



Undergraduate Dissertation coversheet & feedback form

PLEASE COMPLETE THE TOP SECTION OF THIS FORM AND SUBMIT ONE COPY WITH YOUR DISSERTATION

<i>For completion by student:</i>		
<i>Student Name: Rebecca May Calder</i>		
<i>Student University Email: 1600668@student.uwtsd.ac.uk</i>		
<i>Module code: HPAH6028</i>	<i>Student ID number: 1600668</i>	<i>Educational support needs: No</i>
<i>Dissertation title: Till death do us part: How Deities in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter Depict Gender Dynamics of Birth, Marriage and Death in Archaic and Classical Greece</i>		
<i>Supervisor: Ruth Parkes</i>	<i>Word count: 10979</i>	
I confirm that this is my original work and that I have adhered to the University policy on plagiarism. Signed Rebecca May Calder.....		
<i>For completion by the first marker:</i>		
<i>Comments:</i>		
First Marker's Mark: Signature:	<i>Date:</i>	

For completion by the second marker (if appropriate):

Comments:

Second Marker's Mark:

Signature:

Date:

NB. All marks are provisional until confirmed by the final examination board.

For completion by the External Examiner:

Comments:

Proposed Mark:

Signature of External Examiner:

Final Agreed Mark:

Till death do us part: How Deities in the Homeric
Hymn to Demeter Depict Gender Dynamics of Birth,
Marriage and Death in Archaic and Classical Greece



Figure. 2.

Rebecca May Calder

1600668

In Partial completion for the BA Classical Civilisation

Word count : 10979

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my dissertation supervisor, Dr Ruth Parkes for her continuous support through my dissertation, regardless of how many times I changed my title. I would also like to thank Dr Errieta Bissia and Dr Magdalena Ohrman for their assistance with my dissertation through the unprecedented circumstances. I would also like to thank my flatmates for their companionship whilst writing my dissertation, particularly Danielle Alexander and Helen Douglas, whose conversation and assistance I deeply appreciate. I would like to give special thanks to Jake McGrath, who has been with me through every title change, draft review and every kick in the teeth life has thrown at me. Special thanks also go to my mother, Dr Elizabeth Calder, who inspired my determination in all my work, read through many drafts and has supported me in all aspects of life. Finally, I'd like to thank my late father, Dr Andrew Calder, who taught me to always do what I love and taught me the magic of stories and mythology.

Table of Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	2
<i>Table of Figures</i>	4
<i>Chapter 1: Introduction to the Homeric hymn, transitional phases, and gender relations in classics</i>	5
Introduction with Literature review.....	5
Methodology.....	6
Issues with methodology and Literary sources.....	7
<i>Chapter 2: Women as guardians and representations of liminal spaces and transitional phases</i>	10
Introduction	10
Women and Birth	13
Women and Marriage	18
Women and Death	23
<i>Chapter 3 Men's entrance into women spaces and their role in change</i>	29
Background	29
Men and Birth.....	31
Men and Marriage.....	36
Men and Death.....	40
<i>Conclusion</i>	44
<i>Bibliography</i>	47
Ancient sources	47
Modern Sources	47
Websites	51
Figures	51

Table of Figures

<i>Figure 1. Terracotta bell-krater depicting Persephone's ascension from Hades. Attributed to the Persephone Painter. Ca. 440 BC. Found at metmuseum.org</i>	16
<i>Figure 2 Marble statues of Demeter (left) and Persephone (right) from the eastern Parthenon pediment. Attributed to the sculptor Phiedias. ca. 438-42 BC. Found at: britishmuseum.org</i>	16
<i>Figures 3&4 Terracotta hydria, 340–330 B.C. From metmuseum.org</i>	18
<i>Figure 4 Terracotta pomegranate, from Greece, ca .5th - 4th BC. From metmuseum.org</i>	20
<i>Figure 5. Pinax from Locri depicted Hades and Persephone enthroned, ca. 5th Century BC. Found at commons.wikimedia.org</i>	20
<i>Figure 6, Kylix interior, Attributed to Kodros Painter, ca. 430 BC. Found at: Wikimedia commons</i>	22
<i>Figure 7, Kylix exterior, attributed to Kodros Painter, ca. 430 BC. Found at: Wikimedia commons</i>	22
<i>Figure 8 Fragment of a limestone relief ft Hades and Persephone. South Italy, Tarentum. 4th-3rd BC. Found at: metmuseum.org</i>	22
<i>Figure 6 Stone relief of Hades and Persephone from Eleusis, ca. 2nd BC. Found at commons.wikimedia.org</i>	37

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Homeric hymn, transitional phases, and gender relations in classics

Introduction with Literature review

Katz notes that Classical Greece stands out in western culture's history as one of the few societies where the "*antagonism between sexes occupies so central a place in literature and art*"¹. The epic and exciting Homeric hymn to Demeter is no exception to this rule, which plays out gender dynamics and conflicts on both the mortal and divine stages.

The Homeric hymn to Demeter is estimated to have been composed in the late seventh or early sixth century B.C.² and is one of the more notable works of the Archaic poet Homer.

Whilst Porter highlights the debates within scholarship considering the character, gender and even existence of Homer as an individual³, this study does not have the time or length to delve into these questions sufficiently. Therefore, the hymn shall be analysed within the context of its time, with references to the author being kept to a minimum and only occurring where they add to the relevant discussion of the hymn.

This study shall analyse how the hymn depicts gender dynamics of ancient men and women through comparison to contemporaneous works, such as plays, poems, and other mythic stories. This study shall also compare the content of the hymn to ritual practices, architectural and iconographical evidence as well as certain anthropological evidence. Much of the evidence considered in this analysis will be focused on Attica, in order to try and keep the evidence as culturally similar as possible. Some evidence from other Greek poleis will be

¹ Katz. 1994. 214.

² Price (1978. 213.) dates it to the Seventh century, whereas Cosmopoulos (2015. 11) dates it to be present on the bridge between the seventh and sixth centuries.

³ Porter. 2004. 327.

used when it is either discussed in scholarship or appears within the Pan-Hellenic interpretations of the Hymn. The ancient works the Hymn will be analysed alongside are predominantly Hesiod's '*Theogony*', and Homers other mythic works, including the '*Iliad*' and the '*Odyssey*'. This study will also utilise Classical works to understand the hymns reception over time, often coming in the form of Attic theatre, as well as some external poetic works from Archaic poets Sappho and Alcman.

Methodology

This study will be primarily engaging with gender, feminist and structuralist theories. Segal argues the application of any theory to myth is the attempt to understand its meaning from multiple different standpoints, including cultural, psychological, literary and cosmological stances⁴. Structuralism acts as the primary methodology throughout this study, allowing for the content of the myth to be considered from different angles within scholarship. Although structuralism often focuses on the linguistics of mythic documents⁵, this study applies it by dividing the hymn to Demeter into three thematic transitional phases, and analysing these with gender and feminist theories. Firstly, birth, will address concerns of motherhood, giving birth, the realm of childhood and elements of rebirth. The second, marriage, will address concerns directly related to the expectations of brides and grooms, the origins of marriage traditions and the maturing of individuals from a child to an adult. Finally, death, will explore both the real-world relation of the hymn to funerary connotations, especially feelings of grief and loss in the ancient world. The phases of birth marriage and death are well founded as having strong connotations with female deities, mirroring the stages of Maiden, Mother and

⁴ Segal. 1996. vii, 3.

⁵ Ibid. Xiii.

Crone⁶, so this dissertation will have a multitude of evidence to explore, particularly for women. This study will, however, face difficulties analysing these phases alongside males, as there are fewer scholarly and ancient discussions of men's emotional links to transitional phases.

Feminist and gender theories are heavily intertwined within scholarship, so this study will be using them interchangeably, so as to best match the available scholarship. Feminist and gender theory maintain that the split between genders was a fundamental part of ancient society⁷. Gold states that the main aims of these theories were to open classical study to new perspectives, to address the deficiencies of studies related to women and those not given a voice by male history⁸. This was done through the exploration of female and male spaces as well as through the apparent expectations of men and women in the ancient world⁹. The proceeding chapters of this dissertation will apply these studies to investigate elements of the hymn that may not initially be considered, such as, the different expectations of gendered behaviour, how the hymn represents cross gendered behaviour, together with how interactions between the two genders could have been more analogous to social exchange, rather than domination.

Issues with methodology and Literary sources

It is important to mention that the Homeric hymn, and the majority of ancient sources that this study uses to analyse it, were composed by men, creating bias towards both male's

⁶ Foley. 1994. 125 (In her footnote 138).

⁷ Golden. 2010. 27.

⁸ Gold. 1997. 328.

⁹ Golden. 2010. 27-8.

perspective and prerogatives¹⁰. To combat the disproportionately male description of female experiences, this dissertation will analyse sources produced by women in the ancient world¹¹ as well as iconography and ritual practice belonging to the female spheres. Due to the lack of first-hand female evidence, this study will consider why males composers chose to represent women in a certain way, and how this reflects expectations of women in the ancient world.

Issues are also present when attempting to place and understand the hymn's performance within the contemporaneous environment of its creation¹². The hymn is widely considered an oratory piece, but its similarities to epic structure indicate it may have been composed as a literary piece, later becoming a part of oral tradition. This dissonance between the hymns structure are highlighted in the tonal and linguistic similarities it holds with epic works, such as Hesiod's '*Theogony*'¹³. This leads into discussions on the identity of the author and how the analysis of the hymn would change if the author was known to be either attached to other mythic works or be female¹⁴. This links to issues surrounding the hymns ritual usage, where physical performance could add to understanding to the hymn's context that is now lost to us. The hymns explicit attachment to the Eleusinian Mysteries¹⁵ allows scholars to attach rites and rituals to the hymns content, however the changes to these rituals over time present challenges as cultic practices may have come to have a different meaning to the original text. The Mysteries themselves were a secretive cult, originally established as a separate religious cult twenty-three kilometres away from the city of Athens¹⁶. During the fifth century,

¹⁰ Lefkowitz. 1986. 49.

¹¹ So e.g. the poetry of Sappho (Foley. 1994. 137).

¹² Katz. 1998. 221.

¹³ Dowden. 2004. 194.

¹⁴ Hahnemann. 2019. 98.

¹⁵ HHD. 490-5

¹⁶ Mikalson. 2010. 78.

however, Athens began to meld its political image with notable surrounding cults, including the purposeful incorporation of Eleusis' religious practices¹⁷. If the author and timeline of the hymn's creation are questioned, it becomes unclear if the hymn dates from before or after the Mysteries assimilation into Athenian politics. The hymn itself is already changed from the Eleusinian version for a wider Pan-Hellenic audience¹⁸, so representations of gender dynamics transitional phases had already been distorted through its changes. These issues in analysing the hymn are particularly present when using structuralism, as its main basis is attempts to find commonalities within different cultures¹⁹, rather than the changes different cultures make to myth. In order to combat the downfalls of the theory its primary use will be the identification of different transitional phases, and applying it to the denizens of Attica, rather than to Greece as an entire conglomerate.

Both gender and feminist theories have come under scrutiny in more recent years. Feminist, and gender theory is deeply rooted in the feminist movement, and thus its arguments are biased towards a cause rather than the understanding of ancient evidence²⁰. This is not to say that the theories cannot be useful, pertinent or able to uncover new concepts of the ancient world. Nevertheless, their implementation in this study will be accompanied by critical analysis of its intent and purpose.

¹⁷ Ibid (82) argues that Athens started setting up their own shrines to Demeter Eleusinia within Athens. Suter. (2002. 196-7) also indicates Athenian involvement in the cult, but dates it to as early as the Seventh century.

¹⁸ Mikalson.2010. 81.

¹⁹ Segal. (1996. xiii.) Explains the aims of structuralism whilst Belsey. (2002. Chapter 1) goes into detail discussing the benefits and downfalls of using Structuralism as scholarly argumentation.

²⁰ Gold. 1997. 331.

Chapter 2: Women as guardians and representations of liminal spaces and transitional phases

Introduction

The Homeric hymns act as a long prayer to their named gods²¹ and the main concerns of the deity are often linked to interpretations of the respective hymns. The Homeric Hymn to Demeter is frequently linked to the welfare and fertility of crops, but also later scholars have noted that it is equally concerned with the welfare of the dead in the afterlife²², most likely linked to the cultic practices at Eleusis²³. Both Lyons²⁴ and Foley²⁵ stress that the Homeric hymns, and subsequent myths, allowed for mundane issues and concerns to be acted out, and explained on a divine level.

When looking at the Homeric hymn to Demeter women are definitely the primary concern and focus of the myth²⁶. Women within the hymn are depicted as either divine beings or as epic heroines, not faithful representations of real ancient women²⁷. This characterisation of women is common throughout mythic works, but despite their disconnection to reality, the women of these myths still experience issues that ancient women would have faced and related to²⁸. Patterson draws attention to the many debates within modern scholarship,

²¹ Foley. 1994 28.

²² Mikalson 2010. 81; Suter. 2002. 4; Morford. 2007. 338.

²³ Cosmopoulos. (2015. 94.) mentions funerary architecture being present at Eleusis. Richardson (2011. 46.) explains Demeter's ties to rebirth and death at Eleusis, & Edmonds (2014. 17) discusses burial practices with Eleusis.

²⁴ 1997. 145.

²⁵ 1942 28.

²⁶ Richardson. 2011. 46.

²⁷ Lefkowitz. 1986. 52-3.

²⁸ Lefkowitz. 1986. 30.

concerning patriarchal and matriarchal societies, criticising the concept of the two conflicting as well as the abundant use of these terms within Classics as a discipline²⁹.

In the time of Homer, and even Hesiod, there is a focus on the opposing nature of the masculine and feminine gods³⁰, however as the Archaic world marched forward into the Classical one, the gender balance between male and female changed to fit the new socio-political standing of a democratic patriarchal society³¹. Katz, along with much of nineties feminist scholarship, argue that one of the first areas to display this change over time is religious texts and poems, where we see struggles of males coming to dominate female spaces in mythology³². We see evidence of male gods overtaking female roles involving birth³³, which Foley argues is the encroachment of male gods into older female pantheons³⁴. Katz develops this argument to combat scholarship from the late nineteen-seventies, which argues the emergence of male deities is correlated with the establishment of a “*civil society*” over previous, presumably more uncivil, female oriented societies³⁵. Foley argues that this concept cannot be applied to the Archaic works of Homer and Hesiod as women’s freedoms during the Archaic period are considered to have been far greater than those belonging to women of the Classical and Hellenistic ages³⁶. Given Foley’s argument, it seems more likely that male gods’ appearances in works such as the hymn to Demeter is the creolization of established mother goddess myths and the newer Hellenistic pantheon. Katz’s argument that

²⁹ Patterson. 1998. 7-8 .

³⁰ Katz. 1994. 214., Dobson. 1992. 43, Foley. 1994. 168.

³¹ Katz. 1994.216.

³² Ibid. 214.

³³ Foley. 1994. 112. Zeus takes on the role of women by literally consuming a female goddess and producing a female heir, Athena.

³⁴ Ibid. 168.

³⁵ Katz 1994. 214-5.

³⁶ Foley. 1992. 116-7.

the Archaic mother goddesses are representative of a matriarchal society are, however, unfounded and do not make sense within the context of the hymn.

Women and Birth

Mother-daughter relationships are rarely discussed in myth³⁷ and until the Homeric hymn to Demeter there was a prominent focus on the god's sexual interactions³⁸. The hymn offered an alternative, "*more refined and purer concept of motherhood and love*", which would continue to prove very popular through the Archaic and Classical eras³⁹. The Homeric hymn to Demeter presents women, on both a divine and mortal standing, as carers for children and other women⁴⁰. Ancient Greek goddesses, known as '*kourotrophos*', acted as protectors of the young; and statues of them are frequently associated with Demeter and Persephone⁴¹. The hymn describes women by their relations to one another, normally 'daughter of' or 'mother of'⁴². This also applies to women's relations to men⁴³ with only one line addressing women as wives⁴⁴.

When looking at the transitional phase of birth, motherhood is the most developed theme within the hymn, appearing both biologically⁴⁵, and communally⁴⁶. Communal motherhood is presented many times within the hymn, appearing first in the opening of the hymn, where

³⁷ Lyons. 1997. 62.

³⁸ Morford & Lenardon. 2014.346.

³⁹ Ibid

⁴⁰ Lincoln. 1979. 225; HHD. (5 – Persephone plays with the Okinids), (50-65- Hekate comforts Demeter), (105-110 The daughters of Celeus approach and comfort the mourning Demeter).

⁴¹ Price. 1978. 181, Evans. 2010. 103, Artemis generally considered to be the protector of infants and young children, and is also associated with the myth in later versions (Lefkowitz. 1986. 44-5).

⁴² Suter. 2002.26; HHD (75. Demeter is "*daughter of fair-tressed Rheia*") (161. Mataneira is the girls "*deep-girt mother*").

⁴³ HHD. (21-Persephone calls for her father) (24. Hekate is the "*daughter of Persaios*").

⁴⁴ HHD. 156 Eleusinian male elites are suggested to have wives; however, no women who are met in person are ever addressed solely as someone's wife.

⁴⁵ HHD. (1-5) Demeter & Persephone (280-285) Metaneira & Demophon.

⁴⁶ Evans. 2010. 108, The concept of communal motherhood was common within Attica.

Persephone is playing in the fields with the nymph daughters of Oceanus⁴⁷. Groups of young women gathering like this were not uncommon sights in the ancient world⁴⁸, appearing consistently in Archaic and Classical works describing women in the liminal state between childhood and marriage⁴⁹. Lefkowitz states that these groups allowed women to protect themselves from the violence of extraneous males⁵⁰, and in the hymn the nymphs act as defending '*kourotrophoi*' for Persephone⁵¹. In reality, Persephone would be protected by the number of women that surrounded her⁵²; but she is a denizen of myth and Hades abduction is allowed to violate these social norms⁵³ through extraordinary circumstances⁵⁴. This comradery of women is also seen later within the hymn, with the daughters of Celeus acting as protectors of each other at the well⁵⁵. However, Celeus' daughters seem to face no violence from men, but rather have to protect their younger brother from the anger of the enraged Demeter⁵⁶. This shows that extraneous males are not the only threat to women, as Lefkowitz argues, strangers in general are seen as threats to their security. In fact, the juxtapositions used by the composer of the hymn, indicate that older generations pose the most danger to the young⁵⁷ is not necessarily violence from their opposing gendered peers.

⁴⁷ HHD. 5.

⁴⁸ Lefkowitz. 1986. 48. Gendered segregation within myth reflect the lives young women in the ancient world.

⁴⁹ Foley. 1994. 33; HHD. 105-115; Hom. Odd. 6. 135; Eur. Elec. 218-19.

⁵⁰ Lefkowitz. 1986. 47.

⁵¹ Foley. 1994. 33.

⁵² Lefkowitz. 1986. 45.

⁵³ Lincoln (1979. 227.) Persephone would not, initially, have felt a direct threat from Hades as uncles were traditionally seen as a protector not a sexual partner.

⁵⁴ HHD. 15-20, Hades and Zeus have to manufacture an earthquake to abduct Persephone.

⁵⁵ Foley. 1994. 41. Wells were mythically associated with marriage, fertility and sex.

⁵⁶ HHD. 280-90. Pratt. 2000. 44.

⁵⁷ HHD. (100-5, Demeter is specified to be significantly older than the daughters of Celeus), (15-20, 342. Hades is described as a Lord and Son of Kronos, implying his age over Persephone).

This idea is further cemented by continued protection afforded to youths in myth in both Classical and Archaic works⁵⁸.

The concepts of shared motherhood within the Homeric hymn is not limited to groups of women alone, but also to singular females. Hekate consistently presents as a caregiver and companion to both Demeter and Persephone, and later becoming Persephone's attendant in the underworld⁵⁹. Hekate approaches Demeter with sympathy and is the only god who suggests talking to Helios for answers⁶⁰. It is pertinent to note here that, in the hymn, Demeter wandered the earth for nine days before Hekate approached her⁶¹, an element that has been highly debated within scholarship. Foley⁶² suggests Hekate's absence and delay in confronting Demeter as part of her role associated with the changing of the moon cycles. In opposition to this Katz, argues that this line of argumentation does not stand as Hekate's associations with the moon do not appear till the Hellenistic era⁶³. Hekate's absence is more likely connected to the part of the nine-day procession that was part of Eleusinian religious rites⁶⁴, and its lack of explanation within the hymn is likely a side effect of the myth's conversion from a local account to a Pan-Hellenic one⁶⁵. Once the goddesses reach Helios the conversation depicts how different genders desire different outcomes for a child of the community. Whilst Helios acknowledges Persephone's resistance, he overall views match as beneficial, whereas as Demeter and Hekate do not see the gaining of honours Hades offers as

⁵⁸ Felson-Rubin & Deal. 1994. 196.

⁵⁹ HHD (50-65- Hekate comforts Demeter), (88-90 Hekate accompanies Demeter up until her withdrawal from the realm of the gods) (438-440 Hekate present at reunion and becomes attendant) . Foley. 1994. 124.

⁶⁰ HHD. 51-65.

⁶¹ HHD. 46-7.

⁶² 1994. 39.

⁶³ Katz. 1994. 221.

⁶⁴ Morford & Lenardon. 2014. 341, 343.

⁶⁵ Pomeroy. 1998. 34.

a good enough exchange for the mother and daughters suffering⁶⁶. Hekate therefore reflects female communities' involvement, in a young girls coming of age, in a time where males were primarily concerned with the maintenance of a prosperous oikos⁶⁷ and women were concerned about familial relationships⁶⁸. Hekate's role as a female objector is undermined by her referring to Kore as 'Persephone', indicating her acceptance of the marriage. Lincoln argues to ignore the presence of Hekate within the hymn, so as to separate Persephone's dual identity and elevate some of the hymn's thematic dissonance⁶⁹. However, the removal of Hekate removes key elements of the hymn, that we know were important to both the Eleusinian mysteries, as well as the progression of the hymn.⁷⁰.



Figure 2. Terracotta bell-krater depicting Persephone's ascension from Hades. Attributed to the Persephone Painter. Ca. 440 BC. Found at metmuseum.org



Figure 1 Marble statues of Demeter (left) and Persephone (right) from the eastern Parthenon pediment. Attributed to the sculptor Phidias. ca. 438-42 BC. Found at: britishmuseum.org

⁶⁶ HHD. 74-87; Foley. 1994. 38.

⁶⁷ Rudhardt. 1994. 205; Pomeroy. 1998. 23.

⁶⁸ Katz. 1994. 226.

⁶⁹ Lincoln. 1979. 229.

⁷⁰ Fig 2: There are numerous other depictions, that date from the Classical period, however most of these are located within Athens, or Attica's provinces; Fig 1.

Women within the hymn also have a close connection to concepts of fertility and rebirth. Hekate's role is often that of a supporter, enhancing the symbolism and powers of the goddesses surrounding her⁷¹. The connections to fertility and rebirth are more strongly connected to Demeter and Persephone, who were worshiped at Eleusis in exchange for blessings in the afterlife⁷². Mikalson notes that Demeter's chthonic role as a fertility goddess is intertwined with her role of Persephone's mother, as is through the goddess's relationship with each other that they gain their powers related to the transitional phase of birth and rebirth⁷³. Rebirth is one of the primary concerns of the Eleusinian mysteries, with the myth explaining the secrecy of these rites is tied to the mother of the infant Demophon interrupting Demeter's attempt to immortalise him⁷⁴. Rebirth is a specifically female focused concept in the Greek world, most likely a reflection of women's ability to give birth⁷⁵. Rebirth permeates the ritual practices of Eleusis, where the rebirth of crops, and the continued blessing in the afterlife are the main concerns of the cultic activity found there⁷⁶. However as Lincoln and Dobson note the iconography associated with goddesses of Eleusis, narcissus, wheat, pomegranate, and cockerel, represent both concepts of rebirth and death⁷⁷

⁷¹ Foley. 1994. 126. Lyons. 1997. 116.

⁷² Cosmopoulos. 2015. 14; HHD. 475-85; Foley. 1994. 202.

⁷³ Mikalson. 2010. 38.

⁷⁴ Morford & Lenardon 2014. 338; HHD. 280-85.

⁷⁵ Morford & Lenardon 2014 346.

⁷⁶ Parker. 1991. 13. Mikalson (2010. 83) mentions rebirth rituals relating to the sacrificing of piglets at Eleusis and Athens concerning rebirth of crops and Demeter.

⁷⁷ Pomegranate (Lincoln. 1979. 324) Narcissus and other agricultural symbolism (Dobson. 1992. 45) for both of these sources' fertility is equally applied to agriculture and reproductive fertility.

Women and Marriage

The Homeric Hymn to Demeter is undoubtedly linked to wedding rituals in both Archaic and Classical Greece, and it is easiest to draw comparisons between the actions taken within the hymn, to commonplace marriage rituals of ancient Greece. It is simplest to start with both the first, and most well-known element of the hymn, Persephone's abduction by Hades⁷⁸. Despite the violence of the abduction scene's description⁷⁹. Pomeroy and Lincoln argue that elements of the kidnapping were similar to the procession of a new bride to her husband's home⁸⁰. We can see the popularity the abduction scene in figure 3, a vase dated to around 340-330 B.C, depicting the abduction of Persephone⁸¹. In contrast to the hymn's language, the painting is serene in its depiction of the event, with Persephone showing little distress, and the closest gods to them being Aphrodite and Eros, emphasising Hades' desire and the fertility associated with the scene⁸². This depiction is highly similar to a series of clay reliefs, found at Locri that also show Hades' abduction of Persephone, in a more romantic and subdued light⁸³. Whilst abduction as a motif of marriage appears to be popular within Attica, it does not appear to



Figure 3 Figure 4: Terracotta hydria depicting the abduction of Persephone, surrounded by gods, 340–330 B.C. Found at: metmuseum.org

⁷⁸ HHD. 15-21.

⁷⁹ HHD. 19-20.

⁸⁰ Pomeroy. 1998. 36; Lincoln. 1979. 227.

⁸¹ Figures 3&4.

⁸² metmuseum.org. 2020; HHD. (19. “snatched the unwilling maid”), (20 “screamed in a shrill voice”).

⁸³ Sourvinou-Inwood 1978. 103-4.

have been a common practice in either the Archaic or Classical periods rather elements of a mock kidnapping were interwoven with marriage rituals⁸⁴. One area of Greece where scholars do find evidence of ritualised kidnapping being part of marriage rituals is Sparta⁸⁵, however despite the connections drawn between this practice and the hymn⁸⁶, there is no evidence of the Homeric hymn directly impacting Sparta's marriage traditions as it does within Attica⁸⁷. The elements of kidnapping we see interwoven in Attic weddings are notional rather than the active practice seen in Sparta. One of the key elements that is often focused on is the grooms feeding of the bride⁸⁸. Intended to evoke the scene where Hades feeds Persephone pomegranate seeds⁸⁹, Foley argues asserts the male's dominance over the woman, indicating her acceptance of the marriage and the union as a whole⁹⁰, although she offers no direct evidence for this claim.

Virginity of the bride was important to ancient marriages⁹¹, a concept intricately focused on throughout the hymn. The hymn itself takes great pains to emphasise the pain of losing virginity in the eyes of women⁹². This aggressive removal of virginity is emphasised by scholars reading of Demeter's own anguish at her daughters loss, with Dobson noting that the myth was likely accepted as the painful transition of Persephone from virgin to bride mirrored that of the change between seasons⁹³. This concept is further emphasised by

⁸⁴ Jenkins. 1983.137.

⁸⁵ Figueira. 2010. 273; Plut.lyc.15.1,3-7.

⁸⁶ Foley. 1994. 107.

⁸⁷ Sourvinou-Inwood 1978. 102.

⁸⁸ Foley. 1994. 108.

⁸⁹ HHD. 370-374.

⁹⁰ Foley. 1994. 108; Felson-Rubin & Deal. 1994. 191. Force-feeding within the hymn is directly linked to the ownership of a child by an outsider.

⁹¹ Jenkins. 1983. 141.

⁹² Katz. 1994. 220, here referencing the poems of women mourning the loss of their virginity.

⁹³ Dobson. 1992. 43.

Persephone's companions at the beginning, being the nymph daughters of Oceans⁹⁴, who are frequently seen as the victims of sexual violence within Homeric literature, and are normally depicted as virgins and sexually pure⁹⁵. The loss of virginity is seen by feminist scholarship as the oppression of the patriarchy, with Katz arguing that the unwilling kidnap of virgins from the fields of beauty and young women acts as the metaphorical removal of a girl's childhood when she is married at a young age⁹⁶. Whilst older scholarship focuses on the aspects fertility associated with virginity in the hymn⁹⁷, Foley argues that the Homeric hymn to Demeter acted as education on sexuality and marriage for young women, especially when tied to Demeter's festival, the Thesmophoria⁹⁸. Examples from both Sappho and Alcman show us that the sexual education through religious rites and poetry were not uncommon in



Figure 6. Pinax from Locri depicted Hades and Persephone enthroned, ca. 5th Century BC. Found at commons.wikimedia.org



Figure 5 Terracotta pomegranate, from Greece, ca. 5th - 4th BC. From metmuseum.org

⁹⁴ Lefkowitz. 1986. 48; Foley. 1994. 33 argues the presence of Artemis and Athena in orphic works emphasise Persephone's virginity.

⁹⁵ See. Homer: *Iliad*, Homeric hymns; Hesiod: *Theogony*.

⁹⁶ Katz. 1994. 221.

⁹⁷ Lincoln. 1979. 231

⁹⁸ Foley. 1994. 137.

the Archaic and Classical periods⁹⁹, but if this stance is applicable then the hymn would have had relevance to women regardless of their inclusion in the mysteries.

Whilst Persephone herself is closely tied to marriage within the hymn, there is little evidence of Persephone acting as a marriage goddess within Attica. Some of the strongest evidence Persephone assuming this role is at Locri, a Greek polis in the south of Italy, where Persephone is worshiped alongside her Husband Hades as well as Aphrodite as a patron of marriage¹⁰⁰. Here we see Persephone is depicted alongside the iconography found within the Homeric hymn, namely the flowers and stalks of grain¹⁰¹, as well as small terracotta pomegranates¹⁰² akin to figure 5. Locri show that Demeter's association with her daughters marriage was minimal¹⁰³, indicating that Persephone gains powers through her union with Hades and more specifically through her separation from her mother. Burton notes that the interpretations of the pinakes are highly controversial, with deliberations in scholarship based on both the identification of the gods within the reliefs and whether the pinakes themselves pertain to funerary or marriage rituals, both of which pertain to the Homeric myth¹⁰⁴. The pinakes show how Persephone's religious and gendered roles change throughout the Mediterranean. Outside of Eleusis Persephone takes on the role of a marriage goddess, akin to the role of Hera in other parts of Greece. When seen with Hades the divine couple's separation from the other gods of Olympus is a frequent occurrence, with the few depictions we see of the pair often having them sat apart from their surroundings¹⁰⁵. When compared to

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Sourvinou-Inwood. 1978. 101.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. 107; Figure 4.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid. 118.

¹⁰⁴ Burton 2011. 4.

¹⁰⁵ Figures 7, 8 & 9.

the hymn, it is clear that the iconographical separation, and isolation of the married couple indicate not only their roles as a combined element, but also of the separation of the underworld from all other realms¹⁰⁶.



Figure 8, Kylix exterior, attributed to Kodros Painter, ca. 430 BC.
Found at: britishmuseum.org

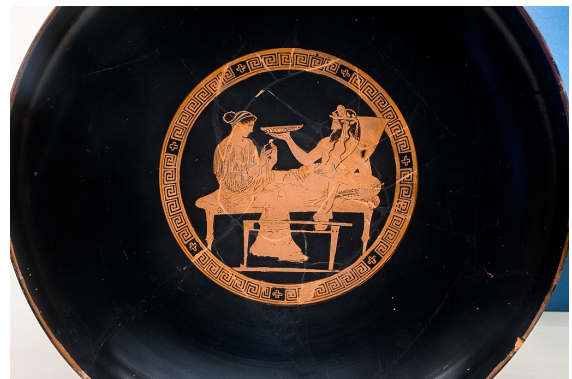


Figure 9, Kylix interior, Attributed to Kodros Painter, ca. 430 BC.
Found at: [Wikimedia commons](https://commons.wikimedia.org/)



Figure 7 Fragment of a limestone relief ft Hades and Persephone. South Italy, Tarentum. 4th-3rd BC. Found at: metmuseum.org

¹⁰⁶ Rudhardt. 1994. 203.

Women and Death

The transitionary phase of death within the hymn is present throughout the entirety of the hymn, and completes the hymn's theme of cyclical phases¹⁰⁷. Women's connection to death in the Homeric hymn to Demeter is also complex and multifaceted. Generally, it can be broken down into three main interpretations by modern scholars, funerary rituals and rites, how women dealt with the loss of a female relative or child, and the cycle of death and rebirth within the Eleusinian mysteries¹⁰⁸.

When looking at how the Homeric hymn reflected funerary rituals, much of the evidence is drawn from the actions of and women within the hymn, primarily Demeter¹⁰⁹. Demeter's actions within the hymn are generally considered to align with ritual mourning and funerary practices within the ancient world¹¹⁰. The physical appearance of Demeter is often the simplest, if briefest, element covered. Foley, argues that Demeter tearing her veil off, after Persephone is kidnapped¹¹¹, is part a ritual mourning known as a 'goos'¹¹², a behaviour also seen in the Homeric work of the *Iliad*.¹¹³ Despite the commonality of this argument¹¹⁴, Håland, argues that the connection between the tearing of the veil and 'goos'¹¹⁵ is strictly linguistic and would not have been named as such in either Archaic or Classical funerary

¹⁰⁷ Dobson. 1992. 43.

¹⁰⁸ The relationship between women and the death of their freedoms and choices will be discussed in chapter three alongside the impact of males within the hymn.

¹⁰⁹ Lord. 1994. 185.

¹¹⁰ Foley. 1994. 37; 128.

¹¹¹ HHD. 40.

¹¹² Foley. 1994. 37.

¹¹³ Hom. Il. 22.405.

¹¹⁴ Morris. 1987. 199; Rehm. 1994. 40-1.

¹¹⁵ Here Håland. 2014. 218, 234 equates the 'goos' to a more "verified" version of the threnos which is a lyrical lament seen in Greek tragedy. Examples of these laments are seen in in later Greek tragedy (Else. 1977.77).

rites. The terms ‘*goos*’ and the ‘*threnos*’ have also been questioned by Gerard Else as modern literary identifications, rather than an actual ritual practice¹¹⁶, however, he also fails to offer an alternative explanation as to why women’s veils are persistently depicted differently in relation to death or marriage¹¹⁷. This change in Demeter’s veil, is often conflated with her donning of darker clothes¹¹⁸ Whilst the donning of darker clothes may seem an indication of mourning to a modern audience¹¹⁹ Foley notes that the darker robes was not exclusively linked to mourning, rather having a connection to Chthonic female deities, like the furies and Erinyes¹²⁰. This could be an indication to listeners of the hymn that during her separation Persephone, Demeter acts within a Chthonic role, rather than an Ouranic one¹²¹. When looking into real world practices, darker robes did not seem to be an element of female mourning, in fact Solons reforms regarding funerary practices is only concerned with the elaborate nature of female dress as funerals, rather than its colour¹²², indicating this factor was unlikely mandatory within the ancient world.

Another part of Demeter’s behaviour that is thought to be linked to funerary practices is her nine days of silent searching for Persephone, before Hekate comes to speak to her¹²³. As discussed in chapter one these nine days of wandering are linked with many themes within the hymn, but when related to death it is often compared to funerary processions in other

¹¹⁶ Else. 1977. 70.

¹¹⁷ Rehm. 1994. 38, 40.

¹¹⁸ HHD. 42.

¹¹⁹ Håland. 2014. 202.

¹²⁰ Foley. 1994. 37.

¹²¹ Mikalson (2010. 38) mentions that Demeter is one of the few goddesses that operates in both Ouranic and chthonic roles. The change in appearance may be used to indicate which version of Demeter was being worshiped. Foley (1994. 37) also mentions that an in arcadian myth a “*black Demeter*” is associated with the Chthonic deities of the underworld.

¹²² Pomeroy. 1997. 101.

¹²³ HHD. 47.

Homeric works¹²⁴. When looking into contemporary ritual practices, however, the significance of the nine-day period does not appear a strong connection with specific funerary rites. Within Homers *Iliad* women collect wood for nine days for Hectors funeral¹²⁵, however within Athens the ninth day of mourning was only the day that the family visited the tomb of the deceased¹²⁶. The Eleusinian mysteries, who were thought to have connections to both marriage and funerary rites, had nine-day rituals ¹²⁷, but there is no clear correlation between any of these practices. It seems likely that the period of nine days was an important for many religious rites, with funerary rituals occasionally featuring this element.

For women the most notable emotional struggle is the themes of loss and death, more specifically how mothers reacted to the loss of child¹²⁸. This is highlighted by Demeter's actions within the hymn mirroring the cycles of grief¹²⁹ and acceptance¹³⁰. Persephone's abduction and marriage clearly alludes to the concept of death¹³¹, but it is Demeter's reaction that gives modern scholars insight into how mothers dealt with the loss of a child through death or marriage¹³². The hymn depicts mothers' and daughters' pain of separation and violent removal¹³³, rather than the pain of a communal family¹³⁴. The abduction, organised between Zeus and Hades happens privately from both the goddesses concerned, and the

¹²⁴ Foley. 1994. 37.

¹²⁵ Morris. 1987. 46.

¹²⁶ Pomeroy. 1997. 107.

¹²⁷ Morford (2014. 341.) The Mysteries did perform rites for nine days linked to ritual mourning; Katz (1994. 228.) Eleusinian rites may be a nod to ritualistic mourning, or could have part of mourning outside of Eleusis.

¹²⁸ Lefkowitz, 1986. 50.

¹²⁹ Jenkins. 1983. 139.

¹³⁰ Rudhardt. 1994. 203.

¹³¹ Felson-Rubin & Deal 1994. 191.

¹³² Parker. 1991. 6.; Dobson. 1992. 44.

¹³³ Dobson. 1992. 44.

¹³⁴ Rudhardt. 1994. 205; Felson-Rubin & Deal. 1994. 191.

audience of the hymn¹³⁵. Demeter's grief and pain likely reflects ancient women's reactions to marriages, where men organised marital unions, without women's presence or consent towards the decision¹³⁶, and the close bond between mother and daughter would have been disrupted. It is through Demeter's reaction to the marriage that we see potential allegories for the stages of grief and acceptance that women in the ancient world experienced during a mourning period. Firstly, Demeter rejects the decision made by her male counterparts she gives up her godhood¹³⁷, perhaps representative of women's withdrawal from society during mourning periods¹³⁸. During Demeter's grieving in the land of the mortals, her status is lowered, and she acts as a destructive force, both to her environment through the barren lands¹³⁹, but also to those around her¹⁴⁰. She is consumed by the loss of her daughter and, within the original Homeric work, is isolated from even the mortals she took refuge with¹⁴¹. Within this isolation Demeter begins to accept small parts of the patriarchy through her interactions with the baby Demophon¹⁴², whose failed immortalisation brings her to accept the inevitability Hades and the concepts of death that he represents, and we see some of godhood her partially return¹⁴³. Felson-Rubin & Deal argue that once Demeter accepts that Persephone is attached to the realm of the dead she is fully allowed to re-join the gods on Olympus¹⁴⁴. Despite convincing elements of this argument, it fails to address the fact that Demeter never fully accepts Persephone's abduction, and starves the earth and the gods until

¹³⁵ HHD. 5-10; 30-33, the abduction is only referenced by Homer as an agreement that has happened before the hymn began.

¹³⁶ Pomeroy. 1997. 170-2.

¹³⁷ HHD. 91-4.

¹³⁸ Freidman. (1982. 66-7) argues that the process of withdrawal during mourning periods is common in many societies and is evident in the ancient world through parts of Homer's '*Iliad*'.

¹³⁹ HHD. 310-14.

¹⁴⁰ Felson-Rubin & Deal 1994. 191; HHD. 250-265. She hurts the baby Demophon and intimidates his mother.

¹⁴¹ HHD. 300-5.

¹⁴² HHD. 250-320.

¹⁴³ Foley. 1994. 96; Felson-Rubin & Deal 1994. 196.

¹⁴⁴ Felson- Rubin & Deal 1994. 191; Hom. HH 2. 460-470.

her daughter is returned to her¹⁴⁵. Demeter's resistance to accept the loss of her daughter is further emphasised by Dobson's summarisation of the Eleusinian's rites done in honour of the myths content:

*"The ultimate goal of the Mysteries is not the acceptance of the natural cycles of death and rebirth figured in agriculture, but rather, the overcoming of this cyclic pattern and the attainment of a permanent afterlife"*¹⁴⁶

Persephone's own link with the transitional phase of death is well known throughout the Greek world as a goddess of the underworld¹⁴⁷. These links are well established throughout scholarship, so they shall only be covered very briefly. Persephone's change from a maiden goddess to one of the underworld is linked directly the interventions of Hades and Zeus¹⁴⁸. Evidence exist of Persephone's association with death in iconography from across all the Mediterranean. Figure 4 from Locri shows Persephone assuming her role as an underworld goddess alongside her husband Hades, she is presented alongside a multitude of chthonic imagery, including cockerels and pomegranates¹⁴⁹, which had associations with male virility and the dangers of death and the underworld¹⁵⁰. All of these, including the pomegranate¹⁵¹ frequently appear alongside the Chthonic couple in both Attica, Eleusis, and Sparta¹⁵².

¹⁴⁵ HHD. 310-313.

¹⁴⁶ Dobson.1992. 49; Lefkowitz (1986. 50) also argues that the mourning rituals at Eleusis could have directly linked to the tragic pain of losing a child to marriage or to an early death.

¹⁴⁷ Mikalson. 2010. 38; Lyons 1997. 59.

¹⁴⁸ Rudhardt. 1994. 205 .

¹⁴⁹ Sourvinou-Inwood. 1978. 105.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. 108.

¹⁵¹ Lord. 1992. 189; See chapter 3 men and death for more info on the pomegranate's associations.

¹⁵² Sourvinou-Inwood. 1978. 108.

Persephone's presence at Locri shows us that her role as a god of the underworld is undeniably linked to her role as a marriage goddess and with sexuality¹⁵³.

¹⁵³ Rehm. 1994. 39.

Chapter 3 Men's entrance into women spaces and their role in change

Background

Male oriented transitional phases, and male patron gods of these phases, did exist in the ancient world¹⁵⁴ but men's presence in transitional phases is rarely talked about within Homeric literature, with favour often falling upon female deities and heroines¹⁵⁵. Transitional phases of birth, marriage and death did apply to the men of the ancient world, however, their relationship to them is markedly different to that of women. Golden states that trends in modern scholarship emphasise that ancient men and women were deliberately separated into distinct social spheres, applying to religious, public and private roles¹⁵⁶. Non-feminist scholarship often dictated ancient men as more violent and logically minded than their female counterparts¹⁵⁷, being seen as preminent in politics, war and manual labour¹⁵⁸. Feminist scholarship challenges these established notions by giving voices to women, who had previously been pushed aside¹⁵⁹. The Homeric hymn to Demeter does not always benefit from this feminist questioning of masculinity, as its function as a religious piece gives it multifaceted gendered connotations that are too prominent to be ignored by scholarship, but too complex to divide into strict male and female spheres¹⁶⁰. Feminist solutions to this issue, see males of the hymn often being resigned older gender roles, as threats to women's safety or as allegorical depictions of an oppressive patriarchy¹⁶¹, whilst occasionally being credited

¹⁵⁴ Mikalson. (2010.125), Zeus Herkeios is a protector of the house frequently associated with the father and was worshiped alongside Hestia at the entrance of a new bride; H. Hom. 24. 5. Hestia and Zeus are evoked together implying their religious connection extends outside the home.

¹⁵⁵ Lefkowitz. 1986. 49.

¹⁵⁶ Golden. 2010. 27.

¹⁵⁷ Nortwick. 2008. 1; Penrose. (2020. 31) argues intelligence is also seen as masculine.

¹⁵⁸ Golden. 2010. 27.

¹⁵⁹ Foxhall. 2013. 1.

¹⁶⁰ Golden. 2010. 27.

¹⁶¹ Dobson. 1992. 45.

with positive functions, a classification mainly given to children¹⁶². In order to overcome these obstacles seen in scholarship, this study will evaluate men's roles alongside women in addition to wider society. This chapter will address the phase of birth through absent fathers, men's role in rebirth and chthonic fertility. It will examine concepts of patriarchal influences over women, male agency and male seduction in marriage. Finally, it will look at the emergence of male chthonic deities, how the appearance of males in female spheres acts as the metaphorical death of women's rights and the relationship between men and death in Archaic and Classical eras.

¹⁶² Felson-Rubin & Deal. 1994. 192; Lyons. 1997. 59.

Men and Birth

For men in the hymn immortality does not affect relationships with children¹⁶³. Zeus, who acts as both the direct father of Persephone¹⁶⁴ and the metaphorical father of the Olympic gods¹⁶⁵, is depicted fairly similarly to real fathers of the ancient world. King Celeus also mirrors this depiction, but his relative absence from the narrative as a whole makes his actions harder to scrutinise¹⁶⁶. Both Zeus and Celeus are seen as heads of their own oikos, having authority over the household, particularly its female members¹⁶⁷. Zeus' oikos is difficult to determine, as the specific limitations of his powers and domain are never cemented in any myth¹⁶⁸. Although Persephone, as his biological daughter, would come under the control of his oikos¹⁶⁹, she is taken from the earth, a realm not directly governed by Zeus¹⁷⁰; that is firmly associated with the powers of her mother¹⁷¹. Celeus, on the other hand, has a clear distinguished oikos, and implement his control over it effectively and without question¹⁷². The hymn itself depicts women, specifically Demeter, Persephone and Hekate, resisting the established rule of the oikos in order to find a better role for themselves¹⁷³. The women of the mortal realm have accepted the rules of men's, where the goddesses do not¹⁷⁴. This struggle to accept the lot of the gods is demonstrated in the struggles that happen

¹⁶³ Lincoln. 1979. 227.

¹⁶⁴ Beck. 2001. 53.

¹⁶⁵ Evans. 2010. 103.

¹⁶⁶ Celeus only appears directly at (HHD. 295), and possibly at (475).

¹⁶⁷ Pomeroy. 1998. 20-1.

¹⁶⁸ Rudhardt. (1994. 198-9). Mentions Zeus is known as the leader of the heavens throughout myth, and the distributor of the gods '*timai*', granting the oceans and underworld to his brothers. The earth appears to be a common land shared by all the gods without Zeus' direct control.

¹⁶⁹ Lincoln. 1979. 226.

¹⁷⁰ Rudhardt. 1994. 199.

¹⁷¹ Foley. 1994. 84.

¹⁷² HHD. 295-300; Beck. 2001. 56.

¹⁷³ Katz. 1994. 216.

¹⁷⁴ Foley. 1994. 88.

between different realms, the consequence of which is permanent change in reality and cosmology¹⁷⁵. Katz argues that this change is caused by matriarchal resistance to patriarchal powers¹⁷⁶, however Foley argues that the hymns overall narrative shows Demeter and Persephone must accept some degree of male dominion¹⁷⁷, either that of Zeus or Hades. Spitz expands on both of these ideas, arguing it is the results of both genders accepting one another that causes positive change¹⁷⁸.

All males within the Homeric hymn are notably distant from the females that surround them¹⁷⁹, with Zeus being no exception to this rule¹⁸⁰. He is distant in his physical treatment of Persephone, not consulting her on her marriage¹⁸¹, not replying to her cries for help upon her abduction¹⁸², only speaking through messengers¹⁸³, and failing in joining her in her return from Hades¹⁸⁴. This appears to reflect father's treatment of daughters within the ancient world as a whole, who are rarely documented as having much interaction with their daughters besides their birth and their dowries¹⁸⁵. Despite recent progression of feminist scholarship to show ancient women's lives as more complex than originally considered plausible, there is still a lack of substantial evidence concerning fathers-daughter relationships¹⁸⁶. There is a focus of the father's social role to find his daughter a suitable husband that would benefit the

¹⁷⁵ Ibid. 35.

¹⁷⁶ Katz. 113. 216.

¹⁷⁷ Foley. 1994. 80.

¹⁷⁸ Spitz. 1990. 418.

¹⁷⁹ Felson-Rubin & Deal. 1994. 196.

¹⁸⁰ Spitz. 1990. 412.

¹⁸¹ Felson-Rubin & Deal. 1994. 192.

¹⁸² Beck. 2001. 58.

¹⁸³ HHD. 40, 314, 335, 441.

¹⁸⁴ HHD. 384-6.

¹⁸⁵ Mikalson. 2010.125-9.

¹⁸⁶ Pomeroy. (1998. 35.) here discussed very little of the father daughter relationships outside of the concepts that they were not incestual and that that the father was considered the one to organise a marriage.

oikos, a fact that is highlighted in Persephone's marriage to Hades¹⁸⁷. There is little accounting for emotional connection between fathers and daughters in myths¹⁸⁸, with the few we have often being negative or outright aggressive¹⁸⁹.

Despite the Homeric hymns close examination of young girls in scholarship, comparatively little is done in regard to young males. Lyons explains this was due to the Homeric hymn primary consumption by female audiences¹⁹⁰, and possibly its use to expressly educate young girls on the transitional phases of life¹⁹¹. It is clear that the males within the hymn, both young and mature, act a symbolic stand in for males of the Archaic and Classical societies¹⁹². This is truer of the men of Eleusis, who not only established the cult of Demeter¹⁹³, but were also the first initiates of the mysteries¹⁹⁴. However, Pomeroy notes that the hymn is believed to be a Pan-Hellenic version of the local Eleusinian myth¹⁹⁵, so arguing that the hymn excludes males based on its audience is baseless and does not corroborate with the religious practices it is tied to. This may be the side effect of feminist scholarship focusing on previously dismissed religious festivals that pertained to women¹⁹⁶, but at the expense of male inclusive festivals.

¹⁸⁷ Morford & Lenardon. 2014. 346. The marriage benefits the cosmological balance of Zeus' powers and as Helios notes Hom. HH 2. 80-6 Hades was seen as an eligible and wealthy match for the young goddess.

¹⁸⁸ Morford. 2014. 346.

¹⁸⁹ Lyons. 1997. 58-61.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. 116.

¹⁹¹ Foley. 1994. 137.

¹⁹² Ibid (112.) argues male god represent male insertion into female spaces in political and social worlds.

¹⁹³ HHD. 294-300.

¹⁹⁴ HHD. 470-80.

¹⁹⁵ Pomeroy. 1998. 34.

¹⁹⁶ Mikalson (2010. 81) notes the all-female Thesmophoria as a popular focus of Eleusis, mentioned also by; Morford & Lenardon. 2014.345; Lyons. 1997. 116.

The Demophon episode is the main aspect of the hymn where we see males interacting directly with women. Lincoln predominantly focuses on how Demophon treatment by Demeter changes over time, with later depictions of Demeter's rejection of Demophon becoming violent, with one version existing where Demeter kills him¹⁹⁷. Lincoln mentions little on how these changes depict gender relations within the hymn, but there is however an interesting discussion on the aetiological implication of Demophon representing failed initiation, to contrast Persephone's successful one¹⁹⁸. Whilst this theory has credit, it does not indicate to us what male initiates could have learnt from this part of the hymn. The failed initiation is not a story of male exclusion from the hymn, as males were allowed entrance from the mysteries very foundations¹⁹⁹. Lincoln's argument is also somewhat limited as there is wide acceptance that the secret rites, including initiations, would not have been so plainly told within the hymn²⁰⁰. There is also no guarantee that the Mysteries would have considered Persephone's journey 'successful', as it caused grief to their patron goddesses²⁰¹.

Later studies from the nineties agree that the Demophon episode parallels the Persephone myth²⁰², but stress the importance of gender dynamics surrounding the hymns representations of rebirth and eternal life²⁰³. Demophon himself is directly linked with Demeter's gifts of a blessed life that were granted to the Eleusinian's²⁰⁴, arguing that the nourishment Demophon received as a baby is a metaphorical depiction of the blessings received by the goddess²⁰⁵.

¹⁹⁷ Lincoln. 1979. 231-2.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid. 232.

¹⁹⁹ HHD. 470-80.

²⁰⁰ Morford & Lenardon . 2010. 343.

²⁰¹ HHD. 30, 40.

²⁰² Rudhardt. 1994. 205.

²⁰³ Dobson. 1992. 43.

²⁰⁴ Lloyd-Jones. 2001. 459.

²⁰⁵ Parker. 1991. 8.

Evans further argues that the child initiates acted as replications of Demophon's original initiation, combining a goddess with a young mortal boy²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶ Evans. 2010. 124.

Men and Marriage

The Homeric Hymn to Demeter shows males roles in marriage are linked to the coming of age for women in the ancient world²⁰⁷. Archaic and Classical Athens, had women's main marker of adulthood being marriage²⁰⁸. Males during this period reached this maturity through their political, social and war faring achievements²⁰⁹. It is not until the Classical period that we see males start to become defined by their marital status, with their graves being marked by a '*loutrophoros*', a vase used to carry the water for nuptial baths, previously associated with the graves of unmarried women²¹⁰. Although we know that the Eleusinian Mysteries were performed from before the Archaic era all the way through the Hellenistic period²¹¹, the hymn itself was solidly routed in the Archaic traditions²¹², with males' roles surrounding marriage reflecting the social norms of the time.

Rehm shows it was the goal of many women to be married, with the groom in the situation offering the ability obtain maturity and elevated status for the bride²¹³. The Homeric hymn reflects this by depicting Persephone as a young nubile woman²¹⁴ introduced to maturity by the fully matured Hades. Feminist scholars such as Foley, and particularly Katz argue that the hymn's main focus is Demeter and Persephone's acquisition of honours (*timai*) as a consequence of Hades actions²¹⁵. This fails to account for the content of the other Homeric

²⁰⁷ Lyons. 1997. 59.

²⁰⁸ Rehm. 1994. 31.

²⁰⁹ Ibid. 32.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Foley. 1994. 88.

²¹² Ibid. 79-80.

²¹³ Rehm. 1994. 31-2; Foley. 1994. 96.

²¹⁴ Lincoln. 1997. 224.

²¹⁵ HHD. 480-90; Felson-Rubin & Deal. 1994. 194.

hymns, which explain how different gods received their roles or ‘*timai*’²¹⁶. The Hymns to Aphrodite and Apollo show that the honours received do not just apply to the named god of the hymn, but also other gods present in the hymn²¹⁷. The hymn to Demeter shows both Demeter and Persephone’s gaining of honours, as well as Hades, Demophon and possibly others. Despite abundant research into the honours Demeter and Persephone receive, Hades’ new honours are rarely discussed in detail. Before the hymn we understand that Hades is in need of a wife²¹⁸ to complete the *oikos* of his own realm. Once he is unified with Persephone, Hades’ connotations with fertility are amplified and he begins to have a minor presence in the cult activity at Eleusis²¹⁹. This counters the beliefs that Hades had no cultic activity dedicated to him²²⁰, rather it shows that the possible honours he received through his marriage in the hymn is the possibility to receive worship as a fertility and marriage deity, as seen in Locri²²¹



Figure 10 Stone relief of Hades and Persephone from Eleusis, ca. 2nd BC. Found at commons.wikimedia.org

²¹⁶ Parker. 1991. 2.

²¹⁷ Ibid. 3-4.

²¹⁸ Foley. 1994. 107.

²¹⁹ Fig 10.

²²⁰ Lyons. 1997. 116.

²²¹ Sourvinou-Inwood. 1978. 106.

This is most clear in the involuntary sexual awakening of the young Persephone in the Nysian plain²²². She is surrounded by known floral aphrodisiacs²²³, elements fully organised by Zeus²²⁴ in an attempt to awaken his daughter's sexuality, and prepare her for a marriage with his brother²²⁵. Foley argues that Persephone's plucking of the narcissus represents her active agency in leaving behind her childhood and accepting adult sexuality²²⁶. This is supported by Katz who argues the picking of the narcissus is a metaphor for the acceptance of sexual maturity²²⁷. Dobson also supports this line of reasoning, arguing the representation of the narcissus as a 'toy' or 'plaything' emphasises Persephone's enthusiasm acceptance of its magical associations with transformation²²⁸. Persephone lack of fear towards her husband²²⁹ aides this interpretation, especially considering the distress of being separated from her mother is quickly forgotten in the acceptance of the honours²³⁰ Hades offers through the consumption of pomegranate seeds²³¹. Albinus argues the Mysteries mirror this sexual awakening through the consensual union between the hierophant and priestess of Demeter during secretive rites²³².

These arguments, despite their convincing stances, are flawed, as they ignore evidence found both within the hymn, as well as in secondary sources. Spitz acknowledges the symbolism of

²²² HHD. 17.

²²³ Foley. 1994. 34, Specifically it is the narcissus, crocus and violet that are mentioned as possessing aphrodisiac qualities.

²²⁴ Lincoln. 1979, 225.

²²⁵ Spitz. 1990. 412.

²²⁶ Foley. 1994. 127.

²²⁷ Katz. 1994. 220.

²²⁸ Dobson. 45-6. The narcissus flower directly relates to the "*vulnerable, beloved youths, whose deaths are correlated with a mirroring, identifying love.*"

²²⁹ Lefkowitz. 1986. 46. HHD. 20-5.

²³⁰ HHD. 370-5.

²³¹ HHD. 270-5.

²³² Albinus. 2000. 186.

the narcissus is linked to the sexual curiosity in Persephone²³³, but argues instead that the flower was planted to take advantage of her childlike fascination, in order to take her against her will²³⁴. Spitz's arguments take into account the associations of the narcissus, but emphasise the unknowing nature of Persephone's interest, as well as the perverse intentions of the males who are responsible for its appearance²³⁵. Her 'seduction' is not described as willing, or consensual, with Lincoln noting the verb "*harpazein*"²³⁶ is normally associated with violent actions comparable to "*pillage and thievery*" not consensual elopements²³⁷. Persephone's cries for help for mother and father²³⁸ emphasise her unwillingness to concede to the actions of males around her²³⁹. Her eventual consumption on the pomegranate seeds is not explicitly consensual with the secrecy of being applicable to both Persephone as the consumer, but also to Hermes the witness²⁴⁰. Secrecy from Persephone makes little sense as an argument, as she seems aware of it by the time of her arrival with her mother²⁴¹, it is more likely that this action was hidden to Hermes, who here is an agent of Zeus and Demeter, and done with some level of aggression towards Persephone²⁴², as this would allow Hades to keep Persephone through cosmological laws that neither of Persephone's parents could override.

²³³ Spitz. 1990. 225.

²³⁴ Ibid, shows a clear link between the childlike actions of young girls being linked to the sexual desirability, as viewed by men. The romanisation of virginity is discussed more by (Katz. 1994. 220; 222), and the appeal of virgins in relation to confirmed parenthood of children is discussed by (Lefkowitz. 1986. 48.) (Pomeroy. 1998. 37).

²³⁵ Spitz. 1990. 225; HHD. 9.

²³⁶ HHD. 19.

²³⁷ Lincoln. 1979. 225.

²³⁸ Spitz (1990. 225.) There is tragic irony as Persephone is calling out to her father to save her, even though he has planned this, indicating his actions are truly unwelcome to Persephone.

²³⁹ Resisting Hades romantic advancements (HHD. 440-5), the condemning of his treatment when seeing her mother, (HHD. 405) and her active choice to spend time with her mother rather than her new husband, defying both his and Zeus' original intentions (HHD. 460-70).

²⁴⁰ HHD. 372.

²⁴¹ HHD. 411-2.

²⁴² HHD. 413 "*and compelled me against my will and by force to taste it*".

Men and Death

The Homeric hymn to Demeter shows us that males' roles surrounding death, mourning and funerary rituals are limited, with Demophon and Hades being the preeminent males interacting with these concepts²⁴³. Men are depicted as agents of death and loss, particularly with women for whom they represent metaphorical 'death' of a previous phase of life 'rebirth' into another²⁴⁴. Often males' relation to death is represented throughout symbolic gestures or thematic tropes that permeate Archaic and Classical literature and culture. One factor that has received a lot of analysis is the conflation of marriage and funerary rituals, a poetic contrast that is elegantly explored by the Homeric hymn to Demeter²⁴⁵.

Sourvinou-Inwood suggests that the presentations of abduction scenes at Locri were directly tied to young women on the brink of marriage, as well as young women who die early²⁴⁶.

Within Attica we see the abduction scene become synonymous with the gesture of a male grasping a veiled woman's wrist and leading her to a new realm, frequently seen as assertion of dominance over the female²⁴⁷. The gesture itself becomes synonymous with both marriage²⁴⁸ and underworld depictions²⁴⁹ particularly in depictions of Hermes²⁵⁰. The gesture itself has connections to both marriage and death, most likely due to the Greek belief that the events held similar cosmological and ritual meanings²⁵¹. In spite of the gesture's underworld

²⁴³ Foley. 1994. 86 (Demophon) Foley. 1994. 82 (Hades).

²⁴⁴ Rudhardt. 1994. 202.

²⁴⁵ Foley. 1994. 81.

²⁴⁶ Sourvinou-Inwood. 1978. 104.

²⁴⁷ Edwards 313; Jenkins. 1994. 36.

²⁴⁸ Dillon. 1999. 72.

²⁴⁹ Rehm. 1994. 36; Jenkins. 183. 140.

²⁵⁰ Jenkins. 1994. 142; Rehm (1994. 35-7). Both mention Hermes taking souls by the wrist in both iconographical and literary depictions.

²⁵¹ Jenkins. 1994. 142.

connections in other myths and literature²⁵², the gesture is seemingly absent from depictions of Hades and Persephone. Those from Locri depict the divine couple enthroned together²⁵³, but they do not perform this gesture. Depictions of the gods from within Attica are also devoid of this gesture. It is possible that this gesture became synonymous with those able to travel between realms, such as Hermes²⁵⁴, rather than those whom he transported between them. It is also possible that depictions of Hades and Persephone performing this gesture do not survive to us either at all in or in complete forms, such as the stone relief²⁵⁵ from Eleusis, where damage to the relief may affect our reception of its meaning.

Hades and Persephone's iconography consistently holds duality in its nature, frequently depicting both elements of death and fertility, life and death²⁵⁶. The pomegranate becomes synonymous with the divine pairing appearing alongside depictions of them Locri²⁵⁷ and beyond²⁵⁸. The pomegranate is associated with the fertility of the land, but also of a woman's womb²⁵⁹. Interpretations of its meanings often link it to fertility first, and to death second²⁶⁰. The pomegranate itself is the cementation of the sexual union between Hades and Persephone, but also of the death of Persephone's bond with her mother Demeter²⁶¹. It is odd then, that we see the fruit being eaten within rites of Eleusis²⁶². The narcissus flower was

²⁵² Rehm. 1994. 35.

²⁵³ Fig 6.

²⁵⁴ Rudhardt. 1994. 203.

²⁵⁵ Fig 10.

²⁵⁶ Fertility: (Lincoln. 1979. 234) Death: (Foley. 1994. 131).

²⁵⁷ Sourvinou-Inwood. 1978. 107.

²⁵⁸ Burton. 2011. 2.

²⁵⁹ Lincoln. 1979. 234.

²⁶⁰ Foley. 1994. 109.

²⁶¹ Spitz. 1990. 412, 414.

²⁶² Håland. 515. Håland mentions the mysteries rites of the Thesmophoria and how they ate pomegranate seeds, but if one was dropped, it "*belonged to the dead*".

banned at the Thesmophoria, due to its links to Persephone's abduction and the offense it caused Demeter²⁶³. What causes the pomegranate to be exempt from this rule, for it surely held more taboo as the fruit that stole her daughter away from her²⁶⁴. Scholarship offers no explanation on this, and this study lacks the ability to consider this further, but the pomegranate's symbolism at Eleusis should be considered more than it is currently.

Demophon's connection to death in the hymn is far different to that of Hades. Where Hades represents the death and rebirth within marriage, Demophon offers insight into male perception of death and rebirth at Eleusis²⁶⁵. Katz uses the psychodynamic approach to explain Demophon's role in the hymn as the stimulus for Demeter's acceptance of masculine influences and that it would teach women listening and enacting the hymn about the consequences of defying masculine influences²⁶⁶. This argument is a highly reductive understanding of the episode, as it fails to account for male understanding of the hymn, as we know there were male initiates within the Eleusinian mysteries²⁶⁷. Demophon's young age and vulnerability allows initiates of Eleusis, from all genders, to associate with the transitional phase of death and rebirth²⁶⁸, but as the only male who directly interacts with Demeter²⁶⁹, Demophon is uniquely placed to help scholars understand how male initiates would have understood their relation to their patron goddess. Whilst female initiates could relate to the transitional phases Persephone goes through, specifically the movement from

²⁶³ Foley. 1994. 34.

²⁶⁴ HHD. 410-5.

²⁶⁵ Lincoln 1979. 226.

²⁶⁶ Katz. 1994. 230-1.

²⁶⁷ Mikalson. 2010. 83.

²⁶⁸ Morford & Lenardon. 2014. 338.

²⁶⁹ Hades remains in the underworld after the initial abduction(HHD 360-70), and Zeus only sends messengers (HHD. 40, 314, 335, 441).

childhood to adulthood²⁷⁰, Demophon seemingly goes through no such transitional phase, remaining a child and gaining no secret knowledge through his nursing by Demeter²⁷¹. However, Demophon is the first to receive Demeter's honours related to the underworld²⁷², and his major transitional phase is the withdrawal of his divine caregiver and the loss of immortality²⁷³. Demophon and Persephone both being attached to the word '*thalos*' emphasizes their similar meanings to a multi gendered audience²⁷⁴. Male initiates may have assimilated the grief of Demophon's loss, as women within the Mysteries assimilated Demeter's mourning for her daughter Persephone²⁷⁵. Males may have also participated in some ritual related to Demophon's divine honours of the afterlife, but due to the secrecy of the Mysteries there is no way to confirm this. However it is likely that Demophon was closely tied to the dispensing of Demeter's secret knowledge as we see in later versions of the myth Demophon becomes brother of Triptolomus, traditionally considered to be the man who received Demeter's wisdom of Agriculture, and taught it to those within Eleusis and the wider world²⁷⁶

²⁷⁰ Katz. 1994. 220.

²⁷¹ HHD. 250-5

²⁷² HHD. 260-65.

²⁷³ HHD. 290-5; Chaddie (2012) discusses how the ambrosia Demeter feeds to Celeus literally translates to 'immortal', indicating that this consumption may be tied into initiates rites.

²⁷⁴ HHD. 187, 263.

²⁷⁵ Morford & Lenardon. 2010. 341; Lefkowitz. 1986. 49.

²⁷⁶ Morford & Lenardon. 2010. 340.

Conclusion

This dissertation has shown that the gender dynamics within the Homeric hymn to Demeter are complex and face multiple issues. By separating out the myths core themes into birth marriage and death, this study has been able to analyse each component of the hymn in detail, without experiencing the downfalls of structuralism. Structuralism is beneficial for the analysis of myths as it allows it to be broken down into its composite parts, so as to analyse the wider place of the work within its own society²⁷⁷. This is done to attempt to understand the myth from its original context, often thorough anthropological comparison to other similar cultures and societies²⁷⁸. By keeping the themes to concepts experienced by most cultures, particularly by choosing those with biological connotations such as birth and death, this study has overcome issues surrounding subjective understanding of religious works.

That is not to say this dissertation did not have issues when applying theories, the Homeric hymn to Demeter, nor that structuralism is the best way to analyse concepts of gender dynamics. These issues are clear in both the chapters dedicated to women and men. The chapter on women experiences fewer issues, with women being the primary focus of much of scholarship, due to the rise of feminist scholarship²⁷⁹, however is still problematised with issues of separating male and female experiences. By separating the transitional phases by gender, it makes discussion including both genders hard to place within a cohesive argument. Aspects of Hekate's and Helios' roles as a reflection of a combined community²⁸⁰ are difficult to discuss when the separate gendered understanding are interwoven within the

²⁷⁷ Walter.1996. 299.

²⁷⁸ Willis. 1996. 315.

²⁷⁹ Foley et al. 1994; Suter. 2002; Lefkowitz 1986; Patterson 1998; Pomeroy. 1998.

²⁸⁰ Foley. 1994. 38. HHD. 74-87.

argument. This issue also presents in arguments surrounding marriage, where aspects of consent and pre- and post- nuptial rituals are highly important to both genders, but as a combined element²⁸¹. Death as a transitional phase appears to be less encumbered by these issues, but this is mainly due to the lack of emotional evidence we have on this subject, instead looking primary at iconographical evidence, such as grave markers, for evidence of gender differences and dynamics²⁸².

Whilst Katz's quote pertaining to the division of genders in the ancient world²⁸³ does have validity there is much of the hymn that remains unexplored by scholarship due to its inability to be easily split between the genders. Feminist scholarship prides itself on its ability to smash traditional disciplinary boundaries and concepts in order to establish new viewpoints of understanding for all kinds of ancient evidence²⁸⁴. However, it is still very narrow minded in its analysis of its of ancient evidence, especially literary works such as the hymn. It is clear that classics as a discipline is biased towards males²⁸⁵, so feminist and gender theory appear more rooted in the feminist movement, rather than the understanding of ancient evidence. This is not to say that the theories can't be useful, pertinent or even able to uncover new concepts of the ancient world, it is just that its implementation should come with the critical analysis of its intent and purpose²⁸⁶

²⁸¹ Dillon (1999. 73.) discusses how brides and grooms would sacrifice to the same deities and perform similar rituals despite gender differences.

²⁸² Weller. 1970. 222; Rehm. 1994. 32.

²⁸³ Katz. 1994. 214.

²⁸⁴ Gold. 1997. 330.

²⁸⁵ Bryce. 2001. 327.

²⁸⁶ Gold. 1997. 331.

The hymn itself is diffidently attached to concepts of birth marriage and death. Its links to Eleusinian mysteries proves that these transitional phases were understood both physically and emotionally as the transitional phases were worked into cultic activity based on the hymn²⁸⁷. All three phases were celebrated at the Thesmophoria celebrations, marriage was tied in through the collection of flowers by girls on the cusp of puberty²⁸⁸. Themes of sexual maturity were tied into this by sexual education performed in secret by women²⁸⁹. These secret rites were also tied to death through women's emulation of Demeter's mourning, done in order to bring about the rebirth of the land in their reunion²⁹⁰. Foley argues that this ritual, amongst others, adds a cyclical nature to the Homeric hymn to Demeter²⁹¹.

In conclusion, this study the gender dynamics of the Homeric hymn to Demeter are mainly concerned with the harmonies reached between male and female in order that achieve the permeant cycles of birth marriage and death. The coalition of genders must happen on both a mundane and cosmological level in order to achieve a harmonious cycle. The hymn teaches all audiences, regardless of gender or inclusion in the mysteries about why social and gender dynamics exist and how to navigate them to achieve prosperity

²⁸⁷ Morford & Lenardon. 2010. 341.

²⁸⁸ Foley. 1994. 34.

²⁸⁹ Foley. 1994. 137; Lincoln. 1979. 231.

²⁹⁰ Katz. 1994. 228.

²⁹¹ Foley. 1994. 132-3.

Bibliography

Ancient sources

Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, H. W. Smyth (trans) (1926) London, William Heinemann, Ltd. Found at: Perseus.tufts.edu

Euripides. *Alcestis*, D Kovacs. (trans) (1994) Cambridge. Harvard University Press. Found at: Perseus.tufts.edu

Hesiod *Theogony* ; [and], *Works and days*. Dorothea Wender (trans) (1973) London, Penguin group Ltd.

Homer. *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. Foley. H.P. (trans) (1994). Princeton University Press

Homer. *The Homeric Hymns*. Hugh G. Evelyn-White, (trans) (1904). Found at: <https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/>

Homer. *The Iliad*. M. Hammond, (trans) (1987). London, Penguin group, Ltd.

Homer. *The Odyssey*. A.T. Murray, (trans) (1919). London, William Heinemann, Ltd. Found at: Perseus.tufts.edu

Plato, *Cratylus* H. N. Fowler. (trans) (1921) London, William Heinemann Ltd. Found at: Perseus.tufts.edu

Plutarch, *Lycugus*. Perrin. B. (trans) (1914) Cambridge,. Harvard University Press. London. William Heinemann Ltd. Found at: Perseus.tufts.edu

Sappho, *Poems of Sappho*, Dubnoff. J. (trans) (2010). Found at <https://www.uh.edu/~cldue/texts/sappho.html>

Modern Sources

Albinus, L. (2000). *The house of Hades*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.

Beck, D. (2001). Direct and Indirect Speech in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter. *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 131(1), pp.53–74.

Belsey, C. (2002). *Poststructuralism : a very short introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Boardman, J. (1995). *Greek sculpture - the late classical period and sculptures in colonies and overseas*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Bryce, J. (2001). Teaching the Classics. *The Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Inc. (CAMWS)*, 96(3).

Burton, D. (2011). *HADES: CORNUCOPIAE, FERTILITY AND DEATH*. Australasian Society for Classical Studies 32 PROCEEDINGS.

Chaddie, K. (2012). Winning Mount Olympus. *Calliope*, [online] 23(3), pp.2-7. Available at: <http://connection.ebscohost.com/c/articles/82942540/winning-mount-olympus> [Accessed 26 Sep. 2019].

Cosmopoulos, M.B. (2015). *Bronze Age Eleusis and the Origins of the Eleusinian Mysteries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Dillon, M.P.J. (1999). Post-Nuptial Sacrifices on Kos (Segre, "ED" 178) and Ancient Greek Marriage Rites. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 124(1).
- Dobson, M. (1992). Ritual Death, Patriarchal Violence, and Female Relationships in the Hymns to Demeter and Inanna. *NWSA Journal*, 4(1).
- Dowden, K. (2004) *The Epic Tradition in Greece*. In Fowler, R. L. : *The Cambridge Companion to Homer*. U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Edmonds III, R. (2004). *Myths of the Underworld Journey: Plato, Aristophanes, and the 'Orphic' Gold Tablets*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Edmunds, L. (2014). *Approaches to Greek myth*. 2nd ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Edwards, C.M. (1986). The Running Maiden from Eleusis and the Early Classical Image of Hekate. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 90(3), p.307.
- Else, G. (1977). Ritual and Drama in Aischyleian Tragedy. *Illinois Classical Studies*, 2(1).
- Evans, N. (2010). Civic Worship, Women's Rites, and the Eleusinian Mysteries. In: *Civic Rites: Democracy and Religion in Ancient Athens*. University of California Press.
- Faulkner, A. (2011). *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Felson-Rubin, N. and Deal, H.M. (1994). SOME FUNCTIONS OF THE DEMOPHOÖN EPISODE IN THE HOMERIC HYMN TO DEMETER. In: *The Homeric "Hymn to Demeter."* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Figueira, Thomas J. *Gynococracy : how women policed masculine behaviour in archaic and classical Sparta*. in Christensen, Hodkinson, Powell, Christesen, Paul, Hodkinson, Stephen, Powell, Anton, & Celtic Conference in Classics. (2010). *Sparta : The body politic*. Swansea : Oakville, CT: Classical Press of Wales
- Foley, H. P. (1994) *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. Princeton, Princeton university Press.
- Foxhall, L. and Salmon, J. (2013). *When Men Were Men: Masculinity, Power and Identity in Classical Antiquity*. London: Routledge.
- Freidman, A.W. (1982). Narrative is to Death as Death is to the Dying: Funerals and Stories. *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal*, 15(1).
- Gold, B.K. (1997). Feminism and Classics: Framing the Research Agenda. *American Journal of Philology*, 118(2), pp.328–332.
- Golden, M. (2010). Gender. In: E. Bispham, T. Harrison and B.A. Sparkes, eds., *The Edinburgh Companion to Ancient Greece and Rome*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Hahnemann, C. (2019) *Feminist at Second Glance? Alice Oswald's Memorial as a Response to Homers Iliad*. In Cox, F. & Theodorakopoulos, E. *Homer's Daughters: Women's Responses to Homer in the Twentieth Century and Beyond*. Oxford university Press.
- Håland, E.J. (2014). *Rituals of Death and Dying in Modern and Ancient Greece: Writing History from a Female Perspective*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

- Jenkins, I. (1983). IS THERE LIFE AFTER MARRIAGE? A STUDY OF THE ABDUCTION MOTIF IN VASE PAINTINGS OF THE ATHENIAN WEDDING CEREMONY. *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 30(1), pp.137–145.
- Katz, M.A. (1994). POLITICS AND POMEGRANATES REVISITED: AN INTERPRETATION OF THE HOMERIC HYMN TO DEMETER. In: *The Homeric “Hymn to Demeter”*. By Foley. H.P. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Kraemer, R.S. (1988). *Maenads, Martyrs, Matrons, Monasteries : A Sourcebook on Women’s Religions in the Greco-Roman world*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Kurtz, D.C. and Boardman, J. (1971). *Greek burial customs*. London: The Camelot Press Ltd.
- Lefkowitz. M. R. (1986). *Women in Greek Myth*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University press.
- Lincoln, B. (1979). The Rape of Persephone: A Greek Scenario of Women’s Initiation. *Harvard Theological Review*, [online] 72(3–4), pp.223–235. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1509722> [Accessed 8 May 2020].
- Lloyd-Jones, H. (2001). Ancient Greek Religion. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 145(4).
- Lord, L. (1994). WITHDRAWAL AND RETURN: AN EPIC STORY PATTERN IN THE HOMERIC HYMN TO DEMETER AND IN THE HOMERIC POEMS. In: *The Homeric “Hymn to Demeter”: Translation, Commentary, and Interpretive Essays*. Princeton University Press.
- Lyons. D.(1997) *Gender and Immortality: Heroines in ancient Greek Myth and Cult*. Princeton, Princeton university press
- Mikalson, J.D. (2010). Ancient Greek religion. Chichester, West Sussex, U.K. ; Malden, Ma: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Morford, M.P.O., Lenardon, R.J. and Sham, M. (2014). *Classical mythology*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Morris. I.(1987) *Burial and Ancient society: the rise of the City-State*, Cambridge, Cambridge university press,
- Nortwick, T.V. (2008). *Imagining Men: Ideals of Masculinity in Ancient Greek Culture*. ABC-CLIO.
- Parker, R. (1991). The Hymn to Demeter and the Homeric Hymns. *Greece and Rome*, [online] 38(1), pp.1–17. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/643104>.
- Patterson, C.B. (1998). *The Family In Greek History*. London: Harvard University Press.
- Penrose. Jr, W.D. (2020). Gender Diversity in Classical Greek Thought. In: J. Dyer and A. Surtees, eds., *Exploring Gender Diversity in the Ancient World*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Pomeroy, S.B. (1998). *Families in classical and Hellenistic Greece : representations and realities*. oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Porter, J. (2004). *Homer: the history of an idea*. In Fowler. R. L. : *The Cambridge Companion to Homer*. U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Pratt, L.H. (2000). The Old Women of Ancient Greece and the Homeric Hymn to Demeter. *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 130(1), pp.41–65.
- Price, T.H. (1978). *Kourotrophos: Cults and Representations of the Greek Nursing Deities*. 8th ed. Leiden: Brill.
- Rawson, B. (2010). *A companion to families in the Greek and Roman worlds*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Rehm, R. (1994). WEDDINGS AND FUNERALS: THE VISUAL RECORD. In: *Marriage to Death: The Conflation of Wedding and Funeral Rituals in Greek Tragedy*. Princeton University Press.
- Richardson, M. (1974). *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Richardson. N. (2011). *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter. Some Central Questions Revisited*. In, Faulkner, A. *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rose, H. (1925). The Bride of Hades. *Classical Philology*, 20(3), pp.238-242.
- Rudhardt, J. (1994). *CONCERNING THE HOMERIC HYMN TO DEMETER*. In Foley. H.P: *The Homeric "Hymn to Demeter."* Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Segal, R.A. (1996). *Structuralism in Myth: Lévi-Strauss, Barthes, Dumézil, and Propp*. Taylor & Francis.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. (1978). Persephone and Aphrodite at Locri: a model for personality definitions in Greek religion. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 98, pp.101-121
- Spivey, N. (2006). *Etruscan art*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Suter, A. (2002). *The Narcissus and the pomegranate: An Archaeology of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Walter. K. R (1996) *Another Showdown at the Cleft Way: An-Inquiry into Classicists' Criticism of Levi-Strauss' Myth Analysis*. In, Segal, R.A. *Structuralism in Myth: Lévi-Strauss, Barthes, Dumézil, and Propp*. Taylor & Francis.
- Weller, M.E. (1970). The Procession on the Sarcophagus of the Mourning Women. *California Studies in Classical Antiquity*, 3, pp.219–227.
- Willis. R. G. (1996) *The Head and the Loins. Levi Strauss and Beyond*. In, Segal, R.A. *Structuralism in Myth: Lévi-Strauss, Barthes, Dumézil, and Propp*. Taylor & Francis.
- Woodford, S. (1982). *The Cambridge introduction to art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Websites

British Museum (2020). *British Museum Collection*. [online] The British Museum. Available at: <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>.

The Met (2019). *The Met Collection*. [online] Metmuseum.org. Available at: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection>.

Figures

Figure 1: Marble statues of Demeter (left) and Persephone (right) from the eastern Parthenon pediment. Attributed to the sculptor Phidias. ca. 438-42 BC. Found at: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1816-0610-94

Figure 2: Terracotta bell-krater depicting Persephone's ascension from Hades. Attributed to the Persephone Painter. Ca. 440 BC. Found at <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/252973>

Figures 3 & 4 Terracotta hydria depicting the abduction of Persephone, surrounded by gods, 340–330 B.C. Found at: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/247597>

Figure 5 Terracotta pomegranate, from Greece, ca. 5th - 4th BC. Found at: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/251537>

Figure 6. Pinax from Locri depicted Hades and Persephone enthroned, ca. 5th Century BC. Found at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pinax_con_Ade_e_Persefone,_da_Locri_-_MARC.jpg

Figure 7, Kylix interior, Attributed to Kodros Painter, ca. 430 BC. Found at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kodros_Painter_ARV_1269_3_Hades_and_Persephone_at_symposion_-_gods_at_symposion.jpg

Figure 8, Kylix exterior, attributed to Kodros Painter, ca. 430 BC. Found at: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1847-0909-6

Figure 9 Fragment of a limestone relief of Hades and Persephone. South Italy, Tarentum. 4th-3rd BC. Found at <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/256252>

Figure 10 Stone relief of Hades and Persephone from Eleusis, ca. 2nd BC. Found at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Large_relief,_marble,_torso,_Hades_and_Persephone,_100-90_BC,_AM_Eleusis,_081149.jpg