



Kernos

Revue internationale et pluridisciplinaire de religion
grecque antique

13 | 2000
Varia

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Electronic version

URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/kernos/1295>

DOI: 10.4000/kernos.1295

ISSN: 2034-7871

Publisher

Centre international d'étude de la religion grecque antique

Printed version

Date of publication: 1 January 2000

ISSN: 0776-3824

Electronic reference

Elizabeth G. Pemberton, « Wine, Women and Song: Gender Roles in Corinthian Cult », *Kernos* [Online], 13 | 2000, Online since 21 April 2011, connection on 30 April 2019. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/kernos/1295> ; DOI : 10.4000/kernos.1295

Wine, Women and Song: Gender Roles in Corinthian Cult

The recent explosion of scholarship on Greek religion often concentrates on evidence from Athens, from which site there are both texts and visual evidence.¹ But Athenian cult activity may not be typical of other Greek sites, as indeed is evident in other areas of social, artistic, and political activity. Evidence from other sites must be studied apart from the Athenian model, for each Greek community had its own individuality. In this paper, an attempt is made to suggest particular practices in archaic Corinth. Despite the lack of ancient texts, and the relative paucity of rich iconography, there are two types of figures represented on Corinthian vases which are useful for the understanding of local cult practices. These figures are the well-known padded dancers and the chains (processions) of women, the so-called *Frauenfest* scenes. The majority of vases with padded dancers were exported, but the use and meaning of the vases with such figures on them may have been quite different in Syracuse or Delos than in Corinth proper. The figure type was also recreated in a number of other Greek ceramic shops (Athens, Sparta) and may have had quite different associations. Corinthian vases with the *Frauenfest* scene, on the other hand, are less frequently found outside the Corinthia. Indeed this type was much less popular than the padded dancer, and thus must be studied in its Corinthian context. Yet, I believe that the padded dancer also had a local significance in Corinth. By examination of these vases in their Corinthian contexts, the significance of both for cult activity may emerge. The last section of the paper discusses the scenes in relation to their contexts in two sanctuaries and their significance for banqueting.

Padded dancers

Of all the scenes on Corinthian vases, that of the padded dancers would seem to be the most problematic. Without texts of the archaic period describing Corinthian activity, whether in cult practice, early burlesque performances, or symposiast entertainment (all of which have been proposed

¹ See most recently R. PARKER, *Athenian Religion. A History*, Oxford, 1996.

as interpretations of the scene), only the vases themselves and their contexts can elicit meaning.² The padded dancer appears in the transitional period of Corinthian pottery and lasts through Late Corinthian, thus from the mid-7th to the later 6th century.³ The scenes, well catalogued and described by Seeberg,⁴ do show dancing, with the participants in an established form of costume, without masks, sometimes with phallus (but rarely phallic or erotic), often with wine implements of krater, jug, rhyton, etc. The dancers are humans, not satyrs. As Körte noted, there are [almost] no satyrs in Corinthian vase-painting; the dionysiac element appears through the padded dancers and the association with wine.⁵ The catalogue of steps as elucidated by Seeberg⁶ suggests some sort of acknowledged pattern of dancing, though it often can deteriorate into a riot. But the site and purpose of the dance cannot be discerned from the dancers alone. In this regard, the shapes of the vases, and especially the other scenes associated with the padded dancers may be of assistance.

On most vases the dancers are without specific or logical context. They dance singly or in groups, sometimes in a frieze of animals⁷, or with horse-men; very often there is no context. A number of aryballoi show the figures in a repetitive row. The image must have had specific meaning, probably cultic (see below) and would not need to be enlarged. A Corinthian buying a kotyle with one or two dancers moving among the animals would know what the figures meant. It contained an emblematic meaning, as did also the gorgo-

² The most recent summary of the various interpretations ("Bettler, Unterhaltungskünstler oder Aristokraten?") is by A. SCHÄFER, *Unterhaltung beim griechischen Symposion*, Mainz, 1997, p. 30-34.

³ AMYX, *CorVP*, Berkeley, 1988, p. 651. A descendant of the padded dancer may be seen in the classical period, in the problematic figure of the phlyax, as Trendall and others have suggested.

⁴ A. SEEBERG, *Corinthian Komos Vases*, London, 1971 (*BICS*, Suppl. 27) and more recently: *From Padded Dancers to Comedy*, in A. GRIFFITHS (ed.), *Stage Directions*, London, 1995, p. 1-12. The brief reference "SEEBERG" in many following notes refers to the first work.

⁵ KÖRTE, cited in R. HAMPE, *Dickbauchtänzer und Diebe auf Korinthischem Krater*, in *JdI*, 90 (1975), p. 88. An aryballos in Berlin has two silens/satyrs and three padded dancers (SEEBERG no. 229; G.M. HEDREEN, *Silens in Attic Black-figure Vase Painting*, Ann Arbor, 1992, p. 133); a lekythos also in Berlin shows satyrs and maenads (AMYX, *CorVP*, p. 270). There is one LC krater, from Phlius, with the representation of Dionysos, satyrs and maenads; even here, the satyrs are not very gross (W. BIEBS, *Excavations at Phlius, 1924. The Votive Deposit*, in *Hesperia*, 40 [1971], no. 36, p. 410-412; AMYX, *CorVP*, p. 590, no. 118) The very few representations of satyrs are noted by AMYX, p. 620-21 and also discussed by HEDREEN.

⁶ And earlier by G. FRANZIUS, *Tänzer und Tänze in der archaischen Vasenmalerei*, Göttingen, 1973.

⁷ On a fragmentary column-krater, one dancer even pats the face of a lion: see D.A. AMYX, P. LAWRENCE, *Corinth VII, ii: Archaic Corinthian Pottery and the Anaploga Well*, Princeton, 1975, no. 77, p. 30.

neion, the tripod, the sphinx, the winged horse. As each of these gains additional narrative meaning when combined with other figures (Perseus; Apollo and Herakles; Oedipus; Bellerophon), so too does the padded dancer when he is multiplied, or combined with other figures in other activities. But we must remember that the figure has its own intrinsic meaning, though we may not be certain what that meaning was.

Amyx noted that many of the vases with padded dancers have functions associated with wine: krater, oinochoe and kotyle, but virtually every shape of vase can be decorated with the figures: pyxides, plates, phialai, votive plaques, and "... the great preference for aryballoi and alabastra shows (quoting Seeberg) 'no obvious link' with their subject matter."⁸ So if iconography is related to the shape and function of the vase,⁹ then the meaning of the dancers is important in virtually every aspect of society in which vases functioned, for both men and women.

On four vases¹⁰ (but not on a krater), dancers are in company with a single banqueter. In his first discussion, Fehr did not offer a specific interpretation of the banqueter,¹¹ but he notes earlier arguments that suggested that the figure could be a reclining Dionysos.¹² It is important to remember that the true symposion cannot take place with only one person; thus the single figure (or in a few cases, one couch with a man and woman together) should be interpreted as not mortal. In addition there are a few scenes of padded dancers accompanying the return of Hephaistos, perhaps as many scholars have suggested, indicative of some sort of performance of a *thiasos*.¹³ The dionysiac connection seems plausible, despite the lack of

⁸ AMYX, *CorVP*, p. 651.

⁹ That of course begs the question: are shape and function related? Despite recent attempts to suggest that they are, especially in Attic vase-painting, the question needs much more analysis.

¹⁰ SEEBERG no. 224 (bowl, London, from Kamiros; AMYX, *CorVP*, p. 195, by the Medallion Painter), no. 225 (Athens, plate; this could be from Corinth; AMYX, *CorVP*, p. 229, Skating Painter); no. 228 (mastos, Paris, from where?; AMYX, *CorVP*, p. 502, unattributed), no. 240 (amphoriskos, London, from Corinth?; AMYX, *CorVP*, p. 270, Tydeus Painter). All four differ in the scenes: the lekanoid bowl in London has an animal frieze on one side, the plate has padded dancers and a large wine bowl; the mastos includes two men on horses, fallen dancers as well as upright ones; the London amphoriskos has both a reclining man and woman and women companions of the padded dancers.

¹¹ B. FEHR, *Orientalische und griechische Gelage*, Bonn, 1971, p. 32ff.

¹² "Payne und im Anschluss an ihn Christopoulou-Mortoja haben in dem Lagernden Dionysos vermutet, Greifenhagen sieht in ihm einen einfachen Symposiasten. Für beide Ansichten lässt sich kein zwingendes Argument vorbringen. Dagegen ist es denkbar, dass die Szene als Ganzes auf den dionysischen Kult zu beziehen ist." FEHR, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 33.

¹³ AMYX, *CorVP*, p. 621-622 and p. 651. See also HEDREEN, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 130 ff. But it is important to note that only two certain examples (with an additional two more possible representations) of this subject in fact exist in Corinthian vase painting.

representations of Dionysos himself. But in general in archaic Corinthian vase painting, representations of the gods are lacking, especially when compared with Attic work. Such representations may have been thought unnecessary or even inappropriate on vases.¹⁴

But more recently, Fehr has proposed another interpretation, that the above scenes call to mind the *akletoi*, the 'uninvited' who perform at the symposion for the guests.¹⁵ Fehr distinguishes between two types of symposia: those which show many symposiasts surrounded with the artefacts of the aristocratic life (hunting equipment, dogs, lyres) and those with the padded dancers performing without such artefacts. That is an important distinction; but I find no reason to believe that the dancers are performing at symposia, when there is only one symposiast represented. Most padded dancers appear in non-symposia scenes, which Fehr does not discuss.

Fehr notes that many of the scenes of the aristocratic symposia, very popular on kraters, show on the reverse other scenes of the aristocratic life, most commonly riders. There are very few kraters, to my knowledge, which combine the banquet on one side with the dancers on the other,¹⁶ which one might expect to find if in fact the padded dancers were a well-known feature of aristocratic entertainment. There are, however, a number of vases, including kraters which combine a frieze of padded dancers on one side and horsemen on the other.¹⁷ There are also vases which have padded dancers in the context of a drinking party, as shown for example on a kotyle from

¹⁴ The most popular deity is the winged mistress of the animals: Artemis, one assumes (AMYX, *CorVP*, p. 618). But she is not the chief deity of Corinth; her representation is emblematic, appropriate on vases mostly given over to the depictions of animals of various types. We must not suppose the Corinthians to be lacking in myth or imagination, but rather should realize that vases were not the medium for such expression. In addition, we may see here religious conservatism. These topics need to be much more fully explored.

¹⁵ B. FEHR, *Entertainers at the Symposium: the Akletoi in the Archaic Period*, in O. MURRAY (ed.), *Symptica*, Oxford, 1990, p. 185-195. For criticism see HEDREEN, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 134. A recent article by I. STARK, *Soziale Wurzeln der griechischen Komödie?*, in *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 74-75 (1992-93), p. 251-270, accepts Fehr's interpretation as supportive of her views on the origin of Greek comedy. But there are problems with her discussion, not least her association of padded dancers and Dionysos (p. 261); Dionysos is in fact about the least represented deity in Corinthian vase painting. See AMYX, *CorVP*, p. 620-621.

¹⁶ I have checked SEEBERG, BAKIR, and AMYX; SEEBERG lists only fragments from Cerveteri, now in Leipzig (237). There may, of course, be some in museums not known from these sources. A few other vases do combine them, as on a cup in Taranto, with dancers inside, banqueters (and hoplites) outside: SEEBERG no. 198; AMYX, *CorVP*, p. 199, related to Taranto Painter.

¹⁷ SEEBERG, nos. 147, 191-192, 197, 205, 234, 236, including one with Poseidon and youths on winged horses, no. 194, a krater by the Poteidan Painter (AMYX, *CorVP*, p. 266).

Corinth, now in Athens.¹⁸ The *akletoi* may have been a form of entertainment at the symposion, but I do not think that the padded dancers can be so identified. There could be a general reference to banqueting because many kraters (Amyx notes over 50¹⁹) show the dancers; but the association is really with the wine, whether served at private banquets, public feasts, sacrifices, etc. The more specific situations in which one finds padded dancers: with the solitary banqueter (honour for a hero or god), the Return of Hephaistos (performance), or with women dancers and officials (a festival, see the Berlin pyxis, discussed below) help to clarify their meaning. They dance, they drink, they in some way refer to or honour Dionysos. But they are not specific participants at private symposia.²⁰

We cannot put the padded dancers into a specific space; the scenes suggest activity around the krater or other wine implements, and the setting could be both indoor and outdoor. If the dancers are a part of cultic activity, we should note the similarity of costume to the later phlyax figures.²¹ The major difference is the use of masks by the latter. It is certainly possible that the riotous dance surely in honour of Dionysos (and most likely other deities as well), the movement that transformed the participant, was over the years codified into a theatrical burlesque that also transformed and liberated both participants and onlookers. It cannot be proven that the padded dancers were the immediate forerunners of phlyakes or comic performances. I suggest, however, that the 100+ years separating the last representations of padded dancers from the first Corinthian phlyax representations may have seen a great alteration in performance. The activity of the padded dancer may certainly have continued and evolved after the 6th century; we lack the evidence from vases and other sources to record it.

¹⁸ SEEBERG, no. 200; not in *CorVP*. See the very fine fragment C-73-73, from an oinochoe: D.A. AMYX, P. LAWRENCE, *Studies in Archaic Corinthian Vase-Painting*, Princeton, 1996 (*Hesperia*, Suppl. 28), no. 112, p. 32-33, pl. 27.

¹⁹ AMYX – LAWRENCE, *Corinth* VII, ii, p. 54, under no. 183.

²⁰ The most curious and difficult scenes appear on the Dümmler krater in the Louvre, well discussed by R. HAMPE *Dickbauchtänzer und Diebe auf Korinthischem Krater*, in *JdI*, 90 (1975), who summarizes the many interpretations of both sides of the vase. The problems of interpretation bring home the lack of Corinthian mythology, and the absence of texts to aid interpretation. Such must be done on internal evidence alone. The most important question is the relationship of the two sides, a question that bedevils much interpretation of vase painting, Attic as well as Corinthian. For Corinthian, I can only say sometimes yes, sometimes no. In this particular case, I cannot be sure. For other kraters, the juxtaposition of aristocratic scenes (symposia and riders for example) may be intentional.

²¹ See A.D. TRENDALL, *Phlyax Vases*, London, 1967 (*BICS*, Suppl. 19), nos. 14-16 for Corinthian examples; more recently I. MCPHEE, *Stemless Bell-Kraters from Ancient Corinth*, in *Hesperia*, 66 (1997), p. 99-146.

Specific Corinthian contexts for padded dancer vases are varied. Only four have been found in graves of the North Cemetery.²² A kotyle comes from a grave at Hexamilia.²³ So few is not surprising, given the general lack of figured decoration on vases in Corinthian graves. From Perachora²⁴ come one alabastron (1553), many aryballoi (1569, 1574-77, 1580, 1607, with many more noted), pyxides (actual numbers not given), kotylai (2452, 2488, 2489, 2507), cup (2543), phialai (2561-63), oinochoai (2134, 2139), and kraters (2244, 2253, with references to other examples). The sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia yielded ten aryballoi;²⁵ votive plaques with the subject were found in the sanctuary at Penteskouphi.²⁶ There is one aryballos from Temple Hill (from the small North Sanctuary, not the temple proper).²⁷ One fragmentary aryballos came from the Anaploga well, found in the level associated with the dump from a (as yet unlocated) sanctuary.²⁸ Only two vases with padded dancers come from the Demeter sanctuary.²⁹ There are of course many more vases with the scene on them in the Corinth museum, but these come from non-specific contexts (wells, domestic debris, etc).³⁰ The rarity of the padded dancer from the Demeter Sanctuary is important; it indicates that there was selectivity in sanctuary dedications and more specifically that the figure can be appropriate for one female deity, Hera (at Perachora), but not another. This is even more surprising, since it is very likely that Dionysos was worshipped in the Demeter Sanctuary at Corinth.³¹ I will come back to the significance of the contexts below.

²² C.W. BLEGEN *et al.*, *Corinth XIII: The North Cemetery*, Princeton, 1964, p. 100. Three are aryballoi (graves 156, two in grave 172), one is a bottle (outside offering for grave 157).

²³ P. LAWRENCE, *Five Grave Groups from the Corinthia*, in *Hesperia*, 33 (1964), grave E12, p. 95.

²⁴ SEEBERG lists the Perachora material under 'unclassified': U 5, 69-77, 102, 105-107, 110-111, 116-117, 140-148.

²⁵ SEEBERG, U22-31; AMYX, *CorVP*, p. 102, 106, 107

²⁶ SEEBERG U157-161.

²⁷ Other aryballoi from the same location are published by H.S. ROBINSON, *Excavations at Corinth: Temple Hill, 1968-72*, in *Hesperia*, 45 (1976), p. 216, pl. 55. SEEBERG, p. 54 refers to a krater fragment, C-50-5 (U123), as from Temple Hill; in fact it comes from a level in the South Stoa, in front of Shop XXVI.

²⁸ AMYX - LAWRENCE, *Corinth VII*, ii, An 149; see the discussion of the nature of the well's material by P. LAWRENCE, p. 63-68 and the list of possible sanctuary pottery on p. 96, n. 1. Much of the material associated with the sanctuary was unmendable and so was not published.

²⁹ E. PEMBERTON, *Corinth XVIII*, i: *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, The Greek Pottery*, Princeton, 1989, nos. 27 (plate), p. 83 and 255 (pyxis), p. 121.

³⁰ More examples have been most recently published by Amyx in AMYX - LAWRENCE, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 152 (index).

³¹ N. BOOKIDIS, R. STROUD, *Corinth XVIII*, iii: *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. Topography and Architecture*, Princeton, 1997, p. 247.

Thus in summary, the padded dancers are humans, not satyrs; these revellers dance in association with wine, with dionysiac connections, but such activity is appropriate for other deities as well (wine is, after all, a feature at the festivals of so many gods). There is at times a hint of sexual activity (phalloi, nude women), but nothing overt.³² They are not actors, as there is rarely a reference to masks; they perform in groups and just as often alone or placed in animal friezes, and on a few occasions they appear in a narrative context. They travel, as they are shown on vases in other cities, such as Athens, but I would doubt that they had the same meaning. In Athens they appear primarily on cups, for a limited period; they do not have the popularity of their Corinthian prototypes. They are a curiosity, but not an integral part of Athenian culture as of Corinthian.

Women in Chain Dance (*Frauenfest*)

Our second form of dance, the chain of women, is very different in tone and yet is found in several instances in association with padded dancers.³³ The women are robed in peploi, always symmetrically arranged in a row or a chain, holding hands, often with wreaths, executing a dance with order and control.³⁴ Visually they are the opposite of the men who dance sometimes in pairs, sometimes alone, sometimes in controlled fashion, sometimes in a riot. The male dance can become unpredictable, even verging on the wild. It may be a means of allowing disorder in a cultic context. The women, said in antiquity to be more wild than men, yet dance with restraint and in total control.³⁵

The chains of women are less linked with other scenes; unlike the male dancers, they are not interspersed with animals or horsemen or found in mythological scenes. Their dance is controlled, self-contained, apart from others. The scene is also far less popular, as most of the vases showing it are found in Corinthian contexts. The dates of production are shorter than for the padded dancers (last quarter of the 7th to the mid-6th century) and the vase shapes are much more limited. An uncommon shape, the bottle, is very

³² See AMYX, *CorVP*, p. 658-660.

³³ There are scenes with nude females dancing riotously with the padded dancers; these do not belong to the *Frauenfest*. Nor are the women maenads, but as so many have said, hetairai. Do they dance with the padded men in honour of Aphrodite?

³⁴ For discussion see I. JUCKER, *Frauenfest in Korinth*, in *AntK*, 6 (1963), p. 47-61. I cite this below as JUCKER. See also C. SCHEFFER, *Competition, Consumption and Cult in Archaic Black Figure*, in R. HÄGG (ed.), *Iconography of Greek Cult in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, Athens/Liège, 1992 (*Kernos*, suppl. 1), p. 117-141.

³⁵ This holds true for women on Corinthian vases; on contemporary Attic work they are often in more rapid movement. See for example an example from Perachora (T.J. DUNBABIN, *Perachora*, II, Oxford, 1962, no. 3637), a site where the more staid Corinthian dancers are also found (see below).

often so decorated.³⁶ The bottle may be specifically religious (for aspersion?); another type of cult vase, the phiale, is often decorated with the scene. The pyxis, considered to be a woman's vase, is also a frequent carrier. Dancing women also appear on wine vases: oinochoai and especially kotylai,³⁷ but to my knowledge only one krater.³⁸

There are several scenes with more intricate scenes which include both processing and dancing women. One of the most fascinating of these representations is on a pyxis in Munich, possibly by the Skating Painter (fig. 1).³⁹ On the shoulder are two similar groups of seated women, holding either a spindle or child (statue?); three standing women face them, holding wreaths or a child. The same composition of seated and standing women appears on the body of the vase, but enlarged with women who dance, or who carry baskets or a goat (for sacrifice); there is also a female aulete.⁴⁰ There are no men. The scene shows the various types of offerings and honours (including dancing) paid to seated deities by women and young girls. Very similar scenes appear on bottles in Béziers, Montpellier, Baltimore, and London.⁴¹ The latter shows only a procession,⁴² as none of the women hold hands. There

³⁶ JUCKER lists twenty-seven, half of which are from Corinth, the rest from sites in Greece and Sicily (not Etruria) or else unknown.

³⁷ Particularly by the Patras Painter, who also likes padded dancers: AMYX, *CorVP*, p. 186-189, thirty seven examples, where known mostly from Corinth or Corinthian sites, but also Taranto, Chaironeia, Rheneia, Syracuse, Tocra, Eloro. The one in Florence might be from an Etruscan site.

³⁸ From the Demeter Sanctuary, E. PEMBERTON, *Corinth XVIII*, i, no. 192, p. 108.

³⁹ AMYX, *CorVP*, p. 229; CVA Munich 3, p. 40-41, figs 6-9. The vase itself is in poor condition; the CVA drawings are indispensable. The vases attributed by Amyx to this hand bear subjects important for Corinthian cult activity.

⁴⁰ Female flute players continue into the 5th century, on Corinthian red figure: see S. HERBERT, *Corinth VII*, iv: *The Red-Figure Pottery*, Princeton, 1977, no. 81, p. 49-50.

⁴¹ Respectively JUCKER, no. 11 (AMYX, *CorVP*, p. 230); JUCKER no. 12 (AMYX, *CorVP*, p. 230, these both Béziers Frauenfest Painter); JUCKER no. 13 (AMYX, *CorVP*, p. 229, Skating Painter); JUCKER no. 2 (AMYX, *CorVP*, p. 230 (London Frauenfest Painter). In *BCH*, 94 (1970), p. 45-65, CALLIPOLITIS-FEYTMANS put forward the hypothesis that these vases, showing processions of women towards seated females with distaffs, represented rituals for Demeter, Kore and the Fates. Pausanias' list of the sanctuaries along the road of Acrocorinth is not well punctuated, and it is possible to read the text as indicating a common shrine of Demeter and Kore and the Fates, not separate ones. This interpretation has been followed by A.-F. LAURENS in her publication of the Montpellier bottle (*Société archéologique de Montpellier, Catalogue des Collections*, 1974, p. 32-34). However, there is no evidence for the inclusion of the Fates in the Demeter Sanctuary. Moreover, because we lack archaeological evidence for other shrines along the road, we cannot be sure that the sanctuary of the Fates and the others noted by Pausanias were in existence before the Roman sack of Corinth in 146 B.C..

⁴² For a recent discussion of the processing women, especially the female kane-phoros who appears in a number of these Corinthian vases, see L. Roccos, *The Kane-*

are small girls interspersed with the mature women; one suspects that they are too young to dance (see below).

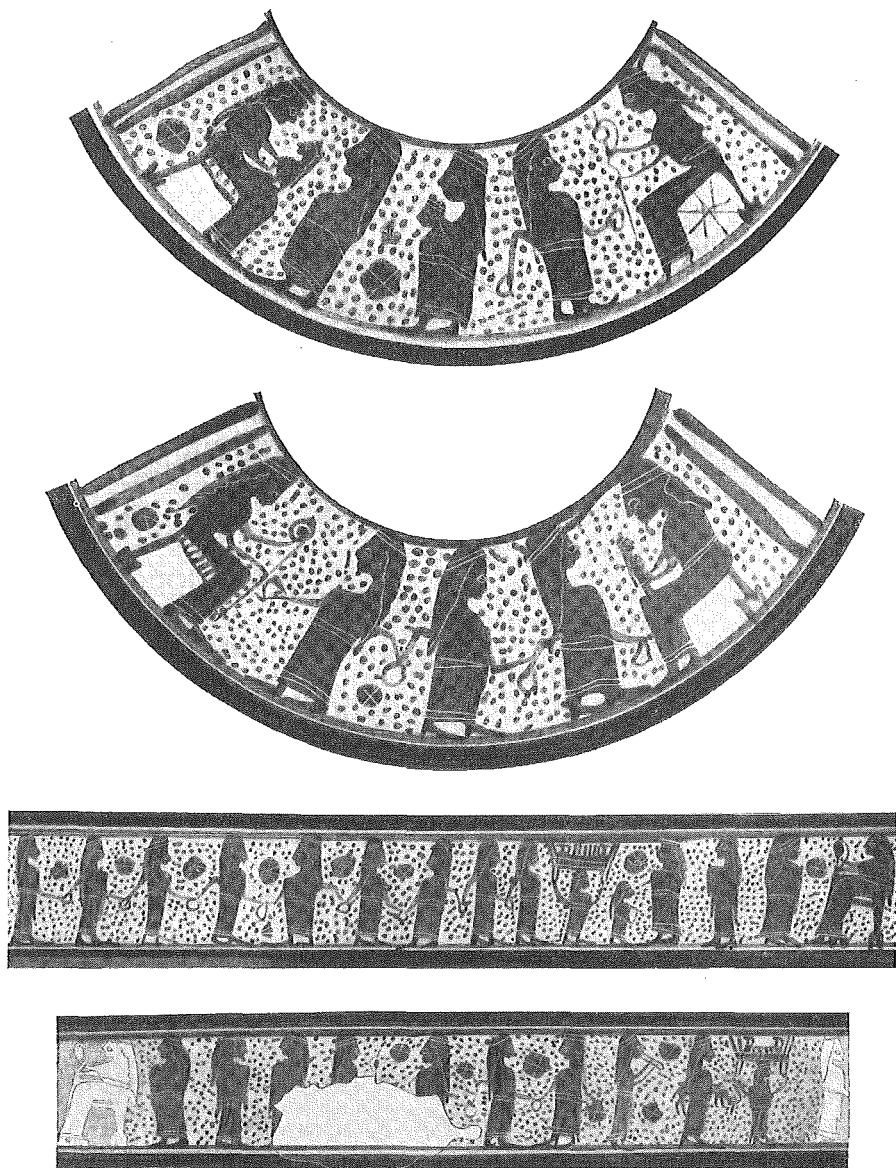


Fig. 1

phoros and her Festival Mantle, in *AJA*, 99 (1995), p. 641-666, with p. 651 for the Corinthian examples.

In many of the scenes the women, whether dancing or walking, appear to be honouring seated figures with spindles. There is an obvious second theme of weaving on several of these vases.⁴³ But it is difficult to link this festival with a specific deity, for votives of weaving (spindle whorls, loom weights) can be found in many different shrines of female gods; in Corinth Demeter received them, as did Hera at Perachora. Women dancing, processions of women and young girls, references to weaving, all these are appropriate themes for any female deity of the household, the family, the female community. Most important, in the orderly, stately, solemn manner of all participants, we see the opposite of the more spirited padded dancers.

Few of these chain dance scenes were found on vases deposited in graves (similar to padded dancers): two from the North Cemetery and an additional example from the 1915 graves.⁴⁴ Perachora⁴⁵ yielded many such vases: a hydriaskos (1297), five pyxides (1780, 1782, 1784-86),⁴⁶ four plates (1951-1954⁴⁷), one oinochoe (2042), four kotylai (2435, 2461, 2482, 2498), and one phiale (2569). There is also one pyxis lid from the votive deposit.⁴⁸ The four bottles from that site (2228-31) show women in procession, not holding hands. The involvement of women in sacrifice is suggested most clearly by

⁴³ For recent discussion on the theme of weaving, see for example M. LEFKOWITZ, *Women in the Panathenaic and Other Festivals*, in *Worshipping Athena*, Madison, 1996, p. 80-81, discussing the civic importance of weaving for women in Athens. The linking of weaving and dancing is not unique to Corinth; a lekythos by the Amasis Painter in New York shows a very specific scene of women weaving on the body of the vase, and female dancers on the shoulder. See S. LONSDALE, *Dance and Ritual Play in Greek Religion*, Baltimore/London, 1993, p. 215-217, and D. VON BOTHMER, *The Amasis Painter and his World*, Malibu/New York, 1985, no. 48, p. 185-187. It is entirely possible that, as in other cities, Corinthian women presented female deities with garments ritually woven; the cultural product that comes from this activity would parallel the ordered dance of the women. For this consideration of weaving as a measure of social organization, see most recently J. SCHEID, J. SVENBRO, *The Craft of Zeus*, Cambridge, 1996, especially p. 9-34.

⁴⁴ BLEGEN *et al.*, *Corinth XIII*, grave 162, a kotyle by the Patras Painter; AMYX, *CorVP*, p. 186; and grave 172, phiale, unattributed. For the 1915 graves, see J. BENTZ, *Pottery at Ancient Corinth from Mid-Sixth to Mid-Fifth Century B.C.*, PhD 1982, deposit A1-2, a LC kotyle.

⁴⁵ The references are, unless separately noted, to DUNBABIN, *op. cit.* (n. 35).

⁴⁶ There are also two pyxides (1781, 1783) which show women in procession, not holding hands, and with seated figures.

⁴⁷ 1951, at the right break, shows women holding hands, thus dancing, but at the right break is a smaller figure, a basket bearer. I had thought that the use of small figures holding the baskets was a convention in vase painting (and on the Pitsa plaque), to maintain size relationships, but I wonder if in fact young girls were often the carriers of baskets of offerings and sacrificial implements. Certainly one could diminish the basket and increase the height of the figure if necessary, as on Corinth T-132 (AMYX, *CorVP*, pl. 83,2, and p. 658, with varying interpretations: marriage procession? or offerings for Aphrodite?).

⁴⁸ H. PAYNE, *Perachora I*, Oxford, 1939, pl. 27, 10.

the scene on a fragmentary broad bottomed oinochoe from Perachora (no. 2066), showing a girl with the (sacrificial) basket, seven women wearing quite elaborate clothing, a man leading a bull, and on a nonjoining fragment, a woman with a goat (as on the Munich pyxis).



Fig. 2

The Sanctuary of Demeter yielded six examples,⁴⁹ including the only krater known to me so decorated. That may not seem many, but when one considers, in absolute numbers over the full period of their production, that far fewer examples of the female scene were made, as against the many examples showing padded dancers, a ratio of six to two is striking. One should remember also that padded dancers are particularly popular on aryballoi, and that shape is almost absent from the Demeter Sanctuary. This must have some bearing on the meaning of the scenes in general and cult practice in particular. That Hera receives both scenes in relatively equal numbers, but Demeter does not, is not in my opinion accidental. I would suggest that despite Jucker's lucid argument for Artemis as the deity honoured by the

⁴⁹ E. PEMBERTON, *Corinth* XVIII, i, nos. 192 (krater), 215 (bottle), 217 (pyxis-kalathos), 226 and 227 (kotylai), 235 (phiale).

dancing women, this scene may depict cult activity for other female deities as well as Artemis.⁵⁰ The rarity of padded dancers from the Demeter Sanctuary may be support for the idea that it was women who dined (and drank) in the Demeter sanctuary *hestiatoria*.⁵¹ I will return to this problem in the last section.



Fig. 3

⁵⁰ As also noted by G. FRANZIUS, *Tänzer und Tänze in der archaischen Vasenmalerei*, Göttingen, 1973, p. 102: "Nicht immer muss der Reigentanz, auch wenn er auf Vasen des gleichen Fundortes erscheint, mit ein und derselben Gottheiten verbunden werden." For Aphrodite's connection with the dance, see D. BOEDEKER, *Aphrodite's Entry into Greek Epic*, Leiden, 1974 (*Mnemosyne*, Suppl. 32), especially chapter two: Aphrodite and the χορός. It is interesting to note that at least three fragmentary kotylai by the Patras Painter with women holding wreaths (but not, apparently, dancing) have been found in the sanctuary of Poseidon at the Isthmus (Amyx, *Corinth* VII, ii, p. 39.). If the chain dance is indeed absent from archaic vases from that sanctuary, it may indicate the type of activity appropriate for Poseidon and Amphitrite.

⁵¹ N. BOOKIDIS, *Ritual Dining at Corinth*, in N. MARINATOS, R. HÄGG (eds.), *Greek Sanctuaries: New Approaches*, London 1993, p. 50-51.



Fig. 4

Some Corinthian sanctuaries have thus yielded both scenes. There are a very few vases which combine padded dancers and dancing women, unfortunately from no specific Corinthian contexts. Usually they occupy different registers on the same vase, as on a phiale in Athens, by the Patras Painter.⁵² A kotyle found in Taranto, also by the Patras Painter,⁵³ has four padded dancers and a flute player, and also athletes on one side (the

⁵² AMYX, *CorVP*, p. 188, SEEBERG no. 212, from Corinth (but where?). There are other vases that combine padded dancers with single women, not dancing, such as the plate in Athens with banqueter and padded dancers, cited *supra* n. 9. Here one woman plays the flutes, and three others (Amyx suggests they hold various objects) stand alone quietly amidst the cavorting men. An alabastron from a grave in Rhodes has in the top register two women, arms entwined, surrounded by padded dancers; but they do not form a true chain: SEEBERG no. 219, *Clara Rhodos* 6/7, p. 17, figs. 5-9, pl. I.

⁵³ AMYX, *CorVP*, p. 186, in Taranto, SEEBERG no. 222, illustrated in LO PORTO, *Ceramica Arcaica dalla Necropoli di Taranto*, in *ASAA*, 21/22 (1959-60), figs. 134-136. Fragments from Perachora, if from the same vase, would show both scenes: AMYX, *CorVP*, p. 187, SEEBERG no. 86bis. An example in Patras, listed by SEEBERG (no. 85) as having both scenes is not so noted by AMYX.

connection between them is not clear as the critical area is missing), and five women in a chain, separated by vertical rosettes from the dancers; there is no contact, they take no notice of each other. But one vase does show both male and female interacting, a pyxis in Berlin (figs. 2-4),⁵⁴ of globular shape without handles, a shape which allows a continuous register. As both Lonsdale and Amyx aver, the three groups of male dancers, chain of women, and dignified robed men (apparently unbearded) certainly seem to be involved in a festival of some sort. One male dancer dips a jug into a column krater, to offer wine to the robed men (officials?); other padded dancers carry rhyta, and a flute player in their midst signals the beginning of the livelier dance. The three groups are clearly interrelated by the way in which lead or end figures turn to the next group, and by the lack of any divisions between the groups.⁵⁵ Padded dancers and the chain of dancing women interact as on no other example. If this vase refers to a specific Corinthian festival, I would suggest it was one in which male and female worshippers had separate and discrete cult activities.⁵⁶

In his analysis of the scenes of dancing on the Shield of Achilles, where the same contrast of revelling men and orderly women is seen in the wedding procession, Lonsdale comments: "The tension between the orderly procession and the formal choral dances of the girls, on the one hand, and the exuberant play of the young men in the wedding party, on the other, is implied in the verb 'to revel' (κομᾶζω)."⁵⁷ We may note also the individuality of the padded dancers in so many of the scenes, for they are not visually united in a group activity, quite different from the figural repetition (one might say monotony) of the chain of dancing women or the closely related procession.

The 11th ode of Bacchylides is relevant in this iconography of male and female. It relates the story of the feud between Proetus and Acrisius.⁵⁸ The daughters of Proetus – darkhaired and untamed, maddened by Hera, fled

⁵⁴ SEEBERG no. 220, perhaps from Russia; see most recently LONSDALE, *op. cit.* (n. 43), fig. 4, p. 12-16; AMYX, *CorVP*, p. 655. A. SCHÄFER, *Unterhaltung beim griechischen Symposium*, Mainz, 1997, p. 32, wrote: "Durch den gegenseitigen Kontakt der drei Abteilungen wird deutlich, dass diese zu einem zusammenhängenden Festgeschehen gehören."

⁵⁵ LONSDALE, *op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 13.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 16, suggests Aphrodite, as he sees the padded dancer inviting the end woman to dance. I disagree, the gesture is a linking device.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 213. In her discussion of festival scenes, especially processions, comparing Boeotian, Attic and Corinthian versions, C. SCHEFFER notes that the Corinthian vases show almost exclusively women; few men can be found in processional scenes: "What we see here is a very segregated world" (*loc. cit.* [n. 34], p. 134). She suggests that we see more of Corinthian attitudes towards gender roles and the relations between male and female than of actual cult activity. I agree with the former but not the latter conclusion, for she does note that the solemn women and reveling men might be two faces of the same cult.

⁵⁸ BACCHYL., *Ode* 11, 112 (translation by the editor, D. Campbell), Cambridge / London, 1992, p. 182-185.

from Tiryns. Proetus prayed to Artemis to take away the madness from his daughters, vowing a sacrifice of 20 unyoked tawny hided oxen (his price for his 20 unyoked daughters) and Artemis heard him and persuaded Hera to "put an end to the god-forsaken frenzies of the bud-garlanded girls (κούρας). And they at once built a sanctuary and altar for her, and drenched it with the sheep's blood, and established the choruses of women (καὶ χοροὺς ἴσταν γυναικῶν)."

The implication is that the young women who dance in a precinct, sanctified by the sacrifice of domesticated animals, are the opposite of maddened frenzied girls – maenads of a sort – running amok in the wilderness. The young daughters have become women, tamed, yoked, civilized; the dance is the sign of this state.⁵⁹ That is perhaps why only women, not small girls,⁶⁰ dance on Corinthian vases, in a uniform and controlled manner; men who have control can release it under appropriate conditions. Dancing for women on our vases is an ordering force (Lonsdale's words), but for the padded dancers, a disruptive one.⁶¹

Wine, Women, and Song: Ritual Feasting in Corinth

I believe that the relative statistics of the two scenes, padded dancers and chains of dancing women, as found in the two sanctuaries of female deities, Hera at Perachora and Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth, are representative of the total numbers originally used, dedicated and discarded at those two sites.⁶² Both sanctuaries have been extensively excavated (though not com-

⁵⁹ Dancing may also be linked with fertility, necessary for the appropriate role of women in the Greek state. See BOEDEKER, *op. cit.* (n. 50), chapt. 2, specifically on Aphrodite and the dance/dancing place; LONSDALE, *op. cit.* (n. 43), especially chaps. 6 and 7.

⁶⁰ What may be the only textual reference to a dance in Corinth is in fact in honour of Hera Acraia, of seven youths and girls (scholiast to *Medea* line 264). – C. CALAME, *Les Chœurs de jeunes filles en Grèce antique*, Paris, 1977, p. 220-222, calls this an encroachment on Artemis' territory. It is believed to have been a ritual of expiation in Corinth – the legend concerning the children of Medea, killed by the people of Corinth, was in fact the *aitton* of the cult of Hera Acraia, to appease her anger. It would appear to have been some sort of ritual of adolescence; but there is no reflection of this to my knowledge on Corinthian vases; the women who dance on Corinthian vases appear, so far as we can tell, to be mature, although some scenes have small figures but not as part of the dance, as noted above.

⁶¹ A kotyle in Munich by the Patras Painter (a specialist in both male and female dances) may help by contrast to elucidate this meaning of the dance: a solemn chain of women on one side is balanced by the line of repeated hoplites. Thus we see women and men in their respective civilized communal roles: AMYX, *CorVP*, p. 186, pl. 72.

⁶² For a discussion of objects in the cult of Hera at Perachora, see B. MENADIER, *The Sixth Century BC Temple and the Sanctuary and Cult of Hera Akraia, Perachora*, PhD. 1995, especially chapt. 6. She cites, for example, the *koulouria* dedicated at the Heraion, but *likna* in the Demeter shrine; there are also some objects which are common in Hera

pletely), and the finds are either published or sufficiently known. How do we explain so few vases with padded dancers at the latter sanctuary? Was the komast scene, and its association with wine, deemed to be inappropriate for ritual activity there?

Certainly wine was consumed at the Demeter sanctuary; fragments of amphoras, kotylai, oinochoai are found in abundance, in the late 7th and 6th century levels (the period of our vases),⁶³ even though the actual dining rooms, in which such cultic drinking and feasting might have occurred, were not built until close to the end of the 6th century.⁶⁴ The building of these *bestiatoria* does not suggest new cult practices, but rather the creation of permanent facilities for rituals hitherto perhaps taking place in tents or simply in the open air. These buildings contained cooking facilities for meals, and cooking pots of various types were part of the sanctuary debris throughout its history; so we may conclude that both drinking and dining (simultaneously? at different festivals?) were regular activities in these buildings.⁶⁵

Corinthians evidently believed that formal banqueting was a necessary activity in cults; most of the major sanctuaries hitherto excavated (Hera at Perachora, Poseidon at Isthmia, Asklepios by the north wall of the city, as well as the Demeter shrine) have facilities for ritual dining, as do buildings in the central city.⁶⁶ Where the couches are preserved, it would appear that the Corinthian practice was for single banqueters; many of the couches are insufficiently long to accommodate more than one person.⁶⁷ Though the visual

shrines in different cities, including spits, not found in the Demeter sanctuary. The scarcity of archaic aryballoi in the latter sanctuary is another difference. Could not these preferences also extend to scenes on vases? Menadier argues that the nature of the deity is of greater importance than the preferences of the donor: "... the requirements of the deity would generally over ride the interests of the individual devotee." (p. 166). I concur.

⁶³ N. BOOKIDIS, *Ritual Dining in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore*, in *Sympotica*, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 92-93.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁶⁵ N. Bookidis and R. Stroud will discuss the types of festivals and the cult activities in a forthcoming volume of the Corinth series. The rituals include marriage: see G. MERKER, in *The Coroplast's Art*, New Rochelle, 1990, p. 125.

⁶⁶ The Centaur Bath, C.K. WILLIAMS, *Forum 1976: Forum Southwest*, in *Hesperia*, 46 (1977), p. 45-52. for Buildings I-IV: *Id.*, *Corinth, 1971: The Forum Area*, in *Hesperia*, 41 (1972), p. 164-174; *Id.*, *Corinth, 1972: the Forum Area*, in *Hesperia*, 42 (1973), p. 19-27. Some of these may have had cult activity, given the figurines and miniatures found there.

⁶⁷ See BOOKIDIS, *loc. cit.* (n. 51), p. 49: "... a minimum length of 1.75 to 1.80 m is needed to fit two adults, more if their legs were to be extended." The length of the couches in the Demeter sanctuary is 1.45-2.50 (but that upper limit is rare; 1.7-1.8 is more common); at the Asklepieion it is 1.82-1.89; and at Isthmia 1.65 (northeast cave) and 1.90 (theatre cave). For the Demeter couches: BOOKIDIS - STROUD, *op. cit.* (n. 31), table 3, p. 416-417. For Isthmia, O. BRONEER, *Isthmia II*, Princeton, 1973, p. 34 and 38. For the Asklepieion: C. ROEBUCK, *Corinth XIV*, Princeton, 1951, p. 52. Widths are usually about .80, though this also varies in the sanctuary of Demeter.

evidence for Corinthian feasting, especially on kraters, is earlier than any preserved couches, the vases show the same practice: single reclining figures. We should also note in these scenes a conspicuous absence of any sort of riotous activity or homosexuality. Corinthian representations of symposia are sober and restrained.⁶⁸



Fig. 5

A few Corinthian vases have representations of a single banqueter, reclining without any companions, which may reflect cult activity. Some show him with the padded dancers in a non-specific context,⁶⁹ but there are

⁶⁸ Most of the banqueting scenes suggest a private context, with armour, dogs, musical instruments and the like appropriate for a non-religious setting. The single banqueter appears therefore to be the rule whether in ritual or private contexts. There is one exception to this, however: three vases show male and female reclining together. These three kraters were found in Italy (the example in Florence is surely from the area, and the vases in Detroit and the Louvre are from Caere), and have been explained as made specifically for the Etruscan market, where such mixed dining seems to have been practiced: J. DE LA GENIÈRE, *Les acheteurs des cratères corinthiens*, in *BCH*, 112 (1988), p. 83-90. We should not use these three kraters as evidence for greater integration of men and women when dining in Corinth.

⁶⁹ See above, p. 87 and n. 10. A plate in Athens by the Skating Painter has such a scene. AMYX, *CorVP*, pl. 97.

also a few which are surely cultic. A pyxis in Paris, by the Skating Painter, whose work has been noted above, is supposed to be from a grave between Corinth and Sicyon (figs. 5-8).⁷⁰ One male reclines on a couch; another seated at the edge has his feet washed. Other figures on the vase show women in procession (not holding hands, and so not dancing) toward a cult statue (?), which is being dressed or cleansed. Other figures carry sacrificial or votive objects: basket with oinochoai, a goat, spindles, wreaths. The activity suggests a shared cult of a male and a female deity. The single reclining banqueter is more likely to be a hero or deity, not a symposiast, equivalent to the Attic representations of the reclining/feasting Herakles or Dionysos.⁷¹



Fig. 6

⁷⁰ Bib. Nat. 94; AMYX, *CorVP*, p. 229.

⁷¹ For the reclining Herakles: A. VERBANCK-PIÉRARD, *Herakles at Feast in Attic Art: A Mythical or Cultic Iconography*, in HÄGG (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 85-106. More recently, T. CARPENTER, *A Symposion of Gods?*, in O. MURRAY, M. TECUSAN (eds.), *In Vino Veritas*, London, 1995, p. 145-163. If the single banqueter is divine, it should be Dionysos; in Carpenter's words, "He [Dionysos] is pre-eminently the god who reclines." (p. 147).



Figs. 7 & 8

The Demeter Sanctuary contained archaic vases with only two representations of the padded dancer and none of banqueters; but it did yield some later terracotta figurines of the reclining banqueter type.⁷² The inclusion of this type of dedication throws light on the unpopularity of padded dancers on vases from the same sanctuary. The reclining male figure has specific reference to cult activity of feasting, probably both drinking and eating, as the figurine can carry drinking vessels, fruit, or other objects, such as a lyre. It is appropriate as a dedication for both men and women, as it is an accepted type, relevant to the cult activity.⁷³ That all these figurines from the Demeter Sanctuary are male does not obviate against female dining. Because the sanctuary may also have honoured Dionysos at separate festivals,⁷⁴ the banqueting hero would be an appropriate dedication. In contrast to the banqueter, the padded dancer imagery refers not to ritual feasting and drinking, available, we believe, to both men and women in the Sanctuary, but to specific male activity associated with wine and most particularly Dionysos (but other deities are not excluded). The Berlin pyxis (figs. 2-4), discussed above, shows the padded dancers and officials directly connected to the wine vessel; the dancing women are removed from it.⁷⁵ This spatial differentiation is reinforced by the lack of references to wine in any *Frauenfest* scenes.

Thus, the paucity in the Demeter Sanctuary of vases showing padded dancers suggests that the activity implicit in those figures was not appropriate for that particular sanctuary. Though women did feast and drink in the Demeter Sanctuary, the padded dancer was not popular, because that image reinforced the male connection with wine. In this shrine, women partici-

⁷² My thanks to Gloria Merker, who informs me that fifty-five examples of the banqueter type were found in the Demeter Sanctuary; her publication of the Demeter figurines is forthcoming. For discussion of the type: A. STILLWELL, *Corinth XV, ii: The Potters' Quarter, the Terracottas*, Princeton, 1952, class XIV. According to Dentzer, the banqueting figurine begins in the second half of the 6th century in Samos and Rhodes, and appears in Corinth at the end of the 6th: J.-M. DENTZER, *Le motif du banquet couché dans le Proche-Orient et le monde grec du VII^e au IV^e siècle avant J.-C.*, Rome, 1982 (BEFAR, 246), p. 168-181 for the Corinthian examples. Dentzer includes only the examples from the Potters Quarter and general excavations, but none from the various hero shrines, the Demeter Sanctuary and other sites in Corinth. The reclining banqueter is the male equivalent to the popular kore type, holding fruit, flower, animal, bow or wreath. These two types are representative of the major cult activities: ritual meals, votive offerings, and chains of dancing women. Both seem to appear in Corinth at the same time, in the late 6th or early 5th century.

⁷³ There are female banqueters from other sites, most notably Morgantina, but for whatever reason, the Corinthians did not create their own female equivalent. The reclining male type was established as appropriate for cults where ritual dining took place, whether by men or women.

⁷⁴ See BOOKIDIS - STROUD, *Corinth XVIII*, iii, p. 247.

⁷⁵ There are also different forms of filling ornament (or lack of it) underscoring the separation of the groups.

pated in activity more usually associated with men; so images of women as the proper controlled dancers were appropriate dedications, if only to remind them of their more usual role.⁷⁶ Of course, the imagery of dancing women was suitable in its own right for use at and dedication in a shrine of household deities.⁷⁷

It is, I believe, no accident that the chain dance is preferred at the Demeter Sanctuary. But the inclusion of both scenes at Perachora in relatively equal numbers may help to discern cult activity at that site. The larger number of padded dancer scenes would suggest the exclusion of women from wine and feasting at Perachora. Indeed, only one figurine of the banqueting hero was dedicated at that sanctuary;⁷⁸ so formal feasting and drinking as a major cult activity may not have been so important.⁷⁹ In her study of the cult activity at Perachora, B. Menadier has postulated chthonic rites at that shrine, as well as initiation rituals for both boys and girls.⁸⁰ Dedications of vases with representations of both padded dancers and dancing women, showing fundamental differences for male and female activity in cult, would be indicators of acceptable behaviour. May we argue that the worship of Hera, goddess of family and *oikos*, reinforced normal roles, as shown in the two types of scenes; but cult activity in the sanctuary of Demeter reversed them, or at least temporarily upset them, by allowing women access to male activities and privileges in the dining rooms of that

⁷⁶ Thus I believe it is not coincidental that the only krater so far known with dancing women on it is from the Demeter Sanctuary; the formality and orderliness of their dance replaces that other scene of dancing which is much more common on Corinthian kraters.

⁷⁷ BOOKIDIS – STROUD, *Corinth* XVIII, 3, p. 411: Demeter Epoikidie.

⁷⁸ H. PAYNE, *Perachora* I, Oxford, 1938, no. 294, p. 254, pl. 114; no additional examples are mentioned.

⁷⁹ That would be reinforced by the presence of only one dining area, possibly reserved for sanctuary officials or important visitors. For a revised date of the Perachora building (late 6th rather than 4th century) see R.A. TOMLINSON, *The Chronology of the Perachora Hestiatorion and its Significance*, in *Sympotica*, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 95-101. He suggests that "... hestiatoria in sanctuaries with their relatively small number of couches must have catered for an élite..." (p. 100). But the numbers of dining rooms in the Demeter shrine, together with provisions for cooking meals, show that here the privilege of dining in actual buildings was available to a far greater number. One other building may have offered dining facilities: the so-called Hera Limenia temple of the upper terrace at Perachora was re-identified as a hearth building or *hestiatorion* by Tomlinson. I am not convinced; for this identification (and a counterargument), see most recently A. MAZARAKIS AINIAN, *From Rulers' Dwellings to Temples*, Jonsered, 1997, p. 155.

⁸⁰ MENADIER, *op. cit.* (n. 62), chap. 7. This may also explain why scenes with processions of women and young girls are found on vases from Perachora, but not, to my knowledge, in the Demeter sanctuary. There may have been rites of passage in the latter sanctuary, but not for young girls.

sanctuary. Bremmer has characterized Demeter and Dionysos as major gods of disorder.⁸¹

This may be taking the evidence too far. Let me end with this suggestion: any interpretation of padded dancers, dancing women, banqueting, or other religious activity must be related to the individual city and sanctuary. By discussing the Corinthian examples of two scenes from two Corinthian shrines, some greater understanding may be gained of Corinthian cult roles of men and women, and attitudes towards those roles.⁸²

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Credit line

Fig. 1: Munich, 7741, drawing from CVA Munich 3.

Fig. 2-4: Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz – Inv. V.I.4856.

Fig. 5-8: Cabinet des Médailles, Paris – Bib. Nat. 94.

⁸¹ J. BREMMER, *Greek Religion*, Oxford, 1994, p. 15-23, especially 21. This characterization stems from Bremmer's analysis of divine roles on the François Vase: "... the great gods who went on foot, Demeter and Dionysus, are those with festivals in which the normal social order was temporarily dissolved, be it by the dominance of women or the prominence of wine and the phallus." See also A. BRUMFIELD, *Aporreta*, in R. HÄGG (ed.), *The Role of Religion in the Early Greek Polis*, Stockholm, 1996, p. 68: "Demeter and Dionysos were both the patrons of festivals characterized by socially sanctioned impropriety."

⁸² My thanks to Ian McPhee, Nancy Bookidis, and especially the anonymous referee, all of whom assisted greatly with this study.