The Local Women of Archaic Greece
Corinthian Aristocrats

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ABSTRACT

The lived reality of women in the ancient world has only recently become the topic of scholarly inquiry. Indeed, ancient authors rather underscored the deeds of great kings and warriors than those of the women around them. However, the influence of second and third wave feminism on the historical discipline has considerably altered this conception. Ignited by the works of established classicists on issues of gender and sexuality, this movement sought to reinstall women into the broader historical narrative and prove that, contrary to what the literary sources tell us, they were more than just passive witnesses of their times.

This thesis builds on this perspective and seeks to examine the role that women played in the articulation of elite identity in Archaic Corinth. The analysis of their depiction on the local artistic production enables the understanding of the prominent place that they occupied during this time of political turmoil, while also offering a thought-provoking insight into elite women's active social role.

ABRÉGÉ

La place femmes dans l'antiquité n'a que récemment fait l'objet de l'attention des historiens. Négligées par les auteurs anciens qui préféraient se pencher sur les exploits des grands politiques et stratèges plutôt que sur les femmes les entourant, elles ne reçurent guère plus de considération de la part des modernes. Ce n'est qu'avec la montée des deuxièmes et troisièmes vagues de féminisme des années 70 et 80 que le rôle et la place des femmes dans l'antiquité devinrent des sujets à teneur académique.

En concordance avec ce courant, la présente thèse propose une nouvelle perspective sur le rôle des femmes dans l'articulation du discours aristocratique à Corinthe durant la période archaïque, époque marquée par des troubles politiques et sociaux. Bien que laissées de côté par les sources littéraires, elles ont néanmoins joué un rôle primordial dans la définition identitaire élitiste. Une étude de la représentation artistique des femmes dans la production corinthienne de cette période permet de mieux saisir leur importance.

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INTRODUCTION

"Perfectly negligible, a harem prisoner."[1] It is in such terms that E. A. Wright described the Greek woman in his 1925, *Greek Social Life*. This perspective of Greek mothers, wives, and daughters has been a cornerstone of ancient history for decades, and historians rather focused on the deeds of great politicians and kings than on those of the women in their lives. However, this approach has become increasingly challenged thanks to the influence of second and third waves feminism in the humanities. Indeed, the study of women and gender in the ancient world has become a dynamic hub of research over the last decades. Providing a new lens with which to look at the existing material, it sought to re-establish women in the historical narrative and to add a new dimension to a discipline that was otherwise largely male-oriented.[2]

New cross-disciplinary scholarship that incorporated psychology, anthropology, sexology, and ethnography into the study of classical cultures helped to increase the interest of new generations of researchers. In the 1970's and early 1980's, issues of gender and sexuality became increasingly visible. The works of established specialists, such as Mary Lefkovitz on gender, or the pioneering work of K.J. Dover on Greek homosexuality, further helped to accentuate the academic value of this emerging field.[3] The 1980's and 1990's saw the publication of entire sourcebooks devoted to women in antiquity, such as Sarah Pomeroy's groundbreaking *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* in 1975 and *Women's*

[1] E. A. Wright, *Greek Social Life* (Toronto: Dent, 1925).
[2] On this see notably Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz, "Introduction," in *Feminist Theory and the Classics*, eds. Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz and Amy Richlin (New-York, London: Routledge, 1993): 1-17.
[3] Mary R. Lefkovitz, *Heroines and Hysterics* (New-York: St-Marteens Press, 1981); with Maureen B.Fant, *Women's Life in Greece and Rome* (London: Duckworth, 1982); K.J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1989).

History and Ancient History in 1991, the Arethusa papers *Women in the Ancient World* in 1984, or Sue Blundell's 1995 *Women in Ancient Greece*.[4] This new approach led to the recognition of gender as an "organizing principle of human history."[5]

Since then, comprehensive volumes have covered a plethora of aspects of women's lives ranging from their influence in religion to their role in politics. Scholars now concentrate on the new insight that this lens provides to existing material, stressing the complexity and multilayered aspects of daily life in antiquity.[6]

The present thesis aims at building on this movement to provide a different interpretation of the lives of women in Archaic Greece. More specifically, I intend to analyze the role that women played in the articulation of a local aristocratic discourse in Corinth, during a time of political turmoil and social upheaval. I will do so by framing my argument around the localism paradigm that builds on the differences, contradictions, and complexities encountered in sources, stressing that the lived reality in a specific locality affected particular development and individuality.[7] Indeed, the reality of an aristocratic woman in Archaic Athens would have been different from the daily life of the daughter of a so-called tyrant in Epidauros.[8] The localism paradigm helps to

[4] Sarah Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (New-York: Stocken Books, 1975); *Women's History and Ancient History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); John Peradotto and J.P Sullivan, *Women in the Ancient World: The Arethusa Papers* (Albany: State University of New-York Press, 1984); Sue Blundell, *Women in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1995).
[5] Ian Morris, "Archaeology and Gender in Early Archaic Greece," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 129 (1999): 305.
[6] Sorkin Rabinowitz, "Introduction," 9.
[7] This is inspired by the broader frame of reference of the "Parochial Polis" research project at McGill University, led by Professor Hans Beck. On this, see notably Hans Beck, "Dem Lokalen auf der Spur. Einige Vorbemerkungen zur Parochial Polis," in *Von Magna Graecia nach Asia Minor. Festschrift für Linda-Marie Günther zum 65 Geburtstag,* eds. Hans Beck, Benedikt Eckhardt, Christoph Michels, and Sonja Richter (Wiesbaden, 2017): 35-54.
[8] I contextualize this later.

delve into the complex, multilayered, and kaleidoscopic narratives that are hidden behind 'big history', assigning specificity and distinctiveness to people, places, and processes.

To get a better sense of the lives of women in our period, one has to investigate how they were conceptualized in literature. This approach will not only allow sketching the contrasting ways in which women were presented in different genres, but also in different regions. This will further stress the importance of localism in an engaging discussion of the lived reality of women in the Archaic Period.

In the first chapter, I will analyze how women were negatively depicted in some of our sources and indeed how a clear sense of misogyny can be detected in the texts of Hesiod, Semonides, Archilochos and in fragments of Anakreon or Hipponax.

In the second chapter, I will show how Homer provides a counterbalance to the negative portrayal of women through the analysis of some of the main female characters in his works. I argue that, although not exempt from negative connotations, the Homeric epics offer a much more nuanced approach to gender, indicating that the Archaic ethos was not necessarily as absolute as some of our sources might show.

In the third chapter of this thesis, I will shift the perspective from the lyric and imaginary to real people and events, and discuss women's voices and their discourses of self-definition. For this purpose, I will offer some general facts about women of the elite through the prism of the most famous of them: Sappho of Lesbos. Using her work and aspects of her life, I will outline how different the lived reality of a woman would have been compared to what poetry tells us. To

do so, I will provide information from a plethora of sources ranging from fragments of poetry to civic codes and epigraphy. Through this, I intend to show how a close analysis of alternative sources can help draw a completely different portrait of the situation, and argue that women of the upper class were not silent and passive witnesses of events, but rather engaged in the social dynamics of their time.

In the fourth chapter, I will dive more specifically into the local realm of Archaic Corinth. Since John Salmon's 1984 publication *Wealthy Corinth,* no comprehensive study of this city has been produced. Thus, the place of women in the broader history of this locality has never been studied. However, I intend to show that some things can indeed be said about elite women in Corinth. Yet, in order to analyze the role that women played in the articulation of this aristocratic discourse, one must understand how the elites were perceived and how they self-identified in the Archaic Period. I will hence firstly provide an overview of aristocratic ethics and values and underscore what elements were parts of this identity discourse. Secondly, I will offer an overview of the historical narrative of this period and of the political situation in Corinth. I will argue that the oligarchy of the Bacchiads and the rise and fall of the Cypselids had a deep and transformative impact on the elite and their discourse of self-identity. Unsurprisingly, women are absent from this narrative or only mentioned in passing, always in relation to the deeds of their male kin. However, I intend to show that this does not necessarily reflect reality.

In the fifth and final chapter of this thesis, I will demonstrate that the study of other source material can provide a much-needed counterbalance to the literary account. I will argue that although absent from our written sources, the local elite women of Corinth played a central role in the reassertion of aristocratic identity. By offering a thorough analysis of iconography in

Archaic Corinthian art, I advance that a specific motif, the *Frauenfest,* is indicative of the significant social role that women endorsed in elite interactions in this period. I suggest that the chronology of the emergence and subsequent desuetude of this motif coincides with a moment of paramount importance for the local aristocracy and that it constituted a response to the political developments of the time. My particular reading of the pattern allows the modern reader to get a better sense of the role of women in Corinth by asking *why* they were chosen to be represented on such vessels and to consider the implications of such representation. This analysis of material evidence enables us to reinsert women into their local social and political narrative from which they were otherwise absent.

Chapter I

The Race of Women: Misogyny in Archaic Greek Literature

To study the lived experience of ancient Greek women is a challenge. Indeed, modern scholars are faced with a problem of sources. They are at best scarce, at worst inexistent. Another issue is that women were rarely given a voice in ancient Greece. Most of the information that we know about them comes from sources transmitted by men, for a male audience, thus tainted with gender bias. The few pieces of literature that one can gather about archaic Greece in general are pieces of poetry, mostly lyric, and, of course, the epics of Homer and Hesiod. The information they contain about women is probably not "factual," but can give a good glimpse into archaic attitudes towards them. Here, two distinct poles seem to appear: on the one hand, some very negative depictions of female characters, while on the other, a more positive attitude is present in Homeric poetry. The purpose of this chapter is to gather evidence for the negative perspective and to examine how a form of misogyny is present in some sources. The term is broadly defined as a "dislike of, contempt for, or ingrained prejudice against women."[9] Hence, prejudice, mistrust, and hatred of women are components of the works of Hesiod, Semonides, Archilochos, Hipponax and Anakreon. But what motivated this aversion for women and what exactly were they blamed for?

a) Hesiod

Hesiod of Ascra, in Boeotia, was a poet of the 8th century BCE.[10] If we believe his work to be autobiographical, he was the son of a poor merchant from Asia Minor who later settled in

[9] "Misogyny" in Oxford English Dictionary Online, accessed February 2018.
[10] Unless specified, all dates are BCE.

Boeotia.[11] Living as a shepherd, he had a dispute with his brother Perses over inheritance rights.[12] He is known for his two main pieces, the *Theogony* and *Work and Days*. The *Theogony* is a mystical retelling of the creation of the gods and set in a mythical age whereas *Work and Days* offers the author's vision of his own time and land and is aimed at advising his own brother Perses on how to lead a good life and manage his property. In the *Theogony*, Hesiod mentions the creation of the first woman by the gods. Of this creation, he gives further details in *Work and Days.* Hesiod's story is revealing of the author's attitude towards women. For him, they are first and foremost a curse, a punishment sent by Zeus to take revenge on Prometheus and the human race. At an age and time when men and gods cohabited and ignored turmoil and sickness, Pandora marks the effective separation between mankind and immortals. It is through her, and the sexual reproduction she embodies that this link is effectively severed: from *anthropoi*, men became *andres*.[13]

The first woman is thus designed as a beautiful evil, meant to bring misery upon mankind. Hesiod puts these words in Zeus's mouth: "To them I shall give in exchange for fire *an evil in which they may all take pleasure* in their spirit, embracing their own evil."[14] Here, the use of the word κ α κ ό ν to describe Pandora links her not only to the idea of malice but also, if understood literally, as being *ill* and even *poisonous* thus reinforcing the idea that she is baneful to whoever accepts her.[15] The same term is used in the *Theogony*.[16] However, her true nature is

[11] See Gregory Nagy, "Hesiod and the Ancient Biographical Traditions," in *Brill's Companion to Hesiod*, eds. Franco Montanari, Antonioa Rengakos and Christos Tsagalis (Leiden, Boston: Brills, 2009): 271-313 and Nagy, *Greek Mythology and Poetics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990): 36-85 for mythological aspects of the life of Hesiod.
[12] Hes. *Theog*. 22-34; Hes. *WD.* 27-41; On the historicity of the dispute, see Michael Gagarin, "Hesiod's Dispute With Perses," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 104 (1974): 103-104, Footnote 1.
[13] Nicole Loraux, "Sur La Race des Femmes et Quelques-Unes de ses Tribus," *Arethusa* 11, no.1 (1978): 47.
[14] Hes. *WD.* 54-57.
[15] *κακόν* in LSJ and Middle Liddle.

concealed as Hephaistos crafts her in the image of the goddesses.[17] She is then given attributes by the other gods: "He told Athena to teach her crafts, to weave richly worked cloth, and golden Aphrodite to shed grace and painful desire and limb-devouring cares around her head; and he ordered Hermes, the intermediary, the killer of Argus, to put a dog's mind and a thievish character into her."[18] The imagery of the dog is particularly enthralling as it is often used pejoratively in archaic literature where both men and women are called "dog-like" in an insulting manner.[19] In her book the *Feminine and the Canine in Ancient Greece*, Cristina Franco points out that the image of the dog is used to describe notoriously negative examples of females: Helen, the famous adulteress, Clytemnestra, her sister who would commit both adultery and murder, but also the "Erinyes, goddesses of vengeance; Hecate, goddess of the crossroads, who wanders through graveyards by night; destructive monsters such as Scylla and the Sphinx; the raving bacchantes possessed by Dionysus."[20] Thus, the image here is clearly negative. The fact that women have a dog-like mind means that they are more prompt to act instinctively, but are also deprived of judgment and morals. Their nature is thus intrinsically distinct from men.

Hesiod goes even further in the *Theogony,* where he says that: "all the terrible monsters the land and the sea nourish; he put many of these into it, wondrous, similar to living animals endowed with speech."[21] Pandora is thence further dehumanized and vilified to the point where she develops a monstrous nature. This dehumanization of Pandora is epitomized by the fact that she is a pure forgery. In *Work and Days*, Hesiod explains that: "[Zeus] commanded renowned

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[16] κακὸν ἀνθρώποισι·in *Theogony*, 570 and καλὸν κακὸν in *Theogony*, 585
[17] Hes. *WD.* 63-64.
[18] Hes. *WD.* 65-69.
[19] Cristiana Franco, *Shameless: The Canine and the Feminine in Ancient Greece* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015), 3.
[20] Franco, *Shameless*, 4.
[21] Hes. *Theog.* 582-584.

Hephaestus to mix earth with water as quickly as possible, and to put the voice and strength of a human into it, and to make a beautiful, lovely form of a maiden."[22] Pandora is thus an utter fabrication made from sterile clay. Even if fashioned to resemble the human form, she is inherently *not* human. This fact is further enhanced in the *Theogony* when Hesiod moves on to describe women as a separate race, because of their common descent from Pandora: "for of her is the deadly race and tribe of women."[23] Thence, Hesiod clearly sees women as a different entity from men, with the use of *γένος* and *φῦλα* implying both a physiological and cognitive segregation.

When Pandora does receive human attributes, they are negative. Hence, she is given a "thievish character."[24] This shows that she is, by nature, deceitful and traitorous. The image here could not be less ambiguous: women rob men. They are also often depicted as thieves *per se* in Hesiod, abusing their husbands and their belongings. Hesiod warns his readers that a bad wife "singe[s] her husband without a torch, powerful though he be, and gives him over to a raw old age."[25] Not only do women rob their husbands of their possessions and of the fruit of their labour, they also steal their very youth and strength. Here, the wife slowly consumes her husband's life force without him noticing it, hence the absence of the torch. This can be linked with the traitorous character of women that Hesiod highlights through the birth of Pandora. A clear sense of suspicion is also present in his work. Just like thieves, women are described as prone to lying and deceive: "Do not let a fancy-assed woman deceive your mind by guilefully cajoling you while she pokes

[22] Hes. *WD.* 60-62.
[23] Hes. *Theog.* 591.
[24] Hes. *WD.* 78-79.
[25] Hes. *WD.* 704-706.

into your granary: whoever trusts a woman, trusts swindlers."[26] Lies are indeed put into Pandora's breast by Hermes even before her own voice: "the killer of Argus, set lies and guileful words and a thievish character, by the plans of deep-thundering Zeus; and the messenger of the gods placed a voice in her and named this woman Pandora."[27] The first woman is hence programmed for dishonesty even before being able to articulate it. Furthermore, she receives this trait before even being named, thus stressing this very primordial aspect of her nature.

Consequently, women are inherently deceitful and beauty and love are often to blame for men's gullibility again epitomized by the tale of Pandora. Aphrodite gives her "grace and painful desire and limb-devouring cares,"[28] but she is also adorned richly as to make her more appealing: "Athena gave her a girdle and ornaments; the goddesses Graces and queenly Persuasion placed golden jewellery all around on her body; the beautiful-haired Seasons crowned her all around with spring flowers; and Pallas Athena fitted the whole ornamentation to her body."[29] Here, the magnificence of her adornment is aimed at hiding Pandora's true nature. Her beauty is also presented as just another deceit, an artifice and an illusion emphasized by her jewellery and finery.[30] Interestingly, this passage comes before lies and thieve-like character are placed inside her breast, hinting that although beauty and ornament may not be bad in and of themselves, they would often hide the ugly truth.

Moreover, it is the first woman who opens the jar of evils, condemning humanity to an eternity of hard work and suffering. Thus not only are women an evil, they also condemn men to

[26] Hes. *WD.* 375.
[27] Hes. *WD.* 78-80.
[28] Hes. *WD.* 65-66.
[29] Hes. *WD.* 72-76.
[30] A.S Brown, "Aphrodite and the Pandora Complex," *The Classical Quaterly* 47, no.1 (1997): 37.

diseases and "countless other miseries."[31] Pandora also marks the end of the golden age when men mingled with gods and food would naturally spring from the earth. Furthermore, when she releases the evils, Pandora does so from a *pithos* that was used in Greece to store the grain. The image of a clay creature releasing evils from a life-giving jar may be an allegory of the hardship to come for men: they are condemned to work the earth in order to refill the *pithos* that would ultimately be opened and drained by women. In this perspective, women in Hesiod are also depicted as an economic burden. This is better represented with his use of the allegory of the beehive:

> As when bees in vaulted beehives nourish the drones, partners in evil works—all day long until the sun goes down, every day, the bees hasten and set up the white honeycombs, while the drones remain inside amongst the vaulted beehives and gather into their own stomachs the toil of others—in just the same way high-thundering Zeus set up women as an evil for mortal men, as partners in distressful works.[32]

In this passage, Hesiod reveals that some of his antipathy for women is based on the fact that he sees them as profiteers who unjustly benefit from the labour of men. This is linked with the cunning character Hesiod ascribed to women in the birth of Pandora. Like thieves, they poke at the granary, searching for food. Moreover, the woman's role within the *oikos* also makes her susceptible to this critique by mismanaging and squandering the man's hard-earned goods.[33] Thence for the poet, women are perceived as a burden and the source of worries and misfortunes. Furthermore, a bad wife can also be damaging to her husband's reputation. Indeed, Hesiod suggests to "marry a virgin so that you can teach her good habits: and above all marry one who lives near to you, after you have looked around carefully in all directions, lest your marriage cause

[31] Hes. *WD*. 100.
[32] Hes. *Theog.* 594-600.
[33] Froma I. Zeitlin, "The Economics of Hesiod's Pandora," in *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece,* ed. Ellen D.Reeder (Baltimore: Walters Art Galery, 1995), 53.

your neighbours merriment."[34] Hence the wife's misconduct not only affects her husband's own *oikos* and economy, but also his reputation. Thus, there is a strong sense of deceit and suspicion towards women in the *Theogony* and *Works and Days*. However, the poet presents marriage as a necessity for the continuity of the *oikos,* making this suffering inevitable.[35] The dread of being left without an heir and carer thus seems more terrifying than the affliction women may cause. The men of Hesiod's world are faced with the inescapable reality of sacrificing their economic stability for their *oikos*' continuity.[36]

Hesiod also hints that the husband has a lot to do in teaching his wife proper behaviour. He suggests choosing a maiden that the groom knows well to ensure that she is a virgin and above any reproach and to teach her respectable behaviour.[37] This also implies suspicion of women's sexuality. The man is here clearly meant to control her demeanour and to advise her on the proper sexual conduct. Yet overall, sexuality retains negative connotations throughout his texts. In his description of summer, Hesiod explains how sexuality is incongruous to male labour: "at that time goats are fattest, and wine is best, and women are most lascivious—and men are weakest, for Sirius parches their head and knees, and their skin is dry from the heat."[38] As singled out by Lilah Grace Canevaro in her article on *Works and Days*, women's sexual appetite is hence antithetical to men's productivity and to the *raison d'être* of the labourer, further enhancing the incompatibility of the two sexes and the natural segregation deriving from it.[39] This is also true in the *Theogony* when Hesiod describes the birth of Aphrodite, the female goddess of lust and

[34] Hes. *WD.* 699-702.
[35] Hes. *Theog.* 605-607.
[36] Lilah-Grace Fraser, "A Woman of Consequence: Pandora in Hesiod's *Works and Days,*" *Cambridge Classical Journal 57* (2011): 16.
[37] Hes. *WD.* 698-702.
[38] Hes. *WD.* 586-587.
[39] Lilah Grace Canevaro,"The Clash of the Sexes in Hesiod's Works and Days," *Greece and Rome* 60, no.2 (2013): 192-193.

sexual attraction. Right after this part of the story, he goes on about the birth of the children of Nyx amongst whom Thanatos (Death), Ker (Destruction), Moros (Doom), Oizys (Pain), Apate (Deceit) or Eris (Discord). This narrative structure hints at the idea that those forces were linked in Hesiod's mind, thus further reinforcing the negative connotation already conveyed in his works.[40] In his rural world, women are thus perceived as a threat to work, as an economic burden and as an overall evil that brought toil, sickness, and torment to the earth.

However, balancing this portrait is the reference to another type of woman that Hesiod calls a "cherished wife" or a "good wife".[41] She is able to "balance" evil and good and is thus valued by the poet. Even more so, over fruitful land or economic stability, she is the best thing that could happen to a man.[42] Interestingly, these good women exist only within their role as wives. Not much is said about them, however, and what exact behaviour makes a good wife in Hesiod's mind remains to be determined. There is a hint at lines 776-779 of *Works and Days* that weaving, the typically feminine sphere of activity, is perceived as proper by the poet: "the twelfth is much better than the eleventh. It is on that day that the high-flying spider spins its webs in the fullness of the day and the canny one gathers together its heap. On that day a woman should raise her loom and set up her work."[43] When the woman starts working on her loom, she becomes a part of the production chain of the household.[44] Again, a wife's worth seems to be determined by her economic value. The didactic scope of Hesiod's poetry, and especially *Works and Days,* further reinforces the idea that this perception of women was accepted and widespread during the archaic

[40] Patricia Marcquardt, "Hesiod' Ambiguous View of a Woman," *Classical Philology* 77, no.4 (1982): 284.
[41] Hes. *Theog.* 607-610.
[42] Hes. *WD.* 702-703.
[43] Hes. *WD.* 776-779.
[44] For a fuller discussion on women and weaving in *Works and Days* see Canevaro,"The Clash of the Sexes in Hesiod's Works and Days," 199-202.

period, even endorsed to the point that actual poems were dedicated to dealing with the challenge that they represented.

b) Iambics: Semonides and Archilochos

Other poets from the archaic period express ideas that are similar to Hesiod's. One of them is Semonides of Amorogos who was an iambic poet generally dated to the seventh century.[45] Not much is known about his life other than that he is said to have led the colonization party to Amorogos by Samos. According to the Suda he authored elegies and *iambi* as well as two "historical' works.[46] He came to be considered as an important figure of ancient poetry and he is listed in the Alexandrian canon of the premier composers of melic and iambic poetry.[47]

Semonides is mostly known through his fragments, forty-two in total, quoted by Athenaeus and later lexicographers.[48] However, these fragments are all extremely short, with the exception of two. Fragment 7 the "Satire on Women" is one of them, and the one of interest for our purpose. With 115 lines, it is the longest surviving iambic poem. It has been quoted at length by Stobaeus, but its full context as well as its ending are missing.[49] In it, Semonides describes the different races of women in the world. His concept is similar to Hesiod's idea of a separate *genos* of women and is likewise tinted with misogyny. However, for him, women did not come from only one race, but from different kinds of animals.

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[45] His dates are debated. The Suda and most commentators place him in the seventh century. See Thomas K. Hubard, "Elemental Psychology and the Date of Semonides of Amorgos," *The American Journal of Philology* 115, no.2 (1994): 175-197 for an overview of the scholarship on a later dating. Note that this later chronology still places him within the archaic period and thence does not affect the present argument.

[46] Hugh Lloyd-Jones, *Females of the Species: Semonides on* Women (London: Duckworth, 1975), 17.

[47] Quint. 10.1.61; Dion. hal. *De imit.* 2; James Bradley Wells, "Lyric: Melic, Iambic, Elagic," in *A Companion to Greek Literature,* ed. Martin Hose and David J Schenker (Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley and Sons, 2016), 156.

[48] Bowie Ewen, "Semonides of Amorgos," in: *Brill's New Pauly*, Antiquity volumes edited by Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider.

[49] Stobaeus, *Anthology,* 4.22.193.

For Semonides, almost all traits of a woman's character are negative. He shares Hesiod's view that they were created to torment men: "we just don't see that we all share alike in this hard luck. For Zeus made this the greatest pain of all and locked us in a shackle hard as iron and never to be broken, ever since the day that Hades opened up his gates for all the men who fought that woman's war."[50] Just like in the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days*, this torment, sent by Zeus, is ineluctable: "But by the grim contrivances of Zeus, all these other types are here to stay side by side with man forever. Yes, Zeus made this the greatest pain of all: Woman."[51]

In his satire, different races of women are used to highlight negative aspects of the female character. Most stem from animals, although Semonides also uses the earth and sea for comparison. However, he explores many of the themes touched on by Hesiod and addresses the same criticism to women. For example, their uselessness at work is epitomized by the earth-woman, who "knows no useful skill, except to eat and, when the gods make winter cold and hard to drag her chair up closer to the fire."[52] The horse-woman has the same type of character. Although lauded for her beauty, she is still a burden in the home and "avoids all kinds of work and hardship; she would never touch a mill or lift a sieve, or throw the shit outside, or sit beside the oven (all that soot!)"[53] Another passage is a reminder of the thievish nature of women. The sea-woman is described as two-faced and as having a changing character, which makes her deceiving at times.[54] Furthermore, the ape-woman would "never think of doing something kind to

[50] Semonides, *On Women,* 118-123. Translation by Diane Arnson Svarlien, accessed October 2016, http://www.stoa.org/diotima/anthology/sem_7.shtml.
[51] Ibid., 95-98.
[52] Ibid., 25-27.
[53] Ibid., 57-60.
[54] Ibid., 28-41.

anyone; she plots the whole day long to see how she can do the greatest harm."[55] The she-weasel even steals from the neighbours and from the sacrificial feasts.[56] Not only is their character deceitful, women are actual burglars who betray the sacred bond of trust between neighbours and, worse still, with the gods. Their cunningness goes to such an extent that they do not even respect the solemn sacrificial feast.

Hence, as in Hesiod's case, women are not trustworthy and can lead to suffering and harm. Similarities between the works of the two poets do not end there. Semonides also criticizes women's appetite. His drab-woman would eat "all day, all night—she eats everything in sight, in every room."[57] He also scorns on excess, which is perceived as a very feminine trait. Women do not only eat, they binge. Yet, excess is not only restricted to food: the horse-woman bathes three times a day, and the drab and weasel women are sex-crazed to the point where they welcome "any man that passes by."[58]

Semonides also recycles some of Hesiod's metaphors. He too compares women to dogs in order to highlight their character and their prurient curiosity.[59] His fox-woman also presents similar traits.[60] Semonides also brings new critics to his satire. For instance, he builds on the idea of vanity. The aforementioned horse-woman: "rubs herself with perfumed oil. She always wears her hair combed out, and dressed with overhanging flowers. Such a wife is beautiful to look at for others; for her keeper, she's a pain —unless he is a king, or head of state who can afford

[55] Semonides, *On Women*, 81-83.
[56] Ibid., 54-55.
[57] Ibid., 43-47.
[58] Ibid., 48-49.
[59] Ibid., 13-21.
[60] Ibid., 8-10.

extravagant delights."[61] If Hesiod saw beauty as a device to conceal true nature, Semonides mostly sees it as a waste of time and money. However, hideousness is also seen as a terrible burden for her husband – here again, this is something Hesiod had not touched on. Semonides talks about the misfortune of the groom of the she-weasel: "undesirable in every way—un-charming, un-alluring" to the point that any man having sex with her would become sick. Similar is the she-monkey who is described as shameless and horrid.[62] It is not only the wife's ugliness that causes despair, but also the idea that mere association with such a woman would lead to mockery. This is similar to how Hesiod advised caution when choosing a partner in order to prevent being made the laughingstock of the village. Thus, a woman's attitude not only had the potential to ruin her own reputation but that of her husband as well.

However, just like Hesiod, Semonides does refer to a particular type of "goodwife" but, interestingly, he uses a reverse image. Whereas Hesiod used the drones of the beehive as paradigmatic for women's laziness, the bee woman is beyond reproach for Semonides. She manages her home well, bears children, and does not mingle with other shameful women.[63] Both authors therefore use the beehive as a representation of the *oikos* and, though the animals differ, the message is similar. Women who just like the bees, work to ensure the thriving of their household are praiseworthy. To this, Semonides adds a grace of character and modesty. Moreover, he directly mirrors Hesiod's view in Fragment 6, as reported by Clement of Alexandria in his *Miscellanies*: "Hesiod said, 'for a man carries off nothing better than a good wife and in turn nothing more horrible than a bad one,' and Semonides: 'man carries off nothing better

[61] Semonides, *On Women,* 62-65.
[62] Ibid., 71-80.
[63] Ibid., 84-94.

than a good wife nor more horrible than a bad one."[64] This indicates not only that the similarities between the two authors were commented on, but that their idea of a causal relationship between the good and the bad wife, and happiness and misery might have been common at the time.

Other authors from our period adopted this general seemingly negative view of women in their works, though to a lesser degree. An interesting example is provided by Archilochos of Paros, an iambic poet of the archaic period. He does not classify as misogynistic per say, since he does not attack women as a whole, but rather specific individuals. However, the tone of his poems comes as a useful source of analysis of archaic comical attitude towards women. Just like Semonides', Archilochos iambics were part of a satirical genre where derision and ridicule were used as a humorous backdrop. His oeuvre survives in some three hundred fragments and two papyri, and he seems to have been quite famous in the archaic age.[65] He is often mentioned alongside Hesiod and Homer, appears in the commentaries of the likes of Pindar, Aristotle, Apollonius of Rhodes and Callimachus, and figures in the Alexandrian canon of iambic poets along Hipponax and Semonides.[66] Inscriptions dating from the Hellenistic period as well as an altar found on Paros seem to attest that he was venerated locally.[67] Some clues from his poems, such as the mention of the disaster of Magnesia, or of King Gyges, help to situate his active period around 650.[68] Alongside his father Telesicles, he was involved in the colonization of the island of Thasos and, if we are to take the information from his poems as biographical, he led the life of a soldier and a sailor. However, one must be cautious with the so-called autobiographical

[64] Semonides, fr.6.
[65] Guy Davenport, *Archilochos, Sappho, Alkman: Three Lyric Poets of the Late Greek Bronze Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 2.
[66] H.D Rankin, *Archilochus of* Paros (Park Ridge, N.J.: Noyes Press, 1977), 2-7.
[67] SEG 17.517.
[68] Rankin, *Archilochus of* Paros, 22-23.

elements of his poetry since it cannot be excluded that Archilochos used characters as a literary *topos* or that he invented some aspects of his own life.

In his poems, Archilochos uses different recurring characters, real or imagined, and a woman named Neobule is often mentioned. Archilochos hints at a romantic relationship, which is at some point, ended either by her, or her father Lycambes. The family consequently becomes the object of his slurs. Later tradition reports that the campaign of abuse led to the suicide of Neobule, her father, and her sister.[69] In one of his poems, he describes his courtship of Neobule's sister, and compares the two in these terms: **"**I'd as soon hump her as [kiss a goat's butt]. A source of joy I'd be to the neighbours with such a woman as her for a wife! How could I ever prefer her to you?"[70] Hence, just like Hesiod and Semonides, Archilochos fears the consequences her attitude would have on his own reputation, turning him into a laughingstock.

Here, the reproaches made to Neobule are reminiscent of Semonides. Her appearance is a source of mockery and Archilochos elaborates on her aging physique: "Neobule I have forgotten, believe me, do. Any man who wants her may have her. *Aiai!* She's past her day, ripening rotten. The petals of her flower are all brown. The grace that first she had is shot. Don't you agree that she looks like a boy? "[71] Moreover, just like the race of women in Hesiod or the bitch in Semonides, Neobule is described as having a treacherous mind and as turning on her friends.[72]

[69] See Rankin, *Archilochus of* Paros, 47-57 for a detailed account of this tradition. This must be taken with caution since it seems to be a recurring *topos* as Hipponax favorite target Buaplus and his friend Athenis are both said to have committed suicide.
[70] Archilochos. fr. Colon. 7511. As translated by Guy Davenport,1995, Diotima, accessed January 2016, http://www.stoa.org/diotima/anthology/archiloch.shtml.
[71] Archilochos. fr. Colon. 7511
[72] Ibid.

The Cologne fragment is particularly interesting in its overall content. Archilochos is trying to seduce the young maiden in the garden and she is described as terrified: "I slid my arm under her neck to still the fear in her eyes, for she was trembling like a fawn."[73] Thus, the poem suggests that obscenity towards women, even in such an ambiguous context, was seen as an element of humour. However, Semonides received his share of criticism during his lifetime and he is said to have been exiled from Paros for blasphemy.[74] Archilochos was also condemned later in the Classical period for his ferity and obscenity.[75]

Overall, we have to keep in mind the comical aspect of iambus when analyzing Semonides and Archilochos. It was a genre famous for its mocking and abuse in a satirical or humorous context, and both Archilochos and Hipponax, the third author of the Alexandrian canon, are known for abusing a specific character. Iambic poems were recited without instruments in a public context, usually a symposium, hence magnifying the slurring effect. [76] Thus, the genre is less likely to have reflected the author's own mindset than to have been an over-exaggeration of an existing notion.[77]

c) Other fragments.

Other fragments from the archaic period hint at similar attitudes towards women. Their partial nature makes it impossible to comment on their context, yet it is interesting to note the correlation with the aforementioned poems. Hipponax of Ephesus was one of the three great

[73] Archilochos. fr. Colon. 7511
[74] Rankin, *Archilochus of* Paros, 58.
[75] Heraclitus, Pindar and Critias are amongst his detractors. See Rankin, *Archilochus of Paros,* 1-10 for more on Archolochus' reputation in Antiquity.
[76] Lloyd-Jones, *Female of the Species*, 13.
[77] See Lloyd-Jones, *Female of the Species*, 25-29.

iambic poets of the Alexandrian canon. He lived and wrote around the second quarter of the sixth century and was also famous for his abusive slur, often targeting specific individuals. He is also credited with the saying: "Two days in a woman's life are sweetest, whenever she is married and whenever she is carried out dead."[78] Anakreon of Teos, a lyric poet writing in the second half of the 6th century, also uses colourful and negatively charged language in his description of females. In a fragment he is comparing a Thracian that he pursues to a race-horse in a tirade reminiscent of Semonides' poetry:

> Thracian filly, why do you look at me from the corner of your eye and flee stubbornly from me, supposing that I have no skill? Let me tell you, I could neatly put the bridle on you and with the reins in my hand wheel you round the turnpost of the racecourse; instead, you graze in the meadows and frisk and frolic lightly, since you have no skilled horseman to ride you.[79]

Here, the woman is reduced to an animal only for rejecting the advances of the poet. Interestingly, while Semonides' races of women all bear human attributes, the lady in Anakreon's poetry is simply reduced to a beast without any other distinctive trait than the wilderness of her condition. Although like Archilochos, Anakreon does not attack women collectively and hence cannot be qualified as a misogynist, his fragment is nonetheless an indication of the type of language used in the archaic period to depict and define women in a comical, satirical and poetical context.

With the works of Hesiod and Semonides, we have seen that misogyny was articulated early on in lyric poetry as an attack against women as a whole. Seen as perverted, frivolous, lazy and

[78] Hipponax, fr.68. Quoted by Strobaeus, *Anthology*. As translated by Gerber in *Greek Iambic Poetry: From the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC,* Loeb Classical Library 259 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).
[79] Anakreon. fr. 417. As translated by David A. Campbell in *Greek Lyric, Volume II: Anacreon, Anacreontea, Choral Lyric from Olympus to Alcman,* Loeb Classical Library 143 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988)

dangerous to men, women are thought of as a separate race. This segregation was aimed at justifying their status difference within society. The works of Archilochos and the fragments of Hipponax and Anakreon illustrate that this attitude was not isolated and that attacks on women as a group or as individuals were frequently used in lyric poetry. However, this portrayal is nuanced with the few positive mentions existent in our longer sources. Hard work, humility, good management, and modesty are seen as the most important qualities that a woman could possess. The depiction and treatment of female characters are dealt with a lot more depth in the Homeric epics and, as we shall see, women can even attain a form of glory and praise for their qualities.

Chapter II

Women and the Epics: Between Ideal and Reality

An underlying form of misogyny is therefore present in many of our Archaic literary sources. Women are depicted in a very negative way and are considered as collectively flawed and dangerous. This way of "othering" women is, however, not present in all of the written material from this period. Using the Homeric epics, I intend to show that another more nuanced vision of gender existed in the Archaic mindset. Indeed, I argue that Homer provides a counter-balance to the mainly negative depictions, by presenting intricate female characters as well as the complexity of gender relations.

The validity of the use of Homeric poetry as a source of historical analysis has been strongly debated over the years. I shall not go into the question of whether the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* depict historical events, but rather use the source as a literary input into Greek values and ideology. Thence, just like Hesiod or Archilochos' works, the Homeric poems may not depict factual truth yet they are nonetheless testimonies of the beliefs of their time. In the words of author Cristina Franco, who worked on women in epic poetry, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are "not a passive reflection of historical truths but something that played a crucial role in making history by expressing —more or less intentionally— the ideology of particular groups and cultural traditions."[151] Thus Homeric characters are a reflection of a set of morals and ideas, projected onto an imaginary past: a necessary process for the audience to associate and engage with the

[151] Cristina Franco, "Women in Homer", in *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*, ed. Sharon L. James and Sheila Dillon (Chichester: Willey-Blackwell, 2012), 57.

performance.[152] That being said, numerous comprehensive studies on Homer and his characters have been published over the last decades. A broader analysis of gender relations in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is not the aim of this chapter. Rather, I would like to highlight general differences between the portrayal of women in Homer and in the aforementioned authors and underscore how they are representative of a more nuanced approach.

Indeed, due to its length and utter complexity, Homer's text enables much deeper development of its characters. The audience follows specific individuals whose qualities and flaws are exposed as the story unfolds. For example, Achilles is both represented as the greatest warrior and most courageous of all Greeks, but he is nonetheless governed by his passions and desperate for his own everlasting glory. In the case of women, they are portrayed in two different manners. First, specific individuals such as Helen, Andromache and Penelope are given a rather large place in the story and are thus more complex. The other women, the wives, mothers and daughters of the warriors, play a silent role and are treated as a collective entity. However, Homer does not regard women as a separate race. This nuance is particularly important. Homer defines women as individuals and their own personal deeds that are reflected in their reputation. That is not to say that some female characters are not negatively depicted. Clytemnestra, Helen's sister, is indeed presented as the epitome of female evilness. A counter-example to all the righteous women, she follows her lover willingly and devises a plan to murder her husband and king

[152] Even though they were highly polyvalent works that could appeal to audiences throughout any Period, the *Illiad* and the *Odyssey* achieved their canonical form sometime around the 8th or 7th centuries. I therefore think that they strongly reflect the behavioural code and values of the Archaic Period. It is also accepted that it would have been performed for an aristocratic audience before entering the public sphere later in the late 7th early 6th-centuries, and thus would be a manifestation of this particular class ethics and beliefs. It is highly doubtful that the broader depiction of important female characters such as Helen and Penelope would have changed drastically afterwards. I thereby frame my analysis in the context of the Archaic Period. On this see particularily Hans Van Wees, "Homer and Early Greece," in *Homer: Critical Assesssments Volume II*, ed. Irene J.F. De Jong (London and New-York: Routledge, 1999), 1-32; Franco, "Women in Homer",54-59.

Agamemnon. In the *Odyssey,* Agamemnon's ghost describes the death of Cassandra at her hand in gory details, and one cannot help but feel revolted at the murder of the innocent captive.[153] In his treatment of Clytemnestra, Homer is reminiscent of Hesiod's and Semonides' misogynistic attitudes: "but she with her heart set on utter horror has shed shame on herself and on women yet to be, even on her who does what is right."[154] In the same manner, after killing the suitors upon his return to Ithaca, Odysseus goes on to punish the maidservants who had betrayed him. Twelve women found guilty of sleeping with the suitors are forced to cleanse the hall, now splattered with their lovers' blood, before being hanged for everyone to see.[155] Yet here again, it is the servants' own actions that lead them to this fate. The other loyal and honest servants are not only spared but also praised by their master. This shows that not all women are equally bad, or good.

There are other ways in which Homer's depiction of women differs from that of Hesiod, Semonides or Archilochos. First of all, Homer offers a different vision of marriage. When in most works marriage is depicted as an economic necessity and a source of problems, Homer praises love and attachment in matrimony. Indeed love and affection, almost never mentioned in the poems treated in the previous chapter, are very important feelings in the Homeric cycle. A good example is provided by Achilles' claim to Briseis.[156] Indeed, when addressing the Greek assembly to reclaim her, he uses his attachment in equal conjunction to the attack on his pride and honour to justify his demand. He even goes as far as to proclaim his love for the captive, hoping to touch his fellows.[157] In the same manner, love between husband and wife is illustrated

[153] Hom. *Od.* 11. 420-425.
[154] Hom. *Od.* 11. 432-434.
[155] Hom. *Od*. 22. 419-473.
[156] Nancy Felson and Laura Slatkin, "Gender and Homeric Epic," in *The Cambridge Companion to Homer*, ed. R.L Fowler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 95.
[157] Hom. *Il*. 9. 337-344.

by the relationships between Odysseus and Penelope, and Andromache and Hector. Their strong bonds demonstrate a certain vision of the couple as a source of complicity and tenderness. [158] In one of the most touching scenes of the *Iliad*, Hector professes his love to his wife: "But not so much does the grief that is to come to the Trojans move me, neither Hecabe's own, nor King Priam's, nor that of my brothers, many and noble, who will fall in the dust at the hands of their foes, as does your grief, when some bronze-clad Achaean will lead you away weeping and rob you of your day of freedom." [159] Hector, depicted throughout the epic as the ultimate defender of Ilion, is here seen expressing that, deep down, the fate of the city does not matter to him as much as that of his beloved wife. Penelope and Odysseus also share a moment of complicity when they are finally reunited in Ithaca and talk throughout the night about each other's adventures. Through such examples, Homeric poems offer their audience a different perception of marriage and love: one that is generally much more positive than Hesiod's, Archilochos' or Semonides'.

In the same manner, beauty is also depicted very differently in Homer. As I have demonstrated, Hesiod's, Archilochos' or Semonides' visions of beauty are tinted with negativity and depicted as a dangerous luxury. Homer, on the other hand, raises beauty as an ideal and a praiseworthy quality. Helen is admired for her divine beauty and, even faced with the death and destruction that her presence brings to Troy, the Trojan elders are so beguiled by her that they do not blame her. [160] Even when baleful, beauty in itself is not depicted as an evil in Homer. Rather, it is the divine forces associated with it and the deeds of mortals and gods alike that are a source of suffering. Even more so, it is presented as a quality. Thus just like the male heroes, the

[158] Sue Blundell, *Women in Ancient Greece*, 71.
[159] Hom. *Il.* 6. 450-455.
[160] Hom. *Il.* 3. 156-160; Ruby Blondell, "Bitch that I Am": Self-Blame and Self-Assertion in the Iliad," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 140, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 6-8.

Homeric women represent an ideal and their physical beauty is a reflection of their worth.[161] Homeric women are also full of other qualities. When women in Hesiod, Archilochos and Semonides are valued for their economic impact on the *oikos* and their influence on their husband's life and reputation, Homer brings forward a different perception. Women with spirit and wit are especially given the limelight. For example, Agamemnon prefers his captive Chryseis to his legitimate wife Clytemnestra and lists her "form […], stature, […] mind, […] handiwork' [162] as reasons for his feelings.

If the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* paint females as individuals, it does so through their own voice. Women are not just the silent victims of men's mockeries but, as characters in their own right, are active players in the storyline. Even though the mothers, daughters, and sisters of the warriors are the victims of a war from which they are excluded, they nonetheless voice their feelings and ideas. One of the main protagonists of the Trojan War, Helen of Sparta, epitomizes this ambiguity. Overall, the queen is portrayed as a passive token subjected to the objectification of men and gods alike. [163] This is particularly highlighted by a scene before the duel between Paris and Menelaus, where the Spartan queen is visited by the goddess Iris, who tells her that: "Alexander and Menelaus, dear to Ares, will fight with their long spears for you; and the one who wins, his dear wife will you be called."[164] This clearly highlights that despite her will, Helen's fate is not hers to decide.[165] Yet, she too voices her agency several times. Notably, Helen refers to herself as a "bitch," underscoring her responsibility as the *causa belli*, as well as her

[161] See Norman Austin, *Helen of Troy and her Shameless Phantom* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 24-25.
[162] Hom. *Il*. 1. 110-117.
[163] Hanna. M. Roisman, "Helen in the Iliad 'Causa Belli' and Victim of War: From Silent Weaver to Public Speaker," *The American Journal of Philology* 127, no.1 (2006): 4.
[164] Hom. *Il*. 3.135-140.
[165] On this see Ruby Blondell, "Bitch that I Am," 3-5.

transgression of the gendered behaviour, while wishing she had died rather than followed Paris.[166] Interestingly, she also does so while talking about honour and offers a fascinating "reverse simile" to Hesiod's and Semonides' vision of women as a threat to men's reputation. This concept of *reverse simile* was articulated by researcher Helen P.Foley in the late 1970s, and shows that women can also personify qualities generally ascribed to men.[167] We then see Helen chastising her lover Paris for his defeat in the duel against her husband Menelaus. Not only does she encourage him to return to the combat, but also suggests it would have been more honourable for him to die at the Spartan's hands than to flee.[168] Going even further, Helen at first refuses to conform to her marital duty because of the shameful cowardice of her husband. Honour is here more important than her role as a spouse and she laments that she herself is now tinted by Paris' actions: "There I will not go—it would be shameful—to share that man's bed; all the women of Troy will blame me afterwards; and I have measureless grief at heart."[169] It is here the woman who is stained by her husband's deeds, and not the contrary like in Hesiod and Semonides' works. [170] As she encourages Paris to fight again to regain his pride, Helen shows how important this association is to her.[171] Furthermore, it is the goddess Aphrodite herself, personification of passion and desire that she defies. Helen's rationality and honour take over the primary instincts ascribed to her gender by many authors.[172] It is only when clearly threatened by the deity that she yields and joins her husband in his bed. The ambiguity between Helen's agency and passivity

[166] Hom. *Il*. 3.173-75, 6.344-51, 24.764; Ruby Blondell, "Bitch that I Am," 8-15.
[167] Helen. P. Foley, "Reverse Simile and sex roles in the Odyssey," *Arethusa* 11, no.1 (1978): 7-26.
[168] Hom. *Il*. 3. 432-434; 428-429.
[169] Hom. *Il*. 3.410-412.
[170] Hom. *Il*. 6.350-353.
[171] F.J. Grotten Jr, "Homer's Helen," *Greece and Rome* 15, no.1 (1968): 37-38; On Helen's shame see Mary Ebbott, "The Wrath of Helen: Self-blame and Nemesis in the Iliad," in *Nine Essays on Homer*, eds. Miriam Carlisle and Olga Levaniouk (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers: 1999): 3-21; Nancy Worman, "The Voice Which is Not One: Helen's Verbal Guises in Homeric Epics," in *Making Silence Speak: Women's Voices in Greek Literature and Society*, eds. André Lardinois and Laura McClure (Princeton: Princeton University Press: 2001): 23-30.
[172] On this see also S.Farron, "The Portrayal of Women in the Iliad," *Acta Classica: Proceedings of the Classical Association of South Africa* 22, no.1 (1979): 18-19.

continues in the *Odyssey*. Upon returning to Sparta, and although she mingles with the men at the feast and takes it upon herself to use drugs to make them forget their sorrow, Helen seems to have come back to a more traditional role.[173] Indeed we are told that she had become so compliant that she accepted the betrothal of her daughter to Menelaus' bastard son, Megapenthes, born of a slave.[174]

In the *Iliad*, Andromache personifies the same tension in female characters. Overcome with despair, she steps out into the street to try to convince her husband to avoid the fighting. Fearing for his life and the stability of her *oikos*, she begs Hector to cease the combat and surpasses her traditional silent and obedient role. The setting of the scene, outside, is indicative of how far she transcends the traditional role ascribed to her gender.[175] The fact that she does so to protect her husband and her family is depicted in a touching and positive manner. However, she is gently but firmly rebuffed by Hector, who asks her to go back inside to her work. The traditional order is reinstalled and Andromache, as the ideal obedient wife, yields to her husband. In this sense, she has agency and voices her thoughts, but oversteps the boundary between genders only when in dire need. She then returns to her ascribed role and does not argue with Hector. The passage between Andromache and Hector demonstrates a certain value of the female voice, or at least a tolerance for its expression.

[173] On this see Austin, *Helen of Troy*, 71-79.
[174] Hom. *Od*. 4. 11-13; Mary Lefkowitz. "The Heroic Women of Greek Epic," *The American Scholar* 56, no. 4 (Autumn 1987): 515.
[175] Lefkowitz, "The Heroic Women of Greek Epic," 508.

On the other hand, men of the Homeric poem often value women as companions.[176] Penelope certainly epitomizes this fact. The queen of Ithaca is indeed admired for her wit and intelligence by her suitors.[177] Moreover, not only is Penelope praised for her intellect, she is also considered the most intelligent woman alive. This serves as a wonderful echo to her husband's reputation, recognized amongst men for his acumen. Penelope is also the sole actor of her own a*rête* and it is through her fidelity and her actions alone that she achieves general recognition.[178] We are even told that Penelope stands against the will of her own parents by refusing to remarry.[179] Antinous, one of her suitors even speaks of her in highly epic terms: "For so long shall men devour your livelihood and your possessions, as long, that is, as she shall keep the counsel which the gods now put in her heart. Great fame she wins for herself, but for you regret for your abundant substance."[180] Here the term used, *kleos*, is reminiscent of the great deeds of the heroes and the special link between Penelope and the gods also underscores her special status. Her vivacity also highlights another quality of the Homeric woman: the preservation of the *oikos*.[181] Penelope's whole plan is devised out of fidelity, to keep Odysseus' home intact and to protect it from the suitors. Even if she fails at preventing the young men from consuming the goods of the household, she still fights to preserve her chastity, Odysseus' legacy and her son's legitimate right to the throne. Even without proof of her husband's survival, she works all night long and with all the means at her disposition to keep the suitors away and to delay her marriage. It is interesting that it is weaving, considered a proper feminine activity, which is used to carry out her plan. This symbol of feminine subjection is used in the Odyssey to outwit the men around her and

[176] Helen F. North, "The Mare, the Vixen, and the Bee: 'Sophrosyne' as the Virtue of Women in Antiquity," *Illinois Classical Studies* 2 (Jan.1977): 43.
[177] Hom. *Od*. 2.115-126.
[178] Cristina Franco, "Women in Homer," 60.
[179] Hom. *Od.* 19. 157-158.
[180] Hom. *Od.* 2.124-125.
[181] Nancy Felson and Laura Slatkin, "Gender and Homeric Epic," 107.

serves as the token of Penelope's agency. This goes to show that Penelope is able to go beyond her ascribed position and win *kleos* for herself, while never outstepping the bounds of acceptable female behaviour.

However, her attitude earns her some reproaches, and instances of men trying to respond to this affirmation of the feminine voice do occur in the *Odyssey*. A good example is provided in Book 1, when Telemachus orders his mother to "go to your chamber, and busy yourself with your own tasks, the loom and the distaff, and bid your handmaids be about their tasks; but speech shall be men's care, for all, but most of all for me; since mine is the authority in this house."[182] The passage is reminiscent of how Hector rebuked Andromache when she tried to convince him to stay home, and the episode is probably modelled from it. The words chosen are the same and the general idea is that a woman's place is inside, taking care of the servants and weaving, the ideal female occupation. Yet, what is particularly interesting is how Telemachus feels threatened in what he perceives as his legitimate role as head of the household. Penelope, extraordinary as she may be, is not meant to rule the *oikos* and is not seen as a rightful tenant of authority by her son, despite all of her efforts to maintain their household together. Just like Andromache, Penelope obliges and returns to her chambers, which is an indication that such a genderization of roles was seen as immutable and indisputable. In the same vein, Penelope is the target of criticism with regards to her resistance and suspicion at the return of Odysseus. One can deduce from these passages that, although Penelope is admired for her qualities, she must not push these virtues too far at the risk of being perceived as too masculine.[183] Nevertheless, and despite this criticism, the

[182] Hom. *Od.* 1.355-359.
[183] Hom. *Od.* 23. 97-103.

Classical Period elevated Penelope as a feminine ideal due to her commitment, fidelity, and honour.[184]

I have demonstrated that the literary sources of the Archaic Period are filled with an ambiguous vision of women. On the one hand, a sense of misogyny is present in many of our early poets' works. Women are described as mischievous and as an economic burden. Confined to their spouse role, they are often the targets of masculine ire. Beauty is also depicted as an evil: a concealing device of the true nature of women, or an indication of vanity and an economic luxury. Women are even seen as a danger to the well-being and the integrity of the men. On the other hand, we have seen that Homeric poetry gives the audience a more nuanced approach to gender and a more positive opinion of women in general. Marriage is portrayed in a positive manner and women in Homer are capable of supporting their husbands, showing compassion and fidelity. Moreover, they are often seen voicing their opinion in public and even sometimes going against the traditional order. If nonetheless obedient and submissive in the end, their role within the *oikos* seems much more valued than in Hesiod or Semonides. The Homeric cycle is, however, not exempt from a certain negative view of women, with the character of Clytemnestra being exemplary of how harmful women could be. Still, the depiction of gender is generally more balanced in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* than in our lyric poems.

The quintessential femininity then constitutes a just balance between the intellectual qualities and the strength of character of Penelope and the sweet obedience of Andromache when rejected by Hector. At the same time, this idea of emancipation through speech is also a form of identity definition. Thence, the Homeric cycle allows us to draw a more nuanced picture of the Archaic

[184] W.E. Hellman, "Homer's Penelope. A Tale of Feminine Arete," *Echos du monde classique* 14, no.2 (1995): 229

attitude concerning women. Unlike in Hesiod's or Semonides' poems, women can be as honourable as men. They possess their own voice and demonstrate fear, rage, and love. This love, often shared by the men around them, is not seen as a burden or a danger. Homeric couples are depicted as alliances, with women supporting their husbands and their house, rather than being an economic burden. In the Homeric aristocratic world, women are appreciated for more than their economic value. Just like Penelope, and to some extent Helen and Andromache, women even demonstrate agency. In the words of Marylin B. Arthur, "the dichotomy of roles" in Homeric poems is much less rigid and thus seems closer to reality.[185] If this portrait is not absolute, it nevertheless shows a different attitude and one that, as I will show later on, seems much closer to the reality than Hesiod's, Archilochos' and Semonides' visions. From this point of view, as Lefkovitz argued, the fact that women in the Homeric epics allow themselves to give their opinion and leave their homes to go against the traditional roles of their sex shows that we must redefine our conception of the everyday life of women in the Archaic Period.[186]

[185] Marilyn. B. Arthur, "The divided world of Iliad VI," *Women's Studies* 8, no. 1-2 (1981): 21.
[186] Lefkowitz, "The Heroic Women of Greek Epic," 509.

Chapter III

Beyond the Binary: Archaic Aristocratic Women

I would now like to turn to move away from poetry and legend to analyze the condition of real women in Archaic Greece through another set of sources. Through them, it is possible for the modern reader to draw a clearer image of their reality. In this chapter, I will analyze sources produced in different ways: poetry, law codes and epigraphy. First, I will use the works of Sappho of Lesbos as background to provide further information about the lived experience of aristocratic women. Then I will provide some examples of law codes illustrating the wide variety of conditions and status in our period. I will conclude by an analysis of epigraphy and funerary *stelae*, material that was produced by women and that demonstrates what kind of public image they wanted to adopt. The difference of this material is that it was either produced or aimed at women themselves and thus allows a fascinating insight into their world. However, these sources are oblique, as they were produced and commissioned by a portion of the population who had both means and the time to engage in such activities. In this perspective, just as the Homeric epics represented the lives of an elite cast of warriors, the epigraphy and poetry that remains from our period was mostly produced by the upper class. Their analysis is nonetheless of paramount importance to broaden our understanding of the lived reality of women in Archaic Greece.

Bridging the world of poetry and reality is Sappho of Lesbos. The poet who lived around 600 is mostly known throughout her fragments of lyric poetry. Her life and character have been the subject of much fiction and fantasy since the Archaic Period and it is often hard to untangle history from legend. However, the little information that we know about her offers a fascinating glimpse into the life of aristocratic women in our period. Sappho was born on Lesbos, either in

Mytilene or Eresus. An inscription on the *Marmor Parium* indicates that she was exiled to Sicily around the end of the 7th century, which has been interpreted as a sign that she belonged to an aristocratic family involved in local politics.[187] Although not much is known about her, her work offers a fascinating glimpse into the life of elite Archaic Greek women. Sappho's poems are famous for their evocation of love and passion from a woman's perspective, which she describes with dramatic accuracy. Sappho, a woman herself, thus recounts the joys and hardship of life, the hopes and the mentality of a woman of her time. Her works provide a relevant insight into females' relationships and mindset. With this first-hand account, it is possible to make a series of inferences. The first concerns women and education. Indeed, Sappho came to gain recognition during her lifetime for the quality of her verse and her poetic talent. So famous was her work that she was hailed by Plato as "the tenth muse," a title that later became a trope associated with her in Hellenistic epigraphy.[188] She is to this day remembered as one of the great artists of Ancient Greece. Just like Penelope, it is her spirit and intellect that were widely recognized. Thus, women in our period could be educated enough to stand out and win the praise of their male counterparts. Additionally, Sappho's fragments imply that she gathered around her a group of friends and pupils, and their relationship certainly seems to have had an educational dimension.[189] Such groups of women were not a rarity and other female poets might have had the same practice

[187] Deborah Boedecker, "Sappho,"in *The Encyclopaedia of Ancient History,* ed. Roger S. Bagnal et al. (Malden, MA:Wiley Blackwell, 2013); Robbins Emmet, "Sappho," in *Brill's New Pauly Antiquity Volumes*, edited by Hubert Cancik and, Helmuth Schneider. On the aristocratic character of Sappho see also Page DuBois, *Sappho* (London and New-York: LB Tauris, 2015), 76-80 and Franco Ferrari, *Sappho's Gift. The Poet and Her Community,* trans. Benjamin Acosta-Hughes and Lucia Prauscello (Ann Arbor: Michigan Classical Press, 2010), 17-23.

[188] On this, see notably Angela Gosetti-Murrayjohn, "Sappho as the Tenth Muse in Hellenistic Epigram,"*Arethusa* 39 (2006): 21–45.

[189] Sappho. fr.49,130.3; fr.57,5; fr.131; fr.81,5; H.N. Parker, "Sappho Schoolmistress," TAPA 123 (1993): 309-351; Eva Stehle, *Performance and Gender in Ancient Greece* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), 262-318.

elsewhere in Greece.[190] Moreover, other examples of educated women in our period are known, proving the phenomenon was not a parochial one. Indeed, in the second half of the 6th century, Cleobulina, daughter of Cleobulus of Lindus, became famous for her riddles and at least one hexameter can be attributed to her.[191] Corinna, who lived in the early 5th century, was a highly regarded lyric poet traditionally located in Tanagra.[192] The tradition remembers her as having defeated Pindar in contests, but unfortunately her work only survives through a few fragments. She herself often mentions another woman poet called Myrtis of Anthedon in Boeotia – said to have been Pindar's own teacher - and we have other fragments from women poets throughout the period, such as Praxilla of Sicyon or Telesilla of Argos.[193] Many of our fragments survived through citations from later authors and it is probable that the works of many more female poets are lost to us. However, this proves that Sappho, although remarkable by the extent and quality of her work, was not an exception in Archaic Greece. Furthermore, poetry was not the only way for women to acquire some form of education. For example, females are listed as pupils of Pythagoras, underscoring that they could also undertake philosophical training.[194] In Sparta, young girls were educated on a seemingly equal basis as boys and received a uniform upbringing upon reaching motherhood.[195] Dance and music were amongst the first thing that young girls were taught and we know that foreign teachers such as Alcman were specifically commissioned

[190] On this see Claude Calame, "Sappho's Group: An Initiation into Womanhood," in *Reading Sappho: Contemporary Approaches,* ed. Ellen Greene (Berkeley: University of California Press: 1996), 117.
[191] Diog. Laert. "Cleobulus", *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers,* 89-91; Ian M.Plant, ed., *Women Writers of Ancient Greece and Rome: An Anthology* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 29-31.
[192] Blundell, *Women in Ancient Greece,* 52. The Suda locates her either in Thebes or Tanagra, but Pausanias affirms he saw her tomb in Tanagra. Her dates are debated since an article by E.Lobel in 1930 argued that she might have lived in the 3rd century based on the lack of mentions of her before this date. The debate is not yet settled but her strong association to Pindar would make it more likely that she was indeed a fifth century figure.
[193] Both are early 5th century. On Myrtis see Jane McIntosh Snyder, *The Woman and the Lyre. Women Writers in Classical Greece and Rome* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press: 1989), 40-41; Anne L. Klinck, *Woman's Songs in Ancient Greece* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2008), 181-183.
[194] Sarah Pomeroy, *Spartan Women* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 18; Sarah Pomeroy, *Pythagorean Women: Their History and Writings* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).
[195] Sarah Pomeroy, *Spartan Women*, 4; 13-14.

to train them for singing contests. Choruses might have had an educational dimension elsewhere in Greece.[196]

Thus, Sappho and other women received an education that enabled them to compete and surpass men in their field. In this regard, we are much closer to the nuanced approach of Homer of gendered relations than the ones exposed in Hesiod and Semonides. The examples of our female poets show that they could be valued for more than their work within the *oikos* and apprehended beyond the relationship they had with their male kin. Other features of the Homeric women can also be found in Sappho. Just like Andromache, Helene or Penelope who speak their mind and even sometimes go against male opinion, so too does Sappho. One example is a fragment in which she asks that her elder brother Charxalus "make amends for the present straying of his ways."[197] Herodotus maintains that it is Charxalus' relationship with the *hetaira* Dorika / Rhophodis as well as his immoderate lifestyle that prompted Sappho criticism.[198] In this way, like Helen blaming Paris for his cowardice or Andromache standing up to Hector, Sappho fully and publicly expresses her disagreement with her brother's actions. She is elevated as the defendant of the honour of her house and as having the moral high ground when compared to her male kin. Sappho and her contemporaries were thus not confined to a subordinate and voiceless role. They had the right to express their opinions and disagreements, and sometimes even did it in public. Anecdotes even highlight their involvement in the political affairs of their city: Herodotus tells the story of how young Queen Gorgo advised her father on the Ionian alliance.[199] This tale, even when taken with caution, can be an indication that royal women in Archaic Sparta

[196] Claude Calame, *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece. Their Morphology, Religious Role, and Social Functions,* trans. Derek Collins and Jane Orion, (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefiled, 1997), 222-231.
[197] Sapph. fr.5
[198] Sapph. fr.15.
[199] Hdt. 5. 51.

participated in their city's affairs and did not play a solely silent and obedient role.[200] In the same vein, Pheretima, mother of King Arcesilaus III of Cyrene, was involved in the affairs of her kingdom and even ruled in her son's absence. Whereas in Argos, Telesilla the poet became famous for defending her city by rallying men, women, and elders to her against the Spartan troops in 494.[201]

In essence, our sources indicate a lot more agency and autonomy, and even on certain occasions a prominent public role to women. Moreover, more can be said about the reality of women based on epigraphic evidence. Firstly, some *poleis'* surviving law codes and regulations testify to a form of agency. In Athens, women enjoyed little to no legal freedom: they were placed under the guardianship of their male *kyrios,* treated as perpetual minors, and were not considered as citizens before the reforms of Cleisthenes. In the early 6th century, Solon promulgated several laws on the "orderly conduct of women," notably on the punishments one should face if guilty of adultery. [202] Other laws regulating aspects of ordinary life were passed:

> He also subjected the public appearances of the women, their mourning and their festivals, to a law, which did away with disorder and licence. When they went out, they were not to wear more than three garments, they were not to carry more than an obol's worth of food or drink, nor a pannier more than a cubit high, and they were not to travel about by night unless they rode in a wagon with a lamp to light their way.[203]

Thus in Athens, women did not enjoy a lot of civic freedom and even their movements became regulated by law. However, women's legal rights differed from region to region, such as

[200] Lynette Mitchell, "The Women of Ruling families in Archaic and Classical Greece," *Classical Quarterly* 62.1 (2012): 10.
[201] Plut. *Mul.Virt.* 4.245c-f; Paus. 2.20.8-10; Herodotus mentions the battle without describing the women's role in it.
[202] Aeschin. *Against Timarchos.* 1.183.
[203] Plut. *Sol*. 21.

was the case in the *polis* of Gortyn. In 1884, a 5th-century inscription was uncovered on the walls of a 1st-century BCE roman building in the city of Gortyn, Crete. The inscription preserved the local law code and is a fascinating insight into the differences in women's legal status in the Archaic Period. Free women of Gortyn had the right to possess, manage and inherit property, although their share in the inheritance was usually less than that of the son.[204] If a divorce occurred, the woman would take all of her properties with her as well as half of the household produce. [205] In case of violation of the property regulations by a man, the control passed to his mother or wife.[206] The more fluid and nuanced vision of Homeric society thus appears closer to the Archaic reality, especially within the aristocratic world.

Secondly, the analysis of epigraphy and inscriptions tends to confirm this representation. Just like poetry, inscriptions have the advantage of giving back women their voices. Few of them survive from this period and even fewer by women, but they do reveal fascinating details about their self-discourse. Objects such as votive offerings and stone funeral *stelae* indeed offered women a platform to speak about themselves in their own words. Although oblique because the cost and means to produce such material limit the scope of its dedicators to the very wealthy, it is nonetheless a valuable source of information. An interesting example is a votive statue base found on Delos. It is dated from around 605 and was dedicated to the goddess Artemis by a certain Nikandre of Naxos.[207] Eva Stehle gives us the following translation: "Nikandre dedicated me to the far-shooting arrow-pourer (Artemis) (Nikandre) the daughter of Deinodikes the Naxian,

[204] Ronald F. Willetts, *The Law Code of Gortyn* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Co, 1967), 20-23.
[205] Willetts, *The Law Code of Gortyn*, 28-29.
[206] Ibid.
[207] CEG. 403. *circa* 605.

eminent beyond other women, the sister of Deinomenes, and wife now of Phraxos." [208] This inscription is enlightening to us. Even though both the father and the husband of the dedicator are mentioned, it is Nikandre who is the centre of the offering. It is her special relationship with the goddess that is underscored and her personal qualities that are highlighted. With this offering, she also puts herself in the limelight and leaves a permanent trace of her value and merit above all women. This was a public demonstration of her status.

Surely other dedications like this one existed, and this shows that, just like our Homeric heroines, women could have the same ideological claim to greatness as men. They did not refrain from exposing it in public and funerary sculptures are also interesting to analyze in this context. For example, one could name the very famous Phrasikleia *koré* sculpted by Artision of Paros. The statue has been widely admired for its beauty, but it is also significant to note that it served as a monument to glorify the deceased girl. Just like male heroes had their monuments, women could be the recipients of such high honours, underscoring their particular importance within the *oikos*. Some funerary stelae that were erected by women for their loved ones provide other touching examples. One such monument dating from the last half of the 6th century was installed by a mother for her dead son: "For Damotimos his loving mother had this marker made, Amphidama, for no children were born in his house. And the tripod that he won at Thebes in running [ ] is uninjured, and she set it over her child." [209] Here, only the mother of Damotimos is cited. She refers neither to the father of the deceased, nor does she identify herself in relation to other males. She is the only link with the *oikos* that Damotimos has, and the only one with whom the relationship is highlighted by the stele. From an identity point of view, this is particularly appealing. Amphidama does not need to name her male relatives or kin to identify herself. By

[208] Stehle, *Performance and Gender*, 115.
[209] CEG. 138; Stehle, *Performance and Gender in Ancient Greece,* 116.

exposing the tripod that her son won in his lifetime, symbol of his *kleos*, she presents herself as the guardian of this glory. Just like the heroines of the epic poems, she is the one who ensures that the honour of her house is protected and safeguarded.[210] Another example from the last quarter of the 6th century is comparable: "For […] who died his mother set up this grave-marker, Phanokrite, making a gesture of affection to her child."[211] In this example, it is still only the mother who is named. She alone is responsible for preserving the memory of her child. The identity of the deceased is not defined by his relationship with the male members of his family. Here, the mother-child relationship takes the prime place. In the same vein, a woman could also dedicate a stele to another woman, without making any mention of male parents: "Terpo heaped up (?) this grave-marker of Melise, who [died]". Here again, no mention of male parents. It is the woman who guarantees the safeguarding of the memory of Melise.[212] These inscriptions are real testimonials of how women defined themselves. Not only did they – and their relatives – think them worthy of praise by public and permanent demonstrations of their greatness, they also often did so without any association to their male kin.

Thus, we have seen that our literary and epigraphic sources add another aspect to the image of women in Archaic sources. The portrait we can draw varies from source to source and the lived experience of women appears much closer to the nuanced approach of Homer than to the misogynistic depictions of Hesiod, Semonides and Archilochus. The reality of women varied from poleis to poleis and status also certainly played a role in their daily lives. We have to accept the depth and complexity of these realities. However, it is interesting that our sources show a certain agency and a level of independence in the public discourse. We shall now turn to Corinth

[210] CEG. 138; Stehle, *Performance and Gender in Ancient Greece,* 116.
[211] CEG 169, *circa*. 525-500; Stehle, *Performance and Gender in Ancient Greece,* 115.
[212] CEG 38, *circa* 530, from Attica; Stehle, *Performance and Gender in Ancient Greece,* 115.

specifically, and see how women are present in the broader narrative of the city's political development during the Archaic Period.

Chapter IV

The aristocratic self: *Quid* of the elite in Corinth?

In the previous chapters, I demonstrated that the portrayal of aristocratic women differed depending on the sources analyzed. I would now like to turn to the depiction of aristocratic women in Corinth specifically and examine see they were locally conceptualized. Yet, to analyze the discourse about aristocratic women in this particular city, one must first delve into the literary sources and understand the political developments that affected Corinth in our period. The aim of this chapter is to explore the notions of elite and aristocracy through the lens of Archaic Greece and, more specifically, Archaic Corinth. To do so, one must also define how elite identity was articulated, and see how this discourse was applied to women. First, I will argue that aristocratic identity in Archaic times was a balance between social class and status. I will provide a definition of these terms and will then proceed to show how aristocratic identity was articulated and codified at the intersection of these two categories. I will then forge ahead with an analysis of the political developments of Archaic Corinth and determine how they might have impacted aristocratic self-definition.

a) Aristocratic Identity in Archaic Greece

To begin with, a definition of what is understood by "elite" and "aristocracy" is necessary to our analysis. There is an ongoing debate as to which term should be used and how exactly they differ. In my assessment of this issue, I have determined that the two can be used interchangeably, as conveying the meaning of an upper class that achieves social prominence due to socially valorized qualities, but that is also distinguished by its economic power.

Aristocratic identity was itself articulated around the concepts of high "class" and "status." There is no paradigmatic definition of "class," but it is usually used to define a group with similar economic and social (cultural, educational) backgrounds, and who share the same connection to means of production. It is hence an ascribed but mutable position on the social ladder, determined by economic power. This further determined the "social status" of an individual. This notion measured the place occupied in social hierarchy via a number of recognized values. Status would encompass an individual's privileges, power and influence – or lack thereof – resulting from his position in society. It also strongly depended on the perception and acceptation of others.[213] From the Mycenean age to our period, high class and status were mutually determining notions and were customarily transmitted by inheritance. Wealthy and powerful individuals yielded from old families and clans that controlled and influenced most aspects of social life. However, as we shall see, this notion came to be increasingly challenged during our period.

Thus, aristocratic identity in Archaic Greece was articulated around these two concepts of a high social class and status. To be an aristocrat meant that an individual not only belonged to the upper economic strata, but also that he or she could display socially recognized values. [214] Indeed, the aristocratic-self was constructed around an elitist language that would condone inclusion into such a group. Aristocratic identity was based on this high class and status that served as means of

[213] There has been a polarization between the two terms as historical analytical categories as early as the mid 20th century. On class see: George Thomson, *Aeschylus and Athens: A Study in the Social Origins of Drama* (London: Lawrence and Wishart Ltd, 1941); *Marxism and Poetry* (New-York: International Publishers, 1945); Perry Anderson, *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism* (London: NLB, 1974); On the use of status: M.I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); adopted notably by Ian Morris, ed. The Ancient Economy: Evidence and Models (Standford: Standford University Press, 2005) and Jonathan Hall, *A History of the Archaic Greek World, ca. 1200–479 BCE* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007). See Peter W Rose, *Class in Archaic Greece* (New-York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 4 footnote 1 for a detailed list of recent scholarship and their adaptation of the concept.
[214] Rose, *Class in Archaic* Greece, 64.

segregation from commoners and equally as a mode of recognition amongst peers.[215] This distinction worked as, in the terms of French historian Alain Duploy, a mobile *mode de reconnaissance sociale*.[216] These codes of distinction were expressed through different forms of ostentation. From birth to heroic ideal, physical appearance and pastimes, the elite would adopt and codify a distinctive elitist culture that mirrored their privileged position. The term "aristocracy" is itself embedded with status meaning: "ἀριστοκρατία; *aristokratía*" or the rule of the best. Indeed, to rule and dominate the social and political spheres of their local world was also an elitist prerogative.

This idea of superiority of the leading classes has been articulated since the epics of Homer. As stated in Chapter Two, I am aware of the debate surrounding the use of Homer as a historical tool. However, just like in the case of attitudes towards women, I believe the texts provide a useful background for values representative of the Archaic Period. Indeed, as rightly put by Walter Donlan in his work on Greek aristocracy: "The cultural standards and attitudes found in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which make up what is called the 'Heroic Ideal', had a profound effect on the conceptual universe of all subsequent generations of Greeks from the late eighth century on."[217] In this regard, the way aristocrats and leaders are described in the epics of Homer do provide a significant insight into the ancient Greeks' perspective of the elite. In the Homeric poems, the social and military leaders are all kings and princes. They usually possess divine ancestry that condones their superiority. Their military abilities and physical strength are also

[215] Cris Shore, "Towards an Anthropology of Elites," in *Elite cultures: anthropological perspectives,* ed. Cris Shore et al. (London; New York: Routledge, 2002), 3; Alain Duplouy, "La cité et ses élites : Modes de reconnaissance sociale et mentalité agonistque en Grèce archaïque et classique," in *Aristocratie antique : modèle et exemplarité sociale,* ed. H. Fernoux et al. (Dijon, 2005): 60-63.
[216] Duplouy, "La cité et ses élites," 60-63.
[217] Walter Donlan, *The Aristocratic Ideal in Ancient Greece: Attitudes of Superiority from Homer to the End of the fifth century B.C.* (Lawrence, Kan.: Coronado Press, 1980), 1.

always emphasized. Throughout the epics, they are either addressed by the terms *agathoi*, *aristoi* and *esthloi*: all containing a sense of superiority.[218] The rulers and heroes of the epics are frequently associated with qualities, such as bravery, and are ascribed with physical excellence and beauty. On the other hand, "common" men are described in unflattering terms, such as illustrated by the passage in Book Two of the *Iliad*, when Theristes intervenes during the council; he is described as "ugly," "bandy-legged" and "lame-footed", and is chastised and beaten for daring to speak up against kings and princes.[219] Along with their physical eminence and divine ancestry, the heroes of Homeric poetry furthered their position through individual deeds and merit.[220] However, their condition as leaders of the community was in no way assured, as is illustrated by how Odysseus's son Telemachus had to assert his claim as king of Ithaca.[221]

Just like for Homeric heroes, "good birth," *eugeneia*, was a mean for aristocrats to distinguish themselves. As C.G Starr put it in his work on Greek aristocracy: "essentially an aristocrat was one who was born into an aristocratic family."[222] Just like the rulers of the Homeric poems, aristocratic families of the period usually claimed descent from a divinity or a hero: In Athens, the Alcmaeonids professed descent from Nestor, and the Philaids from Ajax; in Corinth, the Bacchiads boasted to have Heracles as their ancestor, as did the Agids and Eurypontids dynasties in Sparta. This served as a status marker for aristocratic families, but also as a way to legitimize their power by retracing their ancestry to the founders of their region or *polis*. Women were, for once, not absent from the narrative: they too, could articulate their identity in relation to

[218] Elke Stein-Holkeskamp, "Aristocracy," in *Brill's New Pauly Antiquity volumes,* ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider.
[219] Hom. *Il*. 2. 211-277.
[220] Donlan, *The Aristocratic Ideal in Ancient Greece*, 15.
[221] See Donlan, *The Aristocratic Ideal in Ancient Greece*, 17-35 for the concept of "ranked society" in Homer.
[222] Chester G. Starr, *The Aristocratic Temper of Greek Civilization* (New-York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 11.

their heroic ancestors and claim the superiority and prestige that such a position awarded them.[223] Birth and family were also capital in the creation of strong network ties. Indeed, the elite families of Archaic Greece frequently intermarried to strengthen political and military alliances, as well as kin ties. This fact is best illustrated by the story of the marriage of Agariste, daughter of the Sicyonian tyrant Cleisthenes, around the first quarter of the 6th century.[224] Herodotus tells us that the prospect of an alliance with the Orthagorid family attracted young men not only from all over Greece, but also Magnia Graecia and Ionia.[225] In this regard, women played a central role in securing such political and military alliances.

Moreover, the kin network also worked as one of support between aristocrats. Blood ties, mutual friendship, or converging interests were all reasons for noble families to interact – peacefully or not – with each other. A good example is provided with the story of the Alcmaeonid aristocrat Cylon who married the daughter of Theagenes, tyrant of Megara. Cylon later attempted to seize power in Athens with the support of an armed group, but the coup failed and his followers were slaughtered near the altar of Athena. Although Herodotus does not specify the origin of the "company of men of like age" who accompanied Cylon, it is related by Thucydides that the troops were granted by Theagenes himself.[226] For Theagenes, the benefits of having his son-in-law as a tyrant of Athens were clear, especially since the latter would be liable

[223] Lynette Mitchell, *"The Women of Ruling Families in Archaic and Classical Greece,"* 17.
[224] I use tyrant throughout this thesis in the Archaic sense of the term, meaning a man who seized or inherited power and concentrated it into his sole hands. Contemporary sources like Solon or Alcaeus viewed tyranny in a negative light but the term itself became pejorative only later in the Classical Period with the treatises of Aristotle and Plato. A lot has been said on Archaic tyranny but the followings are of particular interest: Elke Stein-Hölkeskamp, "The Tyrants," in *A Companion to Archaic Greece*, eds. Kurt. A. Raaflaub and Hans Van Wees (Chichester, West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, 2013): 102-116; A. Anderson, "Before Turannoi Were Tyrants: Rethinking a Chapter of Early Greek History," in: *ClAnt* 24 (2005): 173-222; Sian Lewis, *Greek Tyranny* (Exter: Bristol Phoenix Press, 2009).
[225] Hdt. 6.126.
[226] Hdt. 5.71; Thuc. 1.126. 5.

to him for his military support. With this tie of kinship and a relative in power in Athens, Theagenes would position himself on par with Cleisthenes of Sicyon, who also had an Athenian aristocrat as son-in-law. The Cylonian coup could have been an opportunity for Theagenes to take the upper hand in the contest of influence over Athens. In any case, the influence of Cleisthenes in Athens through his son-in-law Megacles was not meant to last since he and his family were subsequently held responsible for the massacre of Cylon's followers, cursed, and exiled from the city.[227] This example shows that the *stasis* created by factionalism between elite families made kin networks even more important.[228] An aristocrat could easily see his fortune reversed and face harsh consequences. Exile was a political tool often used throughout the Archaic Period and aristocratic networks were also used as leverage in such cases.[229] Political ties, friendship, and kinship with their peer nobles would ensure hospitality and support if an aristocrat faced such a situation. In Sicyon, we are told that Cleisthenes exiled his older brother Isodamus because he was polluted by the murder of their other brother, and thus could not hold magistracy.[230] Isodamus then sought refuge in Corinth and the support of the Cypselids to regain power in Sicyon.[231]

In addition, wealth was also a determining factor of position in social hierarchy. Ever since the Bronze Age, ruling classes stemmed from landholding families who could control and distribute agricultural surplus. In the Archaic Period, such produce continued to constitute the main form of economic stratification. In Athens, the 594 solonian reforms granted the most

[227] Thuc. 1.126. 11; Hdt, 5.71.
[228] See notably Sarah Forsdyke, *Exile, Ostracism and Democracy: The Politics of Expulsion in Ancient Greece* (Princeton N.J: Princeton University Press, 2005) for intra-elite violence in Mytilene, Megara and Samos.
[229] On intra-elite competition and exile, see particularly Forsdyke, *Exile, Ostracism and Democracy*, 14-29.
[230] Victor Parker, "Some Aspects of the Foreign and Domestic Policy of Cleisthenes of Sicyon," *Hermes* 122.4 (1994): 417.
[231] Nic.Dam. FGrH 90 F 61.

prestigious offices to the higher economic classes.[232] This also indicates that stratification existed even amongst the wealthy classes, with only the richest eligible for the most prestigious offices. However, aristocrats had to possess enough land and wealth to sustain their "distinct way of life."[233] Indeed, if wealth, power, and the influence derived from kin networks were the most important aspects of the assertion of elite identity, the latter had to be articulated through a set of social markers that would lead to what Bourdieu phrased as his "distinction." [234]

In the same vein, dress and physical appearance helped to recognize an aristocrat instantly. Sixth-century philosopher Xenophanes describes as such the nobles of Colophon: "and having learned useless luxury from the Lydians, while they were free of hateful tyranny, they used to go to the agora wearing robes all of purple, no fewer than a thousand as a rule, proud and exulting in the splendour of their hair, drenched with the scent of the most refined unguents."[235] In the same vein, Athenaeus cites a fragment of Asius of Samos who describes the local elite and their "locks carefully combed […] covered in their splendid cloaks […] and their long –flowing hair, bound in golden ties, would swing in the breeze […]" [236] Thucydides also states that not long before the 5th century had the rich men and women of Athens lost the habit to tie their hair with cicadas made of gold.[237] Thus, aristocrats were recognizable by their appearance and luxurious garments. They also shared different pastimes that had elitist connotation. The banquet known as the *symposium* was one such activity.[238] Participation in the feast would condone one's inclusion into a group of powerful individuals, and reinforce or create ties of friendship.

[232] Wealth was measured according to landowning; Arist. *Ath.Pol.* 7.3; Plut.*Vit.Sol.* 18.1-2.
[233] Starr, *The Aristocratic Temper of Greek Civilization*, 12.
[234] Pierre Bourdieu, *La distinction: critique sociale du jugement* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1979).
[235] Xen. Fr.3. Translated by and translated by Douglas E. Gerber in *Greek Elegiac Poetry: From the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC,* Loeb Classical Library 258 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).
[236] Ath.525f.
[237] Thuc. 1.6.3.
[238] See Donlan, *The Aristocratic Ideal in Ancient Greece*, 51-63.

Hospitality, or *xenia*, was an extremely important value that had been identified as an aristocratic component since the writings of Homer. Women were not customarily present at *symposia* and the presence of musicians, dancers, *hetairai* and *pornai,* often depicted on Attic vases, makes it doubtful that respectable noble women would attend. *Symposi*a were thence an important aspect of aristocratic male identity. Likewise, athletics and hunting were part of the aristocratic life mostly associated with men. Hunting is often depicted in material culture as preceding the *symposium*, whereas the use of horses and weapons, which were extremely expensive at the time, limited the activity to the wealthiest.[239] It is also usually associated with warfare and certainly echoed Homeric ideals of *arête* and bravery.[240] In the same vein, athletics as leisure were of primordial importance for the Greek nobility. The act of sponsoring athletic competitions required hefty funds and thence only the higher classes could partake in such displays. Furthermore, it allowed nobles to engage in non-violent competition. Such events were perfect not only occasions for rival aristocrats to exhibit their wealth and power, but also helped create ties of friendship. The many religious festivals associated with such displays also further enhanced noble status by flaunting special connection to a divinity. To a broader aristocratic audience, it was also a way to advertise one's wealth with extensive building programs and offerings. Indeed, dedications in temples and sanctuaries were means to illustrate prestige and richness to both a local and Panhellenic audience. Monumental *stelae*, or dedications in precious metals displayed to the community, were all signs of the prestige and wealth of their dedicators. In this, women were present just like men. The best example of such dedication would be the monumental statue dedicated by Nikandre of Naxos discussed in Chapter Three. Such public displays of women's status were also found elsewhere: 18 marble bases, half of which were

[239] Judith M.Barringer, *The Hunt in Ancient Greece* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 21; Donlan, *The Aristocratic Ideal in Ancient Greece,* 58.
[240] Judith M.Barringer, *The Hunt in Ancient Greece*, 10; 22-32.

dedicated by a woman alone, have been uncovered on the Athenian acropolis.[241] Even in death, the aristocratic-self had to be recognizable.[242] Wealthy individuals were buried with luxurious objects such as *kraters*, or richly decorated amphorae and jewellery, as ever-lasting symbols of their status. At the turn of the 7th century, some tombs started to be indicated with monumental grave markers such as *kouros* and *korai* but also sphinxes and lions.[243]

Thence, the aristocracy of Archaic Greece was clearly differentiated from the common people by a collective set of behaviours and culture. Their elitist status had to be shown and maintained throughout their lives. The aristocracy was also a distinct and cohesive group recognized as such by the *other*. It was as much based on inclusion as it was on exclusion. All of these elements of differentiation also constituted a *mode d'évaluation* of the social rank of an individual. The nobles of the Archaic Times thought of and defined themselves as a separate class, while their birth condoned their political privilege and claim to superiority.[244]

However, this representation of noble identity did not go unchallenged in the Archaic Period. The new opportunities of commerce created by trade networks to the West made it possible to climb the economic ladder. Thus, the "consciously expressed feeling amongst the nobles that their superiority was based on birth" [245] became challenged by the appearance of a new wealthy class, which had both the means and the will to emulate the aristocracy and to take part in the elitist discourse. This "divorce […] was […] the most damaging blow to aristocratic pretensions

[241] Brunilde S.Ridgway, "Ancient Greek Women and Art: The Material Evidence," *American Journal of Archaeology* 91 (1987): 401.
[242] See more specifically Ian Morris, *Burial in Ancient Society: The Rise of the Polis* (Cambridge; New-York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 44.
[243] Starr, *The Aristocratic Temper of Greek Civilization,* 13; Morris, *Burial in Ancient Society,* 21.
[244] Charles W. Hedrick Jr., "Religion and Society in Classical Greece," *A Companion to Greek Religion,* ed. Daniel Ogden (Malden, Ma: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 289.
[245] Donlan, *The Aristocratic Ideal in Ancient Greece*, 52.

of superiority."[246] Violent faction wars between nobles fought for the possession of land and wealth, as well as the monopoly of political power, also seem to have threatened aristocratic stability.[247] This confrontation is best described in Theognis' work. This sixth-century poet was an aristocrat who lived in Megara during this tense period.[248] Reflecting on the change of social order in his city, he writes that: "[…] the people are different, people who formerly knew neither justice nor laws, but wore tattered goatskins about their sides and lived outside this city like deer. And now they are noble, Polypaïdes, while those who were noble before are now base. […] They deceive one another and mock one another, knowing neither the distinctive marks of the base nor those of the noble."[249] Here, the poet hints at a social reversal where people who had not previously been involved in the affairs of the city started to gain prominence. The goatskin detail may reflect the author's disdain for people he saw as unfit for high offices. This unsuitability was highlighted by a caricatured depiction of their dress. The fact that they also ignored judgments or laws indicates that they were not members of the aristocracy since nobles normally held juridical offices.

Thus, non-nobles started to rise in Megara and Theognis' disapproval may well reflect that of his entire social class. In Theognis' times, it seems to have been increasingly difficult to distinguish the elite from social climbers. Moreover, these men were seen as inherently bad when

[246] Donlan, *The Aristocratic Ideal in Ancient Greece*, 85.
[247] Hans Van Wees, "Megara's Mafiosi: Timocracy and Violence in Theognis," in *Alternatives to Athens: Varieties of Political Organization and Community in Ancient Greece*, ed. Roger Brock et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 53.
[248] Ronald P. Legon, *Megara the political history of a Greek city-state to 336 B.C* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1981), 117. A *corpus* of around 1400 lines is attributed to Theognis of Megara but, while many of the poems are likely his own, some later historical events included in the *Theognidea* indicate that other authors were later included in the oeuvre.
[249] Theognis, *Fragments*, 53-60. Text from Douglas E. Gerber's 1999 edition of the Theognidea. Theognis et al. *Elegiac Poetry from the Seventh to the Fifth Cenuries*, ed. and trans. D.E. Gerber, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1999).

compared to the elite in place. The association with "bad or good" and social class is also present in another fragment: " a noble man does not mind marrying the base daughter of a base father if the latter gives him a lot of money, and a woman does not refuse to be the wife of a base man who is rich, but she wants a wealthy man instead of one who is noble. It is money people honour; one who is noble marries the daughter of one who is base and one who is base marries the daughter of one who is noble."[250] It seems that wealth came to supersede birth as a sign of belonging to the elite. This development was not limited to Megara only: with the reforms of Solon in Athens wealth replaced birth as the main qualification for obtaining political offices. The very principle of distinction of the elite in the Archaic Period seems to have been challenged by the evolution of social order.

b) Corinth and Its Aristocracy: The Bacchiads and the Tyrants

Let's now turn to Corinth specifically. Our paradigm of aristocratic identity translated very accurately in the *genos* of the Bacchiads. In his *Greek Library,* Diodorus mentions that Corinth was once ruled by kings of this line and that an oligarchy was established when, around the mid-eighth century, the conveniently named King Telestes was killed by two of his own kinsmen.[251] The Bacchiads then shared power amongst themselves and political offices became elected rather than hereditary positions. However, they remained within the *genos,* even if the existence of some sort of consulting body or assembly cannot be ruled out. Ephoros, reports that each year,

[250] Theognis, *Fragments,* 183-189.

[251] Diod. *Bibliotheca Historica*. 7.9. The tale has to be taken with caution since the name of the king seems to close in roots to *telos* meaning "last", but the historicity of the overthrow of the monarchy by the Bacchiads stands. The dates are also debated but it is not the point of this Chapter to take position into the discussion. For arguments on dating of the Bacchiads and the Cypselids see Edouard Will, *Korinthiaka : Recherches sur l'histoire et la civilisation de Corinthe des origines aux guerres médiques* (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 1955), 362-440 and John Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth: A History of the city to 338 B.C* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New-York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 54-74.

the assembly of the 200 Bacchiads elected a *polemarch*, and a *prytannes*.[252] The *genos* also had power over judicial affairs and could fine and imprison other Corinthian citizens. The Bacchiads surely derived their wealth from land-owning, but we also know of some who were involved in trade.[253] It is likely that, as mentioned by Strabo, the oligarchy controlled the commercial routes and perceived taxes related to this activity.[254] The Bacchiads also apparently engaged in colonization since members of this family founded two Corinthian colonies: Chersikrates founded Corcyra around 734 and Archias established Syracuse in 733.[255] In general, the city's wealth and trade networks expanded, and by the end of the Bacchiad Period, Corinthian architecture started to monumentalize.[256] According to Herodotus, the balance of power was ensured by endogamy in order to keep the offices within the *genos*.[257] This may have been true for the most part, however we know of a notable exception to this rule: Cypselus' mother Labda was married to a foreign aristocrat because her lameness made her ineligible to a Bacchiad marriage.[258] The groom, Eetion, from the township of Petra, was of Lapith origin and belonged to the local aristocracy. However, if Bacchiad identity could thence be transmitted by the maternal line, a preferred endogamy in marriage practices is likely to have existed. As astutely pointed out by Salmon in his *Wealthy Corinth*, this would have created an even greater sense of

[252] A number also given by Diodorus but absent from Herodotus; Nic.Dam FGrH 90 F 57.
[253] They were most probably the biggest landowners and the legislations of Pheidon, as reported by Aristotle in *Pol.* 1265b 12-16, suggests a disproportion in land possession. (If placed before Cypselus as suggested by Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth*, 63). Demaratus is probably the most famous example in Dionysus of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, 3.46; Strabo, *Geography*, 8.6.20.
[254] Strabo, *Geography*, 8.6.20
[255] For Archias see Thuc. 6.3.2; Strab. *Geography*. 6.2.4; Plut. *Mor.* 772e-773b; For Chersicrates see Timaios in *Brills New Jacoby*, BNJ 566 F80 and Strab. *Georgaphy*. 6.2.4 C.
[256] Peter Haarer, "Bacchiadai," in *Encyclopedia of the Ancient World*; Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth*, 59-62.
[257] Hdt. 5.92.
[258] In Herodotus' account. This may seems inconsistent with the later depictions of elite women on vases that I contextualize later but one has to keep in mind that Herodotus is not contemporary. Moreover, even her name is suspect and hints at a literary trope. On this see M.H. Jameson, "Labda, Lambda, Labdakos," in *Corinthiaca. Studies in Honor of Darell A.Amyx*, M.A.Del Chiaro ed. (Columbia: University of Misouri Press, 1986), 186-197.

exclusiveness and set them apart from the people, but also from other aristocrats.[259] However, this stratification amongst the noble classes and the *genos'* monopoly of political offices likely created tensions in a society that was fast evolving. The non-Bacchiad aristocracy that had both the means and the ancestral claim to aristocratic identity – and superiority – surely would have felt deprived of their right to exercise power.[260] Aelian hints at those tensions when commenting on the ostentatious and immoderate lifestyle of the oligarchy: "the government of the Bacchiads at Corinth, who achieved great power, was nevertheless destroyed by immoderate luxury, as in the other cases."[261] Moreover, exile and *atimia* were frequently used in this period as political tools against dissidents, and this undoubtedly led to growing resentment against the established order.[262] Following a series of military defeats such as the loss of Corcyra, the Bacchiads would have been increasingly perceived as illegitimate. The fall would, indeed, come shortly after the establishment of the oligarchy.

Around the mid-seventh century, a man called Cypselus and his allies overthrew the oligarchy and instituted a tyranny. The circumstances of Cypselus' rise to power and many details of his life are tainted by the mystification and political ideology of our later sources and should then be taken with caution.[263] However, a general outline of the political events that led to the establishment of the tyranny can be drawn. Two Delphic oracles are said to have predicted Cypselus' rise to power. Herodotus tells us that the oligarchy decided to get rid of the baby but

[259] Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth*, 56.
[260] Stein-Hölkeskamp, "The Tyrants," 102-103.
[261] Ael. *VH.* 1.19.
[262] Nic.Dam. FGrH 90 F 57; Forsdyke, *Exile, Ostracism and Democracy*, 71.
[263] Fifth century ideology as described by Herodotus who saw tyrants as evil versus fourth century developments as in Aristotle *Poli*. and Nic. Dam, that saw them as champions of the people.

that it was miraculously saved by being concealed in a chest.[264] As these oracles are most probably *post-eventum,* serving as a mean of divinely condoning his ascension, and the story of his survival echoes a well-known mythological *topos*, the tale should be taken with caution.[265] Despite his marginalizing half-Bacchiad origin, the fact that he held the magistracy of *polemarch* seems to hint that he was fully integrated into the governing body and it raises doubts about any attempts against his life by the established order.[266] What we know for sure is that around the last quarter of the seventh century, he gathered popular support and, with the help of his "associates" (*hetairikion*) - probably aristocrats - fomented his *coup* to seize power for himself.[267] After this, Herodotus tells us that: "many of the Corinthians he drove into exile, many he deprived of their wealth, and by far the most he had killed."[268] If this is an exaggeration from the historian in order to vilify the tyrant, a massive expulsion of the old tenants of power is likely. However, according to the fourth-century historian Ephoros, Bacchiad land was confiscated and subsequently redistributed to the *demos*.[269] Here, Cypselus probably rewarded the *hetairikion* who helped him in his rise to power. It is thus most probable that the tyrant's policies were welcomed favourably by members of the aristocracy, but also by newly rich families that had acquired wealth through Corinthian commerce. They now had access to the higher status they had been denied under the

[264] Hdt. 5.92. This looks like a literary *topos* used more than once by Herodotus. See Vivienne J Gray, "Herodotus and Images of Tyranny: The Tyrants of Corinth," *The American Journal of Philology* 117. 3 (1996): 367-371.
[265] Gray, "Herodotus and Images of Tyranny". Even the name of Cypselus' mother is suspect.
[266] Aristotle, *Politics* 5.1310b; Nic.Dam. FGrH 90.57; Edouard Will, *Korinthiaka*, 301; John Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth*, 189-192.
[267] Here again, the dates are debated. The accepted dating places the Cypselid dynasty between 657-584. Will argues in favour of the lower dating, 620-550. His dating is well argued but I find it based on too many assumptions to be reasonable. It is not however the aim of this paper to take position in the debate. We can only assume that some time after the mid 7th century, the Bacchiads were no longer rulers of Corinth and the oligarchy consisting of other nobles was instituted sometime before the mid 6th century.
[268] Hdt. 5.92.
[269] Preserved in fragments of Nicolaus of Damascus' *Universal History,* Nic. Dam, FGrH 90 F 57. Whether the entire *demos* really benefited from this distribution of land is debated. I agree here with Elke Stein-Hölkeskamp who assumes that land would have primarily been allocated to the elite *hetairikon* who supported Cypselus in his coup; Stein-Hölkeskamp, "The Tyrants," 103.

oligarchy and could finally live up to their perceived social superiority.[270] This certainly opened a new and wide array of opportunities for the noble families.[271] The overthrow and expulsion of the Bacchiads led to a reorganization of the upper class and new alliances within a larger aristocratic network opened to the Corinthian elite. The nobility had to reassess its identity as a class. Thence, marriage and kinship, both cornerstones of the aristocratic support network, would have become increasingly crucial. The tyrant himself sought to expand his kinship network through alliances with powerful aristocratic families: Cypselus' wife Cratea was an aristocrat from Arcadia, their daughter married a Philaid from Athens and that Periander, Cypselus' son and successor, married Melissa, the daughter of the tyrant of Epidauros. However, this new status of the nobility assuredly led to conflicts with the tyrannical stranglehold over another aspect of aristocratic identity: political power. Herodotus relates that Cypselus' son Periander adopted a harsher policy than his father in response to this matter and exiled all of the remaining nobles.[272] Again this should be examined with caution given the aversion for tyranny expressed by Herodotus, it is likely that aristocrats who were at first satisfied with the politics of Cypselus started asking for increasing prominence in the affairs of the city under his son's rule. It is assuredly no coincidence that Periander's successor and nephew, Psammetichus, ruled only for around four years. A new oligarchy was later formed, comprised of nine *probouloi* and a council of not more than eighty individuals. This indicates that power was once again in the hands of a restricted elite, one that had fought against the Bacchiads and the Cypselids to access the ruling spheres.[273]

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[270] Will, *Korinthiaka*, 304.

[271] For the tradition of hostility towards the Bacchiadae see Nic. Dam FGrH 90 F 57; Strab. *Geography*. 378.

[272] I here agree with Will, *Korinthiaka*, 506-507. The nobles might well have been remaining Bacchiads and other aristocrats that started voicing their discontent. As stated by Forsdyke, *Exile, Ostracism and Democracy*, 73 the scale of the expulsions might be an exaggeration by Herodotus in order to demonize the tyranny but a politic of expulsion of discontent nobles cannot be ruled out.

[273] I here agree with Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth*, 234 and Forsdyke, *Exile, Ostracism and Democracy*, 77.

These political developments had an impact on Corinthian aristocrats. As I have sketched, aristocratic identity was articulated around a certain set of values and behaviours, but in Corinth the claim to aristocratic superiority and the very elements of social distinction had been the prerogative of the Bacchiads. As is usual in Greek historiography, women are excluded from our narrative. Aside from Labda and the tyrants' wives, no women are mentioned in our sources and we do not know how they were affected by the policies of the Cypselids and the change of aristocratic order. They too, however, were part of the elitist discourse since women played such a prominent role in the forging of alliances. Locally, it is also through women that aristocratic identity came to be defined since, as we saw with the Bacchiads, they were active agents of the transmission of social privileges. They thus had to articulate their social differentiation and the political turmoil that followed the fall of the Bacchiads certainly led to a renegotiation of their own status during this period. Elite Corinthian women surely came to play a different role within the evolving aristocratic network. As stated, women are surprisingly absent from the narrative. However, I intend to show that what the literary sources excluded can be found somewhere else. In fact, during our period, women came to be prominent and particularly present on another type of contemporary source: pottery. I argue that through a specific motif that became popular during the end of the 6th and early 5th centuries, the modern reader can find a fascinating response as to how elite identity was developed and displayed. Compellingly, women played a central part in this narrative.

Chapter V

The Local Gaze: Corinthian women and the *Frauenfest* motif

As we have seen, women were virtually absent from the historical narrative in our sources and the depictions that we gather from epic and lyric poetry are ambiguous. In Corinth, no written sources from our period explain to what extent Corinthian women were affected by the events following the fall of the Bacchiads and the coming of the Cypselids, even though they played a role in the transmission of aristocratic identity. However, I propose that material culture and a particular type of vase motif can provide a useful frame for the analysis of Corinthian elite women's response to the political turmoil of the seventh and sixth centuries. In this chapter, I will establish a bridge between the social upheaval generated by the establishment and overthrow of the tyranny and the development of the *Frauenfest* motif on Corinthian vase painting.

a) The Methodological Question

Long confined to the study of mythology, iconography is increasingly included as a source material about everyday life in ancient Greece. Indeed, vase painting gives modern scholars unparallelled insight into Archaic aesthetics and customs, and whole volumes are now dedicated to the study and analysis of particular motifs.[274] Nevertheless, the difficulty of interpreting genre scenes on Greek vases is often seen as a methodological problem. That many vases do not offer much context as to their use, and are only rarely found *in situ* undeniably constitutes a challenge for academics. Even when additional data such as inscriptions, background, and provenance is provided, experts often offer different interpretations of the same theme.[275]

[274] One of the pioneering volumes certainly is Bérard et al. *La cité des images. Religion et société en Grèce antique* (Lausanne: Fernand Nathan-L.E.P, 1984).
[275] Sian Lewis, *The iconography of the Athenian Women* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013), 1-12 on the methodological problems facing modern viewers.

Depictions of women are no easier to analyze. Indeed, one of the dangers lies in the difficulty of identifying the status of the women on vase paintings. On the one hand, *hetairai* have been the subject of many depictions on Attic vase paintings, while some Classical examples also feature *pornai* in very explicit scenes. On the other hand, we often see women in a wide range of domestic activities, but their occupation alone does not guarantee a proper identification: they could be slaves, *hetairai* or respectable wives.[276] Moreover, the border between myth and reality is often hard to draw, and vases could feature goddesses, heroines, or real-life women without much distinction.

The context of production also influenced iconography. As is true for any artistic production, the maker's own ideas and assumptions were reflected in the resulting work. Thence it is important not to take all of our illustrations at face value or as an absolute glimpse into the real life of the ancient Greeks. Iconography functions as a language, with its specific codes and *modes opératoires*, and even the most realistic of scenes could reflect a distorted vision. Reality, when it was depicted, was also not lived and constructed in the same way depending on a variety of factors including status, age and, of course, gender. Hence, while most of the identifiable Attic potters are men, at least one depiction of a female working in a pottery shop exists.[277] Women artists thus surely existed in ancient Greece and one cannot rule out that their personal tastes and perspectives were also reflected in their work. Besides, individuals, including women, could commission artwork according to their own preferences, adding yet another layer of individuality to the painted decor. In fact, the context of consumption had an influence on the final product, as

[276] Dyfri Williams illustrates this difficulty brilliantly in her article "Women on Athenian Vases: Problems of Interpretation" in *Images of Women in Antiquity,* eds. Cameron Averil, and Amélie Kuhrt (London: Routledge, 1993); see also Bérard et al*. La cité des* images, 85-92.

[277] A red-figure hydria attributed to the Leningrad Painter and from circa 460, depicting a vase-painting workshop. Now in the private collection of the Banca Intesa, #278a Milan.

both the circumstances and public would impact the iconography featured on a vessel. Firstly, specific vase shapes were often produced for limited occasions. Thus, the subject that ornamented them befitted the context. The *symposium* is one particular example. Vase shapes produced for this elitist practice frequently featured *komast* and sexual scenes, while friezes evoked specifically aristocratic activities, such as hunting. Other occasions also called for specific shapes: funerary vases like *lekythoi* typically had features scenes such as mourning processions, while other shapes such as the *loutrophoros* would be decorated with wedding scenes. Secondly, the audience had influence over the kind of ornamentation featured on vases. Just like nowadays, consumers bought objects that were meaningful to them and that appealed to their specific tastes.

To exclude ancient Greek women from this scenario is no longer viable, as it has been proven by recent scholarship on the matter.[278] Women, just like men, were a targeted audience for potters and workshops. Thence, a painted vessel bought by a man for *symposia* is likely to have displayed entirely different themes than one commissioned by a woman to be displayed in her house or serve as a votive offering. However, with all those methodological difficulties in mind, iconography does provide a tremendously useful balance to literary sources. As a matter of fact, vase painting enables a more nuanced analysis of the place of women in Corinth during our period, and offers a vast new array of possible interpretations of their role in society. It also shows that women were increasingly present in material sources, even if excluded from literary evidence.

[278] Bérard et al. *La cité des images,* 85; Sue Blundell and Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz, "Women's Bonds, Women's Pots: Adornment Scenes In Attic Vase-Painting," Phoenix 62, no.1-2 (Spring-Summer 2008): 115-144.

b) Corinthian Pottery Development

Corinthian pottery has been extensively studied ever since the late 19th century thanks to the systematic archaeological campaigns held on the site by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. The results and reports of the excavations have been made available via the *Corinth* volumes edited by ASCSA and the *Hesperia* series. This, in turn, led to the publication of various monographs dedicated to the study of Corinthian art, notably Humphry Payne's *Necrocorinthia* and Amyx's *Corinthian Vase Painting of the Archaic Period* and *Studies in Archaic Corinthian Vase Painting*. Excavations in different key sites of the city unveiled material ranging from the late Bronze Age to the Ottoman occupation.[279] The majority of retrieved artefacts consist of ceramics dated from the late-geometric style to the proto-Corinthian.[280] For most of the Archaic Period, Corinth was a vibrant ceramic production centre, and its distinctive style can be found all over the Mediterranean world. The strategic location of the city on the Isthmus, as well as its two ports, provided convenient access to both the Adriatic in the West, and the Aegean in the East. As illustrated in Chapter Four, commerce flourished under the Bacchiads and the Cypselids, and the foundation of new colonies during the 8th century made the circulation of locally produced goods all the more efficient.

The enormous amount of ceramic material preserved on the site of ancient Corinth enabled archaeologists to produce a detailed history of its development in terms of shape and decoration, from the Early Proto-Corinthian to the Late-Corinthian. Johansen, in 1923, and Payne in 1931, established a detailed chronology that was modified by Amyx in 1988. Amyx's version is now

[279] "Corinthian Pottery, an Introduction," Classical Research Center, University of Oxford. Accessed July 2017, http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/tools/pottery/techniques/corinthian/default.htm
[280] Ibid.

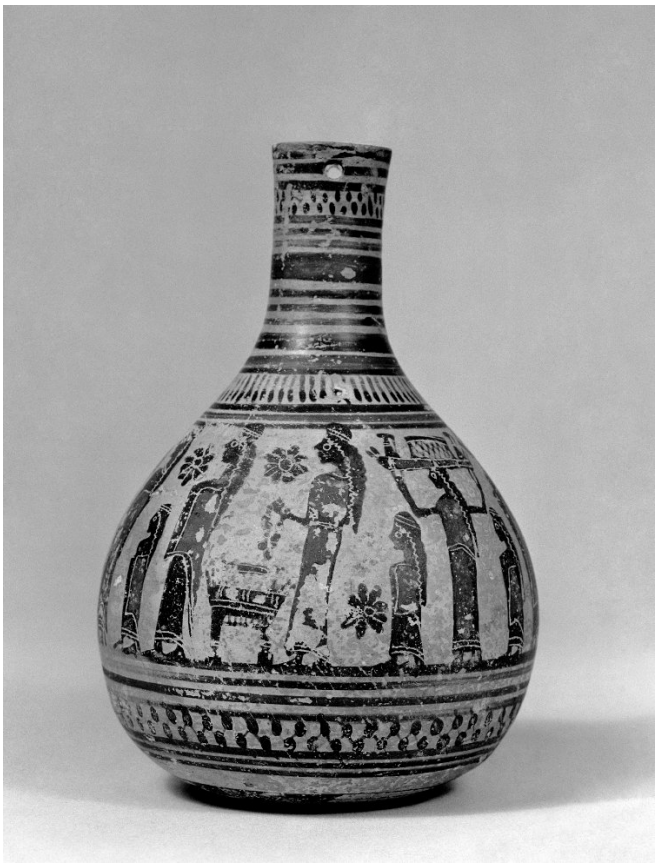
standard and used by most archaeologists in their dating. The following table presents his conclusions: [281]

750 - 720	Late Geometric
720 - 690	Early Proto-Corinthian
690 - 670	Middle Proto-Corinthian I
670 - 650	Middle Proto-Corinthian II
650 - 630	Late Proto-Corinthian
630 - 620/615	Transitional Period
620/615 - 595/590	Early Corinthian
595/590 - 570	Middle Corinthian
570 - 550	Late Corinthian I
After 550	Late Corinthian II

c) The *Frauenfest* Motif and Aristocratic Self-Representation

Women appear on painted vessels as early as the Geometric Period, where they were mostly shown in a mourning role during funeral rites. The development of the black-figure technique allowed for more refined and detailed depictions of the human shape, thus igniting more diversity in iconography. Women came to be represented in more varied contexts like public cults and festivals. The *Frauenfest* motif, — literally "Women festival" — is one such example. It consists of a series of vases produced in Corinth between the Early and Late-Corinthian I Periods. It represents processions of women that appear to have a religious connotation. Unfortunately, since no complete study of the motif has been published, there is no way to determine how many examples of the type were produced in Corinth. Ines Jucker's 1963 article and Amyx's study of Corinthian pottery, which will be discussed later, cover some 27 examples, the groundwork of the present analysis.[282]

[281] Darell A. Amyx, *Corinthian vase-painting of the Archaic Period* vol.2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 428.
[282] Ines Jucker, "Frauenfest in Korinth," *Antike Kunst* 6, no.2 (1963); Darell Amyx, *Corinthian vase-painting of the Archaic Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).



Frauenfest scene on a Middle-Corinthian Bottle at the British Museum. Photo courtesy of the British Museum. © Trustees of the British Museum.

On many examples, the subjects carry wreaths or garlands and a *kanephoros*, or "basket-bearer," can be identified. Women are either dancing or walking in a line towards an altar or a seated deity and this pattern alternates on some vases. [283] Sometimes male figures are seen walking in the procession. [284] There are examples of padded dancers alongside dancing ladies in a *komast* context, and two examples show naked *hetairai*.[285] Auletes are also sometimes present, as are animals led to the altar to be sacrificed. The procession usually forms the main decor of the vase and decorative friezes, such as geometric patterns or palmettes and rosettes are often associated with the motif.[286] According to Amyx's chronology, the earliest recorded example dates from the Early-Corinthian Period, while the genre as a whole is most

[283] Munich Pyxis, attributed to the Skating Painter, Plate 2; The Bézier painter flasks at Bézier, Plate 3. A very similar example is cited by Jucker, "Frauenfest in Korinth", p.51, plate 17.2-4. Now at Montpellier, Inv.127

[284] Elizabeth Pemberton "Gender Roles in Corinthian Cult," *Kernos* 13 (2000): 93 argues otherwise but some examples such as the Pyxis in le Cabinet des Médailles Jucker, "Frauenfest in Korinth", Plate 23, or the *skyphos* at the Kunsthist Museum in Vienna; Jucker, "Frauenfest in Korinth," Plate 22.2, do include distinct male figures.

[285] The Padded-Dancer figure appears in Corinth around the transitional Period and was later copied by attic painters. On this see: Axel Seeberg, *Corinthian Komos Vases* (London: University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, 1971); Angela Ziskowski, "Clubfeet and Kypselids: Contextualising Corinthian Padded Dancers in the Archaic Period," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 107 (2012): 211-232; Taylor Jo Smith, "Travestis or Travesty ? Dance, Dress and Gender in Greek Vase-painting," in *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World* ed. Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (Duckworth and the Classical Press of Wales: London, 2002), 33-53.

[286] Pemberton, *Gender Roles*, 91.

popular during the Middle to Late Corinthian I. Afterwards it seems to disappear from the market, as no example later than 560 has yet been uncovered.

The *Frauenfest* attracted little attention from archaeologists and historians alike, yet specialists of Corinthian pottery attempted to formally identify the scene. I will now provide an overview of the scholarly treatment of the motif and the possible interpretations that have been proposed. Payne is the first to have regrouped the pattern in his study of Corinthian Archaic pottery. In conjunction with an examination of the famous padded dancers figures, he argues that the scenes depict a festival in honour of Dionysos. Elizabeth G. Pemberton later supported his hypothesis in her analysis of the motif.[287] In 1963, Ines Jucker published an article that gave the design its name. In it, she discussed 27 pieces and fragments, dating from the Early-Corinthian Period to the Late-Corinthian. Contrary to Payne, Jucker hypothesizes that the scenes depict a cult to Artemis, represented as the seated deity.[288] This is possible, especially given the importance of the cult of Artemis in Corinth. In 1988, Amyx pursued the work in classification by regrouping the different "schools" of painters. To him, the motif is also a cult procession but he provides a middle ground between Jucker and Payne by arguing that the festival could have honoured both Dionysos and Artemis.[289] Axel Seeberg has argued that the entire genre should not be confined to a single cult activity and should rather be considered as a general representation of different festivals.[290] This was supported in a recent article by Theodora Kopestonsky, who discussed the cult of the nymphs at Corinth and who agrees with the "generic gathering of mortal

[287] Pemberton, *Gender Roles*, 91.
[288] Jucker, "Frauenfest in Korinth," 57.
[289] Darell Amyx, *Corinthian vase-painting of the Archaic Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 656-657.
[290] Axel Seeberg, "Hephaistos Rides Again,"*Journal of Hellenic Studies* 85 (1965): 105 note 19

women."[291] In an article for the *bulletin de correspondence héllenique,* Denise Kallipolitis-Feytmans has argued in favour of a cult to Demeter, Kore and the Morai due to the presence of a baby and a spindle in the hands of the seated figures.[292] This is also a convincing hypothesis but not all the vases feature such deities. Hence, I do not think we should restrict the whole motif to a single cult activity. The different variations of the processions (i.e. some with men, some with women alone, some with children, some dancing, some walking, sometimes both) make it difficult to restrict the whole motif solely to one event. Rather, it should broadly be said that the depiction of women cultic activities as a whole flourished in this period at Corinth.

Leaving the question of the content aside, no commentators seemed to be interested in the general context of the motif's appearance. As stated earlier, it has quite a restricted production period of around a century at the very best.[293] Why was the production of such a motif in fashion then, and why was it abandoned after that? Why did women suddenly become so popular in iconography, when they are always glossed over in our literary sources? To this question, I raise the hypothesis that the *Frauenfest* motif was a response to the local political developments presented in Chapter Four and that it served as a method of promotion of an aristocratic ideal. My argument that the women depicted on the *Frauenfest* vases were aristocrats is based on two observations: their proximity and resemblance to the *kanephoros* or "basket-bearer," and their physical appearance. Moreover, I advance that the vases were aimed at an elite gaze, thus confirming their value as identity markers. Finally, I shall explain how the vases served a purpose of identity articulation,

[291] Theodora Kopestonsky, "The Greek Cult of The Nymphs at Corinth*," Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 85, no. 4 (October-December 2016): 762.
[292] Denise Kallipolitis-Feytmans, "Déméter, Coré et les Moires sur des vases corinthiens," *Bulletin de correspondance Hellénique* 94, no.1 (1970): 45-65.
[293] This is allowing a 25-year margin of error in the stylistic dating, the production period would then extend from ca.650 to ca.550.

and how we can observe that it evolved into a different form of elitist display after the fall of the Cypselids.

Greek religious festivals were usually organized according to political and social status, and there is no reason to believe that Archaic festivals were organized differently.[294] The upper class would generally walk at the head of the procession and the most eminent members of the city would play a prominent role in the sacrifice and ensuing feast.[295] On our vases, the women depicted are in close proximity to the altar or the deity's representation. This prime place alone would indicate high social status. Moreover, the presence of the *kanephoros* and her resemblance to the other women is also an indication of the status of our subjects.[296] Indeed, priests and priestesses of Archaic and Classical cults were usually chosen on the basis of their birth; the basket-bearer was no exception.[297] Young girls from noble families generally held this sacred position, which constituted one of the last stages of a woman's cultic initiation around puberty.[298] To receive the honour, the young girl also had to be unmarried, a virgin and exemplary in her conduct to ensure the purity of the interaction with the gods.[299] The mere allusion of

[294] Cassandra L. Webman, "Procession, Greek," in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*. Edited by Roger S. Bagnal et al. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013.
[295] Hedrick Jr., "Religion and Society in Classical Greece," 290.
[296] Particularly visible on the British Museum Bottle, on another bottle by the Skating painter in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (Jucker, "Frauenfest in Korinth," Plate 20.1) and on the two Flasks by the Bézier painter in Montpellier and Bézier (Jucker, "Frauenfest in Korinth,"Plates 17.1-3-5-6, 2-4; Amyx, *Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period* 3, Plate 98). A particularly detailed fragment attributed to the Klyka Painter has been found in Corinth in the Athena Sanctuary. See Theodore Leslie Shear, "Excavations in the Theatre District of Corinth in 1926,"*American Journal of Archaeology* 30, no. 4 (1926): 448, fig.3; Amyx, *Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period* 3, Plate 83.2.
[297] Hedrick Jr., "Religion and Society", 292; Matthew Dillon, "Did Parthenoi Attend the Olympic Games? Girls and Women Competing, Spectating, and Carrying out Cult Roles at Greek Religious Festivals," *Hermes* 128, no.4 (2000): 473; Linda Jones Roccos, "The Kanephoros and Her Festival Mantle in Greek Art," *American Journal of Archaeology* 99, no.4 (1995): 643.
[298] Pierre Brûlé, *La fille d'Athènes* l*a religion des filles à Athènes à l'époque classique. Mythes, cultes et société* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1987), 323; 0 C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls' Transitions* (Athens 1988) 54-57, 94-97; Aristoph. *Lys.* 641-646 also lists the role as the last one chronologically.
[299] Linda Jones Roccos, "The Kanephoros," 642.

unworthiness could lead to the removal of the nomination as exemplified by the story of the strife between Harmodius, a local noble, and Hipparchos, son of Pisistratos. As Thucydides tells us, Hipparchos, then tyrant of Athens, decided to avenge himself against the romantic rejection of Harmodius by revoking the title of *kanephoros* from the latter's sister: "[…] Hipparchus *insulted him*, as he intended. For after summoning a maiden-sister of his to serve as a basket-bearer in some procession, they rejected her, declaring they had never summoned her at all, because she was unworthy."[300] The fact that the event is described as a way of insulting Harmodius and his whole family, ultimately leading to Hipparchos' murder, is indicative of the high honour that the position represented and of the permanent damage to the young girl's reputation that its revocation could cause.[301] Economic class was intimately linked to social status and it is more than likely that the *kanephoros* in Corinth belonged to the aristocracy. Not much is said about her dress in the Archaic Period, but we know that, by the Classical Period, she was dressed in a distinct mantle.[302] On our vases, although she is easily identifiable by the *kanoun* that she carries on her head, nothing in her dress or garment can set her apart from the women surrounding her. This could indicate that the women all had a similar costume, rich enough to indicate the high status of the *kanephoros* and, by extension that of the other women depicted on the vase. Moreover, she is never isolated in our examples, but rather found in the middle of the crowd, sometimes directly facing another woman. This mingling would indicate that the subjects all share the same position within the procession and, considering the stratification of the corteges, that they belong to the same social class.

[300] Thuc. 6.56.1-2; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 18
[301] Thuc. 6.57.3; Aelian. *VH*. 11.8; Brian M.Lavelle, "The Nature of Hipparchos' Insult to Harmodios," *The American Journal of Philology* 107, no. 3 (Autumn 1986): 320-321.
[302] Linda Jones Roccos, "The Kanephoros," 646.

We have other visual signals of the high status of the ladies on our vases. Archaic depiction of dress tends to be fairly simplistic and it is hard for the modern analyst to know if the illustration reflected actual garments, yet some clues attest to the richness of their costume. In our period, dress served as much as a social marker as it served to construct one's identity.[303] In fact, costume was a form of non-verbal communication that can convey a social meaning.[304] Different elements of dress such as colour, ornamentation, and material, but also jewels and accessories, all helped to publicly assert one's position on the social ladder.[305] The fact that dress was an important social marker is highlighted by Theognis' dismay at seeing non-aristocrats trying to emulate the elite's style. Hence, dress and physical appearance was as much a way to display one's wealth as it is nowadays. By the way they dressed, ancient Greeks would have been able to distinguish between elite and non-elite, but also between regions and poleis. However, we do know that the higher classes tended to distinguish themselves through dress and ornamentation. I believe that this is reflected in the *Frauenfest* motif. On some examples, the women are wearing elaborate *chitons* and *himations* with geometric motifs and embroidery. Most of our examples show the women wearing *chitons* tied at the waist by a girdle with the over-fold mostly closed, though sometimes open. This type of dress is also preeminent in the depiction of goddesses on Archaic painting, such as those on the very famous François vase, and hence it has a strong connotation of luxury.[306]

[303] On this Veblen in 1899 was one of the first to theorize on the stratification of dress.
[304] On this, see notably Elizabeth Wayland Barber, *Women's Work: The First 20,000 Years*, (New-York and London: W.W Norton & Company, 1994), 147-163.
[305] Wayland Barber, *Women's Work,* 150-151.
[306] François Vase, Plate 5; Mary G Houston, *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume and Decoration* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1947), 42 also provides a useful comparison with a sixth century Artemis who wears the exact same type of *chiton* as on many samples.

Ornament patterns are not easily identifiable in our examples. Most of the women's *chitons* have horizontal bands that one can assume were also ornamented with geometric patterns, palmettes, or other more elaborate decor. Of the patterns that we can identify, we should mention the diamond frets that appear at the bottom of the *chitons* on the Pixys from le Cabinet des Médailles in Paris.[307] This type of motif would generally have been woven directly on the fabric.[308] Other examples show the women completely wrapped in very long *himations*, with their figure concealed by the heavy fabric.[309] On others, they are adorned with jewellery, earrings, fillets, and sometimes even *stephane*. The abundance of jewels and especially the presence of crowns is a very strong social marker. Indeed, ostentatious jewellery, as a symbol of luxury, was used to display one's wealth, and gold jewellery was often placed in tombs, as an important status marker of the deceased. Furthermore, *korai*, who served as the idealized representation of aristocratic youth, are often adorned with tiaras, bracelets, and necklaces.[310] The *stephanos* worn by a Corinthian *kore*, dating from the 7th or 6th century and now displayed at the Louvre, is almost identical to the ones in our examples.[311] Jewels, just like dress, thence served as a visual marker of one's status. Of course, jewellery was in no way restricted to citizen women as *hetairai* would surely have adorned themselves with jewels. However, such women would not have been allowed to take a prominent part in the public procession depicted on our vases. Hence, the *Frauenfest* women are clearly higher ranking and respectable.

[307] Jucker, "Frauenfest in Korinth", Plate 23.1; Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèques nationales de France, inv.94.
[308] Houston, *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume and Decoration,* 76.
[309] See Plate 1.
[310] Mireille M. Lee provides a good overview of the different types of ornaments present on Archaic vases and sculptures in *Body, Dress, and Identity in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 127-171.
[311] Identitfied as a *polos* by Alain Pasquier, "Une nouvelle coré d'argile au Musée du Louvre," in Revue du Louvre (1997): 31-38.

Moreover, their hair is worn long, sometimes exceedingly. As mentioned in our discussion of aristocratic ostentation, long hair was seen by Asius of Samos as elitist.[312] Semonides of Amorogos in his poem on women expressed the same idea that long hair connotes a luxurious lifestyle: "She always wears her hair combed-out, and dressed with overhanging flowers. Such a wife is beautiful to look at for others; for her keeper, she's a pain unless he is a king, or head of state who can afford extravagant delights."[313] Thus, I would argue that the women on our *Frauenfest* scenes are aristocrats engaged in cultic activity. As stated earlier in this chapter, one of the methodological problems facing the modern scholar is the question of reality or idealization of genre-scenes, yet this does not represent an obstacle in our analysis of the *Frauenfest*. Processions like the ones depicted are likely to have occurred in public in Corinth, so one cannot rule out the possibility that the artists were depicting real events. However, even if the motif was an idealized vision of the aristocratic women of Corinth, it is nonetheless telling of the mindset of the time.[314] It represents the image that Corinthians, men or women alike, wanted to project as they "reflected and reinforced the views of the society that produced them."[315] To recapitulate, the women that feature on our vases are members of the elite, with an important social status, that could be seen in Corinth between 650 and 550. These women are then certainly members of the aristocratic group mentioned in Chapter Four, that had been kept away from power by the oligarchy of the Bacchiads and that helped Cypselus to overthrow them.

[312] Ath.525f.
[313] Semonides, *On Women,* 66-69.
[314] Janett Morgan "Women, Religion and the Home" in *A Companion to Greek Religion,* ed. Daniel Ogden (Malden, Ma: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 297; S. *The iconography of the Athenian Women* Lewis, 2002.
[315] Ibid., 299.

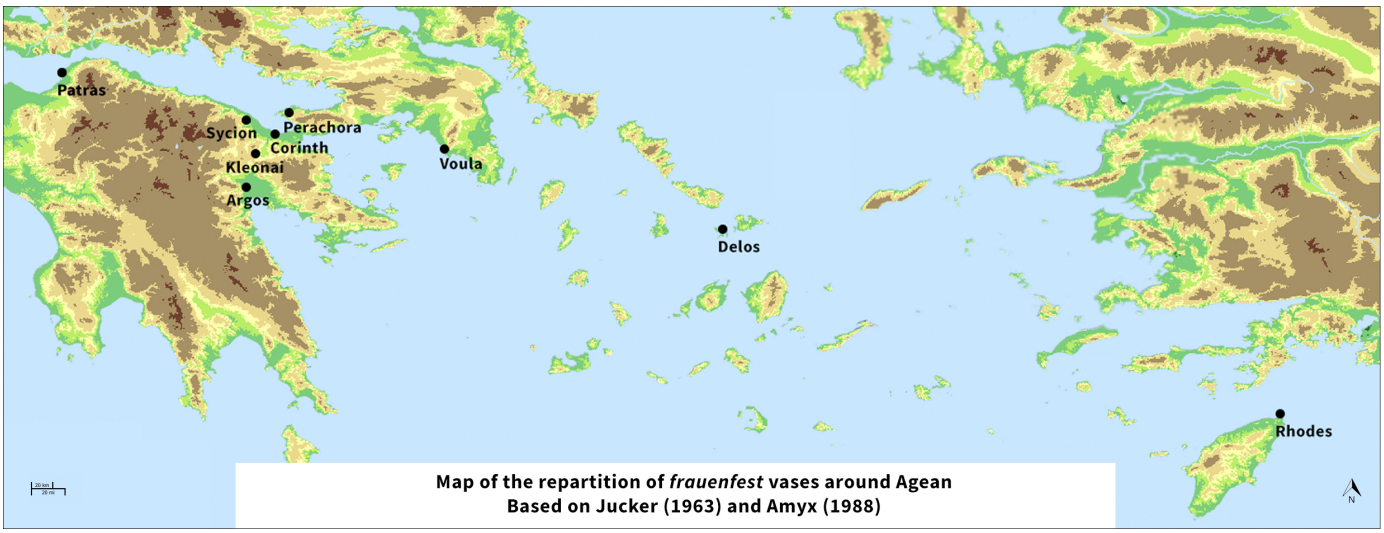
Secondly, the targeted market of any artistic production has an incidence on its iconography.[316] I advance that our images were targeted specifically to an aristocratic audience, women and men alike, both at the inter and intra-poleis levels. For instance, the presence of our images on specific shapes indicates that they would have been used in a *komast* context. The most common shape for *Frauenfest* representations are, flasks, bottles, and *kylikes* are all linked to wine consumption and the symposia. Amphorae, *olpes*, and *skyphoi* were also ornamented with the motif. As covered in Chapter Four, the *symposium* was a purely aristocratic product. The vases aimed at this type of consumption were thus targeting an aristocratic audience. Furthermore, fine decorated pottery like our samples was used by the upper class as a sign of wealth. The cost of such ware is unknown, but that they constituted at least a semi-luxury is attested by their presence alongside fine objects in tombs and by the fact that decorated cups are mentioned as early as Homer's writing, as a mean of honouring winners of contests.[317] Considering the amount of time and the special skills required for the decoration of such fine ware, it is more than likely that they were targeted at an upper-class public.

Furthermore, our images appear on diverse types of vessels: *pyxides*, plates, *oinochoai*, bottles, amphorae, *kylikes*, *skyphoi* and *alabstrons*. The variety of visual supports means that such scenes were not restricted to a certain use and would have been in possession of men and women alike. Indeed, *pyxides* were mostly used for women to store cosmetics or jewellery, whereas *alabastrons* stored contained oils or perfumes. Moreover, the combination of some of these scenes with horse racing or hunting, like on the amphora from the Philadelphia Museum indicates

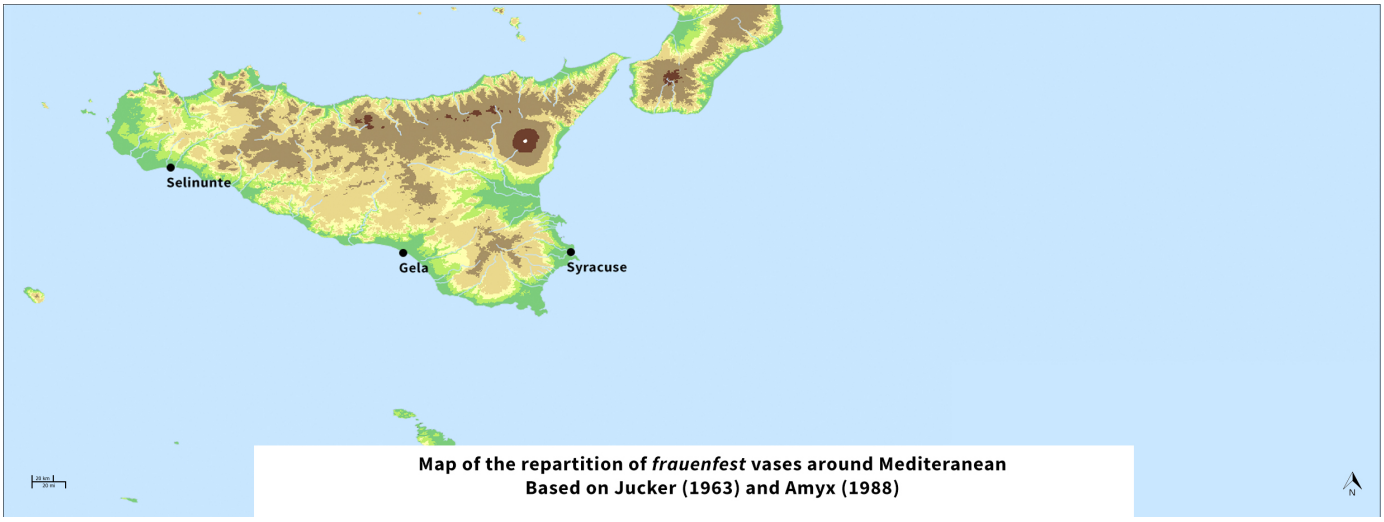
[316] I here focus mainly on iconography because of the lack of context surrounding these vases. Of the sample of 27 vessels and fragments analyzed by Jucker, 5 were found in tombs or in a Necropolis and 8 within the sanctuary of Hera in Perachora. The 14 others do not have a clear archaeological context.

[317] Hom. Il. 23; Hans Van Wees, "The Economy," in *A Companion to Archaic Greece,* ed. Kurt A. Raaflaub and Hans van Wees (Chichester, West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, 2013), 458-459.

that the theme was not *de-facto* restricted to a particularly gendered gaze.[318] They also were not aimed exclusively at the local market. In fact, they were probably circulated outside of the region via the extensive Corinthian trade network. The following maps show the repartition the *Frauenfest* examples studied by Jucker and Amyx, and for which provenance is known:



Map of the repartition of *frauenfest* vases around Agean
Based on Jucker (1963) and Amyx (1988)



Map of the repartition of *frauenfest* vases around Mediteranean
Based on Jucker (1963) and Amyx (1988)

As shown by the maps, more vases are found in the direct vicinity of Corinth, where kin ties

[318] Philadelphia, Penn Museum: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, MS552; Discussed by Payne, 775A, p.300; Edith Hall Dohan, "Unpublished Vases in the University Museum, Philadelphia," *Amercian Journal of Archaeology* 38, no.4 (1934): 523-524.

and elite relations would have been easier to foster. They would also have been more vital to secure; threats were more likely to come from a direct neighbour than from a distant foe. Our vases are also found in Sicily, where colonies were founded and where an important Corinthian diaspora would imply burgeoning relations amongst the elite.

I have thus addressed the question of who is depicted on the *Frauenfest* motif and to whom such vases were aimed. One must now turn to the analysis of why aristocratic women, real or idealized, were so popular in genre-scenes during this period. I believe that the answer lies in the political development sketched in Chapter Four. In fact, I argue that the popularity of the *Frauenfest* motif was a response to the social changes of the years following the expulsion of the Bacchiads, and that they were part of the redefinition of local aristocratic identity. The fact that the *Frauenfest* appeared and disappeared within such a small timeframe is, I argue, revealing of the public role that women aristocrats were intended to play in that specific period. Indeed, with the transitions in the social order that followed the rise of the Cypselids and their deposition, aristocrats that had been denied political and social privilege had the opportunity to take the centre stage in the affairs of the *polis*. This upheaval of the social order had an impact on the everyday lives of many Corinthian citizens and it is not far-fetched to imagine that it influenced the local artistic production as well.[319] I argue that such an impact is reflected by the *Frauenfest* motif and that it served a two-folded purpose: the reassessment of elite identity and the promotion of this local identity outside of Corinth.

The *Frauenfest* vases depict aristocratic women as a united group. At the local level, such

[319] See Eleni Manakidou, "Politics and Society," in *A Companion to Greek Art volume II*, eds. Tyler Jo Smith and Dimitris Plantzos (Malden, Mass.; Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012) for a broader study of the influence of politics on art.

scenes would help create a sense of cohesion and belonging and would promote class unity. As stated by Charles Hedrick Jr. in his work on religion and society, religious group activity acted as a "manifestation of the group to itself: the acknowledgement in the action of communal belonging. Through ostentatious participation religious activity contributes to community, and class solidarity."[320] Our images are also a statement of ideal representation: one of control and dignity. Even when the women are engaged in a processional dance their movements are controlled and orderly. This, along with a clear suggestion of piety, serves as a reminder of the ideal behaviour of aristocratic women. Moreover, our images put women as active agents at the centre of civic cultic activity, even when men are present. This stresses their agency and importance.[321] Women are leading the processions, pouring libations, and interacting directly with the gods. This not only underscores their special relationship with the deities but also emphasizes the primordial role they played within the *polis*, as such ceremonial acts were a central part of civic life.[322]

Moreover, our vases can be placed in the broader aristocratic network ties exposed in Chapter Four. Indeed, the fall of the Bacchiads and the subsequent rise in power of the Cypselids left a gap in the aristocratic community, leaving other members of the upper class to take up important social roles that had to this point only been held by the oligarchs. This included the fostering of aristocratic alliances with other poleis, undeniably by means of matrimonial alliances. The *Frauenfest* motif's specific iconography would have served to promote an ideal

[320] Hedrick Jr.,"Religion and Society," 290.
[321] Joan Breton Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess: Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 167.
[322] W.R. Connor, "Tribes, Festivals and Processions; Civic Ceremonial and Political Manipulation in Archaic Greece," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 107 (1987): 50.

image of this now more prominent Corinthian elite and their women; an image that would be advertised outside the Corinthia. As presented by the distribution maps of the specimen analyzed by Jucker and Amyx, our vases travelled throughout the Mediterranean. However, they are most present near Corinth, where such aristocratic interactions are more likely to have occurred. I believe that the presence of women on vases circulating across the Mediterranean and within elite families is further proof that, despite their omission from literary sources, they were considered as an integral part of this ongoing aristocratic dialogue.

However one question remains: what could explain the *Frauenfest* motif seemingly abrupt disruption? Women's involvement in public processions and cult activity was certainly not a novelty after the expulsion of the Bacchiads, and assuredly did not stop with the deposition of the Cypselids. So why would artists suddenly cease to represent it as often as they did between 600 and 575? All of the published examples recorded by Payne, Jucker and Amyx, date to the reign of the Cyspelids and more than half date back to the Middle Corinthian, some time around the end of Periander's reign and the deposition of Psammetichus. After that, Corinth was ruled by a so-called moderate oligarchy and power came to be concentrated in the hands of the upper class. Ultimately, after the overthrow of Psammetichus, the Corinthian aristocracy had no further need for the kind of publicity that the *Frauenfest* provided. Seventy years had passed since the overthrow of the Bacchiads and new ties of kinship and networks had already been formed over three or four generations. The elite that had once lived in the shadow of the 200 now had established itself as the political leader of the *polis* and the symbolic representation of its cohesion and identity was simply not needed anymore. Sure, aristocrats continued to establish relations with others, but the relative stability of the new regime made them less vital than they were under the tyranny. All in all, this aristocracy had now reclaimed the elitist discourse that the

Bacchiads had denied them for over a century, and its position was much more secure.

Of course, the other explanation could be that around 550, Corinthian pottery was supplanted by Attic pottery and that the *Frauenfest* fell victim to the new trend. It is possible that, since the Corinthian pottery market was not sought after anymore, the elite had to come up with a different support to display their message. It could also be that no example later than 570 has yet been uncovered; however, I find it rather simplistic to propose conclusions *ex-silenctio* rather than based on the existing material. Thus, I argue that, since the *Frauenfest* genre was promoting a certain aristocratic ideal that flourished under inter and intra-polis elite interactions, the establishment of the moderate oligarchy led to the desuetude of the motif in its regional context. Women, as active agents of the transmission of identity, probably did not lose their importance but it would come to be renegotiated on the local sphere. Moreover, the *Frauenfest* promoted a collective ideal at a time when a whole generation of aristocrats had to replace the Bacchiads. With the advent of the moderate oligarchy, the spotlight shifted from a communal identity to individual families and persons. I take the famous Pitsa Panels as an indication of this.

Some of the latest examples of the Corinthian processional genre are the famous pinakes paintings found in a cave near Mount Helidorea in the vinicity of Pitsa. The dwelling is located some 20 kilometres west of Sycion, and 60 kilometres west of Corinth, near the ancient town of Pellene. The territory was disputed in the Archaic Period but the fact that Corinthian artistic practices had influence there is undeniable.[323] The wooden panels are dated from circa 540-520

[323] There is ongoing debate as to which role these two large *poleis* played in Pitsa. Under Cleisthenes, Sicyon had effectively conquered Pellene and reduced its inhabitants to slavery. However, it is probable that the sanctuary to the Nymphs attracted a broader regional audience and that women from Corinth travelled there to make

and are one of the few existing examples of painted wooden votive offerings. Two out of the four panels survived in good condition with exceptionally well-preserved polychromy.[324] The scene depicted on the panels is very similar to the *Frauenfest* vases. Panel 1 consists of a procession of women to an altar.[325] A *kanephoros* is present and she is about to pour libations onto the altar. Young boys, one of whom leads a sheep about to be sacrificed, follow her. Two women follow and a third, larger one, is depicted completely covered by a long *himation*. Inscriptions identify one of the votive as an offering to the nymphs and also gives the name of three of the women in Corinthian script: Eukolis, Euthydika and Ethelonche.[326] The other preserved panel, Panel 2, shows six women facing each other. Their names are also provided. The setting is less clear; they could be engaged in a conversation or dancing in the same orderly and constrained manner as on our vases examples. The colours are vivid on both panels, with dresses painted in bright red hues and blue tones. Another partially preserved panel only shows the richly decorated *himations* and jewellery worn by the ladies depicted.[327] On all the pinakes, the clothing is very similar to that of the women on the *Frauenfest* vases. There is a feeling of luxury to their garments just like on the *Frauenfest* vases. Moreover, their position, actions and striking similarity in depiction justify my analysis of the Pitsa panels in continuation to the *Frauenfest.* A notable difference between the *Frauenfest* vases and the pinakes is that the last woman of Panel 1 and all the women of Panel 2 are veiled, their *himation* covering their head. Two other contrasts can be underscored. First, the audience is different. These dedications were left within the sanctuary and not made to circulate.

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dedications. The script on the Panels is indeed Corinthian. This along with the iconographic resemblances to the *Frauenfest* motif leads me to assign a Corinthian origin to the *pinakes*.

[324] See reproduction on Plates 5.1 and 6.

[325] It has been argued that the scene depicts a family ritual: Neils, "Age and Gender," in *A Companion to Greek Art, 501.* However, the *kanephoros'* dress is identical to that of the other females. Breasts can also be distinguished. It is possible that she might have cut her hair as a ritual offering or that she wears a side braid.

[326] Connelly*, Portrait of a Priestess*, 170-171.

[327] As recorded by Anastasios Orlandos, "The Discovery of Painted Pinakes near Corinth," American Journal of Archaeology 39, no. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1935): 5

Second, they clearly identify the women depicted, stripping them of their anonymity and putting them in the spotlight. This indicates that the panels are depicting contemporary events and commemorate the piety and ideal behaviour of actual women.[328] These were individuals who wanted their local entourage to know of their piety, good behaviour and commitment to the community. There is thence a shift of perspective from the aristocratic body as a whole to individual families and persons.

Many smaller wooden dedications might have been produced during the mid 5th century, but none have survived.[329] However, the shift in perspective that these examples provide is nonetheless thought provoking. The panels are touching examples of women's own voices. Indeed, they are likely to have been commissioned by the dedicators, thus providing modern scholars with a fascinating insight into how elite women wanted others to perceive them. At the local level, aristocratic women displayed a strong sense of individuality by offering dedications that enhanced their own personal prestige and status. Such artefacts also offered a platform for demonstrations of aristocratic alliances and networks. The women represented together on the panels left a lasting testimony of their relations. Interestingly, the examples that survived were produced at a later date than the *Frauenfest* vases. At the time, the moderate oligarchy was already established in Corinth. Thus the Pitsa panels are an indication that at the local level, women's importance in the aristocratic discourse remained as necessary as it was under the Cypselids.

[328] Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess*, 170-171.
[329] Or have been discovered yet.

Ultimately, through the development of the *Frauenfest* motif and the analysis of the Pitsa Panels, one can gather that women in Corinth were not absent from the public sphere. They indeed became increasingly present on material culture, where they were depicted as a cohesive group, dignified in their special relationship with the divine. The fact that such vases were targeted towards an aristocratic audience and that they travelled within elite networks demonstrate that this was a message underscoring the importance of women as aristocratic beings and agents. The desuetude of the motif on vases and its persistence in a more parochial and individualized manner coincided with a moment when the elite of Corinth did not have such drastic needs of reasserting itself in a broader network. This tends to show, however, that locally it was through women, as much as men, that the upper class identity was articulated and renegotiated, even if our sources presented them as silent and passive agents.

CONCLUSION

I have demonstrated that the analysis of the material culture can provide a welcome counter-balance to the literary narrative in the Archaic Period. In fact, it enables the modern scholar to draw a completely different account of the role of women in this period. Indeed, we saw that some differences already existed within the literary corpus itself. Generally speaking, the attitude that authors adopted towards women was negative and sometimes borderline misogynistic. The poems of Hesiod, Archilochos, Semonides and their contemporaries were filled with slurs and insults suggesting that women were perceived very negatively. Viewed as a separate race, they were associated with all kinds of evils and their beauty, sexuality and agency were all seen as dangerous and unsettling. A "good" woman would stay inside to avoid any risks of shaming her husband. She would also be modest and work hard enough to compensate the toil that her very existence would bring to the *oikos*. Moreover, she had to be able to manage her house properly and, of course, produce heirs to take care of her and her husband in old age. We cannot assuredly say to what extent this vision and the different abuses directed at women in such poems were part of a comic effect. However, Hesiod's tone is certainly not humoristic and his vision of the first woman and the race of women had a long-lasting impact, even into the Classical Period. Homer brought a very different layer to this complex issue. Indeed, we saw that in lengthy poems, more conducive to the emotional development of characters, women were given a different dimension. Some, like Clytemnestra, were no doubt bad, but others like Andromache and Penelope had so many qualities that they nearly became heroines of their own. The *reverse simile* applied to the female characters shows that they too were considered capable of honourable deeds. Helen is a particularly interesting character as she embodies a very ambiguous view of her gender. She

sometimes symbolizes honour, such as when she shames Paris for his cowardice or herself for her breaking the social order. Yet she, along with the sexual power that she personifies, is nevertheless dangerous and ultimately leads to the destruction of Troy. Nonetheless, Homer shows that the Archaic mind might have viewed women in a more nuanced manner. Marriage and beauty could indeed bring as much joy as they did pain and women could be valued for more than their economic value, or lack of the same.

When analyzing other alternative sources, this narrative became even less linear. Indeed, the few testimonies by women that survived depict a totally different picture. Through the poetry of Sappho, one discovers free-speaking women, educated and engaged in artistic endeavours. Myrtis and Erinna are examples of women who gained recognition for their achievements and even defied men. Through the episodes of the lives of Sappho, Gorgo and Pheretima, we see that some extraordinary individuals were even involved in their local political sphere. The analysis of some surviving civic codes shows that the status of women varied from region to region and that some Archaic cities recognized women in the civic sphere, enabling them to claim heritage or property rights. Finally, with the analysis of some of the few Archaic inscriptions left by women, we are able to grasp a sense of agency in their identity discourse. Women, as submissive and silent (as men would have wanted them to be) underscored their own particular relationship with the divine in their votive offerings. In funerary inscriptions, women did not necessarily define themselves solely in relation to their male kin. On what would have been long-lasting testimonies of their lives, they gave themselves the central role. This demonstrates a strong sense of women's independence when reflecting on their self-identity. Therefore, depending on the source material analyzed, the portrait of women differs a lot.

Moving on to Corinth proper, I analyzed the literary tradition in order to understand how the elite of this city was represented and how the political turmoil of the 7th and 6th centuries had come into play. In most of our literary accounts, the aristocratic women who took part in the events leading to the exile of the Bacchiads and the deposition of the Cypselids were only mentioned in passing and always in relation to their male kin. However, when applying the same exercise and looking for alternative sources, the modern reader encounters a fascinating fact: women were very prominent in the artistic depiction of the same period. I then analyzed how the *Frauenfest* motif most certainly depicts aristocratic women. When understood in the general political context of its appearance and peak of popularity, I came to associate the motif with a local mechanism of articulation of the aristocratic discourse. Such vases were made to circulate within the elite network and promoted the upper class that had been denied aristocratic pretensions of superiority under the Bacchiads. It was thus primordial for this new class to engage in an active dialogue with other aristocrats to foster new relationships and assert their place as new players on the political exchequer. After circa a century, and along with the fall of Cypselids and the implementation of an oligarchy, such manifestation of the group became less important. Nonetheless, the Pitsa pinakes show that the discourse was maintained in a local expression, with individuals specifically named and the objects displayed in parochial sanctuaries.

The important point here is that, in a time of political turmoil and uncertainty and at a crucial moment in the development of its aristocratic identity, it is women, not men, who were raised as its symbol. The message was not only one of cohesion as a group, but also one of pride in the piety and demeanour of the upper class. It is particularly compelling that this form of expression happened through females when they were so overlooked by the literary sources. Thus, women

seemed to have played a much more significant role in the aristocratic discourses than what contemporary authors would lead us to believe. Were they the only active agents of this articulation we cannot say, but the pinakes such as the ones found in Pitsa certainly point out to a vision of women's self-identity that was close to that of the epigraphy: independent, powerful, and confident in their own status.

With this thesis, I hope to have challenged the perception of women as silenced and submissive details of Greek history, in order to show that their lived reality was much more multi-faceted than many of our sources would have us believe. Their central role in the articulation of an elitist discourse in Corinth is just one more example that there is much more to be said about women in the Archaic Period. By giving back their voice and agency that had been silenced for so long I hope to have reinserted women as part of their local historical narrative.

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Abbreviations:

SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphium Graecum*

CEG = *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca*

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ANNEX

The Frauenfest Vases

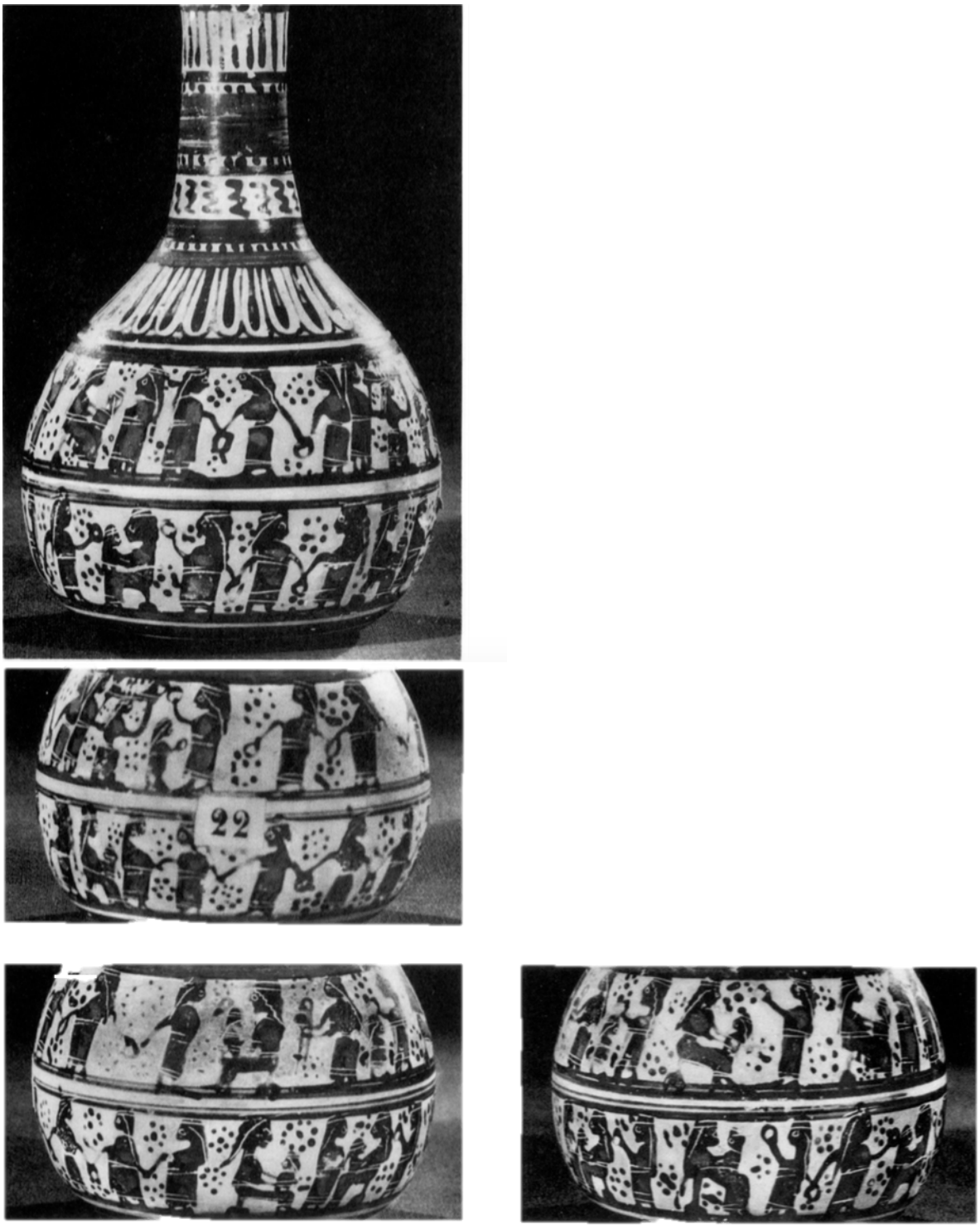
Plate 1:

Middle Corinthian bottle (600-575) by the London *Frauenfest* Painter.
British Museum 1865.0720.20, AN 319884001.
Photo Courtesy of the British Museum, © Trustees of the British Museum

Plate 2:

Corinthian Pyxis,
Staaliche Museum in Berlin.
Photo courtesy of the Antikebsammlung, Staatiche Museen zu Berlin, © Julia Tietz-Glagow.

Plate 3:



Corinthian Flask
Béziers, Musée du Biterrois
Photo Courtesy of the Musée du Biterrois © Les musées de Béziers, collection du Biterrois

Plate 4:

1.

Details of the upper frieze of the attic black figure volute krater known as “The François Vase” ca.570. Now in the Archaeological Museum of Florence.

2.

Pitsa Panel 1, on display at the National Archaeological Museum in Athens.

Plate 5:

Pitsa Panel 2, on display at the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. © Andrew Dalby. CC BY-NC-SA 2.0