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Cakes in the Liknon: Votives from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth

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Source: *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Vol. 66, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1997), pp. 147-172

Published by: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/148477>

Accessed: 26-06-2016 20:45 UTC

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# CAKES IN THE LIKNON

## VOTIVES FROM THE SANCTUARY OF DEMETER AND KORE

### ON ACROCORINTH

(PLATES 46–52)

EXCAVATIONS at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth have brought to light numerous miniature clay λίκνα, or winnowing baskets, filled with cakes: votive offerings for the two goddesses who first revealed to man the secrets of cultivating δημητριακά, or cereals.<sup>1</sup> Votive likna were dedicated in the Sanctuary from the early 6th century B.C., if not earlier, until the 2nd century B.C. It is almost impossible to refine the chronological limits, as there are so few stratified or closed deposits. These votives are most heavily concentrated in the 6th and 5th centuries. Of the 588 fragments found, the greatest number, approximately 365, were found on the Middle Terrace, where sacrifice was performed and offerings probably presented. A smaller number, 212, were recovered from the Lower Terrace, the area set aside for dining. Here the greatest concentrations were found in construction packings beneath the earliest dining buildings. On the Upper Terrace, where an initiation of some sort was undoubtedly held in the small theater, only three likna were found. In all areas they appear in secondary fills, brought in to cover buildings, raise floor levels, or form packing for couches. None was found in a primary place of deposition. While it is logical to expect that they were offered on the Middle Terrace, together with the other votives, this cannot be proved.<sup>2</sup>

Although all the likna were found in layers of dumped fill, discarded in periodic cleanings of the Sanctuary, some come from contexts that can be fairly closely dated. Such contexts allow the assignment of approximate dates for some of the likna in the catalogue, and identifications of the objects they contain illuminate, in turn, the nature of the ritual in which they played a part. Finally, the likna from the Sanctuary have more than a strictly local significance. Constituting the largest number of such objects excavated

<sup>1</sup> This publication of the terracotta likna from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth focuses on the identification of the objects represented in the likna. Full discussion of the significance of the likna in the cult practices at this Sanctuary will be presented in a later fascicle of *Corinth*, XVIII, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore*.

I am very grateful to Nancy Bookidis, Ronald Stroud, and Charles Williams for the opportunity to study and permission to publish these objects, for their hospitality at Corinth, and for helpful suggestions with earlier drafts of this paper.

Plate 52:a (Alison Frantz Papers. Manuscript Division. Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. Princeton University Library) was photographed by Alison Frantz and published in *This is Greece*, New York 1941, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> For the plan of the Sanctuary see Bookidis and Fisher 1974, pp. 268–269, fig. 1. The topography and architecture of the sanctuary will be fully described in *Corinth* XVIII, iii. See Stroud 1965, pp. 1–24; Stroud 1968, pp. 299–330; Bookidis 1969, pp. 297–310; Bookidis and Fisher 1972, pp. 283–317; and Bookidis and Fisher 1974, pp. 267–291.

anywhere in the Greek world, these likna provide valuable comparative evidence for this aspect of the worship of Demeter elsewhere.

The actual liknon, or winnowing fan, represented by the terracotta votives was a scooplke basket with a flat bottom, sloping sides, and an open end, usually with two handles. It was used to separate the grain from the chaff after threshing. The long-handled winnowing fork or shovel (πτύον, θρῖναξ) was used first to throw the grain and chaff into the wind, which blew away the lighter husks and left the heavier kernels to fall to the threshing floor. The liknon performed a more thorough cleaning, which was probably done by seated women. The liknon was rotated and shaken in both hands until the lighter chaff rose to the top and spilled out the open end.<sup>3</sup>

Essentially a two-handled basket, the liknon could be used to carry anything, hence its secondary function as a cradle. The divine infant in the liknon was a potent symbol of the renewal of life that agriculture made possible. Zeus and Hermes slept in likna as babies, as did Dionysos, whose awakening in his liknon by the Thyiads was celebrated in ritual at Delphi.<sup>4</sup>

The liknophoria, or carrying of the liknon in procession, was a common element of τελεταί and is particularly associated with the mysteries of Demeter.<sup>5</sup> Athenaios tells us that he who carries the kernos (a dish with many small cups attached inside, used in Eleusinian ritual) tastes what is in it, just as the liknophoros does. He does not say what was in the liknon, but he does give a list of the foods that were customarily carried in the kernos: “sage, white poppy seeds, wheat, barley, peas, pulses, okra, lentils, beans, emmer wheat, oats, fruitcake, honey, olive oil, wine, milk, and unwashed sheep’s wool.”<sup>6</sup> The close connection of liknon and kernos attested in the literature is vividly reflected in the discovery of large numbers of kernos-type likna in the Sanctuary, of which catalogue nos. **85–90** are examples (Pl. 52).

In Hellenistic times the liknon is associated with the mysteries of Dionysos, where it appears filled with the fruits of the earth and a phallus.<sup>7</sup> The liknon is also closely associated with Demeter, as we see on the Lovatelli urn, where it is held over the head

<sup>3</sup> The basic discussion of the liknon is still Harrison 1903, pp. 292–324, but for a more recent discussion of the liknon in ritual, see Berard 1976, pp. 101–104.

<sup>4</sup> Kallimachos, *Jov.* 48, *h. Merc.* 150; Plutarch, *de Isid. et Osir.* 378f.

<sup>5</sup> *Suda*, Harpokration, *s.v.* λικνοφόρος: τὸ λικνον πρὸς πᾶσαν τελετὴν καὶ θυσίαν ἐπιτηδεῖόν ἐστι. Bekker, *Anecd. Graec.* I, p. 277: λικνοφόρος· ὁ φέρων τὸ λικνον. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο μυστικὸν τῆς Δημητρίου τροφῆς σημεῖον . . . ἔστι δὲ ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ λικνωπλακοῦς καὶ ἄλας. Kallimachos, *Cer.* 127: ὡς δ’ αἱ λικνοφόροι χρυσῷ πλέα λικνα φέροντι, ὡς ἀμὲς τὸν χρυσὸν ἀφειδέα πασεύμεθα. The likna are said to be full of gold; perhaps this is a metaphor for the wealth of agricultural produce.

<sup>6</sup> Athenaios 478d: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν τελετὴν ποιεῖ καὶ αἰρεῖ τὰ ἐκ τῆς θαλάμης καὶ νέμει ὅσοι ἂν ὦσι τὸ κέρνος περιενηνοχότες. τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶν ἀγγεῖον κεραμεοῦν ἔχον ἐν αὐτῷ πολλοὺς κοτυλισκοὺς κεκολλημένους. ἔνεισι δ’ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὄρμιοι, μήκωνες λευκοί, πυροί, κριθαί, πισοί, λάθυροι, ὄχροι, φακοί, κύαμοι, ζεαί, βρόμος, παλάθιον, μέλι, ἔλαιον, οἶνος, γάλα, ὄιον ἔριον ἄπλυτον. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο βαστάσας οἶον λικνοφορήσας τούτων γεύεται.

<sup>7</sup> Nilsson 1957, pp. 30–35. Stroud has suggested that Dionysos was worshipped with Demeter at Acrocorinth and that he might have played a part in the mysteries that were probably performed in the theatral area of the Sanctuary: Stroud 1968, p. 326, note 31, and p. 329.

of the veiled initiate during the preliminary initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries.<sup>8</sup> The basket that cleans the grain of chaff can also be used in a mystical purification. Its association with the newborn as well as with man's daily bread made the liknon a common symbol of fertility.

The likna from the Sanctuary range in size from the smallest, only 0.022 m in length (C-62-315), to the largest, 0.132 m (**30**). Most of the likna are made of clay to which a moderate to dense amount of black mudstone inclusions have been added. The fired color of the clay ranges from buff or pale brown (10YR 7/4 [**1**] on the Munsell Soil Color Chart) to a bright pink (7.5YR 7/6 [**24**]), a few being either slightly paler or redder. All are of local Corinthian manufacture, and most of the likna are handmade. A smaller group is modeled from very fine clay (**28**, **31**, **36–38**, **56**, **57**, **59**, **60**, **71–75**, **78**, **79**, **83**, **87**, **90**, **92**, **93**); in addition, these pieces are generally thin, and a few (**57**, **60**, **79**, **83**, **87**, **90**) are wheelmade. The finer types are probably no earlier than the 5th century B.C. and become common in the 4th century B.C. and later. **1**, the earliest by context, is an exception; it is modeled from very fine clay, but this differs from those cited above in being of a much thicker fabric. The exposed surfaces of the coarser trays often appear to have been wiped with a sponge or cloth to produce a smoother surface, while the flat undersides are usually left rougher. In a very few examples, such as **31** and **75**, a dull black or dilute black glaze is used to simulate the appearance of basketry.

Many likna had handles or holes pierced in their sides by which they could have been hung, just as today votive plaques, or *τάμες*, are tied by a string onto the iconostaseis of Greek churches. The flat bottoms of the likna may have made them easy to store stacked on shelves. In an interesting parallel to the kernos, many of these likna have smaller likna or other dishes inside them. Some of the likna are empty, such as **31**, and may have held perishable offerings, and some, such as **30**, are large enough to have been filled with the appropriate contents and used in the ritual. Most of them, however, are stuffed with a variety of identifiable cakes molded in clay.

The cakes can be divided into roughly seven types. The first, a small flattened disk of clay, is the commonest shape, sometimes lining the lip of the liknon so that one cannot be sure if it is a cake or a decorative knob (e.g., **14** and **21** [Pls. 46, 47]; decorative knobs: **1**, **38** [Pls. 46, 48]). These are the smallest of all the cakes, and they can perhaps be identified with the *κόλλαβος* or *κόλλυβον*, a small wheaten cake whose name derives from its resemblance to the small coin *κόλλυβος*.<sup>9</sup> *Kollyba* were used in the ritual welcome of a new family member or a slave, who was showered with *τραγήματα*, “nibbles”, such as

<sup>8</sup> This marble urn of the 1st century after Christ is discussed in Deubner 1932, pp. 77–78, pl. 7:2; Burkert 1987, pp. 94–95; Kerényi 1967, p. 56; and Nilsson 1957, p. 36.

<sup>9</sup> Hesychios, *s.v.* *κόλλυβα*: *τρογάλια* (ἔψητος σίτος). Athenaios 112f describes the *kollabos* as the same as the *kollikion*, a diminutive Thessalian roll: τῶν δὲ κολλικίων ἄρτων—οἱ αὐτοὶ δ' εἰσι τοῖς κολλάβοις. Cf. Aristophanes, *Ra.* 507, *Pax* 1196, 1200; LSJ, *s.v.* *κόλλαβος*, ὁ and *κόλλυβον*, τό. Cf. the modern Greek *κόλλυβα*, a mixture of boiled grains and nuts distributed at funerals: Provatakis 1990, p. 57; Tsambounara 1987, *s.v.* *κόλλυβα*, p. 1534.

dates, kollyba, figs, and nuts.<sup>10</sup> Kollyba were offered in sacrifices to Zeus, to the foreign god Men, and to Damia and Auxesia, goddesses usually identified with Demeter and Kore.<sup>11</sup>

The second type, also appearing frequently, is a larger, round, flat cake with one central knob (e.g., **9, 10, 20, 36, 49, 55, 64** [Pls. 46–50]). The flat cake may be identified with the *πόπανον*, which is described as flat, light, and round.<sup>12</sup> The flat cake with one central knob may be the *πόπανον μονόμφαλον*, which is offered to Artemis, Leto, Herakles, Kourotrophos, and Hermes.<sup>13</sup> The *πόπανον*, from *πέπτω*, bake, was an essential part of sacrificial ritual, often part of the *προθύματα*, or preliminary sacrifices, and frequently associated with the two goddesses.<sup>14</sup> Its size is often mandated in *leges sacrae*; it must be made from a full *choinix* (four cups, or one pound) of flour: *πόπανον χοινικιαῖον*, perhaps a term analogous to our “pound cake”; the sacrificial rubrics may demand a cake made from two *choinikes*, or two pounds, of flour.<sup>15</sup> A *popanon* offered to Zeus the Farmer, the Winds, and Herakles is described as *ὀρθόνφαλον*, having an upright or protruding knob; perhaps it is the same as the *ὀρθοστάτης*, a sacrificial cake whose ingredients are unknown.<sup>16</sup> A possible representation of a *πόπανον ὀρθόνφαλον* has been identified among the terracotta figurines from the Athenian Agora, perhaps from the Athenian Eleusinion. A woman’s head supports what looks like a large cake whose outer folds are drawn inward to where

<sup>10</sup> Schol. Aristophanes, *Pl.* 768: τραγήματα . . . ἀπὸ φοινίκων, κολλύβων, τρωγαλίων καὶ ἰσχάδων καὶ καρύων . . .

<sup>11</sup> Sokolowski 1969, no. 55, line 24 (2nd century after Christ, inscription from Sounion relating to the Asiatic cult of Men Tyrannos): κολλύβων χοίνικες δύο (kollyba made from two pounds of flour); no. 62, line 11 (1st century after Christ, inscription from Sparta in the cult of Zeus Taletites, Damia, and Auxesia): κόλλυ]βα. Damia and Auxesia are known from Troizen and Epidaurus: Schol. Aristeides 3, p. 598 (Dindorf); Herodotos 5.82–83; Pausanias 2.32.2; *IG* IV<sup>2</sup> i 386. For a discussion of cakes in epigraphical sources see Kearns 1994.

<sup>12</sup> Photios, *s.v.* πόπανα· πλακοῦντια πλατέα λεπτά καὶ περιφερῆ . . .

<sup>13</sup> Sokolowski 1969, no. 23 (4th century B.C., inscription from Piraeus relating to the cult of Artemis): Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀκολούθοι μονόμφαλα III [Λετ]οῖ· μονό[μφα]λα· III; no. 24 (3rd–2nd century B.C., Athenian cult inscription): Ἡρακλέως θύειν τρία μονόμφαλα; Sokolowski 1962, no. 80, line 4 (undated cult calendar from Samos): Κουροτ[ρόφωι καὶ] Ἐρμῆι· πόπα[να] μονόμφαλ[α III].

<sup>14</sup> Aristophanes, *Pl.* 660: ἐπεὶ δὲ βωμῶ πόπανα καὶ προθύματα καθωσιώθη; *Th.* 285: τὸ πόπανον, ὡς λαβοῦσα θύσω ταῖν θεαῖν . . . Sokolowski 1969, no. 21 A, lines 2–6 (4th century B.C., inscription from Piraeus concerning the cult of Asklepios): κατὰ τάδε προθύεσθαι· Μαλεάτηι πόπανα τρία· Ἀπόλλωνι πόπανα τρία· Ἐρμῆι πόπανα τρία . . .

An unpublished inscription from the Athenian Agora mentions πόπανα μακρὰ στρογγύλατα (J. Camp, personal communication).

<sup>15</sup> Sokolowski 1969, no. 52, lines 1–3 (1st century after Christ, Athenian cult calendar): θεαῖς . . . τῆς Παντελείας πόπανον [δωδεκόν]φαλον χοινικιαῖον . . . Athenaios (647a) identifies the Panteleia as a part of the Syracusan Thesmophoria; *aidoia*, cakes in the form of the female genitals, were carried in procession in honor of Demeter and Kore. Sokolowski 1969, no. 169 B I, lines 9–10 (3rd century B.C., cult calendar from Kos): πόπα]γον ἐγ δύο [χοινίκων].

<sup>16</sup> Sokolowski 1969, no. 52 (1st century after Christ, cult calendar from Athens), lines 12–13: Διὶ Γεωργῶ κ' πόπανον χοινικιαῖον ὀρθόνφαλον; lines 19–20: Ἀνέμοις πόπανον χοινικιαῖον ὀρθόνφαλον; lines 26–28: Ἡρακλεῖ . . . πόπανα χοίνικος δωδεκόμεφαλα ὀρθόνφαλ[α]. Porphyrios, *de Abst.* 2.7 (discussing bloodless sacrifices): δρωμένη πομπῇ Ἡλίου τε καὶ Ὠρῶν πομπεύει . . . ὀρθοστάτης. Pollux 6.74: ὀρθοστάτης· ἱεροῦ ἄρτου τι εἶδος. Hesychios, *s.v.* ὀρθοστάτης· εἶδος πέμματος.

a large central protrusion has broken off.<sup>17</sup> The *πόπανον καθήμενον*, a flattened cake, is offered to Poseidon and to Kronos.<sup>18</sup>

The third type is the flat cake with more than one knob. The number of knobs on the cakes is usually five, arranged with one in the center and four evenly distributed around the perimeter, frequently with two strips of dough bisecting the cake and connecting the knobs to each other; in appearance the cake is not unlike a “hot cross bun”. The several types can be illustrated from the Catalogue: cake with four knobs: **5** (Pl. 46); five knobs: **7, 60, 72, 78** (Pls. 46, 50, 51); seven or eight knobs: **29** (Pl. 47); five knobs connected by two strips of dough: **8, 25, 27, 28, 38, 50** (Pls. 46–48, 50). A modern example of a similar cake is illustrated in Pl. 52:a. These multiknobbed cakes were called *πόπανα πολυόμφαλα* by Clement of Alexandria, who “strips bare the contents of the mystic chests of the Mysteries . . . of Dionysus Bassareus . . . and Ge Themis” to reveal their contents as nothing more than various cakes, lumps of salt, and a snake.<sup>19</sup> Sacrificial knobbed cakes can also be called *όμφαλωτὰ πόπανα*.<sup>20</sup> Twelve-knobbed cakes do not appear in the *likna*, although in an Athenian cult calendar *πόπανα δωδεκόνφαλα* are offered to the two goddesses, Apollo, Artemis, Zeus the Farmer, Poseidon, the Winds, Kronos, and Herakles.<sup>21</sup>

The fourth type is a thick single-knobbed cake. Although not numerous in the *likna*, this type is easily identified from its distinctive appearance, with deep scoring or ribbing on sides and top meeting under the large central knob (e.g., **10, 68, 73, 91** [Pls. 46, 51, 52]). This type is to be identified with the *πλακοῦς*, a cake whose external appearance is compared by ancient authors to the seed pod of the domesticated mallow, which also had a ribbed structure and a central knob on top.<sup>22</sup> A recent discussion of the etymology, appearance, and ingredients of the *plakous* argues that it was not a flat cake, even though it has often been so translated.<sup>23</sup> The *plakous* was a light, flaky cake, an irresistible postprandial delight, according to Athenaios: “. . . when I saw the golden,

<sup>17</sup> D. B. Thompson 1954, pp. 94, 105 and pl. 20:8.

<sup>18</sup> Sokolowski 1969, no. 52 (1st century after Christ, cult calendar from Athens), lines 9–10: Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι ζ' π[ό]πανον χοινικιαῖον ὀρθόνφαλον καὶ καθήμε[ον] δωδεκόνφαλον; lines 16–17: πόπανον χοινικιαῖον δωδεκόνφαλον καθήμε[νον] Ποσιδῶνι; lines 23–24: Κρόνῳ πόπανον δωδεκόνφαλον καθήμενον . . .

<sup>19</sup> Clement, *Protr.* 2.19: οἶαι δὲ καὶ αἱ κίσται αἱ μυστικαί· δεῖ γὰρ ἀπογυμνῶσαι τὰ ἅγια αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἄρρητα ἐξεῖπειν. οὐ σησασαῖ ταῦτα καὶ πυραμίδες καὶ τολύπαι, καὶ πόπανα πολυόμφαλα χόνδρου τε ἀλῶν καὶ δράκων, ὄργιον Διούσου Βασσάρου . . .

<sup>20</sup> Polybios, *Fr.* 6.25.7: τοῖς ὀμφαλωτοῖς ποπάνοις παραπλήσιον τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτιθεμένοις.

<sup>21</sup> Sokolowski 1969, no. 52 (1st century after Christ, cult calendar from Athens), lines 1–3: θεαῖς . . . πόπανον [δωδεκόν]φαλον χοινικιαῖον . . . ; lines 9–11: Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι ζ' π[ό]πανον χοινικιαῖον ὀρθόνφαλον καὶ καθήμε[ον] δωδεκόνφαλον; lines 12–13: Διὶ Γεωργῷ κ' πόπανον χοινικιαῖον ὀρθόνφαλον δωδεκόνφαλον . . . ; lines 17–18: πόπανον χοινικιαῖον δωδεκόνφαλον καθήμε[νον], Ποσιδῶνι Χαμαιζήλῳ . . . ; lines 19–20: Ἀνέμοις πόπανον χοινικιαῖον ὀρθόνφαλον δωδεκόνφαλον νηφάλιον; lines 26–28: Ἡρακλεῖ . . . πόπανα χοινικός δωδεκόνφαλα.

<sup>22</sup> Athenaios 58d–e: τῆς ἡμέρου μαλάχης ὁ σπερματικὸς τύπος καλεῖται πλακοῦς, ἐμπερὴς ὧν αὐτῶ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ κτενωδὲς ἀνάλογον καθάπερ ἡ τοῦ πλακοῦντος κρηπίς, κατὰ μέσον δὲ τοῦ πλακουτικοῦ ὄγκου τὸ κέντρον ὀμφαλικόν. Hesychios, s.v. πλακοῦς· ἐκτὸς τοῦ πέμματος καὶ ὁ σπερματικὸς τύπος τῆς ἡμέρας μαλάχης.

<sup>23</sup> Grandjouan 1989, pp. 57–67.

sweet, large, round, thick child of Demeter coming, a baked plakous. . . .”<sup>24</sup> Again, quoting the 4th-century B.C. comic poet Antiphanes, he gives a riddling description of the structure of the plakous, which consists of honey and goat’s milk cheese alternating with thin layers of pastry dough inside a firm cake shell.<sup>25</sup> The plakous was also offered in sacrifice, as a sacred calendar from Miletos reveals, and was one of the foods carried in the liknon by the liknophoros.<sup>26</sup> A poem of the 3rd century B.C. describes a four-year-old boy’s gift to Apollo, on the occasion of his first haircut, of a rooster and a rich plakous filled with cheese.<sup>27</sup>

A variation of the plakous is a cake scored evenly into four parts (e.g., **55**, **71** [Pls. 50, 51]), once with a central knob (**40** [Pl. 49]). Athenaios calls these βλωμαῖοι, “loaves having incisions, which the Romans call quarters.”<sup>28</sup> A cake of similar appearance from the Athenian Agora, scored into three parts and lacking a central knob, has been identified as a πλακοῦς τριάβλωμος by analogy with ὀκτάβλωμος.<sup>29</sup> This adjective is first used by Hesiod in *Works and Days*, where he advises the farmer that the hearty forty-year-old plowman should be given a loaf that is τετράτρυφον, ὀκτάβλωμον (442). Since βλωμῶς is usually understood as a piece of bread, this difficult passage has been translated, “a loaf scored into eight portions but broken into four.”<sup>30</sup> The adjective τετράτρυφος derives from Θρύπτω, “break in pieces”, and might preferably be translated “broken four times” instead of “broken or breakable into four”. A cake cut or broken four times, whether round or square, would yield eight pieces, just as the cakes discussed above are scored twice, resulting in four pieces.

**45** (Pl. 49), a loaf stamped with two rosettes that resemble the bread stamps (σφραγίδα, τύπωση) used on ritual occasions in Greece today, is unique in this collection. Votive plates with small, similarly stamped cakes were dedicated at a Heraion in Italy.<sup>31</sup>

The fifth type of cake is a shapeless flat mass with circular incisions or stippling that seems to represent a grainy texture (e.g., **34**, **47**, **54**, **55** [Pls. 48–50]). The lack of height and shape makes one think of a mass of porridge or boiled grains. The general term

<sup>24</sup> Athenaios 137b–c: δεῦτεραι αὐτε τράπεζαι ἐφωπλιζοντο γέμουσαι . . . ὡς δὲ ἴδον, ξανθόν, γλυκερόν, μέγαν, ἔγκυκλον, ἄδρον, Δήμητρος παιδ’ ὀπτὸν ἐπεισελθόντα πλακοῦντα. . . ; *Suda*, s.v. πλακοῖς· καὶ τὸν πλακόντα πλὸν τυρόφορον.

<sup>25</sup> Athenaios 449b–c: ξουθῆς μελίσσης νάμασιν δὲ συμμιγῆ μηκάδων αἰγῶν ἀπόρρουν θρόμβον, ἐγκαθειμένον εἰς πλατὺ στέγαστρον ἀγνῆς παρθένου Δηοῦς κόρης, λεπτοσυνθέτοις τρυφῶντα μυρίους καλύμμασιν. See Grandjouan 1989, p. 58 for elucidation of this difficult passage.

<sup>26</sup> Sokolowski 1955, no. 43, line 2 (5th century B.C., cult calendar from Miletos): πλακ[όντα] . . . Bekker, *Anecd. Graec.* I, p. 277: λικνοφόρος· ὁ φέρων τὸ λίκνον. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο μυστικὸν τῆς Δημητρίου τροφῆς σημεῖον . . . ἔστι δὲ ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ λίκνῳ πλακοῦς καὶ ἄλας.

<sup>27</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 6.55: αἰχμητᾶν δ’ ἐπέθυσεν ἀλέκτορα καὶ πλακόντα παῖς Ἡγησιδίκου πλὸνα τυροφόρον.

<sup>28</sup> Athenaios 114e: βλωμαῖους τε ἄρτους ὀνομάζεσθαι λέγει τοὺς ἔχοντας ἐνομάς, οὗς Ῥωμαῖοι κοδράτους λέγουσι.

<sup>29</sup> D. B. Thompson 1954, T 431, p. 96, note 46, and pl. 22.

<sup>30</sup> Hesiod, *Op.* 441–442: τοῖς δ’ ἄμα τεσσαρακονταετῆς αἰζῆδος ἔποιτο ἄρτον δειπήσας τετράτρυφον, ὀκτάβλωμον. Cf. West 1978, p. 270: “Our ploughman, as I understand it, gets his breakfast from a loaf scored into eight portions but broken into four. . . .”

<sup>31</sup> Provatakis 1990, pp. 203, 340: τύπωση· ξυλινή στρογγυλή συνήθως σφραγίδα με διάφορες χαρακτές συμβολικές παραστάσεις, τις οποίες αποτυπώνουν ανάλογα σε πρόσφορα ἢ σε ἄρτους. Cf. comparandum 21, p. 168 below.

for both uncooked crushed grain (groats) and grain boiled in a liquid (porridge or gruel) is μᾶζα. Maza is first mentioned by Hesiod in his description of the delights of early summer: to sit in the shade, drink wine, and eat μᾶζα ἀμολγαίη made with milk of goats just running dry: μᾶζά τ' ἀμολγαίη γάλα τ' αἰγῶν σβεννυμενάων (*Op.* 590). Of the many possible translations of the phrase *maza amolgaie*, M. L. West finds most convincing the scholiast's "emmer wheat soaked in milk, or bread leavened with milk."<sup>32</sup> In the recent past in Greece the last of the goat's or sheep's milk was boiled with coarsely ground grain, especially barley, and dried in the sun to make τραχανάς. This dried, milky maza could be heated in liquid to make a porridge and was a simple way to store milk for use during the winter.<sup>33</sup>

Maza could be made with water, oil, milk, or even the bile of a calf; the grain used was most frequently ἀλφίτα, coarsely ground, uncooked barley meal, or groats.<sup>34</sup> Μᾶζα is related to μάσσω, mix, as its preparation involves the mixing of the wet and the dry in a process described as τὰ προφυράματα τῶν μάζων<sup>35</sup> (cf. φυράω, to mix the dry with the wet, to brew, germinate, steep). This phrase does not refer to flour that is "prekneaded", as it is sometimes translated, but to the process in which the meal steeps in the liquid and absorbs it so as to swell up before being dried as τράγος (cf. modern τραχανάς). Μᾶζα, which could be served moistened with honey or milk or boiled in a liquid, was distinguished from ἄρτος, a loaf of bread made with yeast and baked in the oven.<sup>36</sup> The feasting pedants of Athenaios name first every kind of artos found in literature and then enumerate every kind of maza.<sup>37</sup> Various opinions existed regarding the digestibility and health value of maza and artos. One medical writer claims that maza, well soaked and unground, is the softer and purer food, while another holds that artos is more easily digested than maza.<sup>38</sup>

It is not easy to make a good yeast bread out of barley, but this humble and prolific grain makes a hearty porridge when combined with cheese, pulses, milk, or various condiments. Thus there were many different kinds of maza. Βασύνια, consisting of boiled wheat

<sup>32</sup> West 1978, p. 307. Cf. Schol. Hesiod, *Op.* 590 (Pertusi): μᾶζά τ' ἀμολγαίη ἄρτος μετὰ γάλακτος ἐντεθρυμμένος ἢ τυρός . . . ἢ ὄλυραν βεβρεγμένην γάλακτι. μᾶζα οὖν ἀμολγαίη ἢ τυρός ἢ ἄρτος ἐκ γάλακτος ἐζυμωμένος. [Bread or cheese crushed with milk . . . or emmer wheat wetted with milk. Maza amolgaie is therefore bread or cheese leavened (or fermented) in milk.]

<sup>33</sup> Sittl (1889, p. 290) discusses coarsely ground grain, or πηλυγούρι (bulgur), as well as crushed grain boiled with milk, τραχανάς. Commercially prepared trachanas is now available in Athenian grocery stores.

<sup>34</sup> *Suda*, s.v. μᾶζα: ὅστις ἀλφιτοσιτεῖ, ὕδατι μεμιγμένην τὴν μᾶζαν ἐσθίει· ὅστις δὲ ἄρτοσιτεῖ, ὕδατι δεδευμένον ἄρτον (whoever eats barley meal eats maza mixed with water; whoever eats bread, [eats] bread wetted with water). Hesychios, s.v. μᾶζα: ἄλφιτα πεφυρμένα ὕδατι καὶ ἐλαίῳ (barley meal wetted with water and oil). *Geoponica* 20.23: mixing the bile of a calf with barley meal and oil and water makes μᾶζα.

<sup>35</sup> Athenaios 140a; Hippokrates, *Vict.* 2.40, 3.68; Hesychios, s.v. τολύπη.

<sup>36</sup> Herodotos 1.200: μᾶζαν μαζαμένος ἔδει, ὃ δὲ ἄρτου τρόπον ὀπτήσας. Aristophanes, *Pl.* 543: σιτεῖσθαι δ' ἀντὶ μὲν ἄρτων μαλάχης πτόρθους, ἀντὶ δὲ μάζης φυλλεῖ ἰσχνῶν ῥαφανίδων.

<sup>37</sup> Athenaios 109b: ἡμεῖς οὖν εἰπωμέν τι καὶ περὶ ἄρτων. . . 114e: Καὶ μάζας δ' ἔστιν εὐρεῖν ἀναγεγραμμένας. . .

<sup>38</sup> Hippokrates, *Vict.* 3.68.120: χρὴ οὖν . . . τοῖσι τε σίτοισι μαλακωτέροισι καὶ καθαρωτέροισι καὶ ἐλάσσοσι χρῆσθαι, εἶτα τῇ μάζῃ πλεῖον ἢ τῷ ἄρτῳ, ταύτη δὲ προφυρητῆ ἀτριπτοτέρῃ. Athenaios 115f: Μνησίθεος δὲ φησι τὸν ἄρτον τῆς μάζης εὐπεπτότερον εἶναι.

flour, honey, a fig, and walnuts, were offered to Iris by the Delians.<sup>39</sup> Βήρηκες, eaten at a festival of Apollo at Sparta, were made from maza, with “horns”, according to one source.<sup>40</sup> Νεήλατα, distributed at initiations, was freshly ground barley meal moistened with honey and combined with raisins and green chickpeas,<sup>41</sup> a confection reminiscent of the κόλλυβα eaten in memory of the dead in Greece today. Ὕμπαι, wheat soaked in honey, was burned in the fire as an offering to Demeter, who bore the title Ὕμπνια.<sup>42</sup> Προκώνια was uncooked barley meal, ἄλφιτα, moistened with honey. Eleusinian temple accounts of the 4th century B.C. describe prokonion as barley offered to Demeter and Kore at the time of the collection of the ἀπαρχαί, or first fruits of the grain.<sup>43</sup> Finally, the ὑγεία, or “health”, was maza distributed at sacrifices for the participants to taste or given to a deity as a propitiatory offering.<sup>44</sup> We cannot give a name to the maza in the votive likna; it might have been called neelata, prokonion, or ompai, since these were all associated with Demeter and Kore or with initiation in general. The excavation of the dining rooms on the Lower Terrace of the Sanctuary has yielded grinding stones, mortars, stewing pots, and casseroles, which suggest that “boiling or stewing prevailed over roasting.”<sup>45</sup> These utensils seem to indicate that the pilgrims consumed cereals in the form of boiled gruel as well as baked cakes. The foods represented in the votive likna give us a vivid idea of the range of comestibles served in the dining rooms.

The sixth type of cake is spherical and is made up of pellets that may represent seeds (e.g., **10**, **23**, **52** [Pls. 46, 47, 50]). This may be a sesame cake, variously called σησάμις, σησαμοῦς (σησαμοεῖς), or σησαμίτης. The σησάμις, a spherical cake made of roasted sesame, honey, and oil, was one of the cakes carried in the mystic cista in the rites of Dionysos and Ge, according to Clement of Alexandria.<sup>46</sup> A Spartan cult

<sup>39</sup> Athenaios 645b: τῇ Ἴριδι θύουσι Δῆλιοι τοὺς Βασυνίας καλουμένους. ἐστὶν δὲ ἐφθόν πύρινον σταῖς σὺν μέλιτι καὶ τὰ καλούμενα κόκκωρα ἰσχὰς καὶ κάρυα τρία.

<sup>40</sup> Athenaios 114f: καὶ μάζας δ' ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν . . . καὶ βήρηκα . . . ; 140a: ἐν Ἀμυκλαῖον παρ' Ἀπέλλω, εἴ Βαράκες πολλαὶ κάρτοι . . . λέγων μάζας . . . τοῦτο γὰρ αἱ βάρακες δηλοῦσιν, οὐχὶ τολύπας . . . ἢ τὰ προφυράματα τῶν μάζων. . . Bekker, *Anecd. Graec* I, p. 220: μᾶζαι ὄρθαι ἐπάνω κέρατα ἔχουσαι.

<sup>41</sup> Harpokration, *s.v.* νεήλατα: ἄλφιτα, τὰ νεωστὶ ἀλληλεσμένα, ἃ δὴ μέλιτι ἀναδεύοντες, ἀσταφίδας τε καὶ χλωρούς ἐρεβίνθους ἐπεμβάλλοντες, τοῖς τὰ ἱερὰ τελοῦσιν ἔνεμον. Cf. Demosthenes, *de Corona* 260; Bekker, *Anecd. Graec.* I, p. 282; Julian, *Ep.* 24; Pollux 6.77. Cf. note 9 above.

<sup>42</sup> Kallimachos fr. 658: ἐν δὲ θεοῖσιν ἐπὶ φλογὶ καίμεν ὄμπα; fr. 681: νηφάλια καὶ τῆσιν αἶλ μελιηδέας ὄμπα λήτειραι καλεῖν ἔλλαχον Ἑσυχίδες. Hesychios, *s.v.* ὄμπα: θύματα. πυροὶ μέλιτι δεδευμένοι. *Suda*, *s.v.* ὄμπιος λειμών: ὁ σῖτος καὶ οἱ Δημητριακοὶ καρποί, ἐπεὶ Ὕμπνια ἢ Δημήτηρ λέγεται. Cf. Schol. Nikander, *Alex.* 450; *Etym. Mag.*, *s.v.* ὄμπη; Schol. Lykophron 621 (Scheer); Bekker, *Anecd. Graeca* I, p. 287.

<sup>43</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1672, line 280 (4th century B.C., Eleusinian accounts): εἰς [π]ροκώνια τοῖν θεοῖν μέδιμος (κριθῶν). Pollux 6.77: πρόκωνα καὶ προκώνια τὰ ἐξ ἀφρύκτων κριθῶν ἄλφιτα. Photios, *s.v.* προκώνια: ἢ ὡς Κράτης πυροκώνια αἱ ἀφρυκτοὶ κριθαί. ἢ πυροὶ μέλιτι κεχρισμένοι. Harpokration, *s.v.* προκώνια.

<sup>44</sup> Athenaios 115a: ὑγεία δὲ καλεῖται ἢ διδομένη ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις μᾶζα ἵνα ἀπογεύσωνται. Pollux 6.76: μελιτοῦττα μὲν Τροφονίῳ ὡς ἀρεστήρ, καὶ ὑγεία ὁμοίως: καὶ γὰρ ὑγεία μάζης τι εἶδος.

<sup>45</sup> Bookidis 1990, p. 92. The grinding stones were from secondary fills and cannot be associated with particular dining rooms.

<sup>46</sup> Athenaios 646f: σησαμίδες ἐκ μέλιτος καὶ σησάμων πεφρυγμένων καὶ ἐλαίου σφαιροειδῆ πέμματα. Clement, *Protr.* 2.19: οἶαι δὲ καὶ αἱ κίσται αἱ μυστικαί: δεῖ γὰρ ἀπογυμνώσαι τὰ ἅγια αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἄρρητα ἐξεπεῖν. οὐ σησαμαὶ ταῦτα . . . See note 19 above. Aristophanes, *Ach.* 1092; Thucydides 5.70; Pollux 6.72; Athenaios 114a.

calendar devoted to chthonic deities stipulates the offering of a sesame cake to Demeter and to Despoina, who is possibly Kore.<sup>47</sup> A round cake called παγκαρπία was made by crumbling up ἴτρια, thin little sesame honey cakes, boiling them in honey, forming them into balls, and wrapping them in thin papyrus to keep their shape.<sup>48</sup> In a private cult calendar of the 1st century after Christ they are offered to Zeus the Farmer.<sup>49</sup> Another round cake is the τολύπη, which is described as made of maza; since tolype also means a ball of yarn, it is usually assumed to be a round cake. It is not described as being made of seeds, however, and so its appearance would not match the round seedcakes in the likna.<sup>50</sup>

The seventh kind of cake is a flat oblong that may represent a cake of fruit or nuts compressed with honey, the παλάθιον, or παλάθη, which Athenaios lists as a customary offering in the kernos<sup>51</sup> (e.g., **14, 29, 47** [Pls. 46, 47, 50]). Athenaios gives a detailed recipe for a similar cake, called γάστρις or γάστριον (glutton) in Crete: walnuts, hazelnuts, almonds, and poppy seeds are roasted, mashed, and softened with boiled honey and pepper. White sesame is put through the same process to produce a contrasting white layer that is placed above and below the dark, flattened square of poppy seeds and nuts.<sup>52</sup>

The votive likna also contained, in addition to cakes, little pellets or balls that represent loose grains or seeds (e.g., **3, 7, 53, 72** [Pls. 46, 50, 51]). These grains are not identifiable, although in one instance they look like almonds (**37** [Pl. 48]), and in another, perhaps chickpeas (**29** [Pl. 47]). These pellets or balls may appear in small cups or likna attached to the floor of the liknon (e.g., **4, 29, 58, 77** [Pls. 46, 47, 50, 51]). A number of the kernos type of likna, with empty cups attached to their floors, have been found in the Sanctuary (**85–90** [Pl. 52]). These likna are similar in function to the kernos, a terracotta vessel holding many smaller kotyliskoi containing poppy seeds, wheat, barley, peas, lentils, pulses, and beans. The empty cups in the likna could have been used to hold any of the four liquids that were customarily carried in the kernos: honey, oil, wine, or milk.<sup>53</sup> **89** has four vessels in it that might have held all four of these liquids.

<sup>47</sup> Sokolowski 1969, no. 63, lines 8–12: [Δ]άματρι θύσει ... ἄρτον διὰ σαῶμων ... Δεσ(σ)ποίνα ... ἄρτον διὰ σαῶμω.

<sup>48</sup> Athenaios 646d: ἴτριον· πεμμάτιον λεπτόν διὰ σησάμου καὶ μέλιτος γινόμενον; 648b: παγκαρπία· ἴτρια δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα συντεθρυμμένα μετὰ μέλιτος ἐψόμενα· καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἔψησιν σφαιρηδὸν συντεθέντα περιδεῖται βύβλω λεπτῇ ἕνεκα τοῦ συμμένειν.

<sup>49</sup> Sokolowski 1969, no. 52, lines 12–15 (1st century after Christ, cult calendar from Athens): Διὶ Γεωργῶ ... παγκαρπίαν νηφάλιον.

<sup>50</sup> Hesychios, s.v. τολύπη: τὰ προφυράματα τῶν μαζῶν, ἃ καὶ βήρηκας καλοῦσιν. Athenaios 114f: καὶ μάζας δ' ἐστὶν ... καὶ τολύπας. Athenaios 140a; Clement, *Prottr.* 2.19. See note 19 above.

<sup>51</sup> Athenaios 500d: συντιθέασιν εἰς παλάθης Συριακῆς τρόπον πλάττοντες; Theophrastos, *HP* 4.2.10; *Suda*, s.v. παλάθη; Hesychios, s.v. παλάθη; Porphyrios, *Abst.* 2.7: παλάθη ἡγητρία; Athenaios 478d (see note 6 above); Herodotos 4.23.

<sup>52</sup> Athenaios 647f: ἐν Κρήτῃ δὲ φησὶν, πλακουντάριον ποιοῦσιν ὅπερ ὀνομάζουσι γάστριν. γίνεται δὲ οὕτως· κάρυα Θάσια καὶ Ποντικὰ καὶ ἀμύγδαλα, ἔτι δὲ μήκων, ἃ φρύξας θεράπευσον καλῶς καὶ εἰς θυίαν καθαρὰν τρίψον ἐπιμελῶς· συμμιξας τε τὴν ὀπώραν μάλαξον μέλιτι ἠψημένω, προσβαλὼν πέπερι πλέον καὶ μάλαξον· γίνεται δὲ μέλαν διὰ τὴν μήκωνα. διαπλατύνας ποίησον τετράγωνον. εἶτα σήσαμον λευκὸν τρίψας μάλαξον μέλιτι ἠψημένω καὶ ἔλκυσσον λαγάνια δύο καὶ ἐν θῆς ὑποκάτω καὶ τὸ ἄλλο ἐπάνω, ἵνα τὸ μέλαν εἰς μέσον γένηται, εὐ ῥύθμισόν τε αὐτό. Hesychios, s.v. γάστριον· πέμμα, σησαμῶδες παρὰ Κρησῖ.

<sup>53</sup> Athenaios 478d: ... τὸ κέρνος ... ἔνεισι δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ... μέλι, ἔλαιον, οἶνος, γάλα ...

Also found in the kernos, according to Athenaios, is unwashed sheep's wool, ὄιον ἔριον ἄπλυτον, which seems to be represented in **43**, **51**, and **54** (Pls. 49, 50). This is the only inedible item in his list, but it is not an uncommon part of offerings of first fruits. Wool was associated with the offering of various fruits and seeds made to both Zeus Ktesios, the deity of the storeroom, and Demeter.<sup>54</sup>

There are also a number of cakes known from literary sources which do not appear in the likna. The πυραμίς or πυραμοῦς, a pyramidal wheat cake made from sesame and honey, is described as a prize offered to those who stayed up all night at symposia and at festivals such as the Thesmophoria.<sup>55</sup> Since pyramidal cakes appear in banqueting-hero reliefs, it has been argued that the pyramis was reserved for chthonic deities and hero cults.<sup>56</sup> According to Athenaios, however, pyramides were served at banquets and were not reserved for chthonic occasions.<sup>57</sup>

Another cake not shown in the likna is the ναστός, a cone-shaped loaf or cake that had a rich sauce inside, composed of honey with ground raisins and almonds.<sup>58</sup> The comic cult calendar in Aristophanes' *Birds* prescribes a honeyed nastos as sacrifice to the cormorant.<sup>59</sup> In Attic cult Zeus the Farmer receives a nastos made from a full choinix of flour, as does the Asiatic god Men.<sup>60</sup>

Cakes in the shape of animals were offered to the deities to whom they were especially suited. A wheat cake made with honey and sesame and shaped like a deer was offered to Artemis at her Elaphebolia festival.<sup>61</sup> A large loaf full of lard, modeled in the shape of a goat, was offered to Demeter Achaina (sorrowful) at the Megalartia (Big Loaves)

<sup>54</sup> Pausanias 8.42.11 (offered to Demeter in Phigaleia): τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων τῶν ἡμέρων τά τε ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀμπέλου καρπὸν καὶ μελισσῶν τε κηρία καὶ ἐρίων τὰ μὴ ἐς ἐργασίαν πω ἤκοντα ἀλλὰ ἔτι ἀνάπλεα τοῦ οἰσύπου . . . Athenaios 473c (to Zeus Ktesios): κάδισκον καινὸν δίωτον ἐπιθήμα ἔχοντα στέφαι τὰ ὦτα ἐρίω λευκῶ. . .

<sup>55</sup> Athenaios 114b: ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ πυραμοῦς ἄρτος διὰ σησάμων πεττόμενος καὶ τάχα ὁ αὐτὸς τῷ σησαμίτῃ ὄν. Athenaios 647c: τούτων μνημονεύει Ἰατροκλῆς ἐν τῷ περὶ Πλακοῦντων καὶ τοῦ πυραμοῦντος καλουμένου, οὐ διαφέρειν λέγων τῆς πυραμιδος καλουμένης· γίνεσθαι γὰρ ταύτην ἐκ πυρῶν πεφωσμένων καὶ μέλιτι δεδευμένων. αὐταὶ δὲ ἄθλα τίθεται ταῖς παννυχίσι τῷ διαγρυπνήσαντι. *Ehym. Mag.*, s.v. πυραμίς· ἢ ἐκ πυρῶν καὶ μέλιτος ὡσπερ σησαμίς, ἢ ἐκ σησάμων καὶ μέλιτος. τινὲς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβαινόντος αὐτῇ σχήματος πλατέος κάτωθεν ὄντος καὶ εἰς ὀξὺ λήγοντος, ὃ ἔστι τὸ φλογὶ ἀναφερομένη εἰσός. Hesychios, s.v. πυραμοῦντα· τὴν πυραμίδα. πυραμοῦς· εἶδος πλακοῦντος, ἐκ πυρῶν πεφρυγμένων καὶ μέλιτι ἀναδεδευμένων. *Suda*, s.v. πυραμοῦς; Photios, s.v. πυραμειδής; Schol. Aristophanes, *Th.* 94; Aristophanes, *Eq.* 277; Schol. Pindar, *O.* 9; Clement, *Protr.* 2.19. See note 19 above.

<sup>56</sup> Thönges-Stringaris 1965, pp. 75–76 and pls. 13:2, 22:1.

<sup>57</sup> Athenaios 642e–f lists the many “nibbles” served at dessert time: ἴτρια, τραγήμαθ' ἦκε, πυραμοῦς, ἄμης . . . See Dentzer 1982, pp. 519–521.

<sup>58</sup> Athenaios 646e: ναστός πλακοῦντος εἶδος, ἔχων ἔνδον καρυκκείας. Pollux 6.78: ναστοὶ (σακτοὶ)· . . κῶνος σὺν ἀσταφίσι καὶ ἀμυγδάλαις, ἄπερ τριφθέντα καὶ μιχθέντα ὀπτᾶται. Schol. Aristophanes, *Pl.* 1142; Hesychios, s.v. ναστός; Athenaios 111c–d.

<sup>59</sup> Aristophanes, *Au.* 567: λάρφω ναστοὺς θύειν μελιτοῦττας. . .

<sup>60</sup> Sokolowski 1969, no. 52, lines 12–14 (1st century after Christ, cult calendar from Athens): Διὶ Γεωργῶ . . . ναστὸν χοινικιαῖον ἐπιπεπλασμένον; no. 55, lines 21–23 (2nd century after Christ, Attic inscription relating to the cult of Men): Μηνὶ Τυράννῳ . . . ναστὸν χοινικιαῖον.

<sup>61</sup> Athenaios 646e: ἐλαφός· πλακοῦς ὁ τοῖς Ἐλαφρηβολίοις ἀναπλασσόμενος διὰ σταιτὸς καὶ μέλιτος καὶ σησάμου.

festival in Boiotia.<sup>62</sup> The βοῦς, a cake decorated with horns and said to represent either the new moon or an ox, was offered to Apollo, Artemis, Hekate, Selene, Demeter, and Kronos.<sup>63</sup> Apparently, in a bit of sacrificial sleight of hand reminiscent of Hesiod's story of Prometheus, this cake could be substituted for an actual ox.<sup>64</sup>

The φθόϊς was made from fine wheat flour, cheese, and honey. Athenaios gives a recipe: having squeezed excess moisture from a cheese, grate it, put it in a bronze sieve, strain it, add honey and one cup of fine wheat flour, and mix until soft. Other sources make it clear that it was baked like a plakous and not fried.<sup>65</sup> Clement of Alexandria names the phthois among the contents of the mystic chests of the Mysteries of Dionysos and Ge Themis.<sup>66</sup> The phthois was customarily offered at sacrifices, being associated in inscriptions with Hestia, Zeus, Apollo, and Asklepios.<sup>67</sup>

A particularly interesting type of cake associated with the rituals of Demeter cannot be identified in these likna. These are aidouia-cakes, baked in the shape of male and female genitals. Associated with the Thesmophoria and Haloa festivals of Demeter, these cakes may have been considered too ἄρρητα, or unmentionable, to reproduce as votive terracottas.<sup>68</sup>

Little is known about the cult of Demeter and Kore at Corinth from nonarchaeological sources. Pausanias visited Acrocorinth and noted that the temple of the Moirai and that of

<sup>62</sup> Athenaios 109e: Ἀχαΐνας· τούτου τοῦ ἄρτου μνημονεύει Σῆμος ἐν ἡ' Δηλιάδος λέγων ταῖς θεομοφόροις γίνεσθαι. εἰσὶ δὲ ἄρτοι μεγάλοι, καὶ ἐορτὴ καλεῖται Μεγαλάρτια ἐπιλεγόντων τῶν φερόντων ἀχαΐνην στέατος ἔμπλεων τράγον. Polemon 39; Plutarch, *de Is. et Osir.* 378e.

<sup>63</sup> Pollux 6.76: πέμμα γὰρ ἐστὶ κέρατα ἔχον πεπηγμένα, προσφερόμενον Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἀρτέμει καὶ Ἐκάτῃ καὶ Σελήνῃ. Sokolowski 1969, no. 25 (4th–3rd century B.C., inscription regarding the cult of Apollo Pythios): [Ἀπόλλωνος Πύθ]ιο . . . [θύειν τ]ρεῖς ἐβδόμους βοῦς; no. 52, lines 23–25 (1st century after Christ, Athenian cult calendar): Κρόνῳ . . . ἐπιπλάσεις βοῦν χοινικιαῖον; Sokolowski 1962, no. 80, lines 4–7 (undated cult inscription from Samos): Κουροτ[ρόφωι καὶ] Ἑρμῆι . . . ἐβδόμους [:III]; Sokolowski 1955, no. 43, line 3 (5th century B.C., cult inscription from Miletos): — v: βῶν; *Anth. Pal.* 6.36, 98.

<sup>64</sup> Eustathios, *Il.* 18.575: . . . σελήναι πέμματα ἦσαν πλατέα κυκλωτερῆ ἐπὶ δὲ ἐξ σελήναις τοιαύταις βοῦν, φασίν, ἔβδομον ἔπεπτον κέρατα ἔχοντα κατὰ μίμησιν πρωτοφυοῦς σελήνης. ἔθουον μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τέσσαρσι ποπάνοις ἔθουον βοῦν καὶ ἐκάλουν αὐτὸν πέμπτον βοῦν, μᾶλλον μέντοι ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐξ ἔθουον αὐτόν, δς καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο διὰ τοῦτο ἔβδομος βοῦς; Hesychios, *s.v.* μαζεινὸς βοῦς· ὁ ἐξ ἀλφίτων; *Suda, s.v.* πόπανα.

<sup>65</sup> Athenaios 647d–e: ὁ δὲ φθοῖς οὕτω γίγνεται· τυρὸν ἐκπιέσας τρίβε καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἐς κόσκινον χάλκεον διήθει, εἴτ' ἐπίβαλε μέλι καὶ σελίγνεως ἡμίναν καὶ συμμαλάζον εἰς ἓν. Schol. Aristophanes, *Pl.* 677: ἔστι δε πλακοῦντας ἢ πέμματα . . . Tzetzes, *Proll. Com. Aristophanes, Pl.* 677; *Suda, s.v.* ἀναστάτοι, φθοῖς; Hesychios, *s.v.* φθοῖς.

<sup>66</sup> Clement, *Protr.* 2.19: οἶαι δε καὶ αἱ κίσται αἱ μυστικαί· δεῖ γὰρ ἀπογυμῶσαι τὰ ἅγια αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἄρρητα ἐξειπεῖν. οὐ σησαμαῖ ταῦτα . . . δὲ καὶ φθοῖς . . .

<sup>67</sup> Sokolowski 1969, no. 151 A (4th century B.C., cult calendar from Kos), line 30: καὶ τὸ γ καυτὸν καὶ φθόϊας ἐπτὰ καὶ μέλι; line 37: [θ]ύη καὶ τρὺς φθόϊας . . .; Sokolowski 1955, no. 24 A, line 22 (4th century B.C., inscription from Erythrai regarding the cult of Asklepios): θυστὰ θύηι φθοῖγ . . .; Sokolowski 1962, no. 109, line 5 (1st century after Christ, sacrifice to Zeus Atabyrios): θυόμ[ε]νο[ν καὶ] φθ[ό]ϊας . . .

<sup>68</sup> Schol. Lucian, *DMeretr.* (Rabe), p. 276, nos. 15–17: . . . ἀναφέρονται δὲ κανταῦθα ἄρρητα ἱερὰ ἐκ στέατος τοῦ σίτου κατασκευασμένα, μιμήματα δρακόντων καὶ ἀνδρείων σχημάτων; p. 280, nos. 29, 30: . . . ἐκ πλακοῦντος κατασκευασμένα ἀμφοτέρων γενῶν αἰδοῖα. Athenaios 647a: Ἑρακλείδης ὁ Συρακόσιος ἐν τῷ περὶ Θεσμῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις φησὶ τοῖς Παντελείοις τῶν Θεσμοφορίων ἐκ σησάμου καὶ μέλιτος κατασκευάσθαι ἐφήβια γυναικεῖα ἃ καλεῖσθαι κατὰ πᾶσαν Σικελίαν μυλλοὺς καὶ περιφέρεσθαι ταῖς θεαῖς.

Demeter and Kore had images that were not on view.<sup>69</sup> That the statues were not on display may hint at a mystery cult here. The only other literary reference to Demeter at Corinth is from Hesychios, who tells us that her epithet was *ἐποικιδίη*, “presiding over the house”.<sup>70</sup> Demeter the Housekeeper, if we may so translate the epithet, implies a ritual of special interest to women, but we know nothing of the rituals associated with the cake-filled *likna*. Since none of these *likna* come from a primary place of deposition, it is not clear where or how they were dedicated; not one has been found intact on a floor, and so we do not know if they were dedicated in the dining rooms or if they played some part in a ritual. Some *likna* have holes for hanging, which may indicate that they were displayed in the Sanctuary. That these objects have been excavated in such numbers leads one to speculate that the cake-filled *liknon* was a standard, inexpensive votive offering that many pilgrims to the Sanctuary would purchase before entering and dedicate as a memento, a practice similar to the lighting of a candle at a Catholic or Orthodox shrine.

With what festival, if any, can we associate these cereal offerings? The presentation of baked goods in the *liknon* certainly seems to argue for a festival connected with the cereal harvest and the offering of first fruits, but a sanctuary of Demeter would typically be the site for Demeter’s festivals throughout the year. Many of the rituals known from elsewhere, such as the Mysteries, *Haloa*, *Thesmophoria*, *Kalamaia*, and the offering of first fruits, could have been celebrated at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth. The dedication of pastries in a *liknon* would have been appropriate at any time of the year since, as we have seen, cakes were a basic feature of all sacrifices. Besides serving its prosaic function at the threshing floor, the *liknon* was a multivalent symbol with connotations of mystical purification and fertility and played a role in a number of different rituals.

The virtual uniqueness of the *likna* at Corinth is somehow surprising. The *liknon* filled with cakes seems like a natural offering at a sanctuary of Demeter, yet such cakes, with or without a *liknon*, have not often been reported elsewhere. Just as the *kernos* seems to be especially Eleusinian, perhaps the miniature votive *liknon* is an especially Corinthian product.<sup>71</sup>

It has often been assumed that the *liknon* is primarily associated with Dionysos, even though it is first attested as part of his cult in the Hellenistic era. The early date of these votive *likna* from Corinth makes it clear that the winnowing fan was also sacred to Demeter from the earliest times.<sup>72</sup>

To sum up what can be said with certainty about these cake-filled *likna*: They were dedicated to Demeter at her sanctuary on Acrocorinth from at least the early 6th century until the 2nd century B.C. and were left in the Sanctuary in such profusion that they were periodically cleared away and dumped. They were associated with the sacrifices and sacred meals held in the Sanctuary, very possibly by women alone.<sup>73</sup> Presumably the votive cakes in the *likna* were dedicated as a memorial of the ceremony in which real cakes

<sup>69</sup> Pausanias 2.4.6: ὁ δὲ τῶν Μοιρῶν καὶ ὁ Διμήτρος καὶ Κόρης οὐ φανερὰ ἔχουσι τὰ ἀγάλματα.

<sup>70</sup> Hesychios, *s.v.* ἐποικιδίη· Δημήτηρ ἐν Κορίνθῳ.

<sup>71</sup> Pollitt 1979, p. 232. The *kernos* type of *likna* from Corinth differ from the Eleusinian *kernos* and comprise yet another type of votive.

<sup>72</sup> Ure 1949, pp. 18–24, but compare Ure 1969, pp. 120–121; Nilsson 1957, p. 21. See note 7 above.

<sup>73</sup> Bookidis 1990, p. 91.

were sacrificed to the goddesses. There are a few examples of dedications and reliefs that memorialize a sacrificial occasion that included the use of cakes.<sup>74</sup> We cannot name the festival(s) at which these cake-filled likna were used at Corinth, just as we cannot say when the votives that memorialized the sacrificial occasion were given; the likelihood is that they would have been offered on many ritual occasions, just as the real cakes of which they were a memorial were used in so many sacrifices.

## CATALOGUE

Numbers of objects inventoried and stored in the museum at Corinth are prefixed "C". Numbers of objects kept with their context pottery are prefixed "L".

Abbreviations: UT = Upper Terrace. MT = Middle Terrace. LT = Lower Terrace. All measurements are in meters.

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|---|---|
| <p>LIKNA AND FRAGMENTS OF LIKNA WITH MOLDED<br/>CAKES</p> <p><b>1. L2216-1</b> <span style="float: right;">Pl. 46</span><br/>           Lot 2216, to early 6th century B.C.<br/>           LT, Archaic fill beneath Building N-O:24-25.<br/>           Max. p. dim. 0.073, H. 0.031.<br/>           Fragment with flat disks of clay decorating the edge<br/>           and exterior, with one disk on liknon floor.</p> <p><b>2. L2001-1</b> <span style="float: right;">Pl. 46</span><br/>           Lot 2001, first half of 6th century B.C.<br/>           MT, R:24, fill over stereo.<br/>           Max. p. dim. 0.063.<br/>           Fragment of floor preserving front edge. On top,<br/>           flat disk covered by strips of clay and surrounded by<br/>           half a coil, with broken surface behind.<br/>           Cf. <i>Perachora</i> I, p. 67, pl. 16:6.</p> <p><b>3. C-61-292</b> <span style="float: right;">Pl. 46</span><br/>           Lot 876, before 525 B.C.<br/>           MT, P:24-25, foundation trench for Archaic ter-<br/>           race wall 2.<br/>           Max. p. dim. 0.036, H. 0.017.<br/>           Fragment containing a dish with grains or seeds<br/>           represented in it.</p> | <p><b>4. C-61-294</b> <span style="float: right;">Pl. 46</span><br/>           Lots 877 and 898, 6th century to ca. 525 B.C.<br/>           MT, P-Q:24. Trapezoidal Building, deposit west<br/>           of pit B, and Archaic fill over bedrock.<br/>           H. 0.024, W. 0.072, L. 0.099.<br/>           Fragment complete from front to back, one side<br/>           preserved to full height. On floor are a small dish<br/>           with grains or seeds in it, two fragmentary objects,<br/>           three pellets that may be grains or seeds, and a cake<br/>           with many knobs on it.</p> <p><b>5. C-61-318</b> <span style="float: right;">Pl. 46</span><br/>           Lot 898, 6th century to 525 B.C.<br/>           MT, P-Q:24, general fill.<br/>           Max. p. dim. 0.053.<br/>           Fragment of floor with four cakes, three with four<br/>           knobs each, one with only two.</p> <p><b>6. L1972-209-1</b> <span style="float: right;">Pl. 46</span><br/>           Lot 1972-209, ca. third quarter 6th century B.C.<br/>           LT, Building N-O:25-26, phase 1, fill beneath<br/>           earliest floor.<br/>           Max. p. dim. 0.042.<br/>           Fragment of floor discolored black, holding a cake<br/>           with four knobs connected by a strip of dough,</p> |
|---|---|

<sup>74</sup> Kearns (1994, p. 68) discusses a 4th-century B.C. cult inscription from Piraeus on which the priest of Asklepios has inscribed a picture of the popanon that should be offered as a preliminary sacrifice, perhaps to insure that worshippers prepare the right kind of cake: Sokolowski 1969, no. 21 A, lines 16-17: ἐν αἰς τὰ πόπανα πρῶτος ἐξηκᾶσατο ἃ χρῆ πρ[ο]θύεσθαι. See note 14 above. A votive can also be given to memorialize the performance of a pelanos: see Jameson 1956, p. 60.

- messily executed. One knob is off the cake and on the liknon floor.
- 7. C-62-691** Pl. 46  
 Lot 1985, 7th century to *ca.* 500 B.C.  
 MT, Area D, R:23–24, burnt layer over floor.  
 L. 0.051, W. 0.042, H. 0.031.  
 Fragment preserving one side with handle. Inside, a cake with five knobs and a strip of clay ending in a pile of pellets that might represent a bunch of grapes or seeds.
- 8. L1985-10** Pl. 46  
 Lot 1985, as 7.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.030, H. 0.012.  
 Fragment of floor, slightly burned, with side preserved. Inside, a cake with five knobs, the knobs connected by two strips of dough.
- 9. L1985-3** Pl. 46  
 Lot 1985, as 7.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.050, H. 0.020.  
 Fragment of floor, partly burned, side and one handle preserved, with five single-knobbed cakes.
- 10. L1985-5** Pl. 46  
 Lot 1985, as 7.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.037, H. 0.009.  
 Fragment with one side preserved, containing a ribbed cake with a central knob representing a plakous, four single-knobbed cakes, three spherical seeded cakes, perhaps representing tolypes, and one cylindrical mass of seeds or grains; this last might represent maza since it is crushed and hard to distinguish.
- 11. L6830-3** Pl. 46  
 Lot 6830, last quarter 6th century B.C.  
 Building M–N:20–26, room 3, fill beneath earliest floor.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.051.  
 Fragment of floor, slightly burned. Inside, two ribbed cakes with central knobs and one cake with three knobs.
- 12. L1985-8** Pl. 46  
 Lot 1985, as 7.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.031.  
 Fragment with open end preserved, floor covered with round balls of clay representing seeds or nuts.
- 13. L1985-7** Pl. 46  
 Lot 1985, as 7.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.051, H. 0.020.  
 Fragment, partly burned, with side and handle preserved. Inside, a ribbed cake with a central knob, perhaps a plakous.
- 14. L1985-1** Pl. 46  
 Lot 1985, as 7.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.067.  
 Fragment with small flat disks, perhaps kollyba, lining open end, two single-knobbed cakes, and a flat oblong of clay that might be a cake of compressed fruit: a palathion or gastris.
- 15. C-62-677** Pl. 47  
 Lot 1985, as 7.  
 Diam. 0.035, H. 0.012.  
 Intact except for chips on rim. Inside, eight ribbed cakes with central knobs. Break on underside, perhaps where it was attached to a larger vessel.
- 16. L1985-30** Pl. 47  
 Lot 1985, as 7.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.045, H. 0.019.  
 Fragment with side preserved, mesomphalic bowl on floor.
- 17. L1985-9** Pl. 47  
 Lot 1985, as 7.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.039.  
 Fragment of floor with broken cup attached. Traces of matt black glaze, crudely finished.
- 18. L1985-12** Pl. 47  
 Lot 1985, as 7.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.047, H. 0.014.  
 Almost intact, bottom blackened. One flat disk on floor, one loop handle; second handle broken off. Chipped at open end.
- 19. L1985-11** Pl. 47  
 Lot 1985, as 7.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.031.  
 Fragment of floor with a scored cake with central knob.
- 20. L1985-2** Pl. 47  
 Lot 1985, as 7.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.043, H. 0.018.

Fragment with sides and two vertical lug handles preserved. Three single-knobbed cakes inside.

**21.** L1985-4 Pl. 47

Lot 1985, as **7**.

Max. p. dim. 0.041, H. 0.010.

Intact, burned, with two pinholes pierced on either side for hanging. Row of four small, flat disks in center of floor.

**22.** L1985-6 Pl. 47

Lot 1985, as **7**.

Max. p. dim. 0.052, H. 0.021.

Fragment with one side preserved. One flat disk pressed on side and three holes in side for hanging.

**23.** C-62-270 Pl. 47

Lot 1985, as **7**.

L. 0.093.

Intact except for tiny chips in lip. In center, a large mound with incised dots representing sesame seeds or a spherical cake. At open end of liknon, a row of three single-knobbed cakes, and next to them a collection of pellets representing seeds or grains, some broken offerings, and two cakes with incised dots.

Published: Stroud 1965, p. 23, pl. 11:g.  
(Stolen from museum.)

**24.** L2090-1 Pl. 47

Lot 2090, to later 6th century B.C.

LT, fill between Buildings N-O:25-26 and N-O:24-25.

Max. p. dim. 0.060.

Fragment of floor with a cake with at least nine knobs irregularly placed, at least seven strips connecting them; slightly burned on top.

**25.** L2090-2 Pl. 47

Lot 2090, as **24**.

Max. p. dim. 0.051.

Fragment of floor. On it, a cake with five knobs connected by strips of dough.

**26.** L6829-1 Pl. 47

Lot 6829, late 6th century B.C.

LT, Building M-N:20-26, room 3, north couch packing.

Max. p. dim. 0.066, H. 0.017.

Fragment, partly burned, with side preserved and five flat disks on floor along open end.

**27.** L1975-249-7 Pl. 47

Lot 1975-249, third to possibly early fourth quarter 6th century B.C.

LT, Building N-O:25-26, phase 1, north couch packing.

Max. p. dim. 0.070, H. 0.040.

Fragment with side preserved, decorated with disks. Inside, a cake with five knobs, connected by strips, and two small disks.

**28.** C-62-818 Pl. 47

Lot 1991, Archaic to at least early 5th century B.C. MT, Area D, R:23-24, dumped fill.

L. 0.042.

Intact, originally attached to larger dish. Inside, three cakes with five knobs, strips of dough connecting the knobs, a single-knobbed cake, and five round balls representing fruits or nuts.

**29.** C-62-268 Pl. 47

Lot 1991, as **28**.

L. 0.105.

Intact except for a few chips, with outer edges decorated by many small flat disks, two cakes with seven and eight knobs, two small mesomphalic bowls, two bowls with pellets representing seeds or grain, a loose collection of pellets, and a flat oblong that may represent a fruitcake: palathion or gastris.

Published: Stroud 1965, p. 23, pl. 11:e.

(Stolen from museum.)

**30.** C-62-792 Pl. 48

Lot 1991, as **28**.

L. 0.132, W. 0.129, H. 0.080.

Large, intact but empty, with two handles; scoring on exterior to represent basketry. Perhaps used for offering real grains, cakes, or smaller terracotta representations.

Published: Stroud 1965, p. 23, pl. 11:f.

**31.** C-62-816 Pl. 48

Lot 1991, as **28**.

L. 0.032, W. 0.032, H. 0.016.

Empty, intact, with handles. Black paint in dotted pattern inside to represent basket weave (cf. **75**).

- 32.** L2187-1 Pl. 48  
 Lot 2187, Archaic to early 5th century B.C.  
 LT, fill between Buildings N-O:22-23 and N-O:24-25.  
 L. 0.055, H. 0.027.  
 Fragment with side and front edge preserved. Disks decorating side and top edge and six disks on floor.
- 33.** C-64-448 Pl. 48  
 Lot 2080, late 6th to early 5th century B.C.  
 LT, Building N-O:25-26, removal of earliest floor.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.070, H. 0.028.  
 Fragment with one side preserved. Pile of nuts or seeds and spiral-shaped cake on floor.  
 Cf. *Perachora* I, p. 67, pl. 16.
- 34.** L1972-208-1 Pl. 48  
 Lot 1972-208, 6th to second quarter 5th century B.C.  
 LT, Building N-O:25-26, phase 2, north couch packing.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.041.  
 Fragment of floor with part of front edge preserved. Three small disks and an amorphous mass with impressed dots on floor.
- 35.** C-62-308 Pl. 48  
 Lot 1957, 5th century B.C.  
 MT, R:25-26, room G, removal of floor.  
 L. 0.03.  
 Intact, tiny, with three single-knobbed cakes and a scored cake without a central knob.
- 36.** C-62-752 Pl. 48  
 Lot 1988, material Archaic but context at least 5th century B.C.  
 MT, R:23-24, Area D, stone layer covering area.  
 L. 0.029.  
 Fragment with four single-knobbed cakes and one stippled mass.
- 37.** L2011-1 Pl. 48  
 Lot 2011, Archaic to late 5th century B.C. or later.  
 MT, P:26, collapse of north wall, room E.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.040.  
 Fragment with two single-knobbed cakes and two pellets representing seeds or nuts.
- 38.** C-64-42 b Pl. 48  
 Lot 2011, as **37**.  
 L. 0.068, W. 0.067, H. 0.023.  
 Intact, with knobs lining rim and open end. Inside, a cake with five knobs connected by strips, two small disks, a single-knobbed cake, and two incised masses.
- 39.** L2057-1 Pl. 48  
 Lot 2057, Archaic to late 5th century B.C.  
 LT, O:26, fill over bedrock east of Building N-O:25-26.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.056.  
 Fragment with front edge preserved. Inside, a cake with a central knob and four radiating strips of dough connected to four knobs that are off the cake. The cake is surrounded by five oval pellets.
- 40.** L2074-6 Pl. 48  
 Lot 2074, Archaic to third quarter 5th century B.C.  
 LT, Building N-O:25-26, phase 2, north couch packing.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.085.  
 Four joining fragments giving full width, front edge, and sides of tray. Inside, a cake scored into four parts with a central knob. The cake is surrounded by a ring of seven small disks. Open end of liknon and top edge scored.
- 41.** L2074-2 Pl. 49  
 Lot 2074, as **40**.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.094, H. 0.025.  
 Fragment with side and most of floor preserved, with three holes pierced for hanging. Four small disks on floor near front edge.
- 42.** L2225-1 Pl. 49  
 Lot 2225, Archaic to third quarter 5th century B.C.  
 LT, Building N-O:25-26, phase 2, fill under south wall.  
 L. 0.059, W. 0.056, H. 0.012.  
 Nearly intact, floor burned, two sides and front edge preserved. Small disks lined the perimeter, of which six remain; indentations in the floor show where they lined the open end of the liknon.
- 43.** L2230-1 Pl. 49  
 Lot 2230, Archaic to late 5th century B.C.

- MT, P-Q:26, room E, removal of floor 2.  
Max. p. dim. 0.051.  
Partly blackened fragment. Inside, a flat cake with impressed holes and a strip of clay that may represent unwashed sheep's wool.  
Cf. *Perachora* II, no. 3445, p. 328, pl. 130.
- 44.** L893-2 Pl. 49  
Lot 893, Archaic to first quarter 4th century B.C.  
MT, P-G:24-25, fill beneath room A.  
L. 0.130, H. 0.049.  
One half of large liknon with loop handle preserved and two small disks on floor near front edge.
- 45.** C-61-274 Pl. 49  
Lot 893, as **44**.  
L. 0.094, H. 0.028, Diam. of stamp 0.014.  
Fragment with one side preserved. On floor, five small disks and a rounded loaf with two rosette stamps and eleven smaller incised circles, perhaps intended to imitate bread stamps.
- 46.** C-61-291 Pl. 49  
Lot 878, Archaic to late 4th century B.C.  
MT, P:24-25, Trapezoidal Building, construction fill.  
Max. p. dim. 0.042, H. 0.024.  
Fragment with side preserved, decorated inside and out with small disks. On floor, a small bowl containing pellets representing seeds or grain.  
Published: Stroud 1965, p. 23, pl. 11:d.
- 47.** C-62-267 Pl. 49  
Lot 1993, Archaic to late 4th century B.C. or later.  
MT, P:23-24, general fill over Trapezoidal Building.  
Max. p. dim. 0.013, H. 0.026.  
Fragment with one side preserved. Clockwise from broken edge: a single-knobbed cake; a small liknon with holes pierced in sides, inside which is a stippled mass with a clay strip, perhaps a fillet of unwashed sheep's wool, and small disks; another small liknon with handles, with three small disks at its open end and two balls in the center representing nuts or fruits; a tiny bowl with nuts or fruits inside; another stippled mass; a five-knobbed cake with its knobs connected by strips of dough; a pile of pellets representing grain or seeds. In the center is a flattened oblong that may be a fruitcake: a gastris or palathion.  
Published: Stroud 1965, p. 23, pl. 11:e.
- 48.** L2000-1 Pl. 49  
Lot 2000, Archaic to 4th century B.C.  
MT, R:23-24, Area D, dumped fill.  
Max. p. dim. 0.063.  
Fragment of open end of floor, slightly blackened, with three small disks on edge. Would be life-size if complete.
- 49.** L3221-1 Pl. 49  
Lot 3221, 6th to late 4th century B.C.  
LT, Building M:16-17, north couch packing.  
Max. p. dim. 0.104, H. 0.030.  
Fragment, bottom partially burned; side decorated with a flat disk. About half the floor preserved with a single-knobbed cake in center and three impressions left by round cakes around periphery.
- 50.** C-65-470 Pl. 50  
Lot 4460, 6th to late 4th century B.C.  
Foundation trench for south wall of Building M:21-22.  
H. 0.037, L. 0.095, W. 0.078.  
Intact except for chips on lip. On floor, single-knobbed cake, five-knobbed cake with strips of dough connecting the knobs, and eighteen small disks.
- 51.** L6827-1 Pl. 50  
Lot 6827, Mycenaean to late 4th century B.C.  
LT, Building M-N:20-26, general fill above room 3.  
Max. p. dim. 0.075, H. 0.031.  
Fragment with side and one handle preserved, with traces of burning. Inside, three balls representing fruit or nuts and a mass of tiny balls that could be maza or a pile of seeds or nuts, next to a strip of clay perhaps representing a fillet of unwashed sheep's wool.
- 52.** C-73-308 Pl. 50  
No Lot, late 4th century B.C. or later.  
LT, M:24, general fill over Building M-N:20-26, room 5.  
Max. p. dim. 0.062.

Fragment with four small disks lining open end, an oblong mass with incised holes, and a round heap of balls, perhaps representing a tolype or sesamis.

Cf. University of Pennsylvania Museum B12.19, no. 1427 (unpublished).

**53.** C-61-293 Pl. 50

Lot 877, Archaic to early 3rd century B.C.

MT, P:24, Trapezoidal Building, deposit west of pit B.

Max. p. dim. 0.035, H. 0.012.

Fragment preserving side with piecrust decoration on top. Inside, pellets representing grains or seeds.

**54.** C-61-217 Pl. 50

Lot 877, as **53**.

Max. p. dim. 0.058, H. 0.016.

Fragment with one side preserved, with an incised mass representing maza and a clay strip representing a fillet of unwashed sheep's wool connecting it to a small dish with pellets representing grain or seeds.

For a similar representation of maza from the Demeter Sanctuary in Catania, see Riza 1960, p. 257.

**55.** C-61-218 Pl. 50

Lot 877, as **53**.

L. 0.088, H. 0.038.

Fragment, intact except for chips and handles broken off. Inside, two single-knobbed cakes, two stippled masses, perhaps maza, and one cake scored into four sections.

Published: Stroud 1965, p. 23, pl. 11:d.

For a similar cake in a liknon, scored into three parts, see D. B. Thompson 1954, T 431, p. 96, note 46 and pl. 22.

**56.** L3217-3 Pl. 50

Lot 3217, 6th to third quarter 3rd century B.C.

LT, N-O:17-18, pit 1965-1.

Max. p. dim. 0.030.

Fragment with tiny dish inside containing eight single-knobbed cakes.

Published: *Corinth* XVIII, i, pp. 101-103, group 8.

**57.** L3217-6 Pl. 50

Lot 3217, as **56**.

Diam. 0.040, H. 0.019.

Fragment of fine clay liknon, with side and one loop handle preserved; three small disks inside. Appears

to be wheelmade, with one side depressed to make it a liknon.

**58.** L3222-9 Pl. 50

Lot 3222, 6th to 2nd century B.C.

LT, dumped votive fill overlying Building M:16-17.

Max. p. dim. 0.044.

Fragment with intact cup attached, filled with seeds or nuts.

**59.** L3222-10 Pl. 50

Lot 3222, as **58**.

Max. p. dim. 0.040, H. 0.011.

Intact except for chips and handles, which have been broken off; three small disks inside.

**60.** L3222-11 Pl. 50

Lot 3222, as **58**.

Max. p. dim. 0.039.

Fragment of wheelmade liknon, partly burned, string-cut on bottom. Inside, a five-knobbed cake and a smaller liknon with a three-knobbed cake inside.

**61.** L3222-16 Pl. 50

Lot 3222, as **58**.

Max. p. dim. 0.065, H. 0.018.

Fragment with one side preserved; edges decorated with small disks. On floor, a circle of eight disks, with one more in center.

**62.** L3222-8 Pl. 50

Lot 3222, as **58**.

Max. p. dim. 0.102, H. 0.037.

Fragment with side and one handle preserved; edges decorated with small disks. Inside, a smaller liknon with four small disks inside.

**63.** L3222-15 Pl. 50

Lot 3222, as **58**.

L. 0.043, W. 0.042, H. 0.015.

Intact, with disk on floor; side pierced with holes for hanging.

**64.** L3222-5 Pl. 50

Lot 3222, as **58**.

L. 0.064, W. 0.046, H. 0.019.

Intact, with two loop handles and three single-knobbed cakes inside.

- 65.** L3222-14 Pl. 50 MT, Q:25, Roman fill over pit A.  
 Lot 3222, as **58**.  
 L. 0.036, W. 0.035, H. 0.016.  
 Intact, with two loop handles and five small disks inside.
- 66.** L2054-1 Pl. 50 Lot 2239, Archaic to late 4th century after Christ.  
 MT, Propylon, Building O–P:19–20, Late Roman pillaging of west wall.  
 LT, fill overlying external catch basin of Building M–N:25–26.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.035.  
 Fragment, partly burned, containing a cake with seven knobs connected by nine strips of clay.
- 67.** L1960-1 Pl. 50 Lot 1960, Archaic to Early Roman.  
 MT, S:25, layer 1 south of wall 6.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.072.  
 Fragment with four single-knobbed cakes at open end, a stippled mass representing maza, a broken strip of clay that might be a wool fillet, and a single-knobbed cake. A scar near the cake shows where an offering was broken off.
- 68.** C-65-620 Pl. 51 Lot 3230, Archaic to Early Roman.  
 LT, Building M–N:16–17, collapse of south wall.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.065, H. 0.025.  
 Intact except for chips and broken handles. Inside, a cake with deep scoring up to its central knob and another cake with ribbed sides and a central knob.
- 69.** L2010-1 Pl. 51 Lot 2010, Archaic to Late Roman.  
 MT, P:27, general fill.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.075.  
 Fragment with a mass of little pellets and six small disks, two of them lining open end of liknon.
- 70.** L2240-3 Pl. 51 Lot 2240, Archaic to Late Roman.  
 MT, Propylon, Building O–P:19–20, fill on floor.  
 L. 0.072, W. 0.066, H. 0.025.  
 Intact, with three holes pierced in side for hanging. Inside, eight small disks arranged in a T-formation.
- 71.** L886-1 Pl. 51 Lot 886, Archaic to 3rd century after Christ.
- 72.** L2239-2 Pl. 51 Lot 2239, Archaic to late 4th century after Christ.  
 MT, Propylon, Building O–P:19–20, Late Roman pillaging of west wall.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.085, H. 0.021.  
 Fragment with one side preserved. In center, one large five-knobbed cake, with two single-knobbed cakes and two five-knobbed cakes lining the open end and, to one side, a pile of pellets representing grain or nuts.
- 73.** C-61-216 Pl. 51 Lot 870, Archaic to Late Roman.  
 MT, O–Q:25, surface layer.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.023.  
 Fragment containing a ribbed cake with a large central knob.
- 74.** L896-10 Pl. 51 Lot 896, Archaic to Late Roman.  
 MT, P–Q:24, surface layer.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.050.  
 Fragment with side preserved; three small disks inside and traces of black glaze or paint on floor.
- 75.** C-61-275 Pl. 51 Lot 896, as **74**.  
 L. 0.072, H. 0.024.  
 Intact, painted in matt black glaze to imitate basket weave, with eight small disks on floor in a circle around one central disk.
- 76.** C-62-861 Pl. 51 Lot 1998, Archaic to Late Roman.  
 MT, Q:24, surface layer.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.091, H. 0.019.  
 Fragment with side preserved, containing a single-knobbed cake and a sphere covered with little balls, perhaps representing a tolype or sesamis.  
 Cf. Dentzer 1982, p. 519, fig. 513; University of Pennsylvania Museum B12.19, no. 1427 (unpublished); D. B. Thompson 1963, T 3437, pl. 76.
- 77.** L3206-5 Pl. 51 Lot 3206, Archaic to Late Roman.

LT, surface layer.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.062, H. 0.025.  
 Fragment with one side preserved. Inside, a dish containing ten fruits or nuts. Five pellets representing grain or seeds lie on floor.

**78.** L4350-1 Pl. 51

Lot 4350, Archaic to Late Roman.  
 MT, robbed wall trench for Roman terrace wall (wall 11).  
 Max. p. dim. 0.044.  
 Fragment with part of open side preserved. On floor, a five-knobbed cake and a seed or nut.

**79.** L4377-3 Pl. 51

Lot 4377, Archaic to Late Roman.  
 UT, Q-R:16-17, S-T:20, surface layer.  
 Diam. 0.046, H. 0.010.  
 A string-cut, fine, wheelmade clay liknon with flaring sides and a small lug handle. Three small disks on floor.

**80.** L4377-2 Pl. 51

Lot 4377, as **79**.  
 L. 0.049, W. 0.050, H. 0.014.  
 Intact except for a chip. Two disks pressed on interior of side and, on floor, five small disks.

**81.** C-65-467 Pl. 51

Lot 4405, Archaic to Late Roman.  
 LT, N:13-15, surface layer.  
 L. 0.07.  
 Intact except for broken handles, with hole pierced in side for hanging. Inside, a cake with deeply scored incisions that extend into floor of liknon and a central knob, now broken off.

**82.** L5613-6 Pl. 51

Lot 5613, Archaic to Late Roman.  
 LT, surface layer.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.041.  
 Fragment with a hole in underside, perhaps for attachment to another larger vessel. On floor, a mass of pellets squashed together that represent either maza or a pile of seeds or nuts.

**83.** L6507-2 Pl. 51

Lot 6507, Archaic to Late Roman.  
 UT, R-U:21-23, surface layer.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.044.

Fragment of wheelmade liknon of fine clay with one side and one lug handle preserved. On floor, three small disks, a round shape impressed with circles to represent maza, and a strip of clay, perhaps representing a fillet of unwashed sheep's wool.

LIKNON WITH PAINTED CAKE

**84.** L1985-31 Pl. 51

Lot 1985, 7th century to ca. 500 B.C.  
 MT, Area D, R:23-24, burnt layer over floor.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.019, H. 0.015.  
 Fine clay, broken, with one handle preserved. Inside, a cake with two incisions is painted as a black-glaze circle within which is a red cross; black stripe on edge of tray and handle.

LIKNA OF KERNOS TYPE

**85.** L7158-2 Pl. 52

Lot 7158, Mycenaean, 7th to middle or third quarter 6th century B.C.  
 LT, fill beneath earliest road.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.054, H. 0.020.  
 Partially blackened fragment with side preserved. Inside, a broken cup, perhaps a kalathos.

**86.** L3222-12 Pl. 52

Lot 3222, 6th to 2nd century B.C.  
 LT, dumped votive fill overlying Building M:16-17.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.054, H. 0.027, H. of kotyle 0.01.  
 Fragment with side preserved. Inside, an empty two-handled cup, perhaps a kotyle, with one handle and lip chipped.

**87.** L2231-1 Pl. 52

Lot 2231, Archaic to Roman.  
 MT, Propylon, Building O-P:19-20, Roman layer covering south foundation trench.  
 Max. p. dim. 0.045.  
 Fragment, probably wheelmade, with concave bottom and flaring sides. Inside, an empty cup and a single-knobbed cake with impressed dots, perhaps representing seeds.

Cf. *Perachora* II, no. 3463, p. 328, pl. 130.

**88.** L2048-1 Pl. 52

Lot 2048, Archaic to Late Roman.

MT, Q-R:27-29, surface layer.

Max. p. dim. 0.104.

Fragment with black discoloration. Inside, a single-knobbed cake and a shallow mesomphalic bowl or phiale.

**89. C-64-73** Pl. 52

Lot 2038, Archaic to Late Roman.

MT, Q-R:27-29, surface layer.

L. 0.086, W. 0.074, H. 0.025.

Intact except for broken handles and chips. Inside, three mesomphalic bowls, one trefoil-lip jug, and two fruits or nuts. Perhaps the bowls were used to hold perishable offerings or liquids.

**90. C-61-372** Pl. 52

Lot 880, Archaic to first half of 3rd century B.C.

MT, P:24-25, Sacrificial pit B.

H. 0.019, L. 0.047, W. 0.04.

Fine, wheelmade clay liknon, intact except for one chip on lip, with two handles. Inside, three intact empty cups.

LOOSE CAKES

**91. L1972-209-2** Pl. 52

Lot 1972-209, *ca.* third quarter 6th century B.C.

LT, Building N-O:25-26, phase 1, fill beneath earliest floor.

Diam. 0.030, H. 0.013.

A cake, complete except for one chip on side, scored on sides and top, with a central knob. No evidence of attachment on underside.

**92. L1991-1** Pl. 52

Lot 1991, Archaic to early 5th century B.C.

MT, Area D, R:23-24, dumped fill.

Diam. 0.019.

Single round cake with impressed circles, perhaps representing poppy- or sesame-seed topping.

Cf. *Perachora* II, no. 3463, p. 328, pl. 130.

**93. L3222-6** Pl. 52

Lot 3222, as **86**.

Max. p. dim. 0.048.

Intact, single-knobbed cake with smooth underside, no attachment.

PLATE

**94. C-62-960** Pl. 52

Lot 2000, Archaic to 4th century B.C.

MT, R:23-24, Area D, dumped fill.

Max. p. dim. 0.097.

Circular plate holding a number of broken offerings, a smaller plate on legs with a strip of clay protruding from underneath it, and a number of thin strips that might be fillets of unwashed sheep's wool.

## COMPARANDA

1. Athens, Agora: terracotta head of a woman with a liknon on top. Inside, two stalks of wheat, a pyramidal cake, and a scored loaf. 3rd century B.C. D. B. Thompson 1954, T 431, p. 22.
2. Athens, Agora: terracotta statuette of a seated goddess with a large liknon on her lap, with one knob in its center. 4th century B.C. D. B. Thompson 1954, T 1547, p. 22.
3. Athens, Agora: plate with cakes and a stalk of wheat. Late 3rd century B.C. D. B. Thompson 1963, T 2518, pl. 76.
4. Athens, Pnyx: single scored cake with a central knob, perhaps a plakous. 4th century B.C. Thompson and Davidson 1943, T 172, p. 156, no. 107.
5. Athens, Pnyx: rectangular tray with a flat cake with a central knob, a woolen fillet, and a stippled mass that might be maza. Late 4th century B.C. Thompson and Davidson 1943, T 161, p. 156, no. 106.
6. Brauron: cake with a central knob dedicated at the sanctuary of Artemis. 5th-4th century B.C. Brauron museum; unpublished.
7. Perachora: round ring shapes, called koulouria. Also a cake with other cakes set on top, "like a kernos". *Perachora* I, pp. 67-99, pl. 16:6. See also Salmon (1972, p. 166), who compares these koulouria to the cakes from the Sanctuary of Demeter at Corinth.

8. Perachora: ring with applied cakes. One cake has circular incisions and might be maza. There is also a single disk, pricked all over, perhaps maza. *Perachora II*, p. 328, pl. 130, nos. 3445, 3463.
9. Corinth, Forum West, near Babbius Monument: liknon containing two leaves, with three rings on one leaf. Unpublished; inv. no. C-70-142. This is the only liknon found outside the Sanctuary.
10. Argive Heraion: fragment of a dish with cakes, some plain, some with a central knob. Waldstein 1905, no. 267, p. 42.
11. Tiryns: round plate containing a cake with ribbed sides and a central knob, perhaps a plakous, and two single-knobbed cakes. Frickenhaus 1912, p. 85, fig. 28.
12. Tiryns: terracotta statuette of a woman with a basket on her head. In the basket are four stippled squares, perhaps maza, and one single-knobbed cake. Frickenhaus 1912, no. 72, p. 74, pl. 10:2.
13. Mytilene, Sanctuary of Demeter: single-knobbed cake on a plate. (H. Williams, personal communication.)
14. Morgantina, Sanctuary of Demeter: three small hand-modeled terracotta disks. Bell 1981, no. 908, p. 229, pl. 135. See also D. B. Thompson 1952, p. 150, nos. 64, 65, pl. 40: similar objects identified as counters in a game.
15. Todi, Umbria: loose foods modeled in terracotta, including two scored cakes with missing knobs (University of Pennsylvania Museum, inv. nos. 1413, 1414), a cake with sesame on top and ribbed sides (1416), a loaf of bread with a piece cut out (1417), a flat cake with a braided ring at the edge (1418), and a round cake with stippling, perhaps a tolypa (1427), of the 3rd century B.C. (B12.19, University of Pennsylvania Museum, cat. no. 101, pp. 133–134). I thank David Romano of the University Museum for calling these to my attention.
16. Selinous: undated terracotta statuette of a woman holding a dish with cakes, one with a central knob. Gabrici 1927, p. 291, fig. 126.
17. Taranto: labeled “frutta estivi”; looks like a ribbed cake. Taranto Museum, not inventoried. (David Romano, personal communication.)
18. Catania: dish with four single-knobbed cakes and a stippled mass, perhaps maza. 5th–4th century B.C. Rizza 1960, p. 257.
19. Solygeia: terracotta baskets containing fruits and ring shapes that might be cakes. Verdelis 1962, p. 191.
20. Taranto: “target-cakes” with raised omphalos in center held by torch-carrying Demeter in a relief. Kingsley 1976; cf. Paul n.d., p. 75, pl. 269.
21. Sele: two objects, with holes for suspension, identified as stamps for decorating ritual cakes. In the illustration they look like votive plates with tiny stamped terracotta cakes on them. Zancani-Montuoro 1965–1966, p. 83, pl. 18:B, C. Cf. D. B. Thompson 1952, pls. 42, 77.
22. Reliefs: Dentzer (1982, pp. 519–520) discusses many examples of cakes on banqueting-hero reliefs. Individual cakes can sometimes be identified in side view, for example the plakous (figs. 466, 487, 513, 616, 630), the cone-shaped pyramis or nastos (figs. 397, 468, 513, 616), and perhaps a ball of maza or pankarpia (fig. 513).
23. Vase painting: In vase paintings, cakes appear in banqueting scenes, as on a red-figured krater from Naples on which deities feast on the pyramis and plakous (Dentzer 1982, fig. 117). On an Attic red-figured vase Dionysos relaxes near a table with a large plakous (Richter 1936, pls. 152, 153), and Herakles is regaled with pyramides in the house of Eurytos (Arias, Hirmer, and Shefton 1962, pl. 32). Cakes also appear in sacrificial scenes, as when a woman carries an offering tray with cakes on her head (Amyx 1988, III, pl. 83:2). For additional examples see Dentzer 1982, p. 521.

## APPENDIX : NAMES OF SACRIFICIAL CAKES

*LSAM* = Sokolowski 1955

*LSCG* = Sokolowski 1969

*LSS* = Sokolowski 1962

ἀχάννας: cake in the shape of a goat, given to Demeter and Kore in the Megalartia (Big Loaves) festival in Boiotia

Athenaios 109e; Plutarch, *de Is. et Osir.* 378e.

ἀμφιφῶν: cake with lights around it, dedicated to Artemis

Athenaios 645a; Pollux 6.75; *Suda*, s.v. ἀναστάτοι; Eustathius, *Il.* 18.575.

ἀναστάτος: cake given to the Arrhephoroi

Athenaios 114a–b; *Suda*, s.v. ἀναστάτοι.

ἀρεστήρ: cake burned in the fire, offered to Helios, Mnemosyne, and the Moirai

Pollux 6.76; *LSCG* 21.B19, lines 23–24; *LSCG* 22, line 2; *LSCG* 26, line 2; Bekker, *Anecd. Graec.* I, p. 215.

βασύνια: wheat boiled with honey, figs, and walnuts, offered to Iris

Athenaios 645b.

βήρηξ: maza, eaten at Apollo's Cleaver festival in Sparta

Hesychios, s.v. τόλυπη, s.v. βήρηρες; Athenaios 114f, 140a; Bekker, *Anecd. Graec.* I, p. 220.

βοῦς: flat round cake with horns, offered to Kronos, Hestia, Hekate, Selene, Apollo, Artemis, Kouroutrophos, and Hermes

Eustathius, *Il.* 18.575; *Suda*, s.v. πόπανα; *Anth. Pal.* 6.36, 98; Pollux 6.76; Hesychios, s.v. μαζεινὸς βοῦς; *LSCG* 25; *LSCG* 52, lines 24–25; *LSS* 80, line 7; *LSS* 21; *LSAM* 43, line 3.

γάστρις: flat cake made of seeds, nuts, pepper, and honey

Athenaios 647f; Hesychios, s.v. γάστριον; *Etym. Mag.* 221.45.

ἐλατήρ: cake filled with bean soup offered to Hera, Zeus Phratrios, Dionysos, and Athena

Aristophanes, *Ach.* 246, *Eq.* 1183; *Suda*, s.v. ἐλατήρ; Hesychios, s.v. ἔλατρα; *LSCG* 19, line 7; *LSCG* 151.B, line 9; *LSAM* 37, line 11; *LSAM* 50, line 36.

ἐλαφός: deer-shaped cake made from wheat, honey, and sesame, offered to Artemis at the Elaphebolia

Athenaios 646e.

ἐλλύτης: wheat cake offered to the Muses

*LSCG* 135, lines 71–73.

ἐπιπελανίαι: cakes offered in preliminary sacrifices

Hesychios, s.v. ἐπιπελανίαι.

ἐπιπέμματα: general sacrificial cakes

*LSAM* 38, lines 10–12.

θάργηλος, θαλύσιος: loaf made from the first fruits of the grain harvest and offered to Demeter and Apollo at the Thalsia and the Thargelia

Athenaios 114a; Eustathius, *Il.* 772.22.

θιαγών: a cake offered to the gods in Aitolia

Athenaios 114c; Hesychios, s.v. θιαγόνες.

κόλλυβα (kollyba): small round cakes offered to Zeus, Men, Damia, and Auxesia

Hesychios, s.v. κόλλυβα; Aristophanes, *Ra.* 507, *Pax* 1196; Schol. Aristophanes, *Pl.* 768; Athenaios 112f; *LSCG* 55, line 24; *LSCG* 62, line 11.

- κρήμιον: Argive wedding cake baked on charcoal  
Athenaios 645d.
- κρίβανα: breast-shaped cakes carried in Spartan wedding rituals  
Athenaios 115a, 646a.
- λοχιᾶ: a loaf made for Artemis, perhaps connected to childbirth customs  
Hesychios, *s.v.* λοχιᾶ.
- μούλλος: aidolia-cake of sesame and honey, carried in honor of Demeter and Kore in the Thesmophoria at Syracuse  
Athenaios 647a.
- ναστός (nastos): a cone-shaped cake with raisins, almonds, and honey sauce inside, offered to Zeus Georgos and Men  
Athenaios 111c–d, 646e; Pollux 6.78; Aristophanes, *Au.* 567, *Plut.* 1142; Schol. Aristophanes, *Plut.* 1142; Hesychios, *s.v.* ναστός; *LSCG* 52, lines 11–14; *LSCG* 55, line 23.
- νεήλατα: ground barley meal with honey, raisins, and green chickpeas, distributed at initiations  
Demosthenes, *de Corona* 260; Pollux 6.77; Julian, *Ep.* 24; Athenaios 645b; Bekker, *Anecd. Graec.* I, p. 282; Harpokration, *s.v.* νεήλατα.
- ὄβελια: bread cooked on a spit, carried in procession in honor of Dionysos  
Pollux 6.75; Athenaios 111b; Hesychios, *s.v.* ὄβελιας.
- ῥυμαι: wheat soaked in honey, offered to Demeter Omphnia  
Kallimachos, fr. 658, 681; Schol. Nikander, *Alex.* 450; Hesychios, *s.v.* ῥυμαι; *Suda*, *s.v.* ῥυμνιος; Bekker, *Anecd. Graec.* I, p. 287; *Etym. Mag.*, *s.v.* ῥυμνή; Schol. Lykophron 621.
- ὀρθοστάτης: loaf offered to Helios and the Horai  
Pollux 6.74; Porphyrios, *Abst.* 2.7; Hesychios, *s.v.* ὀρθοστάτης.
- παλάθη: fruit cake, offered in the liknon  
Herodotos 4.23; Athenaios 478d, 500d; Theophrastos, *HP* 4.2.10; *Suda*, *s.v.* παλάθη; Hesychios, *s.v.* παλάθη; Porphyrios, *Abst.* 2.7.
- πανκαρπία (pankarpia): sesame honey cakes, boiled in honey and wrapped in papyrus, offered to Zeus Ktesios and Zeus Georgos  
Athenaios 473c, 648b; *LSCG* 52, line 15.
- πελανός: generic term for cereal offering to Demeter and Kore and all the gods  
Pausanias 8.2.3; Aischylos, *Choe.* 92; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1672, line 280; Eustathius, *Il.* 18.575; Pollux 6.75.
- πέμμα: general term for cake, used in sacrifices to Demeter, Zeus, and Athena  
Herodotos 1.160; Pausanias 1.38.6; Antiphon 174.2; Athenaios 12e, 172c–e, 642a, 645e, 648a; Hesychios, *s.v.* πέμμα; *LSS* 109, line 4; *LSCG* 152, line 6; *LSAM* 9, line 21; *LSAM* 57, line 3; *LSAM* 145.
- πλακοῦς (plakous): a rich, flaky, cheese-filled cake with ribbed sides and a knob on top, offered to Apollo and others  
Athenaios 58e, 642e; *Anth. Pal.* 6.155; Pollux 6.72; Hesychios, *s.v.* πλακοῦς; *Suda*, *s.v.* πλακόμεναι; Aristophanes, *Ekkli.* 221, *Ach.* 1092, *Pax* 869; *LSAM* 43, line 2.
- πόπανον (popanon): round, flat wheat cake associated with sacrifices to all the gods, Herakles, Kourotrophos, Hermes, Leto, Apollo, Artemis, Asklepios, Demeter, Kore, Kybele, the Winds, and Zeus; with one knob (μονόμφαλον) or twelve knobs (δωδεκόμφαλον), sticking up straight (ὀρθόνφαλον) or sitting flat (καθήμενον).  
Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 285, *Plut.* 660; Photios, *s.v.* πόπανα; *Suda*, *s.v.* πόπανα; Hesychios, *s.v.* πόπανα; Polybios, *Fr.* 6.25.7; *LSCG* 52, lines 2–28; *LSCG* 38, line 12; *LSCG* 27; *LSCG* 21, lines 3–10; *LSCG* 169.B.I, line 10.
- προκώνια: untoasted barley meal with honey, offered to Demeter and Kore  
*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1672, lines 279–280; Harpokration, *s.v.* προκώνια; Photios, *s.v.* προκώνια; Pollux 6.77.

- πυραμίς, πυραμοῦς (pyramis, pyramous): pyramid-shaped honey and sesame wheat cake, eaten at vigils and at mysteries of Demeter and Kore  
Aristophanes, *Eq.* 277; Schol. Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 94; Athenaios 114b, 647c; Clement, *Protr.* 2.19; *EM* 697.27–28; Hesychios, *s.v.* πυραμοῦς; Schol. Pindar. *O.* 9.1; *Suda*, *s.v.* πυραμοῦς.
- σελήνη: flat round cake offered to “the goddess”  
Pollux 6.76; *Suda*, *s.v.* σελήνη.
- σεσάμις: spherical cakes made with honey, sesame, and oil, offered to Demeter and Kore  
Athenaios 646f; *LSCG* 63, line 9; Clement, *Protr.* 2.19.
- τολύπη (tolype): ball-shaped cake made of maza, used in mysteries  
Clement, *Protr.* 2.19; Hesychios, *s.v.* τολύπη; Athenaios 114f, 140a.
- ύγεια: maza, distributed at sacrifices  
Athenaios 115a; Pollux 6.76; Herodotos 4.94; Hesychios, *s.v.* ύγεια; Photios, *s.v.* ύγεια.
- φθοῖς (phthois): a cake of cheese, honey, and wheat, offered to Demeter, Zeus Polieus, Zeus Atabyrios, Hestia, Helios, the Horai, Apollo, Asklepios, and all the gods  
Athenaios 647d–e; Porphyrios, *Abst.* 2.7; Photios, *s.v.* φθοῖς; *Suda*, *s.v.* ἀναστάτοι; Aristophanes, *Plut.* 677; *Anth. Pal.* 6.258; Schol. Aristophanes, *Plut.* 677; Clement, *Protr.* 2.19; *LSS* 109, line 5; *LSCG* 151, line 30; *LSAM* 24.A, line 22.
- χαρῖσιοι: cakes made from leftovers and served at vigils  
Athenaios 646b; *Suda*, *s.v.* χαρῖσιοι.

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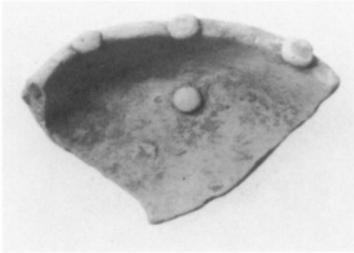
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PLATE 46



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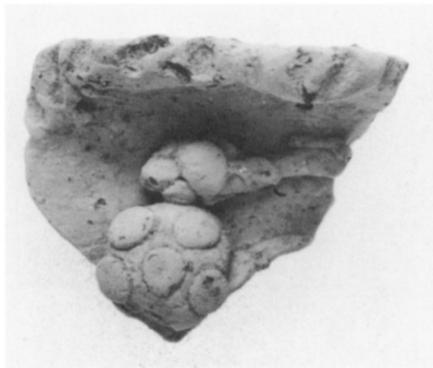
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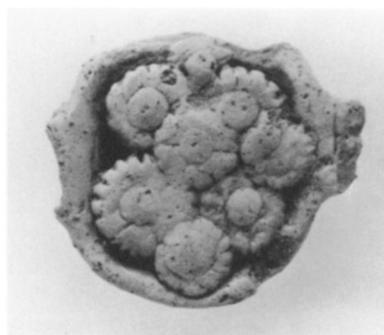
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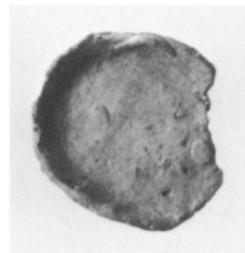


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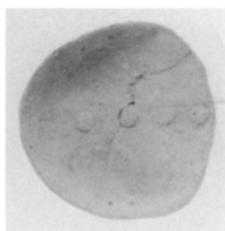
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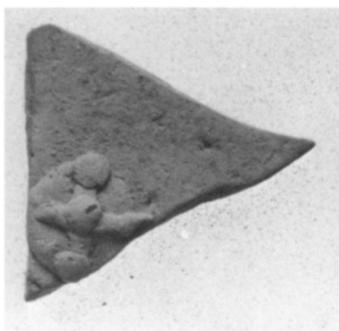
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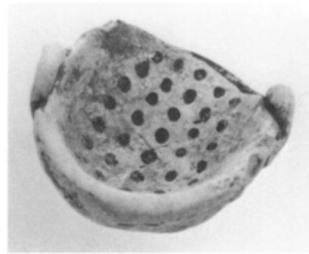
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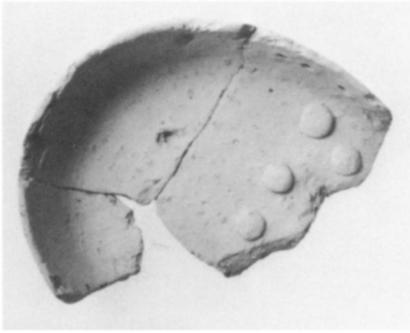
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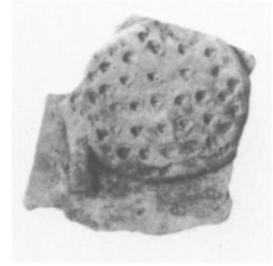
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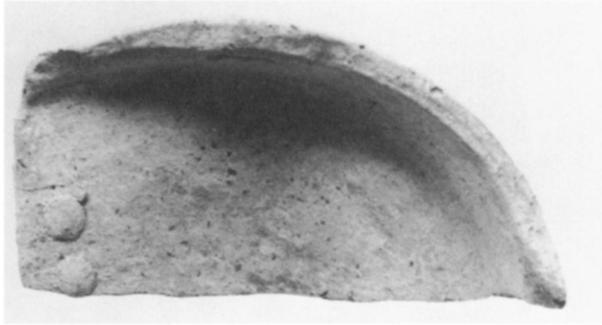
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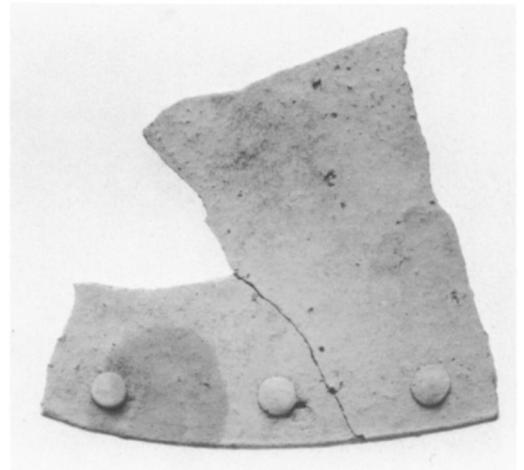
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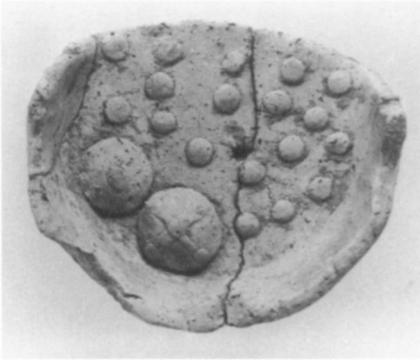
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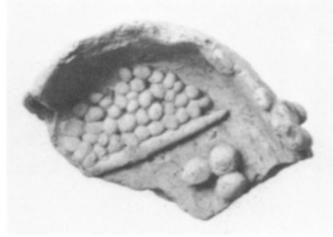
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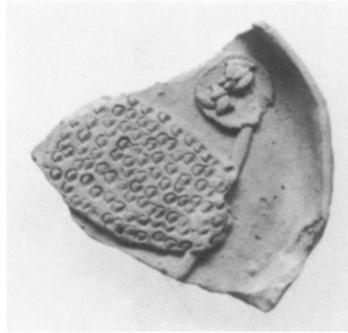
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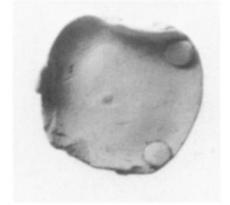
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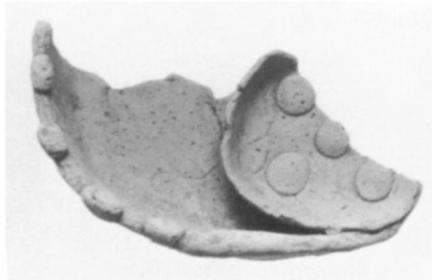
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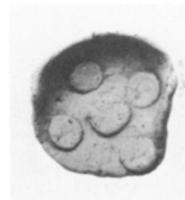
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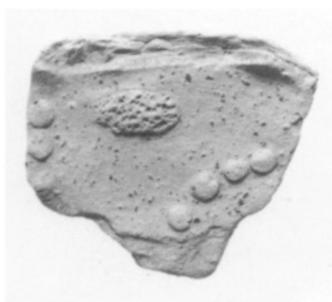
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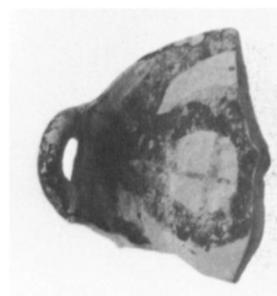
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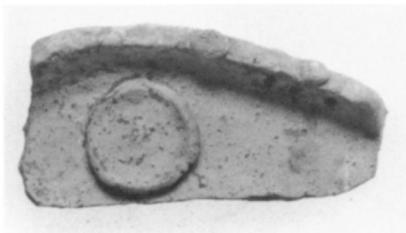
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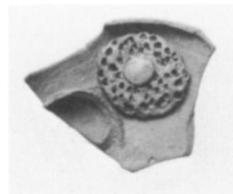
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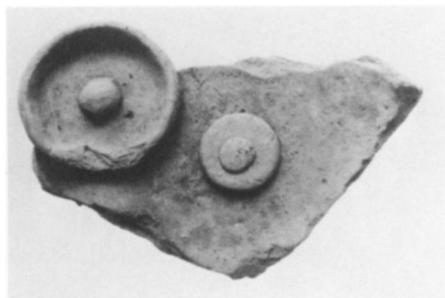
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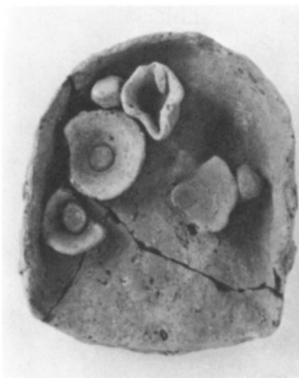
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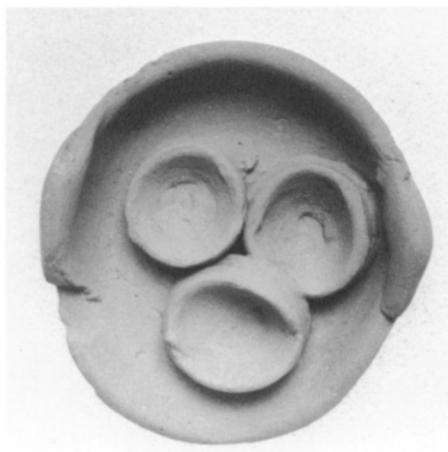
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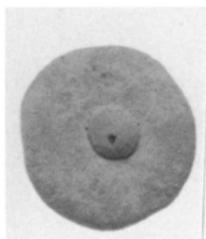
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a. St. Basil's cake at Phocis (photo Frantz; courtesy Princeton University Library)

Scale 1:2, except 90-92, 1:1

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