewhere. Even so, the division between domestic and public space was not a clearly defined line; women were often seen in the marketplace, but they were still excluded from public spaces like taverns, brothels, and political buildings. Ritual practice provided another public outlet for

\textsuperscript{16} Lewis, \textit{The Athenian Woman}, 109.
\textsuperscript{17} Lewis, \textit{The Athenian Woman}, 113.
\textsuperscript{19} Goff, \textit{Citizen Bacchae}, 44.
women, one that did not compromise their dignity and personal safety. Ritual allowed women to explore outside their communities as is evident in Attica, where women often made the long trip to Eleusis or Brauron. A similar tradition must have been practiced in Corinth, where women likely trekked to major surrounding sanctuaries at Perachora, Epidaurus, and Delphi. The study of ritual practice revealed a complex relationship between gender and ritual space, inciting the image that ancient women both rejected and complied with typical gendered norms by maneuvering through the power structure of ancient Greece. Religion presented an opportunity for women, especially priestesses, to push social boundaries through ritual practice.

Priesthood was one of the highest positions a women could garner in ancient Greece. Priestesses often came from wealthy families or were elected by popular allotment in poleis. This position garnered multiple benefits to the priestess depending on local custom, such as freedom from taxes, right to own property, guaranteed personal safety, *apometra*, and *hierosyna.*

Priesthoods, however, were bound by law. Literary evidence recording wayward priestesses document the restrictions many priestesses were held to during their service. If priestesses overstepped the legal obligations of their office and wielded their influence in a negative manner, like giving false oracles, they were often convicted and sentenced to death. In addition, certain priesthoods required women to remain virgins during the length of their service. If any accusation or sign appeared suggesting that the priestess was no longer a virgin, she was often sentenced to death. The case of priestesses offers evidence of the complex relationship between

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20 Apometra was of a share of an offering given to a priestess; hiersyna were sums charged to the person making the sacrifice or appropriated for the sacrifices; Joan Connelly, “Priestly Privilege: Perquisites, Honors, and Authority” in *Portrait of a Priestess: Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 198.
22 The Vestal Virgins of Rome were the famous example of this treatment. If found guilty, the priestess was paraded across the city before being buried alive in the city boundary of Rome. Similar occurrences appeared in Greece when women were required to remain parthenoi during ritual service.
woman and religious space. The priestess received various benefits and honors in her position in a cult but faced the real possibility of a harsher fate when compared to regular free woman.

Free women did not experience the same type of freedom granted to priestesses. Women generally only experienced religious freedom in their ability to visit sanctuaries and shrines and participate in festivals focused on female deities such as Demeter. Festivals were often exclusively oriented towards men, from ritual sacrifice to performances by male playwrights and actors. Past scholars believed that festivals like the Panathenaea were major events for female religious activity, making assumptions about the regularity of female worshipers, primarily due to the iconographic scenes of women in procession on the Parthenon. The women who appeared in the festival, however, were daughters of priestly families and the priestesses of Athenian cults. The regular women of Athens were only free to participate in festivals that were exclusively female like the Thesmophoria or the Adonia. Religious space like sanctuaries, nonetheless, provided women with the opportunity to maneuver within the power dynamic present in ancient Greece through festivals exclusive to women.

Religious activity at sanctuaries and festivals often highlighted the woman’s role as the primary caretaker in society. The rituals common at the Thesmophoria, a festival dedicated to Demeter that took place before the sowing of wheat and barley crops, emphasized the importance placed in not only the earth’s fertility, but also on the fertility of ancient women. The festival guaranteed fertility in both agriculture and humans. Sanctuaries like Demeter’s on Acrocorinth emphasized the importance of fertility and the woman’s primary role as caretaker. Votive pottery found at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore reiterated this emphasis put on the

24 Neils, “Adonia to Thesmophoria,” 244.
woman’s domestic role, especially in ceramics, as seen in the high number of kalathoi from the site. The presence of the kalathos, a ceramic shape modeled after the wool basket, supported the importance placed on domestic gender ideologies within Corinthian sanctuaries.

The complex relationship between gender and ritual space produced an image of ancient women that both rejected and complied with typical gender norms in ancient Greece. Religion allowed the Greek patriarchy to manipulate biases in favor of the dominant class, men, and allowed religious ideologies to be reinforced by a rhetoric upheld by and providing profit for power-seeking individuals.26 The emphasis on fertility and motherhood within Demeter’s sanctuary was one example of the manipulation employed by the Greek patriarchy. Religion provided freedom to women while reminding them of their place and responsibilities to society.

The sanctuary of Demeter provided a panoramic view of the gulf of Corinth with the height of Acrocorinth looming at the average person’s back. Demeter’s sanctuary, however, was not the only site present on Acrocorinth (as explained in chapter two). Eight other deities were present on the road leading to Acrocorinth in the Greek period: Helios, Rhea, Hera, Ananke, Bia, and the Moirai. To walk up to Acrocorinth, to the Temple of Aphrodite at the top, one passed entirely into a sacred landscape that emphasized time and inescapable fate while highlighting fertility, marriage, and motherhood. If religion afforded woman some room to maneuver within the patriarchal power structure of Greece, what was the typical woman’s relationship to religion and sanctuaries? When a woman trekked up the road to the base of Acrocorinth and came across Demeter’s sanctuary spread across the hill, what was the purpose of her visit? What type of prayer did the Greek woman whisper in her mind?

Scholarship regarding the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth has primarily focused on the archaeological remains of the sanctuary. The excavation of the site by the American School of Classical Studies in Athens began in 1960 and concluded in 1975, resulting in eight principal publications by the ASCSA. Six out of the eight volumes align with my own research: Nancy Bookidis and Ronald Stroud provided the main scholarship on the topography and architecture of the site with a clear analysis of the sanctuary’s three terraces during the primary periods of construction.\(^{27}\) Ronald Stroud provided a study of the inscriptions of the sanctuary, with information on pottery dipinti and graffiti.\(^{28}\) Elizabeth Pemberton, Morgan Slane, and Charles Williams focused on the Greek pottery from the site.\(^{29}\) Bookidis provided the main scholarship concerning terracotta sculpture.\(^{30}\) Gloria Merker provided an analysis concerning terracotta figurines of the classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods, and Allaire Brumfield provided a study on votive offerings of the sanctuary.\(^{31}\) Secondary sources on the sanctuary primarily concern the dining rooms of the site, one publication by Bookidis, Julie Hansen, Lynn Snyder, and Paul Goldberg, and an analysis of the Frauenfest scene and the padded dancer by Pemberton.\(^{32}\)


These eight volumes and additional sources on Demeter’s sanctuary touched briefly on the gender ideologies at the sanctuary and in the broader region of Korinthia itself. Scholars studying the sanctuary tended to focus primarily on women in a ritual context. Were women able to dine alone in the various dining rooms of the sanctuary? What type of rituals and sacrifices were common at the sanctuary and how did these relate to women? The study of women and gender at Demeter’s sanctuary and in Corinth itself has been looked at only briefly. This was partly due to the lack of abundant epigraphical and iconographical record in Corinth compared to other poleis like Athens. The site of Ancient Corinth today consists primarily of Roman remains, with only a few excavated Greek areas that were primarily religious. The excavation of domestic housing in the region consisted only of three houses that were excavated (some partially) by the Greek Ephorate of Antiquities and have not received attention from scholars since.33

Scholarship concerning other sanctuaries of Demeter in the Peloponnese is primarily from the twentieth century. The Sanctuary of Demeter and the Dioskouroi in Messene, excavated in 1993 by P. Themelis, received only a few studies with the primary research of the site published by Themelis in 1998.34 The sanctuary itself has not received much attention in the twenty-first century. The Sanctuary of Demeter at Kalyvia Sokhas, at the base of Mount Taygetos, received initial attention when Von Prott discovered the site in the early twentieth century. Later scholars like J. M. Cook and R. V. Nicholls in 1950 and Conrad Stibbe in 1993 published further studies of the sanctuary and Lakonia in general.35 Madeleine Jost provided an extensive overview of Demeter and Kore’s sanctuaries in Sanctuaries et cultes d'Arcadie in

33 Nancy Bookidis, email with author, March 16, 2023.
1985.\textsuperscript{36} Jost mainly studies sanctuaries in Arcadia, an area like other parts of the Peloponnese that has garnered little previous attention. Her attention to Demeter and Kore stemmed from the varied nature of the cults in Arcadia, some partaking in the common Eleusinian practice while others harbored an older Arcadian cult tradition. Michael Jameson, Curtis Runnels, and Tjeerd Van Andel provided an inclusive study of the Southern Argolid in \textit{A Greek Countryside: The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day}.\textsuperscript{37} Jameson, Runnels, and Andel identified 328 sites located in land surveys undertaken from 1972 to 1982, ranging from prehistory to modern day, noting various locations of sanctuaries and altars to Demeter and Kore. The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth remains one of the few sites with extensive archaeological research and existing scholarship on the site. The presence of these other sites of worship, despite the minimal scholarship on them, illustrates the popularity of Demeter in ancient Greece and the significant role her cult once played.

The leading hypothesis of this thesis focuses on the relationship between women and the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, revealing the power dynamic present in the religious landscape of the site. The study of the kalathos, pyxis, and liknon help identify a shift in gender ideologies in the sixth century that exhibits a move towards a wealthier material culture in Corinth. Themes surrounding domestic and agricultural gender roles, as well as feminine virtue and fertility concerns, underline the discussion of this shift in gender ideologies in sixth century Corinth. The subsequent chapters use votive material, combined with modern scholarship surrounding ritual space and practice, to map the terms of the ancient woman’s autonomy within sacred space.


Chapter One  
The Kalathos: A Symbol of Feminine Responsibility

The kalathos, or kalathiskos for smaller pots, appeared as one of most numerous objects in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth. The object was produced in such large numbers that excavators in the sanctuary’s original excavation stopped counting at nearly 2,000 vessels in 1962. The overwhelming number of kalathoi suggests that the shape held significance within the sanctuary and the wider area of Corinth. The ceramic representation of the kalathos was purely a Corinthian tradition, though it also appeared in Argive sanctuaries, primarily the Argive Heraion. In other Greek poleis like Athens, the shape found itself a popular iconographic place marker instead. A broader study of the Corinthian kalathos and its significance to ritual and gendered space has not yet been undertaken. Scholars have lightly touched on the object’s obvious significance in cult, but have not yet considered its connection to domestic gender ideologies.

This chapter uses the kalathos to illustrate a shift in Corinthian gender ideologies that began to idealize material wealth in the sixth century BCE, after Periander’s death in 585 BCE. An analysis of the six kalathos styles follows a general examination of the shape and its importance in other poleis, mainly Athens, before narrowing in on the significance of the individual styles and the feminine responsibilities and virtues each signify. The kalathos shape in general highlights the importance placed on feminine virtue, though each form emphasizes a different aspect of this concern, from traditional wool-work to women's fertility and wealth.

The significance of the kalathos relates to its archetype, the basket. The kalathos was a multifunctional basket that held wool, flowers, and a variety of food like fruit and milk—and in
some cases it was even a container for toys.\(^1\) Kalathos is a broad term that referred to a host of baskets with varying functions and shapes: wool kalathoi had a round base and a cylindrical, wide-mouthed, upward flaring body; funerary or wedding kalathoi were flat bottomed with rectangular, shallow bodies; symposium kalathoi had rounded bases; sacrificial kalathoi or kanca had a wide, flat base that flared upward in various fashions (commonly triangles or curving petal-shaped sides); hunting/fishing kalathoi were small, round bottomed vessels with handles; agricultural kalathoi were either large and deep vessels positioned on the ground below a tree or smaller, handled vessels carried by female fruit pickers.\(^2\) The wool kalathos proved to be one of the most popular basket types at Demeter’s sanctuary and highlights the importance placed on wool-work.

Textiles appeared prominently in Greek sanctuaries, primarily those of female deities.\(^3\) Inventory lists from Athens and Tanagra identify women as the primary dedicators of textiles and mark the purpose of these votive offerings as related to transitional stages in a woman’s life, namely puberty, marriage, and childbirth.\(^4\) Dedicating votive offerings encompassed the role of establishing and maintaining a relationship between man and a god.\(^5\) Dedications of textiles and other related votives, like the kalathos, at sanctuaries were a physical representation of female concerns expressed in the offerings.

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\(^2\) Jessica Pettitt, “A Basket Case Study: Attic Basketry from Iconography to Production” (master’s thesis, the University of Edinburgh, 2016), 28-32.

\(^3\) Textiles that appeared in sanctuaries of male deities were often few and were either symbolic of wealth or inherited from goddesses; Cecilie Brons, *Gods and Garments: Textiles in Greek Sanctuaries in the 7th to the 1st Centuries BC* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2017), 47-48.

\(^4\) Brons, *Gods and Garments*, 129.

Demeter’s sanctuary showed a strong female presence and the concerns women placed on feminine virtue and responsibility in the dedication of multiple votives related to textile work other than the kalathos. A recent publication on Demeter’s sanctuary, focused on the miscellaneous terracotta finds from the site, illustrated, and analyzed this concern in the dedications of loom weights, spindle whorls, and spools. One hundred and seventy-eight loom weights and fragments were excavated from Demeter’s sanctuary, in addition to eight spindle whorls and spools. Most of the loom weights belonged to the fifth century, with only a few belonging to the sixth century and almost none to the seventh century. Klinger suggested that the practice of dedicating loom weights in the sixth and fifth centuries replaced an earlier archaic tradition of dedicating actual textiles in the sanctuary. The replacement of traditional practices in the archaic period was not an uncommon event. The kalathos itself suggested Corinth was experiencing shifting traditions in the sixth century (explored later) and the absence of loom weights prior to that period could possibly be a similar result. The popularity of the kalathos in Demeter’s sanctuary and others throughout Greece emphasized the importance placed on textile work.

Information regarding the function of kalathoi shapes mainly derives from Attic iconographic scenes or the few literary sources that mention the presence of a kalathos in passing. Attic iconographic scenes mainly depict kalathoi in domestic, funerary, or religious settings. Kalathoi placed inside domestic settings reiterate gendered ideologies put forth by

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7 Klinger, Miscellaneous Finds, 127.
8 Klinger, Miscellaneous Finds, 130.
ancient sources like Plato, who discussed the skillfulness of women in domestic work in his 

*Republic*:

> ἥ μακρολογῶμεν τὴν τε ύφαστικὴν λέγοντες καὶ τὴν τῶν ποπάνων τε καὶ ἐψημάτων θεραπείαν ἐν οἷς δὴ τι δοκεῖ τὸ γυναικεῖον γένος εἶναι, οὐ καὶ καταγελαστότατον ἐστὶ πάντων ἡττώμενον; ¹⁰

Need I waste time in speaking of the art of weaving and the management of cakes and anything boiled, which women do appear to excel, and which for her to be outdone by a man is of all things the most absurd?

Plato captured a common ideology amongst Athenians and perhaps most of the Greco-Roman world in the classical period (480-323 BCE): a woman’s talent in domestic chores (that far exceeds a man) was not as surmountable as a man’s own talent in everything else. Domestic work was of far more importance in ancient times. It could involve the processing of raw materials like grain and wool into usable forms, the nurturing of children, animals, and plants, and the management of the household in wealthier families. ¹¹ The woman’s own skilled position within the household, however, failed to meet the standards needed for appropriate comparison to masculine labor.

Plato’s suggestion of common disregard towards domestic work is evident in Attic iconographic scenes. Imported scenes strayed from depicting active domestic work. Scenes of women at leisure, instead, grew popular in the classical period, at the end of the Persian War. The presence of kalathoi in leisure scenes often served as a marker for a domestic setting, placing the scene within a household. Imported Attic scenes diverged from exported Attic scenes. Instead of depicting the physical aspect of domestic work prevalent

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¹¹ Lewis, *the Athenian Woman*, 151.
in scenes outside of Athens, as in figure 1.1, imported Attic scenes used the kalathos as a marker of domestic space. Scenes of leisure in imported Attic pottery were indicative of an Athenian ideal that strayed from a preoccupation that reinforced stereotypes of respectable women in other places such as Italy. The commonality of active domestic work portrayed in exported Attic pottery scenes, compared to the popularized scenes of leisure illustrated in imported iconography, reflected the bias put forth by ancient sources like Plato. Plato’s act of disregarding the importance and skill of domestic work was concurrent with domestic scenes emphasizing leisure. Whether Corinthians exhibited a similar disregard for domestic work is unclear due to the lack of literature on Corinth.

The kalathos acted as an indicator of private, feminine space within households in both exported and imported iconography but it is unclear whether it was a conducive marker of the fabled gynaikonitis or woman’s room. The purpose and existence of the gynaikonitis is heavily debated amongst scholars. The existence of such a space introduced a gender construct wrapped around a double-edged sword: the woman’s exclusion from certain areas of the home (the dining room) symbolized her high status as a wife but simultaneously excluded her from influential networks and important information, reflecting a lack of power embodied by the composition of gender and space within classical domestic buildings. The woman’s exclusion from these spaces was likely circumstantial and not enforced routinely throughout the day. Rather, the presence of strangers (primarily men) would either push women deeper into the sprawling houses of the classical period or require they don a veil.

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12 Lewis, The Athenian Woman, 147.
14 Two veiled figurines were found at Demeter’s sanctuary on Acrocorinth, one plastic ware and one kalathos protome head; Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth, C-65-543, C-65-36.
The relationship between public and private space was fluid in nature, evident in the common practice of veiling women outside the household. Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones analyzed the practice of veiling, touching on the veil's role in the fluid nature of private and public space.\textsuperscript{15} The relationship between ancient Greek private and public space was more akin to Middle East veiling standards that go back as far as the thirteenth century BCE than modern Western ideals of privacy. Llewellyn-Jones drew this contrast and highlighted periods of time when public space in the Muslim world became gender-specific, allowing women to exist in public space with no men and vice versa.\textsuperscript{16} Ancient sources appear to reiterate a similar concern of intertwining gendered space. Xenophon in book seven of \textit{Oikonomikos} stressed the idea that respectable women should be or were bound to their household and rarely seen in public places like markets.\textsuperscript{17} Xenophon’s account may relate primarily to wealthy upper-class women, but Plutarch supported the presence of wealthy women outside of the home, reiterating an account of free-born women venturing out to see the Acropolis.\textsuperscript{18} Aristophanes and other playwrights mention working women in the marketplace.\textsuperscript{19} The ancient sources seem at odds with each other in some accounts like Xenophon’s, but it would have been virtually impossible for poor families to keep women secluded within the household. The option of the veil removed the fear of uncontrolled intermingling between men and women, placing women once again behind a secluded screen that traversed the boundaries of private and public space.

\textsuperscript{16} Llewellyn-Jones, “Aphrodite’s Turtoise,” 192.
\textsuperscript{17} Xenophon, \textit{Bibliotheca Pastorum: The Economist of Xenophon}, translated by Alexander D. O. Wedderburn and W. Gershom Collingwood (London; Kent: Ellis and White; George Allen, 1876), 7.22-23.
The veil allowed women to move more freely in public space while also allowing women to move freely within their own households. The idea of the gynaikonitis became an ideology that was attached to a woman rather than a physical, unmoving space. The intertwining of public and private space often meant the household held both at varying times. In the presence of strangers, women quickly donned a veil or moved deeper into the household. In the absence of strangers, women moved freely throughout the home. Veiling became popular in Homeric and archaic Greece, a tradition introduced by the spread of eastern fashions into Greece. Evidence of the veiling trend in archaic Greece appears in Corinth, particularly reflected in the protome heads attached to kalathoi and pyxides (discussed later). Multiple protomes wielded traces of cloaks and veils over the women’s hair, supporting the traditional use of veils like the pharos-veil (a cloak-like garment) in Demeter’s sanctuary and Corinth. Prior to the archaic period, the veil did not have the function of covering the woman in public space. In the Bronze Age (3500-1200 BCE), the veil appeared primarily in a religious context, and in the geometric period (900-650 BCE.), the veil appeared in a funerary context. The function of the veil in the archaic and classical periods illustrated a new treatment of women and the safeguarding of their appearance outside of private space.

The kalathos, much like the veil, was a marker of feminine space that was often transparent and ever shifting. The kalathos, in turn, held important cultural value as a common

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21 Llewellyn-Jones, "Veil-Styles in the Ancient Greek World," in Aphrodite’s Tortoise, 43-44.
Figure 1.2: Map of Demeter's Sanctuary Including the Findspots of the Eleven Groups, Pemberton, *Greek Pottery*, Plan A.
votive object found in sanctuaries, especially those of Demeter and Hera. The vessel’s imitation of the wool basket suggested that the presence and volume of the ceramic embodied a direct reflection of gender ideologies within religious space. In 1960, excavators attempted to count the kalathiskoi present at Demeter’s sanctuary. Beginning in the excavation year of 1961, excavators counted more than two thousand kalathiskoi fragments before stopping, concluding that the kalathiskoi was the predominant ceramic in the sanctuary. The following years, especially 1962 and 1964/1965, led to equally extensive findings of kalathiskoi. Elizabeth Pemberton provides the main study of the sanctuary’s pottery in *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: The Greek Pottery*. In this study, she catalogues more than six hundred pottery fragments with a range of shapes dating from the seventh century to the second century. The wide range of pottery Pemberton analyzed primarily aided in dating the development of the sanctuary while revealing cult activity through the study of pottery shapes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Findings (kalathiskoi)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Upper Terrace</td>
<td>LPC</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Middle Terrace</td>
<td>6th cent.</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Middle Terrace</td>
<td>6th/5th cent.</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Middle Terrace</td>
<td>5th cent.</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Middle Terrace</td>
<td>6th/5th cent.</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Middle Terrace</td>
<td>Later 4th cent.</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Middle Terrace</td>
<td>4th/3rd cent.</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Lower Terrace</td>
<td>3rd cent.</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Upper Terrace</td>
<td>4th/3rd cent.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10/11</td>
<td>Lower Terrace</td>
<td>3rd/2nd cent.</td>
<td>15/13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1.3: Chart of the Eleven Deposit Groups

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The majority of kalathoi dated to the earlier period of the sanctuary (seventh to sixth century) and mainly appeared in the upper and middle terraces in eleven individual deposits of pottery, laid out in the map in figure 1.2. The eleven groups of pottery in figures 1.2 and 1.3 illustrated the prominence of the kalathos in Demeter’s sanctuary, especially between the seventh and fourth centuries. The kalathos appeared in various styles throughout the sanctuary’s history.

The earliest styles of the kalathos, outlined in figure 1.4, appear in six shapes: the flaring, the handmade, the basket, the perforated, the concave, and the miniature. The flaring, one of the earlier styles of the shape, remained strong throughout the centuries, with over 100 kalathoi, five of them miniatures, counted in the eleven groups. The handmade style appeared in the seventh century in five examples, three of those miniatures. The basket style, like the handmade, appeared in the seventh century in eight examples, seven of them miniatures. The basket style, like the handmade, disappeared in the fifth century as the sanctuary gained prominence in Corinthia. Pemberton’s documentation of the six main styles of the general kalathiskos shape revealed the prominence of the concave style, particularly the third and fourth types in the sanctuary that yielded more than 184 type 3 kalathoi, ten of those miniatures, and 149 type 4 kalathoi. The last style, the miniature kalathiskoi dedicated at the sanctuary, appeared mainly in the middle terrace in a variety of styles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shape Style</th>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Handmade</td>
<td>LPC to Early Classical</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flaring</td>
<td>LPC to Hellenistic</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basket</td>
<td>LPC to Early Classical</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perforated</td>
<td>LPC to Early Classical</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concave Type 1</td>
<td>LPC to Early Classical</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concave Type 2</td>
<td>LPC to Mid-Classical</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concave Type 3</td>
<td>Late 6th cent. to Late Classical</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concave Type 4</td>
<td>Late Classical to Hellenistic</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1.4: Chart of Kalathos Styles and Numbers at Demeter's Sanctuary
explored later. Each pottery style spoke of different gender ideologies that wielded importance in the sanctuary, from those that emphasized feminine domestic responsibility in direct portrayal of the wool basket or highlighted the continued use of Early Iron Age (1200-900 BCE) traditions, to the clear shift in expressions of material wealth in new emerging styles.

**Flaring kalathos**

The first and earliest of these kalathos styles, the flaring, had immense popularity in the archaic sanctuary. This style exhibited a close association to wool work due to the shape’s similarity to the wool basket seen in literature and depicted in iconography. The flaring kalathos was one of the earlier kalathos styles, introduced in the late protocorinthian period (650-630 BCE) and continuously appearing throughout the archaic and classical periods. The style was directly modeled from the wool kalathos, a material object closely associated with wool work, specifically in its use for gathering and storing raw wool, as well as processing wool into yarn. The ceramic kalathos mostly appeared in sanctuaries of Hera and Demeter, a reflection of both goddesses’ strong association with the domestic household and womanhood. In Attica, the prominence associated with the ceramic shape in Corinthia was expressed in the depiction of the wool basket in Attic iconographic scenes. The wool kalathos primarily appeared in domestic settings, either marking the scene within the household (a later development in the 460s) or the physical usage of the shape in association with wool work (i.e. women holding balls of yarn over a kalathos, carding wool from a kalathos, weighing lumps of wool in a balance).

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25 See Attic red-figure hydria, Houston, Museum of Fine Arts 80.95, 470-460 B.C.; Attic red-figure pyxis, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1117, c. 460 B.C.
placed significant meaning on wool work, making it an ideological marker of a gender role closely associated with feminine virtue that highlighted the woman’s prominent role in the domestic household through sedentary labor. The style specifically reflected an importance placed on respectable feminine virtues highlighted by idealistic domestic labor like wool work. When a woman married and moved from her family’s household to her husband’s, part of her dowry consisted of the textiles she had created or were passed down prior to the marriage. The kalathos was a symbol of acceptable feminine virtue that served to benefit the family’s status and wealth.

The prominence of the kalathos within Demeter’s sanctuary suggests that Corinthians placed similar importance as Athenians on the kalathos. This importance became tangible in the physical representation of a shape whose prototype captured one of the primary responsibilities of women and reinforced acceptable feminine values and gender roles within Demeter's sanctuary. The early prominence of the flaring style in the archaic sanctuary suggests that the shape wielded importance as an ideological marker of gender ideologies within Demeter’s sanctuary and Corinth itself. The flaring kalathos introduced gender ideologies that revolved around a significance attached to wool work, signifying the woman’s ability to manage a

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26 Lewis, *The Athenian Woman*, 153
27 The transfer of textiles upon marriage is supported by ancient sources. Nancy Bookidis described a similar tradition occurring in the village sitting on top of Ancient Corinth up until the 1960s; Bookidis, email to author, February 15, 2022.
household, care for children, and contribute to the overall economy of the *oikos*. Wool work embodied a set of feminine values attached to an idealized image of female virtue that reflected a woman’s role and capability as a wife. The flaring kalathos called directly on this symbolism in its mirroring of the pot’s prototype.

The flaring shape first appeared in the late protocorinthian period, quickly becoming the predominant kalathiskos style at the sanctuary. Pemberton’s study of the Greek pottery in 1989 analyzed one hundred flaring kalathiskoi, representing a fraction of the uncatalogued inventory of the kalathiskos style. Earlier examples of the shape at Demeter’s sanctuary were identifiable by their flat bottoms and flaring walls, often consisting of thin bands of glaze (occasionally with added red or purple) on exterior and interior walls, normally in groups of two located on the rim, center, and bottom of the pot. This style was consistent throughout the LPC and into the classical period, when the shape began to appear in smaller numbers, replaced in prominence by the concave kalathos. Before the popularity of the concave kalathos in the second half of the sixth century, the flaring gained the status of the most popular kalathos style in Demeter’s sanctuary. The introduction of the concave kalathos in the sixth century removed the flaring’s overwhelming popularity at the site, but the shape continued to appear throughout the archaic and classical periods.

The flaring kalathos’s basic shape and direct imitation of the wool basket likely explains the longevity witnessed in the style’s lifespan in the sanctuary. The shape, one of the earliest seen in the sanctuary, helped introduce domestic gender ideology associated with feminine virtue. The direct link between the flaring kalathos and the wool basket called on ideologies that emphasized the importance of wool work and textiles in the oikos. Working textiles were a skill women spent
years nurturing before entering marriage and was a sign of wealth within the family and the household. The flaring kalathos’s popularity throughout the sanctuary in the archaic and classical periods spoke to the importance placed on this gender ideology surrounding female responsibility and virtue.

**Concave Kalathos**

The concave kalathos appeared shortly after the flaring shape in the LPC period. The style specifically supported a turn towards a domestic gender ideology that centered around wealth rather than uphold feminine values associated with domestic work. Its four phases illustrated the evolution of the general shape in its adaptation of the concave-sided pyxis in the archaic and classical sanctuary. The shape first began to move away from the true kalathos shape in the archaic period with the introduction of the type 1 concave kalathos in the LPC. Type 1, seen in figure 6, saw the development of a beveled rim and concave wall, slightly pulling away from the flaring style but keeping the style's key characteristic, a flat bottom. Type 2, pictured in figure 1.7, appeared in the mid-sixth century and is characterized by the early development of a beveled foot and stressed rim that become more prominent and synchronized in type 3. The kalathos permanently diverged from the imitated kalathos shape at the end of the sixth century with the appearance of the type 3 concave kalathos, seen in figure 8. Compared to earlier kalathos styles, type 3 developed the black and red style, creating a darker look and a more uniform shape
compared to earlier styles. The concave style quickly rose in popularity with the introduction of
this third type in the late sixth century. The style began to degrade in the later fifth century with
the introduction of the type 4 concave kalathos in figure 1.9. The type 4 kalathos imitated the
form of type three, though it rid itself of any decoration on the ceramic.

The adaptation of the concave pyxis into the kalathos style illustrates the shape’s
divergence from domestic symbolism to wealthy materialism, an ideal that grew in popularity
with the introduction of the type 3 concave kalathiskos shape at the end of the sixth century. The
pyxis was one of the few ceramic shapes closely associated with women, used for jewelry and
cosmetics, and specifically seen in the woman’s room, the gynaikonitis. The disappearance of
earlier kalathos styles closely followed the introduction of the type 3 concave kalathiskos shape
at the end of the sixth century and suggests that a cultural and gendered shift took place around
this period. Pemberton’s inventory of the various kalathos styles found throughout the sanctuary
clearly showed the popularity of the type 3 concave kalathos. Type 3’s uniform shape and design,
combined with the high number found at the site, reflected not only the popularity of the kalathos
shape but of the sanctuary itself during this time period. Demeter’s sanctuary saw immense
development during the fifth century in the construction of multiple dining rooms and a theatrical
area added to the upper terrace of the site.28 The growing popularity of the type 3 style
foreshadowed the increase in the site’s popularity in the fifth century. The introduction of the
type 3 style suggests that the shape led to the disappearance of the handmade, perforated, and
basket styles, along with the flaring styles decrease in numbers.29 The popularity of the style in
the mid to late sixth century coincided with the general introduction of wealthy materialism in
objects discussed later in this chapter and in chapter two. The concave style embodied a

18, no 3 (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 266.
gendered and cultural shift that took place in sixth century Corinth, one that saw the growth in expressions of material wealth in objects like the concave kalathos.

Handmade

The handmade kalathos is another early style that was introduced into the archaic sanctuary and continued in use until the classical period. Pemberton provided five handmade examples in her study of the sanctuary’s pottery, three being miniatures (figure 10), that served as models of hundreds of similar kalathoi excavated from the sanctuary.\(^{30}\) The five examples seen in Pemberton’s study of the site’s pottery primarily belong to the LPC period, like the flaring kalathos, appearing popular in the archaic before later disappearing in the classical period. Handmade pottery in general appeared more prominently in the geometric and archaic periods and may explain the handmade kalathos’s loss of popularity in the fifth century. In the Argolid and Corinthia, handmade vessels first appeared in the late helladic IIIC (LHIIIC, 1200-

\(^{30}\) Pemberton, *Greek Pottery*, 25.
1050 BCE).\textsuperscript{31} Handmade pottery in the LHIIC fell primarily under domestic function with deposits identified as ritualistic in the EIA minor compared to more popular domestic settings.\textsuperscript{32}

![Handmade Kalathiskoi, Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth, left to right: C-62-700, C-62-262, C-62-685, LPC, photograph by the author.](image)

Typical Greek sanctuaries primarily rose with the appearance of the polis in the archaic period, with exceptions like the sanctuary of Apollo at Kalapodi. This sanctuary appeared first in the Bronze Age and survived into the EIA unlike other settlements.\textsuperscript{33} Handmade pottery, primarily cooking ware, appeared in the sanctuary, growing in popularity and usage in the LHIIC before seeing a decline in the archaic period.\textsuperscript{34} The rest of the Greek world showed an absence of large ritual deposits in the EIA, compared to the archaic and classical periods, coinciding with the belief that ritual activity was practiced using a means that was unidentifiable using archaeological remains (e.g., open-air burnt sacrifices).\textsuperscript{35} The few ritual deposits from the

\textsuperscript{31} Sara Strack, “Regional Dynamics and Social Change in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age: A Study of Handmade Pottery from Southern and Central Greece” (Ph.D. diss., the University of Edinburgh, 2007), 207.

\textsuperscript{32} Strack, “Handmade Pottery,” 199.

\textsuperscript{33} The site continues well into the Roman period.


\textsuperscript{35} Strack, “Handmade Pottery,” 199.
EIA resemble types and assemblages from settlements, such as large storage shapes and cooking/coarse ware, suggesting activities that were practiced within a community (the time-consuming nature of cooking, especially baking, automatically identifies the activity as feminine domestic work, men primarily appearing in the act of cooking meat). The sanctuary at Kalapodi reflects the lack of votive material in the EIA, instead showing more pottery related to domestic material, though votive material is not wholly absent. Votive material at Demeter’s sanctuary helped identify the life span of the sanctuary. Handmade coarse ware, along with a few handmade fine ware vessels, appeared at what was once a farm settlement before the space transitioned into a sacred site. The lack of votive objects found at the site in the EIA suggests that the space did not become ritually active until the seventh century. The kalathos, a shape that appeared in other Corinthian sanctuaries in the geometric period, remained conspicuously absent from Demeter’s sanctuary until the seventh century, when it quickly became the predominant votive. The early appearance of the handmade kalathoi in Demeter’s sanctuary serves to highlight a tradition reminiscent of the EIA.

Handmade kalathoi in Demeter’s sanctuary and handmade cooking/coarse ware in EIA sanctuaries, though appearing centuries apart, suggests the nostalgic nature of the handmade style in Demeter’s sanctuary was a result of continued traditions from a previous egalitarian society in Corinth. The onset of the EIA meant a profound change in the economic context of ceramic production from a large-scale market to a small-scale local/domestic market. The sedentary nature of Greek settlements, combined with noncomplex, small egalitarian

populations, meant that the sexual division of labor was less defined during the EIA. The decorative nature of Greek pottery during this period, particularly the crossover with woven designs, supports a theory put forth by modern scholarship, that women potters were in abundance during the EIA. Handmade kalathiskoi at Demeter’s sanctuary suggests that the EIA practice of domestic ceramic production carried on into the archaic period, resulting in a religious tradition that encompassed votive pottery produced in households. The relatively early date of most handmade kalathoi, combined with the feminine votive nature of the kalathos itself, suggests that the style originated from an EIA egalitarian society that once operated in Corinth.

The history of the Potters’ Quarter, the central ceramic workshop in Corinth, supports the idea of the household production of handmade kalathoi in Demeter’s sanctuary in the absence of handmade kalathoi in the site. The Potters’ Quarter was in use from the geometric to the late corinthian periods. The space helped outline the general presence of the kalathos in the polis, where it first appeared in a geometric grave near the Potters’ Quarter. After the geometric example, the kalathos goes undocumented for nearly two centuries until the shape gained popularity in the seventh century. The handmade kalathoi popular at Demeter’s sanctuary do not appear at the Potter’s Quarter. The absence of the kalathiskoi style at the site suggests that the style was potentially more commonly produced in households compared to ceramic workshops.

Ronald Stroud describes votive material from Demeter’s sanctuary as of “local origin and modest value, but their sheer numbers attest [to] the high regard in which the cult was held by the common people of Corinth.” The history of Corinth under the Bacchiads, the ruling

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40 Morgan, “ Debating Patronage,” 236.
oligarchy established ca. 750, and the subsequent tyranny under the Cypselids certainly placed the citizens of Corinth under more strain and likely made it difficult for clear expressions or idealization of wealth within the polis. The handmade kalathos certainly served as a votive that was inexpensive and readily available. Its absence from the Potter’s Quarter may be explained by a change in household ceramic production, a practice that was common in the EIA but fell out of use by 800 BCE in Corinth.\textsuperscript{43} The handmade style’s first appearance under Cypselus’s reign from 657 to 627 in the LPC period, one of the earliest stages in the sanctuary, symbolizes the immediate continuation of egalitarian traditions in handmade pottery from the EIA.

The popularity of the handmade style in the early stages of Demeter’s sanctuary, and its absence in the Potter’s Quarter in the same period, coincided with a tradition stemming back to the EIA. The lack of handmade kalathoi in the Potter’s Quarter from the seventh and sixth centuries likely means that the practice was occurring elsewhere in Corinth, such as households. Handmade pottery prior to the seventh century was an indication of the rural nature of Corinth prior to its unification under the Bacchiads.\textsuperscript{44} Scholars like Carl Roebuck and Catherine Morgan have argued for the presence of this rural community prior to the establishment of the greater polis of Corinth in the mid-eighth century, one that leaned towards egalitarian tendencies prior to the establishment of the oligarchy. The handmade style’s appearance with deposits from one of the earliest stages of the sanctuary’s development (group one in figures 1 and 2) illustrates a direct introduction of an egalitarian tradition in the handmade shape.

The early nature of the handmade style in Demeter’s sanctuary means that the shape yields more similarities to the flaring style than the later concave-kalathiskos, resulting in a shape with a strong association to the wool kalathos. The handmade kalathiskos’s symbolization

\textsuperscript{44} Roebuck, “Some Aspects of Urbanization in Corinth,” 105.
of wool-work introduced a gender ideology centered around feminine virtue. Compared to other kalathoi, however, the handmade style directly contradicted the dainty aspect often associated with wool work, especially considering the possibility that women produced handmade kalathoi themselves. The popularity of the handmade kalathiskos in the LPC coincided with a period following enormous growth in Corinthian history between 747 to 650 BCE, when the polis became unified under the Bacchiads. The establishment of the polis during this period suggests that the popularity of the handmade kalathiskos traces back to an EIA tradition and created a personal link between the polis and religious space while reinforcing domestic gender ideologies in the archaic period.

**Perforated**

Perforated kalathiskos first appeared, like the flaring and handmade, in the earlier period of the sanctuary. The perforated style directly imitated the natural form of the wool basket through various triangular/vertical holes in the ceramic shape, creating a tangible ceramic representation of the textural quality of woven material. This specific style shares the same shape as the flaring style but created a stronger physical link to the act of weaving compared to the other styles because of its perforated form. The lifespan of the perforated form, like the handmade, collapsed under the popularity of the concave form at the end of the sixth century. The concave kalathos overshadowed the domestic gender ideologies introduced by kalathos

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styles such as the perforated form, hinting at a symbolic shift from domestic gender responsibilities enriched with feminine virtue.

Four perforated examples make an appearance in Pemberton’s study of the site’s Greek pottery, each falling under the miniature votive category in size. The four miniature perforated styles, one pictured in figure 11, give a contextual basis for the popular form in the archaic sanctuary and shows a strong resemblance to the popular flaring form, suggesting that the perforated shape conveyed domestic gender ideologies revolving around the importance associated with wool-work. Two of the four catalogued shapes show signs of extensive burning on the interior surface of the ceramics, as do the handmade kalathoi. In addition to burning, the perforated form commonly wielded attached protome heads. The third perforated example

![Figure 1.11: Perforated Kalathiskos, Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth, C-61-247, late 7th through 6th century, photograph by the author.](image1)

![Figure 1.12: Perforated Kalathiskos with attached protome head, Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth, C-65-307, early sixth century, photograph by the author.](image2)

includes a protome of a woman’s head attached to the upper vertical wall of the shape, seen in

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Excavations at Demeter’s sanctuary yielded multiple examples of female protome heads belonging to kalathoi. A total of nineteen protome heads belonging to kalathoi appear in Pemberton's study of the shape dating between 595 to 535, none prior to 600. A total of sixteen wear a polos, a religious head garment, identifying the female protomes as goddesses, likely Demeter, Kore, or Aphrodite. The identification of these deities in the protome heads creates a strong link to fertility in the depiction of goddesses associated with feminine fertility and marriage. In addition, six of the protomes possessed some type of jewelry, typically a necklace. The addition of jewelry became more common in the late corinthian period, though it first appeared in the middle corinthian period. The protomes with jewelry appeared almost immediately after Periander’s death in 585 and hint at the less restrictive treatment of wealth within the polis immediately after the tyrant’s passing.

The shape of the perforated style, combined with the appearance of female protome heads, direct the worshiper’s attention to the ceramic’s imitation of its prototype. The protome heads, identified as goddesses by the polos worn on their head, are likely depictions of Demeter, Kore, or Aphrodite due to their appearance on kalathoi, a shape identified more closely with abundance and fertility rather than with a single goddess. Gender ideologies brought to the forefront by other kalathos styles are equally prevalent in the perforated shape, highlighting domestic responsibilities related to wool-work while additionally serving as a tangible representation of fertility. The later appearance of protome heads in the sixth century specifically called on fertility in their presence on the pots, illustrating a developing concern surrounding

50 There was also a large variety of protome heads belonging to pyxides; Pemberton, *Greek Pottery*, 179.
51 Jewelry also appeared on six female protome heads belonging to pyxides from the LC period.
52 Similar female figurines appear in Gloria Merker’s study of the terracotta figurines as seated figurines sometimes holding a kalathos; Merker, *Terracotta Figurines*, 43.
fertility in the sixth century while exhibiting a clear turn towards freer expressions of material
wealth in the jewelry on the protome heads in the latter half of the sixth century.

Basket

The basket kalathos, the last of the earlier shape styles that disappeared in the early fifth
century, shared its form with the concave kalathos shape. Pemberton provided an analysis of
six examples, two pictured in figures 13 and 14. Each possesses a horizontal handle (or traces of
one) attached to the rim and is decorated with red, black, or brown bands. The basket kalathos
shape draws away from imitation of the wool basket and more closely resembles the kalathos
seen in orchard scenes depicted on Attic pottery. In these scenes, a woman holds a basket while
in an orchard or standing next to a singular fruit tree. These scenes did not necessarily depict the
woman actively picking fruit, rather the woman is often depicted in a manner outside of actual

53 Pemberton, Greek Pottery, 25.
54 Cat. 551-554 concave type 1, cat. 555 and 556 concave type 2, and cat. 557 concave type 3; Pemberton, Greek
Pottery, 173-74.
agricultural labor, often in the company of other figures, normally other women.\textsuperscript{55} Orchard scenes are often symbolic of fertility and are wielded as a metaphor for the parthenos or virgin in the picking of newly ripened fruit.\textsuperscript{56} The basket kalathos was likely closely associated with Kore or Persephone due to this connection to the parthenos.\textsuperscript{57}

The basket kalathos and its association with Kore presents a different gender ideology when compared to the wool basket. It pulls away from signifying the importance of wool work to focusing solely on female fertility. The shape, however, holds one thing in common with other kalathos styles, its relationship to female responsibility. The basket kalathos highlights the responsibility placed on women from youth and emphasized as parthenoi--fertility. Underneath the symbolic notion of fertility woven into the shape of the basket form exists another gender revelation, the presence of women in agriculture. The basket shape and its association with orchards in iconography presents a gender ideology that steps away from the idealization of

\textsuperscript{55} Lewis, \textit{The Athenian Woman}, 208. Lewis suggests the presence of full orchards on farms was not common.
\textsuperscript{56} Lewis, \textit{The Athenian Woman}, 210.
\textsuperscript{57} This connection between the basket shape and Kore may be witnessed in one example from the site, C-61-305, explored under the miniatures.
domestic work and towards working women. Ancient sources like Xenophon pushes forth the idea that women rarely participated in manual field labor, which likely have no basis in reality.\textsuperscript{58} This ideology appears commonly on Athenian iconography and shows a clear contrast between scenes of men ploughing and sedentary women feeding animals (figure 16) or picking fruit (figure 15).\textsuperscript{59} The basket kalathos’ depiction in pottery scenes, even sedentary ones, and its physical appearance in Demeter’s sanctuary suggests the presence of women working in agriculture. The shape’s purpose may be to emphasize fertility and motherhood, but the basic function of the basket and its association to wool-work remains an undercurrent in emphasis on female responsibility.

The basket kalathos helps highlight the symbolic purpose of the kalathos shape in its emphasis on feminine fertility and responsibility when compared to other styles. The earlier

\textsuperscript{58} Studies of Mediterranean subsistence farming suggests there was no way women could be excluded from manual labor; Lewis, \textit{The Athenian Woman}, 204.

\textsuperscript{59} Trinkle, “A Basket Case Study,” 33.
kalathoi styles like the flaring, handmade, and perforated each emphasize an importance placed on wool-work, highlighting skill as a key aspect of feminine virtue. The basket kalathiskos, though placing more emphasis on fertility rather than domestic work, shows equal concern placed on the female role in agriculture. The general kalathos shape as a whole appears to heavily emphasize feminine responsibility throughout its various forms.

**Miniature**

Miniatures were small vase offerings that primarily appeared in the middle terrace of Demeter’s sanctuary. All five kalathoi types appear in miniature form with nearly one hundred included in Pemberton’s study of the site’s pottery. Most miniature pots show signs of burning, along with deliberate breaking, before being deposited at the sanctuary. Miniature kalathiskoi likely held on to their original function as wool baskets in this smaller form. The burnt remains of many of the kalathiskoi are likely a result of the object’s role in a multitude of rituals, from playing a more active role to a passive one in dedications. At the Sanctuary of Artemis at Brauronia, an impressive number of votive kalathoi were found at the site, many still possessing traces of wool, along with burn marks, inside. The dedication of wool with a kalathos likely added an inflammatory element: the wool was set on fire once the votive was dedicated to send a clear message to the deity, likely in hope of garnering favor from the deity. The dedicatory act of burning wool within a kalathos was likely also part of rituals.

The seventh deposit group, illustrated in figure 1 and 2, came from Pit B, which was filled with charred animal bones (piglets), cooking ware, terracotta figurines, and several

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60 Pemberton, *Greek Pottery*, 25.
miniature unpainted kalathoi. The group, though outside of the context of this study in its dating from the fourth and third centuries, illustrates the role of the kalathos in a ritual setting. A closer look at Pit B reveals the deposit’s feminine nature and aligns with a ritual likely conducive to female concern. Most of the pottery found in the pit was unpainted miniature kalathiskoi, distinguishing the space as feminine in the pots’ existing relationship with feminine space. The terracotta figurines, identified as mostly women with a few child figurines, further support the feminine nature previously established by the kalathos shape. Lastly, the remains of piglet bones in the pit distinguish the sacred nature of the pit and the primary deity residing over the ritual—Demeter. The combination of youth and maturity, seen in the bones and figurines, suggests that the pit was a deposit from a ritual concerning fertility, a common concern seen throughout the sanctuary.

The miniature kalathiskoi at Demeter’s sanctuary wielded immense importance as votive objects at the site. Their use in dedication and active role in rites stemmed from the pot’s role as markers for feminine space and their close association to textile production and agricultural work.

Conclusion

The kalathos held one of the most prominent positions in Demeter’s sanctuary. Previous scholars recognized this prominence only addressed but a fraction of the vast number excavated from the sanctuary between 1961 and 1975. The six styles present at the site—flaring, concave, handmade, perforated, basket, and miniature—are evidence of the domestic gender ideologies mobilized at the sanctuary and a shift in these ideologies that took place in the sixth century.
Early shapes had a shorter life span when compared to the concave kalathiskos, the only exception being the flaring and basket types. Earlier shapes like the perforated became tangible symbols that embodied feminine virtues often associated with the ideal gyne or woman. The handmade style exhibits similar gender ideologies to other earlier styles but additionally reflect an earlier tradition that traces back to the existence of an egalitarian society within Corinth. The general kalathos shape symbolizes the significant position wool work held throughout Greek history.

Wool work embodies female domestic labor, emphasizing the importance associated with childcare and household management while providing a skill connected to the wealth of the oikos in resulting textiles. The act itself marked a woman as feminine and virtuous through its connection to the wealth of the oikos.\textsuperscript{62} The prominence of the kalathos in Demeter’s sanctuary means that Corinthians placed significant emphasis on women’s domestic work. This significance is seen in the short-lived styles of the perforated and handmade kalathoi that attempted to imitate the material form of the kalathiskos and in their popularity in the sanctuary in the sixth and early fifth centuries. The rising popularity of the concave kalathiskos at the end of the sixth century saw the introduction of gender ideologies focused more strongly on material wealth rather than domestic responsibility. The presence of the kalathos, especially the increase in the general shape’s popularity in the mid to late sixth century, shows a shift towards a wealthy material culture. This shift is introduced by the wealth often associated with textiles in the original flaring kalathos shape and later emphasized by the popularity of the concave kalathos in the mid to late sixth century.

\textsuperscript{62} Lewis, \textit{The Athenian Woman}, 153
Chapter Two
The Pyxis: A Scene of Dancing Women

On a pale Corinthian vase in the basement of the Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth is an image of dancing women called the Frauenfest scene by scholars. Their hands either clasp those of the next woman or hold wreaths that link the figures together, moving across the ceramic in a controlled and concise manner. The scene echoes the remnants of a symbolic path women underwent when graduating from a virginal maiden, the parthenos, to a woman or gyne. This dance symbolized the transition young women experienced in leaving behind a period of being unattached to man or child and embracing one of familial and societal responsibility.

This chapter analyzes the popularity of the pyxis in Demeter’s sanctuary. The ceramic, mentioned briefly in chapter one, grew particularly popular and replaced the previous style, the concave, in the MC period. The Frauenfest scene makes its earliest appearance on a pyxis-kalathos in Demeter’s sanctuary. The shape possessed traditional elements from the concave pyxis, namely in its walls, while employing characteristics from a kalathos (the lack of a lid and addition of handles). The ritual significance attached to the chain dance and its youthful dancers, combined with the image’s appearance on an object that blends characteristics from two separate pot types, highlights a Corinthian concern regarding fertility in the early sixth century. The blending of two pottery types in this pyxis-kalathos aids in further establishing the beginning of a shift in gender ideologies that lean towards wealth and leisure. This new gender ideology, first explored in the concave kalathos shape from chapter one, shows another early appearance in the pyxis-kalathos shape from the EC period. The earliest appearance of the Frauenfest scene on a pyxis-kalathos leads into a more in-depth analysis of the pyxis shape, particularly in the introduction and mass popularity of a new style in the sixth century. In addition to an analysis of the pyxis shape and the Frauenfest scene, local cemeteries and the geographical placement of
Demeter’s sanctuary show how Corinthians were concerned with fertility in this period. The pyxis illustrates a shift in gender ideologies reflecting a wealthier material culture in mid-sixth century Corinth.

Research on the pyxis and the Frauenfest scene appeared at the time of the excavation of the Heraion at Perachora in the 1930s and the excavation of Demeter's sanctuary in the 1960s but was minimal in the years that followed. Study of the usage and function of the pyxis received little attention from scholars and mostly focused on the development and appearance of its various forms throughout Greece. In Corinth, studies on pyxides primarily appeared in journals cataloguing ceramics from Corinth and Perachora. Pyxides from Demeter’s sanctuary were studied and catalogued by Elizabeth Pemberton in 1989.¹ Pemberton catalogues a total of forty-two pyxides from the site, four being pyxis-kalathoi, and an additional eight appear in the inventories from the eleven groups. Pemberton’s catalogue entries of the shape reflect the larger popularity trends and timelines of certain styles like the concave and convex pyxides.² The role of the shape in the sanctuary was not discussed by Pemberton since it was not clearly associated with a specific location within the site. Outside of Corinth, this treatment of the pyxis remained the same. This chapter analyzes the appearance of a new pyxis style, the convex, that quickly led to the shape’s popularity in the sixth century, as well as the function of the pyxis in domestic, commercial, and grave spaces.

Studies of the pyxis have been mainly centered in Athens where the shape was identified in domestic housing, cemeteries, and commercial spaces like brothel buildings. The general function of the pyxis shape and the symbolic nature of the ceramic was studied by Stefan

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¹ Pemberton, *Greek Pottery*.
² The catalogue provided by Pemberton reflects a larger study of pottery shapes from inventory lots. The inventory lot books from Demeter’s sanctuary primarily describe pottery lots with generic descriptive language, leaving Pemberton’s work on the Greek pottery the most conclusive resource for pottery numbers at the site.
Schmidt in 2009. Schmidt analyzed the aesthetic and thematic choices in Athenian iconography on pyxides, correlating how these ceramic scenes may have reflected or been affected by the proper use of the pot. In Corinth, a similar study using iconography would be nearly impossible since the Corinthian style favored scenes of animals rather than the figural scenes favored in Athens. The Frauenfest scene, though not solely identified with the pyxis, aid in uncovering the introduction of gender concern in its appearance on pyxides from Demeter’s sanctuary and the Heraion at Perachora.

The Frauenfest scene or the chain dance was first identified within Corinthia in the excavation of the Heraion at Perachora in the 1930s. In a volume focused on the pottery from the site from 1962, a study of eighteen Frauenfest scenes was included. Almost thirty years later in 1963, the scene garnered attention once again in a publication by Ines Jucker. Jucker studied the appearance of the scene in Perachora and elsewhere, providing evidence for the scene's popularity in the broader Greek world. In the excavations at Demeter's sanctuary in the 1960s and 1970s, the scene appeared once more. Pemberton provided a brief study of the picture in her general catalogue of the Greek pottery from the site before providing a more in-depth study of the Frauenfest scene in 2000. Pemberton analyzed the scene in connection to cult activity at Perachora and Demeter’s sanctuary, studying the different implications of the Frauenfest scene

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Figure 2.1: Pyxis-kalathos, Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth, C-61-279, Early Corinthian, photograph by the author.

Figure 2.2: Kotyle, Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth, C-61-463, Middle to Late Corinthian, photograph by the author.

Figure 2.3: Red-ground Krater, Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth, C-65-563, Late Corinthian, photograph by the author.

Figure 2.4: Phiale, Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth, C-62-730, Late Corinthian, photograph by the author.

Figure 2.5: Attic Black-figured Oinochoe, Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth, C-65-174, End of Sixth Century, photograph by the author.

Figure 2.6: Bottle, Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth, C-64-223, Middle Corinthian, photograph by the author.
when compared to padded dancer scenes. Pemberton does not clearly address why Corinth expressed a concern regarding fertility and parthenoi during the sixth century and instead focused on the significance of the scene in ritual and sacred settings. The scene’s popularity certainly suggests a concern regarding fertility from the late seventh century to the mid sixth century in Corinth.

The earliest appearance of the Frauenfest scene in Demeter’s sanctuary is on a pyxis-kalathos from the early corinthian period (EC 620-590 BCE), pictured in figure 2.1. Four more pots with the scene followed in the middle corinthian (590-570 BCE) and late corinthian (570-550 BCE) periods. A kotyle and a bottle, figures 2.2 and 2.6, belong to the MC period; and a red-ground krater and a phiale, figures 2.3 and 2.4, belong to the LC period. At the end of the sixth century, an Attic black-figured oinochoe, figure 2.5, appeared well after the other ceramics mentioned. The image’s additional presence in the Heraion at Perachora followed a similar time frame: the scene appeared primarily in the first half of the sixth century before completely disappearing. The nature of the dance depicted in the Frauenfest scene, a symbolic rite ushering parthenoi into womanhood, expresses a clear concern with fertility in the early sixth century. The earliest appearance of the Frauenfest scene on a shape closely associated with feminine space, the pyxis, echoes the emphasis placed on female fertility and responsibility within Demeter’s sanctuary.

The Pyxis

The Frauenfest scene first appeared on a pyxis-kalathos in the late seventh/early sixth century. The ceramic was found in the early years of the sanctuary's excavation, in 1961. Two fragments of the shape were discovered, making up a partial profile wall piece. Along the bottom
stand the outline of eight women facing right, their hands connected and holding an object, likely
a wreath. The women are linked together in a chain dance, a ritualistic movement observed
during festivals and rites in various sanctuaries across the Greek world, symbolic of the rite they
called upon to usher matured girls, parthenoi, into womanhood. The presence of the Frauenfest
scene on a pyxis aids in emphasizing gendered expectations attached to fertility and motherhood,
concerns that are emphasized by the already feminine nature of the pyxis.

The pyxis first appeared in the early sixth
century and quickly earned a position as one of the
most popular small non-drinking vessels at the
sanctuary. The concave style is one of the first
styles to appear. The concave style was identified
by the way its walls slope inward before slightly
flaring out. The earliest example of this shape dates
to the EC period before the style lost popularity in
the MC period, replaced by the convex style seen in figure 8. The convex shape prevailed from
the MC period to the fifth century, when the shape was at the height of its popularity. The convex
pyxis employs a more globular form reminiscent of geometric styles. The form eventually
disappeared in the fourth century. Pemberton analyzes the pyxides from the site, mainly
cataloguing decorated pottery and leaving fragments that were too small to catalogue or had
indecipherable designs out of her study.

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6 The disappearance of the concave style in the MC period could be a result of the kalathos shape adopting this pyxis style into its own.
Pemberton’s catalogue of the pyxis illustrates a shift towards expressing material wealth in the sixth century, near the MC and LC periods when the convex style was introduced and the style quickly rose in popularity. The introduction and popularity of the convex pyxis occurred just before the end of Periander’s tyranny. The establishment of this shape, and its resulting popularity, occurred during a time period when the restraints placed on aristocratic families by Cypselus and Periander were lifted. Aristocratic families were likely more able to present physical expressions of wealth, a fact seen in the popularity of the pyxis and the concave kalathos, after the tyranny of the Cypselids ended. Additionally, the dining rooms further reflect this shift towards a wealthier material culture in Corinth in the sixth century (as discussed in chapter three). The pyxis’s innate connection to feminine space likely meant these expressions of wealth and leisure at the sanctuary were likely directed towards women.

The presence of the Frauenfest scene on the pyxis-kalathos foreshadows this shift towards wealth and leisure. The scene's appearance on the shape is the earliest (and only) of its kind found at the sanctuary. Aside from the scene, the ceramic shape itself holds meaning in its merging of two major pottery shapes, the kalathos and the pyxis. The two ceramic styles held important connotations for gender ideologies entrenched in gender roles prevalent and upheld within the temenos of Demeter’s sanctuary. The kalathos, a shape discussed in chapter one, is symbolic of the most basic function of a woman’s role in society. It highlights the woman’s domestic responsibilities while upholding and centering Demeter’s role as the primary agricultural goddess. The pyxis, a shape that appeared throughout the sanctuary in various forms, is a ceramic that held the primary function of a jewelry or makeup box. This most famous function, however, changes in the pyxis’s appearance in commercial and grave contexts.
The pyxis held various functions in domestic, commercial, and grave contexts. Most commonly a pyxis was associated with the woman’s room as a storage container for cosmetics and jewelry in domestic space. Corinth lacks adequate scholarship on pyxides in domestic context primarily due to the lack of excavated and researched domestic housing in the polis. Athens provided insight into the function of pyxides due to extensive scholarship surrounding pottery in domestic space. Brian A. Sparkes, Lucy Talcott, and Gisela M. A. Richter analyzed pyxides that appear in a domestic context in the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries BCE. The scholars reiterate the function of the pyxis as a woman’s object, finding evidence in iconography showing the object in context to women’s quarters and the remnants of cosmetic material like rouge in pyxides, mainly the powder shape, from archaeological sites in Athens.8

Athens borrowed the powder pyxis style from Corinth in the sixth century. The powder pyxis, pictured in figure 2.8, characterized by a flat resting surface with a vertical wall inset from the base of the shape, where a lid slips over the inset wall, was the most common shape that appeared in Attic households. The types that appear in Athens show variations of this type, from tall, rounded lids that slip completely over the base to offset flanges that receive lids with a downturned edge. The powder pyxis, easily the most popular pyxis type to appear in domestic space, supported the shape’s function in storing cosmetics due to the remnants of cosmetic

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products often found in those from Athens. The earlier styles such as the globular/convex shape that appeared in Corinth and other poleis prior to the sixth century were absent from Attic households. The Attic shape’s popularity in domestic space transferred to cemeteries, and it had added significance as a reminder of domestic space in graves. The only place the style lacked a clear function was in sanctuaries, as seen in Demeter’s sanctuary in Corinth. Instead, powder pyxides appeared almost solely in cemeteries.

Despite the powder pyxis’s close association with women in domestic space, its presence in cemeteries cannot be used to identify graves of women. In Corinth, the object appeared throughout the North Cemetery in seventy-four graves, twenty-two for adults and fifty-two for children. The cemetery illustrates how the pyxis, a shape usually associated with women, came under a different usage in grave sites. Instead of signifying gendered space within domestic or religious context, the pyxis became an indicator of youth when found in graves. Nearly half of the child graves found in the North Cemetery yielded pyxides, though there was no indication that these objects accompanied a young girl or boy. The pyxis, in the context of a cemetery, may be identified as an age marker rather than a cosmetic box but that identification does not wholly remove its connection to feminine space. The fact that pyxides appear in so many child burials may be a result of their association with female domestic space, a nurturing marker that was nostalgic of the shape’s appearance and usage in feminine space.

Given the nature of the pyxis, the shape was likely a common household item in families that could afford cosmetics and jewelry. The pyxis shape itself reflects a general turn toward expressing material wealth in Corinth. The ceramic’s growing popularity in Demeter’s sanctuary

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in the sixth and fifth centuries was likely reflected in domestic dwellings in Corinth during the same period (the shape was popular in Athens during the same period). The popularity of the shape’s appearance in graves of children is linked to the popularity of the shape in households. The imitative nature of children may explain the shape’s appearance in their graves. Children often begin to imitate those around them, namely adults, after the first twelve months of their lives. Imitation is a sign of growing independence and was indicative of a need to belong to a social group. Children who saw their mother’s use the pyxis, especially when wealthy materialism became more prevalent in the sixth century, would seek to imitate the mother’s use of the ceramic. The pot, through its enate connection to feminine space through the mother, became equally used by children.

The pyxis’s connection to feminine space also appears in commercial spaces like brothels. In the Athenian Kerameikos, numerous pyxides were found in a building excavated between 1978 and 1981 and named Building Z, a tavern and brothel located in the notorious red-light district. A strong feminine presence was continuously noted throughout Building Z in the remains of loom weights, spindle whorls, and other material related to textile production. The pyxis, often a ceramic closely associated with the woman’s room, potentially appeared in public areas in Building Z, providing a feminine ambiance that extended from the woman’s rooms to the building’s public space. Perhaps the presence of pyxides outside of the clearly defined women’s quarters in the building served as a point of familiar connection and esthetic ambiance between the patrons and women. The pyxis’s connection to feminine space in households was

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reminiscent of its presence in brothels due to the strong feminine influence seen throughout the space. A similar connection could be seen in Demeter’s sanctuary, where an equally strong feminine influence is seen throughout the different levels of the sanctuary in the presence of pottery like kalathoi or likna closely associated with women.

**Parthenoi and the Frauenfest Scene**

Perhaps most famous for its name found in the Parthenon on the Athenian Acropolis, a parthenos was a young maiden who was on the cusp of her sexual awakening. She was not tied to her youthful adolescence, as menstruation ensured this divide, nor was she weighed down by domestic responsibilities like marriage and childrearing. The parthenos existed both within the constraints of the patriarchy and beyond its influence, if only under the guise of freedom, and often in sacred space.

Sacred landscapes often presented an opportunity for women to venture beyond their community without the protection of a male family member.14 The women of Athens often ventured to Eleusis and Brauron to partake in rituals highlighting feminine nature and familial responsibility. The world itself was viewed as an imminent danger to the ancient woman, whether through childbirth or sexual assault. Various stories existed throughout mythology and pottery scenes that illustrated the precarious protection women possessed against men. Close-knit communities protected women by preventing complete freedom of movement, removing any danger of sexual assault present outside these communities.15

Accounts of rape dated back to the *Iliad* and appeared throughout Greek mythology and history. The most common accounts were mentioned in relation to war. In an article by Kathy

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14 Goff, *Citizen Bacchae*, 36.
Gaca, martial rape was described as “openly performed martial acts of sexually penetrative aggression in which girls and young women wanted alive are subjected to mores of generally survivable rape, whereas female captives not wanted alive or used as vehicles of vengeance and interrogative torture are subjected to gang rape and other sadistic practices that are often lethal in effect.” Accounts of sexual assault that led to a woman’s eventual death were common in Greek literature. Herodotus describes a scene of Phocian women who were gang raped during the Persian War by their Thessalian captors:

καὶ τινὰς διώκοντες ἐῖλον τῶν Φωκέων πρὸς τοῦ στόρι ὄρεσι, καὶ γυναῖκας τινὰς διέφθειραν μισγόμενοι ύπὸ πλήθεος.\(^\text{17}\)

Some of the Phocians were pursued near the mountains and certain women perished under violators of great numbers.

The violence Herodotus describes in his histories was only a taste of the sadistic acts women faced during war. Other sources give narratives that describe the violence women endured, from the violent stripping of women and girls to the disfigurement of their earlobes from tearing out pierced earrings.\(^\text{18}\)

The female fear rooted in raids and sieges in history appeared in the intense fear of strange men and rooted itself in the restricted movement of women in Ancient Greece. The use of veils reflected this feminine apprehension and provided a boundary between women and any man outside their family given the fluid nature between public and private space (discussed in chapter one). Micro-communities and religious festivals and pilgrimages introduced a similar protective boundary that prevented clear access to women. Micro-communities presented a space


\(^{18}\) Gaca, “Martial Rape,” 306.

\(^{19}\) Gaca, “Martial Rape,” 320.
open to women while protecting their freedom of movement within the space. Sanctuaries did much the same thing, providing an experience that took women outside of the guarded boundaries of their households and communities and allowed movement in other parts of the polis and chora or territory. Religious festivals and sanctuaries allowed a woman to go past the boundary of her community, often without the watchful eye of her husband or family.

Festivals and religious pilgrimages were among the few means women possessed to safely move outside of the boundaries that safeguarded their virtue and lives. These festivals and associated rites were often entrenched in societal expectations surrounding marriage and motherhood, emphasized at each stage of a woman’s life, the παίς, the παρθένος, and the γυνή. Brauronian rites highlighted these stages of an Athenian woman’s life:

At seven years old,
I carried sacred vessels, and at ten
I pounded barley for Athena's shrine.
Later as a bear, I shed my saffron dress
For the rites of Brauronian Artemis.
And once I was a lovely full-grown girl,
I wore strings of figs around my neck
And was one of those who carried baskets.20

The Frauenfest scene expressed a clear concern regarding parthenoi and their passage into womanhood. The concern surrounding the eventual evolution of young girls into full-fledged women was rooted in the heightened focus on female sexuality and reproductive responsibility in mythology and religious space. Scholarship on ancient women and their relationship to religion has often held that women were almost exclusively addressed in connection to their sexual and reproductive role in society.21 The previous chapter’s focus on domestic production complicates

21 Goff, *Citizen Bacchae*, 51.
this assumption, but the focus on the sexual and reproductive role of women remains a strong influence in religion.

The parthenos’s transition to a gyne required her to accept the primary role her body and fertility wielded in society, essentially embracing her own objectification by society. The Frauenfest illustrated this defining aspect of a young girl’s life, but the scene was only a ritual motivator. The actual signifying event that ushered a young girl across the line and into womanhood took place in the privacy of the home. Compared to males, who officially experienced adulthood in the granting of legal and political order at a certain age, the female’s induction into womanhood was directly connected to her sexual and reproductive role in society.22

The parthenos was a prevalent subject in religious space because of the way she generated fear that was associated with her transitional nature. Puberty and menstruation marked the beginning of the girl’s passage into womanhood, a period that was viewed as not only tumultuous because of the unattached nature of the parthenos, but also physically dangerous. At this stage, young women were said to experience shivering and fevers, hallucinations, homicidal and suicidal frenzies, pain, and vomiting. These symptoms were attributed to the “wandering womb,” a result of women suffering from dryness or the lack of pregnancy that caused their womb to move around, a medical diagnosis created by Hippocratic doctors in the fifth century.23 Cecilie Brøn claimed that the dangerous aspect of the transition from girlhood to marriage served as one of the primary reasons the parthenos was displayed so prominently in religious contexts.24

22 Goff, Citizen Bacchae, 98.
23 Nancy Demand, Birth, Death, and Motherhood in Classical Greece (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 103.
The anxiety associated with this objectively dangerous period in a young woman’s life, when she goes through uncontrollable changes, is reflected in the amount of votive material offered at sanctuaries reflecting this stage. The question of the woman’s own agency in this concern, however, remains unclear.

The idea of the wandering womb was a phenomenon that reflected an attempt to control the narrative of women by pushing them into childbirth at a young age. The term was used as an excuse to push young women into marriage; shortening the parthenos stage in a woman’s life that was viewed as tumultuous by society. Xenophon employed a similar treatment of women that cast a narrative over women constructed by men. The idea that young women experienced symptoms characteristic of a wandering womb was another way to create a narrative that prescribed gendered ideologies not reflective of a woman’s own agency. It would be easy to assign to the votive dedications of objects related to this stage a reflection of male concern rather than female. Women likely experienced anxiety in the transition from girlhood to marriage, though not solely in the uncontrollable nature of their existence. The prospect of marriage, and the associated familial responsibilities like childbirth and raising children, not to mention separation from family, produced a fear associated with the unknown and embroiled with looming responsibilities. The importance placed on domestic responsibility, discussed in connection to the kalathos shape in chapter one, appeared in pottery depicting the Frauenfest scene. The controlled dance pictured in the Frauenfest scene particularly hinted at concerns reflecting the uncontrollable nature of the parthenos as perceived by men and the apprehensive mindset of young women in facing future marriage and motherhood. The prominent position of the parthenos, illustrated in the presence of the Frauenfest scene in Corinth, served to control a period in a woman’s life that was otherwise unattached to man or child.
Iconography like the padded dancer and rituals depicted the parthenos in a frenzied nature that reflected her brief unattachment to societal expectations surrounding marriage and childbirth. This frenzied nature parthenoi were often characterized by was foremost associated with Artemis. The specific landscape of Artemis’s sanctuaries highlighted the goddess's main function as a transitional deity. Artemis’s sanctuaries were often found along contested border territories or transitional space between land and sea.\textsuperscript{25} At Brauron, the goddess embodied this transitional nature often evident in many of her sanctuaries in the rites performed at the site. The sanctuary at Brauron was famous for the sacred ritual known as the Brauronia. Young girls between the ages of ten and fifteen, parthenoi in their own right, acted as bears or arktoi in accordance with the legend surrounding the sanctuary:

Women playing the bear used to celebrate a festival for Artemis dressed in saffron robes; not older than 10 years nor less than 5; appeasing the goddess. The reason was that a wild she-bear used to come to the deme of Phlauidoi and spend time there; and she became tamed and was brought up with the humans.\textsuperscript{26}

The legend of the she-bear at Brauron illustrated two facets of Artemis’s nature as a goddess and huntress. Artemis, who was considered a parthenos herself, symbolized and illustrated the wild nature of the young maiden in the fruition of sexual appeal and the lack of societal restraint. A young woman’s graduation from adolescence to womanhood, without the attachment of a husband or child at her hip, was viewed as a perilous period by Greek society. Rituals like those at Brauronia made sure to carefully monitor this stage in a young girl's life while cautiously reminding and guiding her to her role in society. The parthenos period was also publicized in religion. The parthenos often served a central role in rituals due to the sexual, unattached nature of her existence. The kanephoros, a parthenos that carried a basket during rites, was a common

\textsuperscript{25} Cole, \textit{Landscapes}, 181.
feature in ritual activity. The kanephoros was at the very end of her period as a parthenos. Her presence bridged the divide from childhood to womanhood and showed to everyone the looming abandonment of her adolescence and the fruition of her sexual maturity.\textsuperscript{27} The Sanctuary of Artemis’s founding legend, specifically the mention of “taming” a wild she-bear, directly called on the idea of “taming” the young maiden, pulling her back from the edge of society and civilization and back to the responsibilities of a domestic life.

Sanctuaries of Artemis that appeared at the edge of territories and wilderness were absent within Corinthia. Instead, this perilous role placed on Artemis was transferred to Hera in her sanctuary at the harbor of Perachora. Heraions, like Artemis’s sanctuaries, were often seen in transitional spaces. The Heraion at Perachora echoed this characteristic by its literal placement where the sea meets land. Like Artemis, the Heraion at Perachora provided a place where young girls could experience freedom within the safe confines of a sanctuary. The location of Demeter’s sanctuary was the antithesis to Hera’s location in Perachora. Demeter was more centralized in her location at the bottom of Acrocorinth, her presence stable and fixated in the ancient polis. Where the Heraion seemed to emphasize the transitional nature of the goddess and the role of the sanctuary in its location, Demeter’s central location emphasized the steadfast nature of her sanctuary in Corinth. Demeter, a goddess of the household, became a constant reminder of the responsibilities that men and women share in her location at the bottom of Acrocorinth. Compared to the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth, the Heraion placed emphasis on the parthenos rather than her transition to a gyne, allowing her to experience a sense of freedom before ultimately drawing her back to the responsibilities of society. The Heraion at

\textsuperscript{27} Goff, \textit{Citizen Bacchae}, 114.
Perachora supported this carefully guarded freedom that young, sexually mature women experienced before marriage, a freedom seen in iconographic scenes like the padded dancer.

Padded dancer scenes symbolized a sense of madness that young parthenoi embraced during their transition from adolescence to womanhood while the Frauenfest scene illustrated the final step parthenoi took in becoming women. The emphasis Demeter’s sanctuary placed on the Frauenfest scene compared to the Heraion at Perachora, which favored scenes of padded dancers, is an important detail that suggests that one of the roles of Demeter’s sanctuary in Corinth was to guide women back from the frenzied nature associated with parthenoi and to the rightful path designated to them by society. The Frauenfest’s controlled dance highlights the absence of the frenzied nature often seen in padded dancer scenes.

The Frauenfest was a scene that yielded in popularity to the padded dancer. In Perachora, scenes of padded dancers wielded a longer and more popular life span, from the mid seventh century to the late sixth century. The Frauenfest scene, however, appeared mainly in the late seventh to the mid sixth century, with one later example appearing in Demeter’s sanctuary in the late sixth century. The Frauenfest scene appeared most popular in the MC period, usually on kotyles, in addition to pyxides in both sanctuaries. In Perachora, the scene made an appearance on four convex-sided pyxides in the EC and MC periods but did not appear on earlier concave sided pyxides. Padded dancer scenes, however, did not appear on pyxides of any kind and instead found themselves on various aryballoi fragments of the warrior style within the sanctuary. The Frauenfest scene’s appearance on convex pyxis variations in both sanctuaries

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31 Hopper, “Corinthian Vases,” 149. The archaic aryballos was a popular pot in Corinth, considered to be inexpensive due to the mass production of the small shape. The archaic form was almost completely absent from Demeter’s
supports the shape and pictures’ close association with feminine space within Corinthian sanctuaries. The presence of the scene on four convex pyxides from Perachora, in addition to its appearance on the pyxis-kalathos from Demeter’s sanctuary, suggests that the shape was a popular accompaniment to the scene. The strong feminine associations in the Frauenfest, such as feminine fertility and virtue, found additional emphasis in the shape of a common household item such as the pyxis.

More than the pyxis, the most common vessel for the Frauenfest scene was the kotyle. The kotyle was a small drinking cup, mostly popular in Corinth. Excavations in other parts of Corinth show that the shape was most popular in the MC period, the height of the Frauenfests’ popularity. The appearance of the Frauenfest on shapes newly introduced in the sixth century, like the convex pyxis and the kotyle, suggests that the Frauenfest coincided with a shift away from EIA traditions and expressed new concerns in the sixth century. The disappearance of the concave pyxis in the sixth century, coupled with the disappearance of certain kalathos shapes like the handmade kalathos in the same period, means that the Frauenfest scene’s depiction on convex pyxides, a shape used to store jewelry and cosmetics, reflected the wealthy material culture in Corinth and introduced gender ideologies centered around the rising influence of wealthy families.

The depiction of wealth and prosperity illustrated by the Frauenfest scene and associated pottery had almost completely disappeared by the late sixth century, with the only example coming from a black figure oinochoe from Attica in Demeter’s sanctuary. The Frauenfest scene appeared more commonly on Attic pottery than padded dancers. In Perachora, two fragmentary pots with the scene appeared between 570 and 540, earlier than the Attic example from sanctuary yet appeared in other parts of Corinth (Potter’s Quarter, Temple Hill, Perachora); Pemberton, Greek Pottery, 53.
Demeter’s sanctuary. The participation of Attic potters and painters in the production and dedication of Frauenfest scenes at both sanctuaries suggests that Attic gender values and roles supported the ideologies introduced by such a picture in Corinth. Athenian gender ideologies, specifically those described and idealized by sources like Xenophon and witnessed by use of the veil, sought to constrict the movement of women within the chora or territory. Both poleis appear concerned with this transition into womanhood, a transition that the Frauenfest scene highlights in its controlled and reserved manner of dancing women. The scenes's popularity in Demeter’s sanctuary barely lasted sixty years, however.

The Frauenfest scene’s popularity in the EC and MC periods reflects a concern stemming from gender ideologies seeking to remind women of the importance of marriage and motherhood, expressing a general concern with fertility overall. The hill of Acrocorinth, where various sanctuaries and temples including Demeter’s were located, reveals this concern revolving around fertility in the presence of deities associated with motherhood and childbirth. The presence of additional goddesses who signified time and necessity aided in centralizing a concern for fertility in Corinth.

The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore is located at the bottom of Acrocorinth, overlooking a fertile plain that stretched from Corinth to Sicyon, one of the reasons for the site’s dedication to Demeter, the goddess of agriculture. Demeter did not find herself alone on this hill. Ten other sites were once located on the side of Acrocorinth, connected by a road that led to the Temple of Aphrodite on top of the mountain. The presence of these other sanctuaries, temples, and altars is mentioned by Pausanias:

Now, as one goes up to this Acrocorinth there are sacred enclosures of Isis, one of which they designate Isis Pelagia, the other, Egyptian Isis; and two of Sarapis, the second of which is called “in Kanopus.” After them, altars of Helios have been

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constructed, and there is a sanctuary of Ananke and Bia, which they are not in the
custom of entering. Above this there is a temple of the Mother of the Gods with a
stele and a throne; the goddess herself and the throne are both of stone. The temple
of the Moirai and that of Demeter and Kore have statues that are not on public
view. Here also is the sanctuary of Hera Bounaia founded by Bounos, son of
Hermes, and for this reason the goddess is called Bounaia. Pausanias mentioned a total of three enclosures or altars (Isis, Sarapis, Helios), three sanctuaries
(Ananke and Bia, Demeter and Kore, Hera), and two temples (Rhea and the Moirai). Of those
mentioned, only Helios (the sun god), Ananke and Bia (personifications of necessity and force),
Demeter and Kore (goddesses of agriculture and spring), Rhea (goddess of female fertility and
motherhood), the Moirai (goddesses of fate), and Hera (goddess of marriage and childbirth)
likely belong to the Greek period.

Nine out of the ten deities worshiped on this road are female. Out of those nine, Demeter,
Kore, Rhea, and Hera are explicitly associated with fertility, marriage, and motherhood. The
other five goddesses, Ananke, Bia, and the Moirai, are associated with time and force. The
placement of these deities along the road to Acrocorinth suggests that they were utilized to instill
a sense of urgency upon Corinthians in matters of marriage and fertility. The emphasis on the
parthenos and marriage/motherhood in the Frauenfest scene and reiterated in the ritual landscape
of Acrocorinth, served as a consistent reminder of the responsibility that lay in front of young
women, introduced by the various sanctuaries on Acrocorinth and perhaps reinforced within their
temene such as Demeter’s sanctuary. Concerns surrounding fertility, marriage and motherhood
on this specific road leading to Acrocorinth may be a direct result of what this road led to, the
Temple of Aphrodite.

The Temple of Aphrodite sat at the very top of Acrocorinth and received its earliest
mention by Pindar in the fifth century BCE. Sixteen lines of the poem remain traceable today,

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33 Pausanias, *Travels in Greece*, 2.4.6-7.
transmitted by Athenaeus.\textsuperscript{34} The temple was specifically mentioned in connection to Xenophon of Corinth, who won the Olympics in 494 and presented a thank-offering of a hundred prostitutes to Aphrodite:

\begin{quote}
O mistress of Cyprus, here to your grove Xenophon has led the hundred-limbed herd of grazing women, rejoicing in his vows accomplished.\textsuperscript{35}
\end{quote}

Pindar's association of the temple prostitutes to grazing animals was reminiscent of the perception of women within Artemis's sanctuaries, discussed earlier. This act of likening women to animals appeared in a sacred rite at Artemis’s sanctuary in Brauron mentioned by Aristophanes:

\begin{quote}
At the age of ten I was an Aletris,
and clad in yellow robes,
soon after this,
I was a little bear to Brauronian Artemis.\textsuperscript{36}
\end{quote}

The correlation ancient writers often made between women and animals, specifically young women at the threshold of puberty, supported a gender ideology that expressed concern for parthenoi or women, such as sacred prostitutes, who were not bound to the same societal rules as married women. This ideology that appeared in the Sanctuary of Artemis at Brauronia also appeared on the sacred road leading to the Temple of Aphrodite on Acrocorinth. Leslie Kurke analyzed this perception and treatment of Corinthian temple prostitutes or hierodules and their portrayal in Pindar’s poem.\textsuperscript{37} The first lines of the poem suggests that Pindar empathizes with the plight of the hierodules, likening his own work of being a paid writer to the hierodules (albeit an ill comparison), and openly addresses the forced nature of the women’s indenture to the temple. The poem breaks off here, leaving six lines unknown, before returning with a very different tone.

\begin{references}
\textsuperscript{34} Leslie Kurke, “Pindar and the Prostitutes, or Reading Ancient ‘Pornography,’” \textit{Arioh} 4, no. 2 (1996), 51.
\textsuperscript{35} Kurke, “Pindar and the Prostitutes,” 52.
\textsuperscript{36} Aristophanes, \textit{Lysistrata}, 641-45.
\textsuperscript{37} Kurke, “Pindar and the Prostitutes,” 49-75.
\end{references}
Pindar, removing the humanity previously granted to the hierodules, refers to them as a "hundred-limbed herd of grazing women." The poet presented a moral dilemma that he opts to ignore later in the poem, suggesting that this treatment of the hierodules (and prostitutes in general) was common in Corinth and the wider Greek world.

The presence of the Temple of Aphrodite and the hierodules in Corinth introduces a concern surrounding the uncontrollability of female bodies within the polis. The hierodules, though appearing to be unwilling participants in Pindar’s poem, pose a threat due to their position outside the expectations of marriage and motherhood, much like parthenoi. The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, in combination with the other temples and sanctuaries along the same road, appear as a physical reminder of the societal expectations surrounding Corinthian women. The popularity of the Frauenfest scene puts emphasis on this already present concern in the first half of the sixth century.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grave Periods</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Half of 6th Century</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Corinthian (620-590)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Corinthian (590-570)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Quarter (600-575)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Quarter (575-550)</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid Sixth Century</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total First Half 6th Cent.</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Half of 6th Century</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Quarter (550-525)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth Quarter (525-500)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Sixth Century</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth Century (general)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Second Half 6th Cent.</strong></td>
<td><strong>24</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2.9: Table of Grave Periods at North Cemetery

The specific concern regarding fertility in the first half of the sixth century may have had to do with high mortality rates. The excavation of the North cemetery in Corinth in the 1930s revealed graves dating from the Middle Helladic period (2,000-1550 BCE) to the first century CE. The site illustrated a growth in population in the archaic and classical periods before the cemetery fell into disuse after the third century.

Grave numbers in the North Cemetery quickly grew
in the sixth and fifth centuries, nearly tripling from protocorinthian numbers.\textsuperscript{38} Sixty-five graves were identified as belonging to the protocorinthian period, that number nearly doubling with an additional 130 graves in the sixth century and tripling with 174 graves in the fifth century. Burials in the sixth century suggest that the population of Corinth exploded following the protocorinthian period. The population growth seen in the increase of activity in various sites in Corinth—the North Cemetery and Demeter’s Sanctuary to name a few—may suggests an increased mortality rate. The number of burials by the fifth century far surpassed the 114 burials from the geometric and protocorinthian periods, numbering at 305 burials by the end of the fifth century. This number was more than double the number of graves in the previous three centuries preceding the sixth century.

The initial increase in burials at Corinth in the sixth century, seen in figure 9, coincided with the introduction of the Frauenfest scene in Corinthia. In the North Cemetery, 104 burials were identified belonging to the first half of the sixth century. Forty-five of these burials belonged to the EC and MC periods, with twenty-two burials more generally assigned to the first and second quarters of the century and eight more to the first half of the sixth century. In addition, twenty-nine were identified as mid-century burials. Burial numbers appeared to drop in the second part of the sixth century with a total of twenty-three burials. Seventeen burials belonged to the third and fourth quarters of the century. Six more burials were generally assigned to the second half of the century, four of those more specifically to the end of the sixth century. The sixth century saw an obvious increase in burials in the first half of the century, nearly doubling from the sixty-five burials in the seventh century. The first half of the sixth century quickly rose past the previous protocorinthian numbers, more than half that number identified in

\textsuperscript{38} Blegen, Palmer, and Young, “The North Cemetery,” 65.
EC and MC periods alone. The presence and popularity of the Frauenfest scene in both Demeter’s sanctuary in Corinth and the Heraion in Perachora align with a potential increase in mortality numbers in the early sixth century. The outward concern regarding fertility in the first half of the sixth century, expressed in votive offerings like the Frauenfest scene, potentially rose from the rising mortality rate of the growing polis, as suggested by the burials in the North Cemetery. The lack of demographic information on sixth century Corinth, however, makes this conclusion hypothetical. There are no clear statistics of the population of Corinth during the sixth century, and no other Corinthian cemeteries have been published that may reflect a similar trend to what was seen in the North Cemetery. Nevertheless, there could be a possible connection between fertility concerns seen in the Frauenfest scene and the burial numbers in the North Cemetery.

Burials and any connected concerns like fertility possibly decreased in the later sixth century. The Frauenfest scene went out of use, almost completely disappearing in the later half of the sixth century. The scene’s decline in popularity began to appear in the LC period, coinciding with the increase of pyxides shown at Demeter’s sanctuary. The introduction of the convex shape in the MC period coincided with the popularity of the chain dance scene yet the shape did not experience the same fate as the scene. The pyxis continued to be one of the most popular vessels in the sanctuary, aided by the shift towards material wealth that occurred in Corinth in the MC period.

Conclusion

39 Until the Geometric period, the custom in Corinth was to bury within the city and burials continued within the city after the cemetery was established, until the Hellenistic period. In the northeast corner of Ancient Corinth, another cemetery was excavated by the Greek service that revealed archaic and classical burials, but this was never published. Nancy Bookidis, email to author, April 29, 2023.
The pyxis kept much of its original connection to feminine usage in Demeter’s sanctuary, aided by the strong feminine influence seen inside the site and illustrated by a scene of the Frauenfest appearing on one of the vessels. Previous scholarship argued that the pyxis had a different usage when seen in cemeteries and commercial buildings, serving as a vessel that identified age rather than gender, or appeared in dining context rather than a woman’s room. The shape continued to hold a strong association with feminine space despite these differing functions.

In cemeteries, the pyxis commonly appears in the graves of children and aided in marking the youthful age of the deceased. This function appears to sever the tie between the pyxis and feminine space, but the pyxis’s status as a marker of age exists due to this connection. The children seen in these burials spent most of their childhood with their mothers before they died. The pyxis would have been a pot that children were very familiar with. The growing interest in expressions of wealth in the mid-sixth century emphasizes the significance of the pyxis as a vessel representing wealth. The increased popularity of the object as not only a household and grave item but a votive from the sixth century onwards aided in the pot's transition from an object purely used for cosmetics and jewelry to one used by children as well. The pyxis’s association with feminine space remained as the function of the shape shifted into the hands of a child.

Cemeteries first suggest how the function of the pyxis shifts in different spaces but still retains its connection to feminine space. The appearance of pyxides in commercial buildings like brothels serves as another example. The pyxis appears throughout the excavation of the brothel house in Athens, from the designated women’s quarters to public areas in the building. The pyxis in this context appears to have served some sort of role in a dining setting. Previous scholarship
identified dining as one of the additional functions of the pyxis and, like cemeteries, sought to separate the pyxis from feminine space in this new function. The presence of the pot outside of a purely feminine space did not immediately remove this basic function of the pyxis. Instead, this relationship served as a steppingstone to the pot’s use in dining and public contexts, much as it did in cemeteries. The pyxis’s presence in the brothel in Athens served as a connection to the more private atmosphere of feminine space, providing a point of contact between the women and their patrons. Outside brothels, access to this guarded feminine space would be limited between strangers. The pyxis’s presence in spaces outside of domestic households, though appearing under different functions, does not completely negate its connection to feminine space.

In Demeter’s sanctuary, previous scholars were hesitant to clearly identify the function of the pyxis within the site. This chapter did not address the function of the pyxis within sacred space for this reason but rather focused on what gender ideologies the shape may reflect within the sanctuary. The study of the shape outside of domestic space serves to illustrate a common theme that appeared in cemeteries and commercial buildings: the pyxis never lost its close connection to feminine space; instead, this connection served a role in the creation of these new functions in other spaces. In Demeter’s sanctuary, the Frauenfest scene’s appearance on a pyxis-kalathos strengthens this feminine influence generally seen in the pyxis while highlighting Corinthian concerns surrounding women.

The pyxis’s close association to feminine space served as the ideal object to depict a scene that emphasized female responsibility and expressed a growing concern surrounding fertility in the early sixth century. The popularity of the Frauenfest scene in Demeter’s sanctuary, compared to Perachora, echoes the central role that Demeter’s sanctuary played in Corinth as a constant reminder of societal expectations. The introduction of the Frauenfest scene on a pyxis-
kalathos in Demeter’s sanctuary serves to emphasize and illustrate the already feminine nature of the pot. The scene calls directly on a young girl’s passage into womanhood, from a parthenos to a gyne, a path depicted as rigid and controlled but also inescapable and symbolized by the controlled mannerisms of the dancers. The chain dance serves as a reminder of two important facets in a woman’s life: marriage and motherhood. The popularity of the Frauenfest scene in the early sixth century, and the large number of burials seen in the North Cemetery in the same period, reflects a very real concern in Corinth. The Frauenfest scene serves to highlight this concern, using the pyxis’ close link to feminine space to highlight the concern placed on female fertility in the first half of the sixth century. The Frauenfest expresses a passing concern in the sixth century while the pyxis adapted to changing gender ideologies in Corinth. The pyxis itself is a clear representation of material wealth in its use as a jewelry or cosmetic container. When Corinthians began to freely express material wealth in the sixth century, the pyxis quickly grew in popularity. The base function of the pyxis serves to further highlight a new tradition focused on physical expressions of wealth in mid-sixth century Corinth.
Chapter 3
The Liknon as a Symbol of Feminine Responsibility

Demeter’s status as the primary agriculture deity of ancient Greece was prominently displayed throughout her sanctuary on Acrocorinth. The liknon, a votive found in high numbers at the sanctuary, attests to the significance ancient Corinthians placed on this specific characteristic of the goddess. The liknon is a clay model of the winnowing basket, an object that was used to separate grain from the chaff after threshing by shaking the basket repeatedly. The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore yielded 588 likna fragments from the sixth to second centuries.\(^1\) The majority of likna were concentrated between the sixth to fifth centuries and found primarily in the middle and lower terraces, though their placement appeared largely in secondary fills rather than in their original location. The likna mainly appeared in contexts that were dated from the late seventh century to the second century, though some can be dated within more specific contexts. The only identifying characteristic of certain likna are wheelmade variations and those made of fine clay that appeared no earlier than the fifth century.\(^2\) The vast number of likna found at the sanctuary, in numbers that far surpasses their appearance elsewhere in the Greek world, suggests that the object held significant importance to the surrounding community.\(^3\)

This chapter analyzes the function of the winnowing basket and its popular presence as a ceramic in Demeter’s sanctuary. The liknon itself was often the center of attention in rituals, specifically purification ceremonies and mysticism, often linked to the prototype’s function in separating grain and chaff, carrying fruit, and serving as a cradle.\(^4\) The popularity of the liknon, specifically in the early sixth and fifth centuries, suggests that the shape deals with a similar

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1 Brumfield, “Cakes in the Liknon,” 147.
interest expressed by the two previous chapters—fertility and feminine virtue. The shape’s main
function as an agricultural tool highlights its role in rituals concerned with fertility and feminine
virtue.

The liknon received limited study in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The main
scholarship on the shape was from the early and late twentieth century from Jane Harrison and
Alaire Brumfield. In 1903, Harrison provided the first accurate description of the likna,
specifically its proper usage, in “Mystica Vannus Iacchi.” Harrison’s article, published well before
the excavation of Demeter’s sanctuary, focused on analyzing the multiple uses of the liknon and
studied other objects used for winnowing in ancient times. Prior to Harrison, the likna received
attention primarily pertaining to their votive function but lacked correct discussion of their usage.
Harrison analyzed the use of the modern winnowing fan from France, gathering intelligence
from farmers who employed the dying art of winnowing in the early twentieth century to unveil
the proper use of the winnowing basket. Harrison analyzed the liknon’s role as an agricultural
tool, one associated with woman’s work, and its equal importance in sacred space. Harrison
began her discussion by studying the mention of the winnowing fan in a quotation from Virgil in
*Georgics*:

Virgea praeterea Celei vilisque supellex,
Arbuteae crates, et mystica vannus Iacchi.\(^5\)

Then the cheap wickerware of Celeus,

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From the wicker of the fruit tree, and the mystical fan of Iacchus. Harrison concerned herself specifically with the phrase “mystica vannus Iacchi”—the mystical fan of Iacchus. Harrison addressed questions that arose from the quotation: what the fan was, why it was referred to as mystica, and why it passed from Demeter to Iacchus. Harrison’s article addressed several misconceptions of earlier analysis of the winnowing fan by scholars, primarily dealing with its function and appearance in modern agricultural practices.

Harrison identified multiple uses of the fan by analyzing iconographic scenes and ancient sources like Servius. One of the iconic uses of the liknon appeared in Greek mythology, specifically in the birth of Dionysus, who was placed in a liknon and given the epithet Liknites—he of the liknon. The liknon appeared as a cradle on coins and pottery scenes from the classical to imperial periods. The second common use of the liknon was a basket for fruit. This usage primarily appeared on Hellenistic reliefs, suggesting that this function appeared later, though there was earlier mention of this usage in a fragment from Sophocles, who mentioned the liknon in connection to the worship of Ἔργα or Athena. It was clear from the Hellenistic reliefs and written sources that this function primarily appeared as a sacred usage. The liknon’s appearance as a cradle fell under a similar sacred usage in its appearance in iconography related to mythology. The liknon’s most common function, however, remained its usage as a winnowing fan.

Harrison identified two other forms of winnowing in ancient Greece, the likmeterion or five-pronged trident and the koskinon or sieve. The likmeterion, also generally called a ptyon or shovel, was used in addition to the koskinon. Someone, typically a man, would use the prongs of

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7 Harrison, “Mystica Vannus Iacchi,” 298.
the likmeterion to throw the grain into the air, allowing the wind to separate the grain from the chaff and leaving a pile of the clean grain on the ground. Afterwards, a woman used the koskinon to further clean the grain. Unlike the likna, the likmeterion was more efficient but less thorough in separating, hence the need for the koskinon. The ptyon, like the liknon, appeared in sanctuaries though not in a votive sense, instead erected at harvest festivals in piles of hay as a symbol of accomplishment. The liknon, though modeled after an agricultural tool that was more tedious to use than a ptyon, found itself a common votive dedication in sanctuaries.

The winnowing fan’s ceramic model resulted in a votive that was continual in its dedication at sanctuaries. Its popularity far surpassed the ptyon or koskinon. The dedication of this specific winnowing object, one that was primarily used by women, is peculiar. Why not dedicate a ptyon or the koskinon? The koskinon is similar enough to the liknon, though the liknon adopts more of a shovel shape with its open end. The koskinon was also primarily used by women. The main difference between the two is that the koskinon was best used in combination with the ptyon, meaning men and women both shared in this specific agricultural task. The dedication of the liknon, a shape that thoroughly separated grain without the use of an additional tool, means that the votive highlighted a task that was solely carried out by women. The liknon’s widespread popularity in the sanctuary's history suggests that the winnowing fan was one of the main agricultural tools used by ancient Corinthians women. The traditional use of the object, combined with location and agricultural significance of Demeter’s sanctuary, likely led to the physical representation of the tool in Demeter’s sanctuary in the sixth century.

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8 Harrison, “Mystica Vannus Iacchi,” 305.
In 2007, the first comprehensive study of the likna from Demeter’s sanctuary appeared. Alaire Brumfield addressed the various types of likna that appeared at the sanctuary but primarily focused on the decorative elements that appears on the shapes. Brumfield studied 588 fragments of likna found at the sanctuary, specifically studying the cakes and seeds that appeared on ninety of them. The likna are solely of Corinthian fabric, meaning they were manufactured in Corinth and ranged from a pale brown to bright pink clay. The majority of the likna were handmade, resulting in a fabric that is packed with black mudstone inclusions. A few of the shapes were made of a very fine clay, taking a thinner shape, with a few wheelmade, that appeared after the early fifth century and soon replaced the handmade liknon by the fourth century.\(^9\) The likna also ranged in size, from the size of a finger to imitating the lifelike size of the winnowing fan.\(^10\) Since Brumfield’s study in 2007, the liknon has not received further attention from scholars.

**Cakes on the Liknon**

Brumfield identified seven different cakes present on the likna, most are seen in figure 3.2. The first, the *kollabos*, was a small cake

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9 Brumfield, “Cakes in the Liknon,” 149.

10 A peculiar aspect of certain likna were the fingerprint impressions. None of the prints were identified as female or male, nor studied for age. Brumfield’s analysis of the likna, published in 1997, occurred a few short years before an article detailing the possibility of identifying female or male fingerprints was published in 1999 by Mark Acree using Bayes’ theorem. Mark Acree, "Is There a Gender Difference in Fingerprint Ridge Density?" In *Forensic Science Internation* 102 (1999): 35-44. Bayes theorem described the probability of an event using prior knowledge of certain related conditions.
made of wheat that looked like a small, flattened disk and was one of the most common clay cakes.\textsuperscript{11} The second, the \textit{popanon}, was a flat, large round cake with a central knob. The popanon was like the pound cake, requiring one pound of flour that created a fluffy texture.\textsuperscript{12} The third, the \textit{popana poliomfala}, recalled the appearance of a hot cross bun with its five outer knobs and strips of clay connecting them. The fourth type, the \textit{plakous}, was a thick cake with a single knob in the center. The cake had deep vertical lines on its sides and was a light flaky cake. The fifth cake, an elongated flat mass with stippling on top, Brumfield likens to porridge or \textit{maza}. The sixth, a sesame cake, was spherical and dotted with pellet-like seeds. This cake was likely made of roasted sesame, honey, and oil. The seventh cake was a flat oblong shape, the \textit{palathion}, made of fruit or nuts compressed with honey.

Each cake coincided with a certain ritual or practice within sanctuaries. The first cake was often a ritual to welcome a new family member or slave, offered to Zeus and the two goddesses Demeter and Kore. The second cake was central to sacrificial rituals and preliminary sacrifices, often offered to Artemis, Leto, Herakles, Kourotophos, Hermes, and Demeter and Kore.\textsuperscript{13} The third type Brumfield identified as either the popana poliomfala or the \textit{popana dodekonfala}. Both were multiknobbed cakes but did not specifically have five knobs like the one at the sanctuary. These two were the closest cakes to be identified with this third type and were offered to Apollo, Artemis, Zeus, Poseidon, Kronos, Herakles, and the two goddesses. The fourth cake was one of the foods carried in the liknon and offered in sacrifice commonly to Demeter.\textsuperscript{14} The fifth type, \textit{maza}, came in various forms depending on the ingredients and were mainly

\textsuperscript{11} Brumfield, “Cakes in the Likna,” 149.
\textsuperscript{12} Brumfield, “Cakes in the Likna,” 150.
\textsuperscript{13} Brumfield, “Cakes in the Likna,” 150.
\textsuperscript{14} Brumfield, “Cakes in the Liknon,” 149-155.
offered to the goddesses and Apollo. The maza was a very humble and healthy recipe. The sixth cake was offered in rites to Dionysus, Gaia, Zeus, and the goddesses. The seventh type was a common offering in a kernos, a plate often with attached kotyliskoi or mini cups. The kernos was also a popular votive used in rituals. This specific cake was mentioned in ancient sources solely connected to the kernos; sources do not specify which deities they were offered to. A common theme of these seven cakes is the deities they were often offered to. The majority were offered to male deities like Apollo, Zeus, Kronos, and Poseidon, and only a few goddesses, specifically Artemis, Demeter, and Kore, received these cakes as well.

The female deities who received these cakes were in some capacity related to marriage and childbirth. Artemis was greatly known for her temper and women were known to tread carefully around the goddess, especially during pregnancy, in hopes that the goddess's fury would not touch them. She was also a strict guide to the parthenoi, keeping young women in line during a period when they were often considered wild. Demeter shared a similar fearful behavior, though for different reasons. Demeter showed the extent and repercussions of her influence when her daughter was stolen, inciting a drought on the Greeks that was only resolved when Persephone returned, if only temporarily. Demeter’s association with agricultural fertility transferred to her association with feminine fertility and marital status.

The relationship between Demeter and Persephone alludes to an anxiety women experience when daughters began to mature. Nancy Chodorow presented a social-psychological study of the mother-daughter relationship in “Family Structure and Feminine Personality.”

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15 Cole, Landscapes, Gender, and Ritual Space, 205.
Chodorow noted that a woman often feels responsible “for everything connected to the welfare of her family and the happiness and success of her children.”\(^\text{17}\) This sense of responsibility found a heightened place in the relationship between mother and daughter as opposed to the relationship between mother and son due to the similar experiences the daughter begins to undergo as she matures:

Mothers and daughters… experiences of boundary confusion or equation of self and other… [discover] that they are “really” living out their mothers’ lives in their choice of career; mothers not completely conscious reactions to their daughters’ bodies as their own.\(^\text{18}\)

Chodorow suggested that problems of individuation arise because of the lack of ego boundaries between mothers and daughters.\(^\text{19}\) The lack of ego boundaries emerges as a result of standard child development and gender roles. From birth, boys and girls spend the majority of their childhood with their mothers. The differentiation between the genders rises as a result of differing gender roles. At a certain age, boys begin to leave their mothers to learn a profession not easily taught from home, while girls will continue to learn and prepare for future work under their mothers.\(^\text{20}\) An example of gender roles removing boys from their mothers well before girls appeared in Sparta, when boys left the household at a young age to enter the agoge while girls continued to live at home. A similar circumstance could be assumed in Athens through private tutelage and the presence of various philosophical schools from the fifth century onward.\(^\text{21}\) No literary evidence exists in Corinth that suggests an educational program was in place that prepared boys for future careers outside of household and agricultural work. The presence of

\(^{17}\) Chodorow, “Family Structure,” 257.
\(^{19}\) Ego boundary was essentially distinguishing between self and non-self and often emerged as a result of a person invading and violating one’s privacy.
\(^{21}\) The mains schools of thought are the Platonist (fourth century), the Aristotelian (fourth century), the Stoic (end of fourth century), the Epicurean (end of fourth century), and the Skeptic (third century).
educational systems in Sparta and Athens suggests that educating boys, especially those of the upper class, grew to be more commonplace in the classical period. The influx of wealth Corinth experienced at the end of the archaic period could have easily supported an educational system. Lower class families, especially those with farmland, would have seen the separation of boys from mothers simply due to the differing gender responsibilities in agricultural work alone. The separation of boys but not girls led to the blurring of boundaries set between mothers and daughters, especially given the role mothers had in preparing their daughters for their own families.

**Ritual Dining**

The anxiety surrounding the mother-daughter relationship became transparent in the sacred role the liknon wielded in Demeter’s sanctuary. The cakes present on the clay likna provides a hint of the liknon’s role in rituals, specifically rites that were attached to actual cakes that were dedicated at the site. The dedication of real cakes was likely a part of the prominent scene of ritual dining in Demeter’s sanctuary, attested by the various dining rooms at the site. The sanctuary hosted an astonishing number of dining rooms that were unlike any other sanctuary in Greece. The dining rooms first appeared after Periander’s death in 585 BCE, when an oligarchy replaced the tyrant and grew in popularity during the fifth century. The initial one-room units expanded as their popularity grew, growing to accommodate rooms for cooking, washing, and sitting. By the end of the fifth century, at least thirty-six dining rooms were in operation with rows lining the stairway ascending from the lower terrace to the south and north
of the road. The small structures, combined with the various baths and kitchens that appear later, resemble similar architecture found in private houses, inducive to a familial dining experience at the sanctuary.

If ritual dining was an important tradition embedded into the very nature of Demeter’s sanctuary at Corinth, were women common participants? The other well documented phenomenon of public dining was the symposium, a scene that was often depicted in iconographic scenes. Symposia have been extensively studied due to the abundance of material that mentions the phenomenon. It was concluded from archaeological and literary evidence that symposia almost completely excluded citizen women, but hetairai and female slaves and entertainers were common participants. The absence of citizen women in such events, particularly combined with the presence of lower classes and entertainers, was explicative of the power dynamic present in symposia and the amount of influence created and wielded at such events. A citizen woman’s absence supports the long-held belief that she had little to no presence in the political scene of Greek cities, especially Athens. Dining parties like symposia rose as a physical manifestation of social entitlement during classical Greece, when male aristocrats began to attend small, elitist, male-defined drinking parties. At such events, aggressive behavior, likely a bolster to men’s aristocratic ego, appeared in sexual violence often committed against women in attendance. Certain privileges seemed to be afforded to certain classes of women verses others, but treatment of women leveled the power dynamic; while citizen women were

22 Bookidis, et al., “Dining in the Sanctuary.” Bookidis has estimated that there were likely more dining rooms that remain unexcavated, close to eighty by her calculations.
excluded from political and social gatherings like symposiums, the women who were in attendance were often subjected to the violent tendencies of the symposiasts.

The basic nature of ritual dining often removed any political connotation that was present at symposiums. In ritual dining at Demeter’s sanctuary, it is likely that women of all social classes had the opportunity to attend due to the simple fact that ritual space provided a protected outlet for socialization, specifically for citizen women, who might not be able to experience socialization in other social spheres in the Greek polis. Festivals like the Thesmophoria, an event that was exclusive to women, further suggests that there were often exclusive dining events geared to solely accommodate women. Various other festivals like the Haloa, an event that celebrated the relationship between Demeter and Dionysus, were exclusively open to women. The Haloa likely appeared at Corinth due to the strong presence of Dionysus at the sanctuary.25 These festivals would very likely have been practiced within Corinth and centered at Demeter’s sanctuary.

**Conclusion**

The liknon, a shape closely associated with female agricultural work, held an important position in Demeter’s sanctuary. The popularity of the clay model likely means that the winnowing basket was the primary agricultural tool in Corinthia due to the large numbers seen at the site. The liknon and its corresponding cakes portray a gender ideology that concerned itself with fertility while highlighting a role that solely belonged to women. The popularity of the

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liknon in the early sixth and fifth centuries coincided with a period in the sanctuary’s history that saw the rise of a fertility concern in the early sixth century.

The likna at Demeter’s sanctuary appear to primarily belong to the early sixth to fifth century. Past the fifth century, the likna dropped in production and popularity. Were the likna a sign of this growing gender ideology belonging to the upper class or the opposite? The likna appeared after the reign of the Cypselids, who under Periander stifled the influence of powerful wealthy families in Corinth. The absence of the tyrant could very well mean that wealthy Corinthians had freer rein within the city-state and gave rise to a gender ideology in the sixth century. The introduction and popularity of the liknon in the early sixth and fifth centuries illustrate the rise of a concern regarding fertility, one that is witnessed in the kalathos shape and Frauenfest scene discussed in chapters one and two. This fertility concern, often seen contingently with symbolic representations of the parthenos (like the basket kalathos in chapter one), also hints at a concern surrounding the mother-daughter relationship.

The Corinthian concern regarding the mother-daughter relationship, seen in the liknon and its cakes, becomes evident in the presence of a large sanctuary dedicated to Demeter in Corinth. Artemis also appeared in Corinth, but in altars and shrines rather than a large gathering place like Demeter’s sanctuary. The hill of Acrocorinth possessed various other sanctuaries and temples (discussed earlier in chapter two) that highlighted the concern for fertility, marriage, motherhood and time. The popularity and size of Demeter’s sanctuary introduces an additional concern regarding the mother-daughter relationship that coincides with concerns already present in the sacred landscape of Acrocorinth and emphasizes a concern surrounding the parthenos. The liknon and its cakes is symbolic of this concern, in addition to the kalathos shapes and the Frauenfest scene.
The importance of the liknon, suggested by its popularity in Demeter’s sanctuary, emphasizes a gender ideology entrenched in the importance of agriculture, particularly that of wheat production. Such an importance is no surprise given that Demeter is an agricultural deity. The liknon illustrated a gender ideal that both hindered and freed women from the strict ideologies of ancient sources like Xenophon. It opened the door to the prospect of women’s involvement in agricultural work, a space that women have been assumed to be absent from in past scholarship. In the previous chapter, the kalathos presented a similar gender ideology and illustrated the sanctuary’s habit of employing votives based on prototypes centered around agricultural and domestic production. The kalathos and the winnowing fan have various similarities despite the distinctive shape and usage of both. The kalathos, a shape that was primarily used to store wool, milk, grain, and fruit, was distinctive in its place in the household. The winnowing fan, while identified as a container for fruit, primarily found its function in manual agricultural labor. Both shapes, however, were connected to some type of sedentary work, both inside and outside the domestic household, emphasizing the exclusion of women from harsh, physical labor.
Conclusion

The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore present the perfect opportunity to study ancient women in Corinth. It is one of the few excavated Corinthian sanctuaries dedicated to female deities with a substantial amount of research published and available to the public. The Heraion at Perachora was the only other sanctuary dedicated to a female deity excavated within Corinthia. The sanctuary and much of Corinth’s topography was mentioned little by ancient sources. It is one of various sanctuaries that led up to Acrocorinth and one of the few to be concretely identified by scholars. This thesis created a narrative that explored the experience of ancient women, specifically those in ancient Corinth, by looking closer at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth. The vast collection of ceramics excavated from Demeter’s sanctuary served as the primary source of information in this thesis. The votive nature of each of these shapes studied here help to identify and assess the relationship between women and Demeter’s sanctuary while revealing certain gender ideologies in the archaic period.

Scholarship regarding women and gender in ancient Greece has focused on Attica due to the host of literary and archaeological evidence there. Poleis like Corinth, which harbor large archaeological deposits but produce minimal textual evidence, pose a problem to scholars attempting to identify gender ideologies in the polis. The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, one of the larger sanctuaries in the polis, presents an opportunity to study and analyze the relationship between the sanctuary and women while also revealing how women were portrayed in the ancient polis.

Modern scholarship on women and gender has identified and corrected several misconceptions, from the complete separation of domestic and public space to the absence of women in agriculture. The first of these, the idea that women were restricted to the domestic
household and were kept separate from the public sphere, was disproven by Athenian literature and iconographic scenes. The second common misconception, the assumption that women did not participate in agriculture, has been harder to displace. Iconography and literature seem to suggest the separation of women from agricultural work. The three votive types studied throughout this thesis, the kalathos, pyxis, and liknon, help to disprove these common misconceptions because of their connection to domestic and agricultural work. They reveal that gender ideologies and concerns were portrayed through ceramics.

The first object studied was the kalathos, the clay model of the wool basket. The kalathos is often depicted in iconography that represented a woman’s quarters or the domestic household. Wool-work was one of the main responsibilities of women and was often a sign of wealth through the resulting textiles. The kalathos appears in a multitude of shapes in Demeter’s sanctuary: the flaring, concave, handmade, perforated, and basket. The handmade type is one of the earliest forms that appeared at the sanctuary in the seventh century. The shape reflects an older tradition associated with handmade household ware from the Late Helladic period in Corinth and served as an introduction of domestic gender ideologies into the sanctuary, reminiscent of Early Iron Age egalitarian societies. The flaring and perforated types drew their shape directly from the prototype of the wool basket. Both shapes call on the prototype's close association to domestic work and emphasizes the presence of domestic female responsibility in their form. The perforated form illustrated the presence of another concern in the sanctuary, fertility. The production of protome heads attached to the perforated form began in the early sixth century and grew popular in the Middle and Late Corinthian periods. This concern attached to fertility was explored more thoroughly in chapter two. The basket shape resembles orchard scenes on pottery, suggesting that the shape is analogous to the basket used to pick fruit, a
responsibility belonging to women and further suggesting the presence of women in agriculture. The shape, like the perforated form, expresses concern surrounding fertility, specifically in its association with parthenoi since the picking of fruit was representational of fertility. The concave type drew much of its significance from its adaptation of concave sides from the concave pyxis. The concave kalathos was one of the more popular types in the sanctuary, quickly causing the diminished popularity of earlier kalathos types like the handmade. Overall, the earlier kalathos styles show a clear introduction of domestic gender ideologies in the archaic period before the concave style became overwhelmingly popular in the classical period. The sixth century witnessed a complete shift of gender ideologies, moving from the symbolic importance placed on domestic responsibilities to material wealth, which indicates a move away from a Corinthian egalitarian society by the fifth century.¹

The Frauenfest scene, in conjecture with its appearance on the pyxis-kalathos, introduced a concern surrounding fertility that appeared in the early sixth century. The chain of dancing women appears on six other shapes in the sanctuary, though the earliest appears on a pyxis-kalathos from the early Corinthian period. The scene highlights the responsibilities that awaited young women as they transitioned into positions of wives. The Frauenfest scene introduced domestic responsibilities into the sanctuary, as did the kalathos, but focuses on highlighting the significance placed on fertility within marriage rather than domestic labor. This importance placed on female fertility is seen in other aspects of the sanctuary, like the terracotta models of sandaled feet, along with the other pottery shapes studied in this thesis.² The sanctuary was likely

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¹ Morgan, “Debating Patronage,” 236. Morgan suggests the presence of an egalitarian society prior to the fifth century due to the lack of metal production within the city (primarily due to grave remains).
concerned with matters of fertility given the mortality rate in the early sixth century, discussed in chapter two.

The scene also allowed for the further analysis of the pyxis shape in the scene’s earliest appearance on a pyxis-kalathos. As first suggested by the concave kalathos, which took part of its form from the pyxis, the true shape shows a shift towards freer expressions of material wealth in its popularity in the sixth century. The majority of pyxides appeared in the latter half of the sixth century, after Periander’s death in 585 BCE. This appearance coincided with a more widespread display of wealth from upper-class Corinthian families that might not have been possible under Cypselid rule, especially with the ceramic’s association with jewelry and cosmetics, something only wealthy women would have been able to possess. The rise of these wealthy families coincided with the appearance of the dining rooms at the site in the sixth century. The presence of ceramic votives and buildings like the pyxis and the dining rooms in Demeter’s sanctuary suggests that wealthy families flourished more freely under the oligarchic government established after the end of Cypselid rule. The Frauenfest scene eventually disappeared, but the pyxis’s basic connection to feminine space and wealth served as a vessel for the introduction of a wealthier material culture and attitude in the sixth century.

The last votive shape studied in this thesis addressed the role of women outside of the domestic household. The liknon or the winnowing basket served as a clay votive that shows the presence of women in agricultural work. The high volume of the shape within the sanctuary suggests that it was not only a popular votive but also the primary agricultural tool used to separate grain during the archaic period. The other agricultural implement used in grain separation was the ptyon, a trident-like object with five prongs that was primarily used by men. These two agricultural tools indicate a gender ideology that individuated the type of labor
associated with men and women. The ptyon was used in a throwing motion, tossing grain into the air to be separated by wind. The liknon, on the other hand, was used in a sitting position and shook by holding the handles on either side. Gender ideologies seen in ancient literature and expressed in iconography often emphasizes the sedentary nature of women’s work compared to the continuous, active movement of men’s work. The liknon, a shape that shows the presence of women in agriculture, simultaneously emphasizes a gender ideology associated with the sedentary nature of women’s work.

The basket variation of the kalathos and the liknon share gender roles that concern the presence of women in agriculture. Ancient sources like Xenophon insisted that women were primarily concerned with household work, their constitution making them unfit for the harsh, physical labor of agricultural work. The basket kalathos and the liknon both challenge this ideology yet remain allocated to it due to the sedentary nature of both labors. These objects proved that women did participate in some sort of agricultural labor but remained confined to the ideology that woman’s work was sedentary. Both shapes, along with the Frauenfest scene, shifted focus away from gender ideologies associated with wealth and domestic responsibilities and begin to reveal some of the primary concerns and responsibilities of Demeter’s sanctuary. These ceramics portray a concern surrounding fertility that was prevalent in the sixth century, particularly the first half. The Frauenfest represents a symbolic period in a young woman’s life that was viewed as tumultuous by Greek society. The chain dance’s association with fertility rites and the scene’s popularity in the first half of the sixth century show a clear period of heightened concern regarding fertility. This concern is once again reflected in the basket kalathoi and likna shapes. These two clay models demonstrate the presence of gender ideologies concerned with fertility at Demeter’s sanctuary. The additional concern surrounding the mother-daughter
relationship, transparent in the cakes on the likna, speak strongly of the concern placed on parthenoi and fertility.

This thesis contributed to the narrative surrounding women in ancient Greece through the study of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth. The analysis of the kalathos, pyxis/Frauenfest scene, and the liknon helped identify gender ideologies concerned with fertility and domestic responsibility and revealed a shift towards the idealism of material wealth in the latter half of the sixth century. Previous scholarship on the site's pottery and iconography, in addition to general studies of gender and religious space, served as the foundation of this thesis. The polis of Corinth has received much attention in the past century but scholarship regarding the Greek period of the polis remains challenged due to the lack of archaeological evidence. The challenge created by the lack of excavated sites within the polis appeared periodically throughout this thesis, primarily in the absence of other Acrocorinth sanctuaries and domestic housing remains.

The religious landscape of Acrocorinth, a topic particularly important due to the presence of Demeter’s sanctuary in the same space, appeared briefly in chapter two. The sanctuaries, altars, and temples that once dotted the road leading to Acrocorinth have remained undiscovered; the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore is the only excavated Acrocorinth sanctuary to date. Study of the religious landscape in which Demeter’s sanctuary was situated was primarily supported by Pausanias’s account of the sanctuaries in the second century C.E. Further study of the ritual landscape of Acrocorinth would require the identification of these other sanctuaries. None the less, the vast archaeological record left by ancient Corinthians at this site presents a unique opportunity for uncovering Corinthian gender ideologies centered on women.
The strong existence of domestic gender ideologies, revealed in the study of the kalathos, pyxis, and liknon, show how women were portrayed within the sanctuary. Domestic responsibility was an important facet of the ancient woman’s life, as seen in the popularity of the kalathos shape in the sanctuary. The ancient woman’s ability to manage a household and raise children is symbolic of ideologies surrounding domestic responsibility and reproductive fertility. The importance placed on domestic responsibility shifted in the mid sixth century, when objects that portrayed wealth began to gain popularity in the sanctuary. Domestic gender ideologies remained throughout the sanctuary’s history in the archaic and classical periods, but a new gender ideology emerged, one that expressed a shift towards material wealth in Corinth. Gender ideologies interwoven with the archaeological material at Demeter’s sanctuary come to life in the analysis of the kalathos, the pyxis, and the liknon and provide a sample of Corinthian concerns centered around gender roles. Room remains for further study into other ceramic shapes, metal, bone and stone objects, glass, stone sculpture, coins and figurines. In addition to studying women and gender ideologies within a given period, the site’s longlife span could potentially reveal shifting or emerging gender ideologies from the archaic, classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods. This thesis not only illustrated gender ideologies centered around domestic responsibility, reproductive fertility, and wealth, it also illustrated a shift towards a wealthier material culture in sixth century Corinth.

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3 Archaic figurines, bronze, silver, gold, iron, lead, bone, and stone objects, glass, stone sculpture, animal bones, seashells, and coins have yet to be published.
Glossary

Agoge: school Spartan boys entered once they turned seven.

Apometra: a share of an offering given to a priestess.

Gynaikonitis: woman’s room or woman’s quarters

Γυνή/ gyne: woman or wife

Hetaira: mistress or prostitute

Hierodules: temple prostitute

Hiersyna: sums charged to the person making the sacrifice or appropriated for the sacrifices.

Kalathos: a basket often used for wool, food, or milk.

Kotyle: a common drinking cup

Liknon: a clay model of the woven winnowing fan

Παις: child

Παρθένος/Parthenos: virginal maiden, young girl that has entered puberty and menstruation.

Pyxis: a jewelry or cosmetic box; toy container
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