

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

The Prostitute and Her Headdress: the *Mitra*, *Sakkos* and *Kekryphalos* in Attic Red-figure

Vase-painting ca. 550-450 BCE

by

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Abstract

This study documents the problematic headdress iconography of Attic Red-figure vase-painting ca. 550-450 BCE. The findings demonstrate that more prostitutes than wives, or any other female figures, are illustrated with the *mitra* (turban), *sakkos* (sack) and *kekryphalos* (hair-net). These headdresses were prostitutes' common apparel as well as their frequent attributes and social markers.

The study also shows that prostitutes were involved in manufacturing of textiles, producing the headdresses on the small sprang hand frames chosen for their practicality, convenience and low cost. In this enquiry, two hundred and thirty (230) fully catalogued and thoroughly analyzed images include twenty (20) such scenes, in addition to two hundred and ten (210) depicting prostitutes wearing the headdresses. This iconography is the primary evidence on which the study's conclusions are based.

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Finally, I am forever grateful to my husband for his endless hours of scanning and programming allowing me to create this amazing catalogue and database.

Dedication

To my loving Johannes

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Source: Beazley Archive Digital Database

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Source: I. Jenkins, & D. Williams, "Sprang Hair Nets: Their Manufacture and Use in Ancient Greece," *American Journal of Archaeology* 89/3 (1985): pl.46 fig.14.

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Source: I. Jenkins, & D. Williams, "Sprang Hair Nets: Their Manufacture and Use in Ancient Greece," *American Journal of Archaeology* 89/3 (1985): Pl. 46 fig.11.

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Source: I. Jenkins, & D. Williams, "Sprang Hair Nets: Their Manufacture and Use in Ancient Greece," *American Journal of Archaeology* 89/3 (1985): pl.45 fig.10.

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Source: www.coinarchives.com

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Source: L. Konova, "Goddesses or Mortals. Some Remarks on the Iconography and Symbolism of the Female Heads on Red Figure Vases from the Necropolis of Apollonia Pontica," *Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis* 5/1 (2006): fig.3.

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CHAPTER FOUR: THE HEADDRESSES AND THE SPRANG TECHNIQUE

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Source: Beazley Archive Digital Database

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Source: Beazley Archive Digital Database

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Source: Perseus Digital Library

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Source: N. Marinatos, *Art and Religion in Thera: Reconstructing a Bronze Age Society* (Athens: D. & I. Mathioulakis, 1984), fig.45-6.

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Source: R. Williams, "An Attic Red-Figure Kalathos," *Antike Kunst* 4 (1961): fig.1.

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Source: Beazley Archive Digital Database

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Source: S. Lewis, *Athenian Woman: An Iconographic Handbook* (NY: Routledge, 2002), fig.3.23.

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Source: Beazley Archive Digital Database

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Source: Beazley Archive Digital Database

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Source: M. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases* (London: Duckworth, 1993), fig.R630.

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Toledo (OH), Museum of Art Collection 1972.55; Beazley Archive Database No. 7766

Source: Perseus Digital Library

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Source: A. Stewart, "Reflections," in N. Kampen (ed.), *Sexuality in Ancient Art: Near East, Egypt, Greece, and Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), figs.58, 60.

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Source: G. M. A. Richter, "An Archaic Greek Mirror," *American Journal of Archaeology* 42/3 (1938): fig.4.

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Source: L. Petersen, "Reconstructing Female Subjectivity on Greek Vases," *Arethusa* 30/1 (1997), fig.15.

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Source: M. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases* (London: Duckworth, 1993), fig.R630.

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Source: L. Petersen, "Reconstructing Female Subjectivity on Greek Vases," *Arethusa* 30/1 (1997), fig.12.

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Source: Beazley Archive Digital Database

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Source: J. & L. Jehasse, *La Nécropole Préromaine d'Aléria (1969-1968)* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1973), pl.49.

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CHAPTER FIVE: PROSTITUTES AND THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

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Munich, private collection; Beazley Archive Database No. 788

Source: R. F. Sutton Jr., "Family Portraits: Recognizing the *Oikos* on Attic Red-figure Pottery," in A. P. Chapin (ed.), *Charis: Essays in Honor of Sara A. Immerwahr. Hesperia Supplement* 33 (2004), fig.17.6.

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Source: Beazley Archive Digital Database

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Source: J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Classical Period* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), fig.193

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Source: U. Knigge, *Kerameikos IX* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1976), pl. 19, fig.23.

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Source: D. Williams, "An Oinochoe in the British Museum and the Brygos Painter's Work on a White Ground," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Musée n 24* (1982), fig.2.

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St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum

Source: E. Suhr, "The Spinning Aphrodite in the Minor Arts," *American Journal of Archaeology* 67/1 (1963): pl.1 fig.1.

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Source: E. Suhr, "The Spinning Aphrodite in the Minor Arts," *American Journal of Archaeology* 67/1 (1963): pl.1 fig.2.

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Source: Beazley Archive Digital Database

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Source: R. Carpenter, "Two Postscripts to the Hermes Controversy," *American Journal of Archaeology* 58/1 (1954): pl.1 fig 3.

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Source: D. Garrison, *Sexual Culture in Ancient Greece* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), fig.3.4.

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Figure 5.18

Woman wearing a saltire, in front of a door

Athens, M. Vlasto 215607; Beazley Archive Database No. 215607

Source: Beazley Archive Digital Database

Figure 5.19

Nude prostitute with a saltire playing *krotala*

St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum: ST808; Beazley Archive Database No. 216220

Source: H. Licht, [Paul Brandt], *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* (Zurich: Paul Aretz & Co. Verlag, 1925-1928), 253.

CHAPTER SIX: THE HEADDRESSES IN ATTIC VASE-PAINTING

Figure 6.1

Maenad and satyr in harmony

New York (NY), Market: XXXX0.4403; Beazley Archive Database No. 204403

Source: Beazley Archive Digital Database

Figure 6.2

Two maenads confronting the satyrs

Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 91.223; Beazley Archive Database No. 209709

Source: Perseus Digital Library

Figure 6.3

Nude maenad attacking a satyr

Princeton (NJ), University Art Museum: 33.41; Beazley Archive Database No. 200483

Source: Beazley Archive Digital Database

Figure 6.4

Satyr and a prostitute

Wurzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Mus.: 2164; Beazley Archive Database No. 31655

Source: E. Keuls, "Male-Female Interaction in Fifth Century Dionysiac Ritual," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 35 (1984): fig.11.

Figure 6.5

Maenad or prostitute with the headdress

New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum: 25.78.4; Beazley Archive Database No. 310289

Source: Beazley Archive Digital Database

Figure 6.6

Prostitute wearing a headdress with a satyr

Milan, Civico Museo Archeologico: 265; Beazley Archive Database No. 13120

Source: Beazley Archive Digital Database

Figure 6.7

Two prostitutes with *sakkoi*

Munich, Antikensammlungen: 2167; Beazley Archive Database No. 306480

Source: Beazley Archive Digital Database

Figure 6.8

Copulating couple, woman wearing a *sakkos*

Acropolis fragment no.1639

Source: A. Lemos, "Athenian Black-Figure: Rhodes Revisited" in J. Oakley et al. (eds.), *Athenian Potters and Painters: The Conference Proceedings* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997), fig.8.

Figure 6.9

Copulation couple, woman wearing a *kekryphalos*

Munich, Antikensammlungen: 1432; Beazley Archive Database No. 310097

Source: Beazley Archive Digital Database

Figure 6.10

Maenad vs. prostitute

Germany, private collection

Source: W. Hornbostel (ed.), *Kunst der Antike: Schätze aus norddt. Privatbesitz* (Mainz, 1977), no.263.

Figure 6.11

Prostitutes wearing *mitrai* with *krotala* dancing at the *komos*

Ann Arbor (MI), University of Michigan, Kelsey Museum: 2599; Beazley Archive Database No. 301911

Source: Beazley Archive Digital Database

Figure 6.12

Prostitutes wearing *sakkoi* at the *symposion*

Tampa (FL), Museum of Art: 86.34; Beazley Archive Database No. 306630

Source: Perseus Digital Library

Figure 6.13

Sakkos/Kekryphalos Head *Oinochoe* (damaged)

Vibo Valentia, Museo Statale Vito Capialbi: C57; Beazley Archive Database No. 17664

Source: Beazley Archive Digital Database

Figure 6.14

Sakkos/Kekryphalos Head *Kantharos*

Tarquiniia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese: 6845; Beazley Archive Database No. 260209

Source: Beazley Archive Digital Database

Figure 6.15

Sakkos Head *Kantharos* (Black)

St. Louis (MO), University, Washington Museum: WU3284; Beazley Archive Database No. 218376

Source: Beazley Archive Digital Database

Figure 6.16

Patterned *mitra*

Berlin, Antikensammlung: F4221; Beazley Archive Database No. 200509

Source: Beazley Archive Digital Database

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The history of prostitution plays a vital part in the complex, multifaceted discipline of ancient society. The study of Attic prostitutes is essential, as they rightfully belong to the scholarship on Greek women, and their existential evidence and artistic representations play an important role in perceiving Athenian society and culture overall. Modern scholarship, regrettably, is not inquisitive about their lives, appearance or influence, since only a few studies acknowledge their existence without condemnation. Researchers ought to recognize that in some instances, prostitutes were more empowered¹ politically, economically and intellectually than the respected² citizen women; however, most scholarship still ignores this fact and continues to discredit them. Scholars are generally influenced by traditional moral values and thus condemn “immoral” women and consider them unworthy of the study. As a result, prostitutes are referred to in brief and superficial paragraphs and some works fail to mention them altogether.

Furthermore, these women are consistently denied their identities,³ as their characters are only believed to be fictional and anecdotal, and their privileges and

¹ This study defines “empowerment” as “the right to determine choices in life and to influence the direction of change through the ability to gain control over material and non-material resources”, C. Moser, “Gender Planning in the Third World: Meeting Practical and Strategic Needs,” in R. Grant & K. Newland (eds.), *Gender and International Relations* (Indiana: Indiana University Press 1991), 106-107.

² I purposefully avoid the term “respectable”, which was typically used to label citizen wives in the scholarship; see a later explanation in the introduction p.7.

³ “A large number of scholars treat almost everything said about ancient courtesans as simply made up; their voices are *always* the voice of men ventriloquizing; there is *nothing* of them in representations. To take the evidence seriously can be seen as a sign of weak-mindedness, or even as an indulging of a seductive, romantic, but ultimately misogynistic fantasy.” J. Davidson, “Making a Spectacle of Her(self): the Greek Courtesan and the Art of the Present,” in M. Feldman & B. Gordon (eds.), *The Courtesan's Arts: Cross-Cultural Perspectives* (Oxford University Press, 2006), 31.

achievements legends, myths or simply exaggerated stories.⁴ A large number of words for prostitute existed in ancient Greek,⁵ yet scholars persistently refer to these women either as *hetairai* (courtesan) or *pornai* (common prostitute). By limiting their language to Greek terminology, scholars reveal their discomfort and uneasiness with the English word “prostitute”.⁶

Besides the mishandled written sources, the material evidence is mismanaged as well. For example, the excavation of a likely brothel in the Kerameikos, a primary location of prostitutes in ancient Athens, has generated a heated debate. The identification of Building Z as a brothel is disputed even though certain features are clearly pointing in that direction.⁷ Since the Kerameikos was the main spot for painters, potters and

⁴ S. Lewis, *Athenian Woman: An Iconographic Handbook* (NY: Routledge, 2002), 101. For example, Cooper dismisses the trial of Phryne as a fantastic narrative used for rhetorical practices and amusement (C. Cooper, “Hyperides and the Trial of Phryne,” *Phoenix* 49/4 (1995): 303-318). In addition, King denies the claims of the Hippocratic writers who attribute their knowledge of the female body, pregnancy and abortion to prostitutes (H. King, *Hippocrates’ Woman: Reading the Female Body in Ancient Greece* (London and NY, 1998), 136,144). King argues they had no expertise on pregnancy since they had a different attitude towards fertility than the married women, as their “professional value depended on remaining attractive to customers” (p. 136). Since pregnancy meant no income as well as a possible punishment, prostitutes had strong motivation to understand fertility and pregnancy in order to avoid it. She states that writers created fictional characters, thus inventing prostitute informers, and she calls this a “male bluff”. In addition, prostitution as a profession for women is never acknowledged in Brock’s detailed study on the labour of women in Classical Athens (R. Brock, “Labour of Women in Classical Athens,” *Classical Quarterly* 44/2 (1994): 336-346. Besides, the female authorship, possibly a prostitute’s writing, of P. Oxy. 2891 papyrus is denied. The document opens with a statement: “Philaenis of Samos, daughter of Okymenes wrote the following things for those wanting ... life ...” (Fr. 1 col. 1, lines 1-4); however, Tsantsanoglou argues that the text was written by a male author who attributed the work to a prostitute, claiming the excitement and erotic curiosity of a reader as motivation (K. Tsantsanoglou, “Memoirs of a Lady from Samos,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 12 (1973): 192).

⁵ E. Keuls, “The Hetaera and the Housewife: The Splitting of the Female Psyche in Greek Art,” *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 44-45 (1983a): 35.

⁶ Lewis, 101. The author refrains from the terms such as a “whore” and a “hooker”.

⁷ The Kerameikos was the Athenian Potter’s Quarter believed to be prostitutes’ primary location. Mirrors, jewelry, jewelry cases, statuettes of Aphrodite and votive plaque of Aphrodite on a goat were found in Building Z. Plus, the building consisted of a great number of small rooms. For Building Z see J. Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens* (NY: Harper Perennial, 1997), 85-90; H. Lind, “Ein Hetarenhaus am Heiligen Tor? Der Athener Bau Z und die bei Isaios (6,20f.) erwähnte Synoikia Euktemons,” *Museum Helveticum, Revue suisse pour l’étude de l’Antiquité Classique* 45

prostitutes, it is likely that the close proximity of artists and these women is accountable for their frequent depictions on pottery.⁸ Some scholars⁹ argue to the contrary, stating that the images of prostitutes do not portray reality but a male fantasy. They instigate the visual renderings of prostitutes to be rejected, and in process causing these women to become invisible.¹⁰ Due to this attitude, prostitutes have not been clearly defined, and as a result, their portrayals on Attic pottery are often dismissed.¹¹



Figure 1.1
A) *Mitra* B) *Sakkos* C) *Kekryphalos*

With the aim of better understanding the prostitutes, it is my contention that the headdresses can be used as identifying features, since, as I will show, these women were associated with them repeatedly. The headdress iconography of Attic Red-figure vase-painting ca. 550-450 BCE is documented in this study and the findings demonstrate that

(1988): 158-169; A. Stewart, "Reflections," in N. Kampen (ed.), *Sexuality in Ancient Art: Near East, Egypt, Greece, and Italy* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 136-154.

⁸ D. Williams, "Women on Athenian Vases: Problems of Interpretation," in A. Cameron & A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Images of Women in Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 1993), 97.

⁹ See, for example, Lewis, 114.

¹⁰ Davidson states: "Until some kind of consensus is reached or until at least some ground rules are established upon which we might start to think about constructing a consensus, thousands of images from late archaic and classical Athens (ca. 520-400 B.C.) that may contain valuable information about ancient Greek courtesans are effectively sequestered" (Davidson (2006), 33).

¹¹ Nude scenes have not been disputed.

more prostitutes than wives, or any other female figures, are illustrated with the *mitra*, *sakkos* and *kekryphalos* - the three types of head coverings that are part of this study. The mentioned headdresses were the prostitutes' frequent apparel as well as their social markers. Stated otherwise, the purpose of this study is to examine late Archaic and early Classical vase-painting featuring both the headdresses and the prostitutes and to extract the explanation for their long-lived and successful synergy.

The headdresses consisted of three similar types termed *mitra*, *sakkos* and *kekryphalos*. Generally, a *mitra* resembled a modern turban, a *sakkos* was a kind of a hair sack, and a *kekryphalos* was a hair-net (Figure 1.1). In this study, the headdresses are categorized into two types and two styles, thus offering a range of four possible shapes: Open-Bag, Closed-Bag, Open-Wrap and Closed-Wrap. They were foreign items that primarily formed a part of male attire in the East. In Anatolia, the headdress fashion evolved from a male to a female style and trend. In Attica, they were chiefly feminine items of clothing despite a brief period of their use by komasts and symposiasts. In addition, the goddess Aphrodite, the patroness of prostitutes, wore this headdress as her attribute in a similar fashion suggestive of her predecessors - Eastern fertility deities.

In order to establish a strong connection between the prostitutes and the headdresses, the study focuses on their creation method called the sprang technique. The sprang was an elastic, textured fabric of which chiefly the *sakkos* and *kekryphalos* were made, and most likely the *mitra* as well. Moreover, prostitutes were shown producing the sprang and the headdresses on the textile frames on Attic Red-figure pottery. Twenty (20) frame scenes were identified and they provided evidence for the prostitutes' connection with the headdress creation. During the investigation, it will be shown that these frame

scenes offered a plethora of subtle erotic symbols connected with the prostitutes. As a result, a strong connection between the frames and these women was established, and the examined iconography was recognized as comprised of recurring elements that formed the genre of prostitution in Attic pottery. The analysis thus suggests that the prostitutes were largely responsible for the headdress production, opting for this particular textile manufacturing process due to the frames' manoeuvrability and the technique's straightforward method. Accordingly, it will conclude that the prostitutes worked on the frames in between the customers to supplement their income with earnings from the sales.

In addition, the study incorporates a section on the prostitutes' involvement in wool-working in order to facilitate better understanding of prostitutes' connection with the sprang frames. In Attic iconography, these women were regularly associated with wool-baskets and gestures of spinning, and these scenes are examined in detail, showing that both courtesans and low-class prostitutes were portrayed performing these tasks. Moreover, the goddess Aphrodite was also shown spinning, thus supporting the notion of prostitutes' involvement in the textile industry.

The summary of the study's findings is based on two hundred and ten (210) headdress scenes. In these scenes, two hundred and forty-two (242) prostitutes wear the headdresses, plus eleven (11) hung on the wall, numbering two hundred and fifty-three (253) depictions in total. This number is not absolute, as some vessels are damaged and figures are missing. The data is as follows: Closed-Wrap (54), Open-Wrap (35), Closed-Bag (159), Open-Bag (5) or Bags (137) and Wraps (72). Since the headdresses were illustrated as both plain (203) and patterned (50), the ensuing statistics for this division

are: Closed-Wrap/Pattern (1), Closed-Wrap/Plain (53), Open-Wrap/Pattern (0), Open-Wrap/Plain (35), Closed-Bag/Pattern (49), Closed-Bag/Plain (110), Open-Bag/Pattern (0) and Open-Bag/Plain (5). Regarding the Wrap shape, they tend to be more beehive-like on earlier examples, and in later depictions they are portrayed closer to the head. Also, chronologically, the *mitra* or the Closed-Wraps emerged before the *sakkos* or the Bag types.

According to the survey, I maintain that prostitutes were consistently depicted wearing the *mitra*, the *sakkos* and the *kekryphalos* from the beginning of the headdresses' appearance in Archaic period far into Classical and until its end or the beginning of the Hellenistic times. Therefore, from the late 6th and early 5th centuries BCE, Attic vase-painting provides the most fruitful material for this inquiry, as these images produced the largest number of important headdress and prostitute evidence. Indeed, since these artefacts antedate all major (surviving) literary evidence, they are the main source of information for this age.

I believe this study provides much-needed data for identifying prostitutes, as they played an important role in ancient Athens, where women were often excluded and secluded.¹² In other words, a wife was outside the male public sphere and a prostitute was inside that world. Prostitutes' daily activities were significantly different from those of their married counterparts, as they had to provide for their survival, as opposed to citizen women who were provided for and protected by their fathers, husbands or sons.

¹² Some scholars believe in a seclusion of Greek women similar to the Islamic tradition; see, for example, L. Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite's Tortoise: the Veiled Woman of Ancient Greece* (Classical Press of Wales, 2003). Other scholars argue that seclusion and veiling were only an elite practice or an ideal; see, for example, B. Thornton, "Greek Appetite and Its Discontents," *Arion* 7/3 (2000): 153-166.

However, since a respected woman's status and well-being depended heavily on her male family members, her welfare was neither stable nor permanent. These women occasionally ended up impoverished, unprotected and homeless, forced to turn to prostitution for survival. Unfortunately, the personal history of a prostitute was never clearly documented and as a result, these women are difficult to identify.¹³ The aim of this study is to offer an answer to this problem and propose the headdress as an indicator of a prostitute's status.

As a final note, a clarification of the terminology used in this study concerning the issue of "respectability" will be provided. Traditionally, the scholarship has marked prostitutes as "unrespectable" and wives "respectable". I disagree with this view and have thus come to a decision to describe these women as "un-respected" and "respected" instead. The former set of adjectives purports to express the (assigned) "true" nature of these women's actions and lives, whereas the latter examples clearly indicate the moral judgment of the observer separate from the actual quality of the observed object.

The content of the study is as follows:

Chapter Two introduces the study of the headdresses, namely the *mitra*, *sakkos* and *kekryphalos*, starting with their definitions, descriptions and classifications. A review of the current scholarship ensues together with the explanation of headdresses' characteristics based on textual and archaeological data.

¹³ Lewis, 101.

In Chapter Three, the headdresses' roots are examined, and the East is established as the place where the *mitra*, *sakkos* and *kekryphalos* originated. In addition, the etymology of the headdress words is explained, pointing to their Semitic roots, followed by the analysis of the material evidence from the East and Asia, with a focus on western Anatolia and specifically Ionia. From this investigation, a connection between the headdresses and Aphrodite emerges - a significant detail since she was the patroness of Greek prostitutes.

The method of headdresses' creation and their makers are the focal point of Chapter Four. The scholarship on the technique is reviewed, including an examination of the origin of the sprang, and above all the identification of small textile frames used for producing the sprang. Based on the analysis of twenty (20) depictions of these small hand frames on Attic pottery, it is concluded that prostitutes worked on these frames and produced these head coverings. A detailed examination of frame scene iconography follows, which incorporates topics on gender, sexuality, women "quarters", doors, clothing, skirt-lifting, girdle gesture, mirrors, oil containers, musical instruments, erotic magic, love gifts, purses, architectural elements, animals, sport objects, wool-baskets and headdresses.

To better understand prostitutes and their connection to the headdresses, Chapter Five explains the history of the profession and the evidence, including an examination of prostitutes' involvement in wool-working. In Attic iconography, these women regularly wore the headdresses and were associated with their production through the frames, wool-baskets, and gestures of spinning. A number of wool-working scenes are looked at in detail, showing that both courtesans and low-class prostitutes were portrayed

performing these tasks. In addition, the notion of prostitutes' involvement in the textile industry is supported by Aphrodite's association with spinning and her "embroidered" chest ornament.

Chapter Six draws a comparison between maenads and prostitutes, two groups of female figures linked with sexual activities and the headdresses. Prostitutes were real-life tangible women while maenads were fictional mythological figures, and as such, they represented two sides of the same coin. Despite the similarities, the numbers of prostitutes' depictions with headdresses were significantly higher than the maenads' depictions. What ensues in this final chapter is an analysis of the headdress scenes compiled in the catalogue. This investigation is based on the previous discussion of vessel shapes, gender, sexuality, clothing, girdle gesture, and so on; with two additional topics of prostitutes' religion and footwear, implied by the images of altars, sandals and boots.

CHAPTER TWO: THE THREE HEADDRESSES

What follows is an introduction to the study of the headdresses, namely the *mitra*, *sakkos* and *kekryphalos*, starting with their definitions, descriptions and classifications. Then, a review of the current scholarship ensues together with the explanation of the headdresses' characteristics based on textual and archaeological data.

Definitions

Greek prostitutes wore distinctive headdresses in Attic vase-painting. No contemporaneous descriptions or detailed accounts of these headdresses survive, only scattered pieces of evidence from art and literature. Ancient texts use the terms *mitra*, *sakkos* and *kekryphalos* in reference to these head coverings, translated variously as snood, hood, turban, hair-net and sack.

I will start with working definitions of the headdresses. A *mitra* was an Eastern headband, or a turban used to tie up the hair.¹⁴ A *sakkos* was a closed cap, hood or sack, made of coarse haircloth or the elastic sprang. Some were undecorated or with simple stripes, while others had rich ornaments of meanders, wavy lines, or motifs of tendrils, plus a tassel on the top.¹⁵ Lastly, a *kekryphalos* was a hair-net or haircloth either worn as a one-piece sack or wound around the head as a wide- or narrow-meshed net at night and during the day to keep the hair carefully arranged.¹⁶

¹⁴ *Brill's New Pauly*, s.v. *Mitra*.

¹⁵ *Neue Pauly*, s.v. *Sakkos*; *Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. *Sakkos*.

¹⁶ *Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon*, 452, 854; *Brill's New Pauly*, s.v. *Headgear*, *Kekryphalos*; Llewellyn-Jones, 30–31.

Obscure Greek terminology and a lack of clear distinctions confuse scholars who, as a result, end up using the terms they find convenient.¹⁷ Consequently, the Greek word *sakkos* is adopted into English “sakkos”, which is then generically used to describe all headdresses. Nevertheless, distinctions between the headdresses existed, since the *mitra* appears to have been wrapped or knotted around the head and not worn as a one-piece cap, like the *sakkos* and *kekryphalos*.¹⁸ Still, the *kekryphalos* could have also been wound around the head.

Current Scholarship

Of all three types, the *mitra* has received the greatest attention in the scholarly circles, ever since Charles Picard recognized a link between the *mitra* and Dionysos *Mitrephoros* in 1932.¹⁹ In 1966, this strong bond between Dionysos and the headdress was developed further by Hugo Brandenburg who examined the *mitra* in literature and art, unfortunately without providing illustrations.²⁰ Noteworthy, however, is his comparison of the *mitra* to the *sakkos* and *kekryphalos*, which was possibly the earliest attempt at distinguishing the headdresses. Brandenburg claimed the *mitra* was the opposite of the other two because of the binding element.²¹ A few years after Brandenburg, John Boardman and Donna Kurtz published an article on revelers and the

¹⁷ See I. Papantoniou, *Greek Dress: from Ancient Times to the Early 20th Century* (Athens: Commercial Bank of Greece, 2000), 73. The author interprets the *sakkos* as a net, and claims it was worn together with the *mitra*. Further on, the author also translates *kekryphalos* as a net.

¹⁸ J. Boardman & D. Kurtz, “Booners,” *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 3 (1986): 50; see also H. Brandenburg, *Studien zur Mitra* (Muenster: Aschendorff, 1966), 57.

¹⁹ C. Picard, “Dionysos Mitrephoros,” in *Melanges Gustave Glotz, tome II* (Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1932), 707-721.

²⁰ See Brandenburg (1966).

²¹ Brandenburg, 57.

mitra in 1986.²² Boardman extended Brandenburg's conclusions by linking the *mitra* with Oriental effeminacy and transvestitism.²³ Later, Marie-Helene Delavaud-Roux and Margaret Miller reviewed the list of the Red-figure vases with bearded characters wearing the *mitra*. In addition, Miller briefly noted, unfortunately without further commentary, that, besides komasts, *hetairai* wore the *mitra* as well.²⁴

On the other hand, *sakkos* and *kekryphalos* studies include two major publications, one by Louise Clark²⁵ in 1983 and the other by Ian Jenkins and Dyfri Williams²⁶ in 1985. First, Clark's article on the sprang technique reawakened the attention of classical archaeologists, as she was the first to write on small textile frames in Greek vase-painting. Her analysis confirmed that the sprang used for women's caps and hair-nets was made on small hand frames. She based her conclusions on a few findings that included a patterned sprang cap found in South Jutland from 1500–1400 BCE, Corsican Greek vases depicting small looms, a 1st century CE fragment of a fine wool hairnet, and contemporary examples from Croatia and Norway.²⁷

Second, Jenkins and Williams published a study on sprang hairnets focusing both on the technique and the product. They further examined the frames, complementing

²² Boardman & Kurtz, 35-70.

²³ Boardman & Kurtz, 50.

²⁴ M. H. Delavaud-Roux, "L'Enigme des Danseurs Barbus au Parasol et les Vases 'Des Leneennes'," *Revue Archeologique* 2 (1995): 227-263; M. Miller, "The Parasol: An Oriental Status-Symbol in Late Archaic and Classical Athens," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 112 (1992): 91-105; M. Miller, "Reexamining Transvestism in Archaic and Classical Athens: The Zewadski Stamnos," *American Journal of Archeology* 103/2 (1999): 223-253.

²⁵ L. Clark, "Notes on Small Textile Frames Pictures on Greek Vases," *American Journal of Archaeology* 87/1 (1983): 91-96.

²⁶ I. Jenkins & D. Williams, "Sprang Hair Nets: Their Manufacture and Use in Ancient Greece," *American Journal of Archaeology* 89/3 (1985): 411-418.

²⁷ Clark, 93 n.15.

Clark's identification of the forked hand frame with their introduction of a rectangular frame. As a final point, the authors suggested that women shown making the sprang on the frames were prostitutes. The authors did not elaborate further on this proposition, thus prompting this in-depth study of prostitutes and headdresses.

The present inquiry aims at establishing a firm connection between these headdresses and the women in the profession who played a significant role in ancient Attic society. Traditionally, the headdresses were associated with Dionysos, komasts and foreigners, and their assigned meaning was one-dimensional and limited. However, there are indications that the images of the headdresses carried deeper implications and that an improved interpretation is necessary if these images are to be decoded by the modern viewer.

Classifications

In order to simplify the confusion and contribute to clarity, I have divided the headgears into two types – Bag and Wrap – and two styles – Closed and Open.²⁸ The Bag type was made of one piece of fabric or sprang, and it could be either Closed (hair completely covered – Figure 2.1) or Open (hair out at the crown – Figure 2.2). The Closed-Bag was a sack, covering and containing the fall of the long hair gathered at the back of the head. Many had a tassel hanging from the crown, yet examples without it

²⁸ These are the author's definitions based on an examination of the surviving pottery; see Appendix C for the full catalogue of headdress vases.

were also common. In order to hold the cloth tight and firm, the strings were sewn inside the fabric, either placed in the main opening around the head or sewn in vertically from the head towards the top.

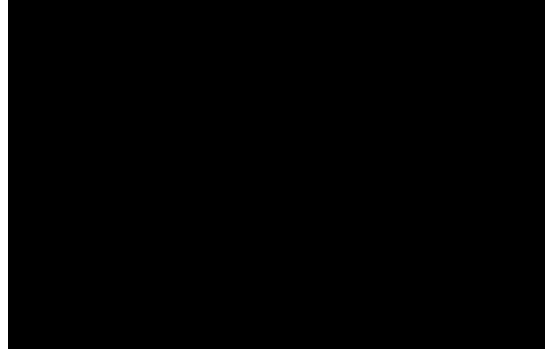


Figure 2.1. Closed-Bag headdress
Brunswick (ME), Bowdoin College: 1913.21; Beazley Archive Database No. 204033

The Open-Bag was a cylindrical cloth or net with two openings, one for the head and the other for the hair on the crown. Two sets of strings held the cloth in place, one around the face and the other at the top of the head, where the loose hair hung out. The *sakkos* and *kekryphalos* generally fall under the Bag types. A distinction between these two headdresses is hard to detect in paintings, yet there are some indications that the *sakkos* was made of a coarsely worked fabric while the *kekryphalos* was a fine net.²⁹ Some painters provided detailed renditions of the fine netting of the *kekryphalos*, which unfortunately does not occur often. Usually, the headdresses are plain and monochrome and can be read as the depictions of the *sakkoi*. However, only because the lifelike

²⁹ *Der Neue Pauly*, s.v. *Sakkos*; *Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. *Sakkos*.

interpretations are missing, this does not imply that *kekryphaloi* were worn less than the other headdresses.



Figure 2.2. Open-Bag headdress
Toledo (OH), Museum of Art: 1972.55; Beazley Archive Database No. 7766

The Wrap type was a cloth wound around the head. It could also be Closed-Wrap (Figure 2.3) or Open-Wrap (Figure 2.4), depending on the binding method. The former was a wrapped cloth covering the head fully; the latter had the loose hair protruding at the top of the binding. In addition, the ends of the fabric could be tucked through at the sides and allowed to hang down in front of the ears.³⁰ Some Wrap headdresses appear ribbed or lined, illustrating the rolling of the fabric around the head, as in a modern turban (Oberlin 70.11³¹). The Wrap type corresponds chiefly to the *mitra*, and occasionally to the *kekryphalos*. Here, the identical problem applies to the depictions of the *kekryphalos* netting vs. the plain monochrome renditions in the vase-painting, as discussed above, thus creating a difficulty in the headdresses' classification.

³⁰ E. Abrahams, *Greek Dress a Study of the Costumes Worn in Ancient Greece, from pre-Hellenic Times to the Hellenistic Age* (London, 1908), 112.

³¹ Oberlin (OH), Oberlin Collection, Allen Memorial Art Museum: 70.11; Beazley Archive Database No. 5177.



Figure 2.3. Closed-Wrap headdress
Princeton (NJ), University Art Museum: 33.41; Beazley Archive Database No. 200483



Figure 2.4. Open-Wrap headdress
Berlin, Antikensammlung: 3251; Beazley Archive Database No. 200964

In addition, accessories such as diadems and wreaths were worn with the headdresses in order to hold them firmly on the head. Notably, some head coverings were worn either alone or under the veil, as described in the portrayal of Andromache's headgear in the *Iliad* (22.468–72) or seen on Basel BS426,³² which depicts a woman with her head veiled except for the front where the *sakkos* is visible.

³² Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig: BS426; Beazley Archive Database No. 276060.

Overall, the headdresses were typically produced from wool or linen. Wool was readily available, easy to dye and came in a variety of colours, depending on the breed of sheep (*Iliad* 16.224; *Odyssey* 4.50, 135). A *mitra* made of fine wool was mentioned by Pindar in one of his *Odes* (*Isthmian* 5.62). Linen, on the other hand, was discovered early on and was frequently cited in the *Iliad* (9.661; 2.529; 16.408; 5.487). Women from Patrai, a city near the Corinthian Gulf, were said to earn a livelihood from producing linen hair-nets (*kekryphaloi*) from the flax grown in Elis (Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 7.21.14).³³ Linen may also have been imported from the East, or the thread alone may have been brought in and then woven by Greek women (Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 19.1-3).³⁴

Other possible fibers included cotton and silk. The former was from Elis and called byssus; it was yellow in colour and costly (Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 19.4; 27.120). The latter was spun and woven at Cos in the early period, yet became rare in later times and was most likely imported from the East (Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 11.26-27).³⁵ The variety of fibers provided diversity and opportunity for a wide selection taking into consideration cost, function and climate.

The headdresses' texture and patterns depended on the technique by which the fabric was made. As will be explained in the following chapter, I believe the main method of working the fiber was through the braiding of the elastic sprang, which was a

³³ Pausanias does not mention the status of these women, but he states, "These women are amongst the most charming in the world" (7.21.14).

³⁴ See also D. Jenkins (ed.), *Cambridge History of Western Textiles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 71.

³⁵ The headdresses were possibly made of different fabrics, according to the season and cost, as warmer cloths were used in winter and costly fabrics were worn by the wealthy.

distinctive technique worked on small hand frames. Possibly, the sprang technique was more commonly used for the making of the *sakkos* and *kekryphalos*, since the *mitra* was a long cloth wrapped around the head which did not require elasticity (Herodotus, *Histories* 2.122).³⁶ Still, there are indications that the *mitra* may have also been made of sprang, which will be explained shortly. However, it is difficult to determine the texture and fabric of the headdresses depicted on pottery, as the painters frequently omitted these details. In any case, countless designs and styles are seen in vase-painting, as in following examples: *mitra*: London E38³⁷ (Figure 2.5); *sakkos*: Malibu 86.AE.293³⁸ (Figure 2.6), Vienna 3694³⁹ (Figure 2.7); *kekryphalos*: New York 31.11.10⁴⁰ (Figure 2.8). For additional styles, see Figure 2.9.



Figure 2.5. *Mitra*: Closed-Wrap type, monochrome
London, British Museum: E38; Beazley Archive Database No. 200460

³⁶ Herodotus used the verb *exuphaino* with *mitra*.

³⁷ London, British Museum: E38; Beazley Archive Database No. 200460.

³⁸ Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum: 86.AE.293; Beazley Archive Database No. 275963.

³⁹ Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum: 3694; Beazley Archive Database No. 205047.

⁴⁰ New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum: 31.11.10; Beazley Archive Database No. 310485.

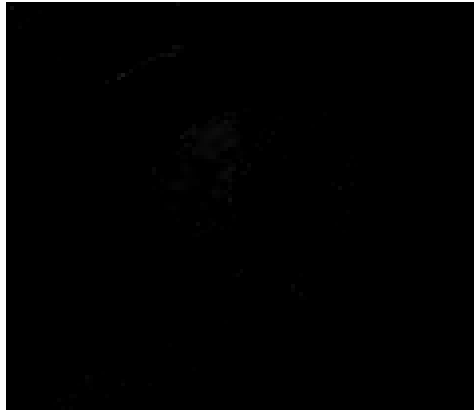


Figure 2.6. *Sakkos*: Closed-Bag type, monochrome
 Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum: 86.AE.293; Beazley Archive Database No. 275963



Figure 2.7. *Sakkos*: Closed-Bag type, zig-zag pattern with a tassel
 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum: 3694; Beazley Archive Database No. 205047

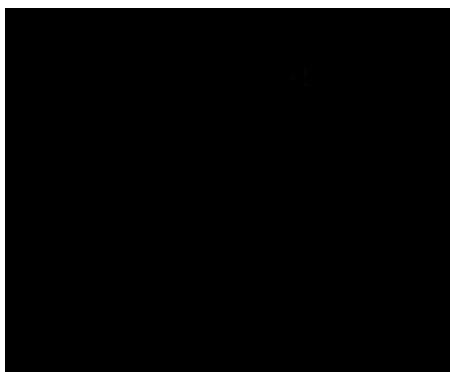


Figure 2.8. *Kekryphalos*: Closed-Bag type, fine netting
New York, Metropolitan Museum: 31.11.10; Beazley Archive Database No. 310485



Figure 2.9. Drawings of different headdress styles (after Boardman)

Next, the headdresses were made in a variety of colours and patterns. Saffron as a colour was a favourite with women, and thus probably a frequent choice (Euripides, *Phoenician Women* 1485–1491, Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 42–48, 51, 219–222), yet literary sources indicate that prostitutes wore saffron robes.⁴¹ Correspondingly, the headdresses in vase-painting were often executed only in contour lines, which provided the form outline over the clay's yellowish tone. In this way, the headdress appeared to be saffron yellow. Furthermore, in the case of a white-ground *alabastron*, which depicted a prostitute and a maenad, their robes as well as the headdress were colored yellow (London B668⁴²).

Red also seems to have been a popular selection, according to the actual surviving Coptic examples of headdresses as well as pictorial representations, such as Oberlin 70.11.⁴³ Purple was a recurring colour for a headdress too, worn by Aphrodite on a pot,⁴⁴ mentioned on the nymph (Pindar, fr. 29: “Thebe with her purple snood”), and listed as a dedication to Athena (the Treasures of the Opisthodomos: IG ii2, 1448.4).⁴⁵ Purple dye was the most costly, since it was extracted from Mediterranean murex shellfish, and as such was a symbol of wealth, rank and luxury.⁴⁶ In sum, yellow, red and purple were recorded as headdress colours in text and art, but they were certainly not the only ones.

⁴¹ S. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975), 83.

⁴² London, British Museum: B668; Beazley Archive Database No. 200859.

⁴³ Oberlin (OH), Oberlin Collection, Allen Memorial Art Museum: 70.11; Beazley Archive Database No. 5177. For Coptic examples see Papantoniou, 73, fig. 86.

⁴⁴ Cincinnati (OH), Art Museum: 1962.386-388; Beazley Archive Database 207351; see C. Boulter, “Sherds from a White-Ground Krater,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 54/2 (1950): 120-121, fig. A.

⁴⁵ An offering of a purple *mitra* was listed; see D. Harris, *The Treasures of the Parthenon and Erechtheion* (Oxford, 1995), 56 II.62.

⁴⁶ Jenkins (2003), 72. Adding insect and plant extracts into the solution of purple made of murex shell could have been used to reduce the cost, see L. Hughes, “‘Dyeing’ in Ancient Italy? Evidence for the

Besides solid colours, the fabrics were patterned and ornamented with various motifs, pearls and jewels, as seen in Figure 2.7 (see also Paulus Silentarius AP5.269; Agathias 275). Different designs, such as simple stripes, as well as rich ornaments of meanders, wavy lines, tendrils and zig-zag lines, were adopted from Oriental styles, appearing on headdresses as well as on fabric still worked on the frames, as will be explained later on.⁴⁷ In fact, a surviving Near Eastern linen *sakkos* from the Nahal Hemar cave in Israel (ca. 6500 BCE) closely resembles Attic vase representations, which could suggest an Eastern relation and influence.⁴⁸

Finally, I will discuss possible reasons why certain Athenian women, namely prostitutes, wore the headdresses. These incentives, in my opinion, lay primarily in practicality, fashion and social status. First, practicality seems a reasonable explanation, since Greek women had long hair, which could interfere with the performance of domestic tasks and the headdress kept the bound hair clean. Stated otherwise, the head covering kept the long hair neat and orderly, as seen in the example of a Rhodian terracotta, London 233,⁴⁹ that shows a woman kneeling at the grinding stone with her hair gathered under a *sakkos*. In addition, two epigrams referring to prostitutes state that “the net (*kekryphalos*), dyed with sea-purple, [...] confined her straying hair” and “the purple net (*kekryphalos*) [...] confines her vagrant hair” (*Greek Anthology* 6.206-207). Besides

purpurarii,” in C. Gillis & M-L. B. Nosch (eds.), *Ancient Textiles: Production, Craft and Society. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Ancient Textiles, held at Lund, Sweden, and Copenhagen, Denmark, on March 19-23, 2003* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007), 88.

⁴⁷ M. Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC: A Study in Cultural Receptivity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 179; E. Abrahams & Lady Evans, *Ancient Greek Dress* (Chicago: Argonaut Inc. Publishers, 1964), Evans section 60-61.

⁴⁸ E. W. Barber, *Women's Work: the First 20,000 Years* (NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 1994), 129.

⁴⁹ London, British Museum 233

unruly hair, the headdress kept the head warm during cold weather. For instance, Paris 0.5143⁵⁰ depicts a woman at the *symposion* draping her already *sakkos*-covered head with a *mitra*.

Second, due to its lavishness and diversity, the headdress was probably used as a fashion item. Courtesans and prostitutes were the most likely wearers since they paid great attention to their appearance.⁵¹ These women may have used the headdresses and other types of hair styling to enhance their sexual appeal as well as to complement their nude bodies.⁵² In addition, headdresses prolonged the effect of costly perfumes, which were mainly applied by prostitutes and courtesans. One text mentions frankincense as the ointment used by a courtesan, which was the highest priced perfume in the ancient world: “And her anointed locks still breathe a perfume as frankincense” (*Greek Anthology* 7.218).⁵³ Another text describes a *kekryphalos* as “delicately wrought and hath a certain sweet smell of nectar” (*Greek Anthology* 6.275).⁵⁴

Third, slave prostitutes, including the entertainers, were possibly bound to wear the headdresses as a status symbol, as the majority of them were brought from the East and continued to wear their traditional clothing. Thus, the headdress revealed their foreign origin and at the same time concealed the “unsightly cropped hair”.⁵⁵ Still, many

⁵⁰ Paris, Private: XXXX0.5143; Beazley Archive Database No. 205143.

⁵¹ R. Hawley, “The Dynamics of Beauty in Classical Greece,” in D. Montserrat (ed.), *Changing Bodies, Changing Meanings: Studies on Human Body in Antiquity* (NY: Routledge, 1998), 37-54.

⁵² M. Sgourou, *Attic Lebetes Gamikoi* (Ph.D. Diss. University of Cincinnati, 1994), 121.

⁵³ The author was referring to the courtesan Lais.

⁵⁴ This epigram was written by the poetess Nossis from Epizephyrian Locri in Magna Graecia, and appears to be referring to a prostitute.

⁵⁵ Whether all slaves had cropped hair is widely debated. For the argument on cropped hair, see Lewis, 104-106; M. F. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases* (London: Duckworth, 1993), 159-160; E. Keuls, “Attic Vase-Painting and the Home Textile Industry,” in W. G. Moon (ed.), *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983b), 225.

successful slave prostitutes and courtesans did not have short hair. It is questionable whether the woman's owner would crop a slave's hair if she were earning more by appearing attractive and desirable.

Archaeological Evidence

Even though the headdress was common and widespread attire, there are no surviving examples from ancient Greece, but for a small piece of sprang fabric. Models closest to the Greek material are sprang linen *sakkoï* and *kekryphaloi* from Egypt, found in Coptic tombs dated from the Early Christian period (Figure 2.10).⁵⁶ Significantly, these examples are consistent with the types of headdresses depicted in Greek vase-painting, hence providing comparable tangible evidence.

In contrast, the headdress from the Nahal Hemar cave in Israel does not appear to have been of sprang, but rather made by “sophisticated netting and interlacing techniques with S-plyed linen yarn” and described as “knotted” (Figure 2.11).⁵⁷ This headdress, however, has a signature sprang tail or tassel at the top (for comparison see Figure 2.10). Since there is only a single drawing of the headdress, and no other descriptions or photographs available to my knowledge, examination of the technique is not possible.

⁵⁶ Papantoniou, 73, fig. 86; Jenkins & Williams, pl. 46 fig 11. According to Papantoniou, a few Coptic headdresses were made by knotting, like a fishermen's net, however since his definitions and terminology are at times confusing, he may have meant sprang as well (p. 73).

⁵⁷ Jenkins (2003), 42.



Figure 2.10. Closed type: red sprang headdress from Coptic Egypt



Figure 2.11. Headdress from the Nahal Hemar cave in Israel

Coptic finds, on the other hand, form reliable evidence, which include two basic headdress types similar to the Closed and Open examples from Attic vase-painting. The former was made from two symmetrical rectangles of sprang, folded one over the other

and sewn down the sides forming a tail at the top (Figure 2.12).⁵⁸ At the end of this tail, a drawstring was inserted in order to secure the fabric at the centre line and perhaps to provide a means of hanging the headdress up on the wall, as depicted on Greek vases (e.g. St. Petersburg 1602⁵⁹). The latter was structurally similar to the Open headdress; however, Coptic examples are sewn at the top, thus closing the crown where the hair would come out (Figure 2.13). They are baglike in appearance and equipped with two drawstrings, one threaded through at the centrefold with the other through the opening, creating flexibility and easy adjustments.



Figure 2.12. Closed type: patterned sprang headdress from Coptic Egypt

⁵⁸ Jenkins & Williams, 413.

⁵⁹ St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum: 1602; Beazley Archive Database No. 203792.

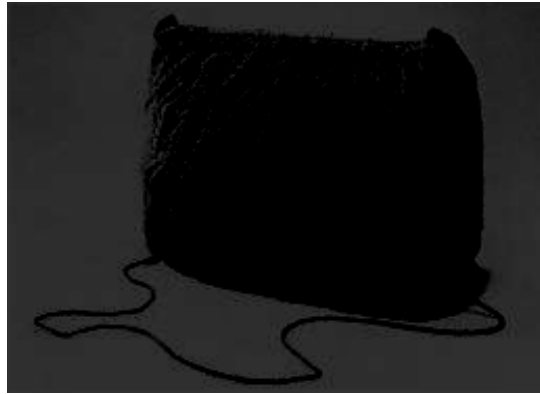


Figure 2.13. Coptic sprang headdress, structured similarly to Open type

Even though there are no surviving examples, the British Museum holds what is possibly the earliest known Greek sprang evidence.⁶⁰ It is a small piece of fabric made of fine wool, from the vicinity of Kertch in the eastern Crimea, found in a Greek tomb dated between the 5th century BCE and 2nd century CE.⁶¹ Scholars concluded that this piece of clothing was of a female garment, a hair-net in particular, confirmed by the presence of human hair found nearby.⁶² This evidence is significant as it confirms existence of the sprang in Greek culture, and links this type of fabric to female headdresses, particularly to hair-nets.

Regardless of the limited material evidence, vase-paintings provide a plethora of headdress images. Attic iconography confirms the development of elaborate hairstyles and headdresses, and it can be assumed that hair was worn bound and styled most of the

⁶⁰ Jenkins & Williams, 413, 417-418.

⁶¹ Jenkins & Williams, 417-418. The basic spin is in common with the few surviving textiles from other Greek sources, thus confirming Greek origin.

⁶² Jenkins & Williams, 418.

time, in real life as in art.⁶³ In order to understand the trends and fashions coexisting with the headdresses, I will briefly describe the hairstyles on Attic vases (Figure 2.14).

In the Archaic period, long hair was worn loose, in tresses down the back or tied around the head with a simple fillet or a diadem (*stephane*). Before ca. 550 BCE, images of the headdresses were rare, or nearly absent.⁶⁴ From ca. 550 BCE onwards, tied-up hair gradually emerged. Occasionally, the hair ends were tied together in a little bag hanging on the back. The hair was also done up in a chignon, in both a low and high type, held by a fillet or cloth.⁶⁵ In addition, a band of ornamented cloth or leather (*sphendone*) was put on from the back or from the front, ending in a tie or a knot. Finally, *mitrai*, *sakkoi* and *kekryphaloi* were used to cover the hair and were both functional and ornamental.

⁶³ Abrahams, 108.

⁶⁴ Despite numerous depictions of the loose hair it could be assumed that the long unbound hair was unpractical in the daily life of either hard or light domestic labour, and was not worn by women at all times.

⁶⁵ Abrahams, 112.

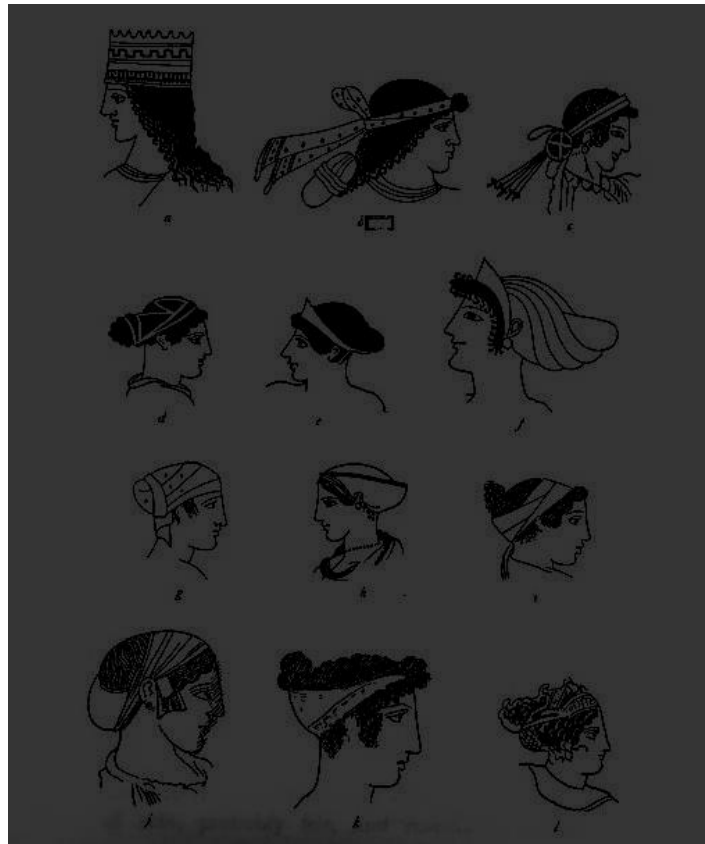


Figure 2.14. Women's hairstyles

Loose hair (a); fillet and the bag (b); chignon (c and d); *stephane* (e); *mitra* (f); *mitra* with *stephane* (g); *sakkos* (h); fillet (i and j); *sphendone* (k); *kekryphalos* (l)

In summary, the *mitra*, *sakkos* and *kekryphalos* were female headdresses categorized into four types – Open-Bag, Closed-Bag, Open-Wrap and Closed-Wrap, based on Attic vase-painting. Models closest to the Greek representations are Coptic sprang *sakko*i and *kekryphalo*i from Egypt, as there are no surviving examples from Greece. The fabric of both Coptic cases and artistic Greek representations was either monochrome or decorated with Eastern patterning and complementary ornamentation.

CHAPTER THREE: EASTERN ORIGIN

In this chapter, the roots of the headdresses are examined and the East is established as the place where *mitra*, *sakkos* and *kekryphalos* originated. In what follows, the etymology of the headdress words is explained pointing to their Semitic origin, and material evidence from the East and Asia Minor is discussed with a focus on western Anatolia, and specifically Greek Ionia. From this analysis, a connection between the headdresses and Aphrodite emerges forming a significant factor since she was the patroness of Greek prostitutes.

Etymology of *Mitra*, *Sakkos* and *Kekryphalos*

Numerous Greek words referring to imported objects and clothing, including *mitra*, *sakkos* and *kekryphalos*, are Semitic derivatives as fashion and its language often have the same origin.⁶⁶ They could have been introduced into mainland Greece during the two “borrowing” periods: in Mycenaean times and during the period of Phoenician trade (ca. 1200–900 BCE), and around the time of the Orientalizing period through Ionian influence in the 6th century BCE.⁶⁷ The headdresses seem to have entered the Athenian culture through the strong influence of the Ionians, who in turn adopted the fashion from

⁶⁶ Most of these borrowings refer to real objects used in everyday life, thus reflecting the commercial or trade aspect of the relationship, as there are no abstract notions, no political, philosophical or artistic vocabulary; see E. Masson, *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts semitiques en grec* (Paris, 1967), and L. Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress* (John Hopkins University Press, 2003), 101.

⁶⁷ Bonfante, 101. When Mycenaean society broke up around 1100 BCE, the commercial routes that had linked mainland Greece with the rest of the Mediterranean were severed. After a long period of recovery, the Greeks began colonizing the shores of the Mediterranean and Black seas ca. 750-550 BCE. These new

the Lydians and Persians. The coastal Greeks were largely dependent on the inland territories, owing to an active peaceful interaction maintained with the kingdom of Lydia during the 7th century BCE.⁶⁸ About 700 BCE, an invasion began under the rule of Gyges, and under the reign of Croesus the cities of Ionia finally fell under Lydian rule in the middle of the 6th century BCE.⁶⁹ Shortly thereafter, Lydia was conquered by Cyrus, and the Ionian cities became subject to the Persian monarchy together with the other Greek cities of Asia.⁷⁰

With respect to etymology, the word *mitra* was of Iranian origin, connected to the Indo-Iranian verb *mei*, meaning “to bind”.⁷¹ Herodotus mentioned the connection to the Babylonians with *mitrai* (*Histories* 1.195) and ascribed the adoption of Persian clothes and other customs to the period of Persian conquest (1.155). Nevertheless, the word *mitra* was usually combined with the epithet “Lydian” (Alkman 1.67-68; Sappho fr. 98; Pindar, *Nemean* 8.13 and *Isthmian* 5.62).⁷² Notably, the word *mitra* appears in Homer, yet at this time it did not refer to the headdress, but to the piece of armour worn to protect the lower body; *mitra* indicated the headdress only after the 7th century BCE onwards.⁷³

trading centres exposed Greek domestic markets to imported products from Egypt, the Levant, Asia Minor and elsewhere.

⁶⁸ J. B. Bury & R. Meiggs, *A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great* (London: MacMillan Education Ltd., 1975), 82.

⁶⁹ Bury & Meiggs, 143.

⁷⁰ Bury & Meiggs, 144.

⁷¹ It is not sure if it was adopted before or after the period of Persian rule. See Brandenburg, 22 and P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: histoire des mots* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1968), s.v. *Mitra*.

⁷² Alkman was a choral poet at Sparta who was most likely brought in from Sardis in Lydia, and was active in the mid-7th century BCE (W. Barnstone, *Sappho and the Greek Lyric Poets* (NY: Schochen Books, 1988), 46).

⁷³ *Brill's New Pauly*, s.v. *Mitra*. See for example, the *Iliad* 4.137, 187.

The word *sakkos* was originally Semitic and most likely entered mainland Greece through the Phoenician impact, although a later adoption is possible because of Ionian influence and spread of Ionian fashion through the Mediterranean.⁷⁴ Evidently, the Akkadian term *saqqu*, Aramaic *sqq* and Hebrew *saq* confirm that the word *sakkos* was related to Semitic root *sqq* and a common Semitic noun/prefix *saqq*-.⁷⁵ The Phoenician term *sqq* most likely served as a model for the Greek *sakkos* based on direct contact and trade.⁷⁶ Still, *sakkos* frequently refers to a sack, bag or wallet as well (Herodotus, *Histories* 9.80; Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 745, 822); thus, *sakkophoros* is translated both as a sack carrier and as a headdress wearer.⁷⁷

The origin of *kekryphalos* is somewhat unclear. It appears to be comprised of two words *krypto* “to hide, cover, cloak” and *phalos* “a peak of the helmet”.⁷⁸ These words unfortunately do not explain why *kekryphalos* was a term for a female headdress or its etymology, yet philologists still suspect Oriental origin.⁷⁹ The *kekryphalos*’ earliest appearance is in an Eastern woman’s headdress description, since the word is used to describe Andromache’s head covering in the section on Hector’s death (*Iliad* 22). Andromache’s hair is portrayed as bound and enclosed, in contrast to the simple headdresses of other Homeric women, such as Hekabe, Helen, Nausikaa, or even the

⁷⁴ M. Katz, “Ideology and “The Status of Women” in Ancient Greece,” *History and Theory* 31/4 (1992): 72-3; Bonfante, 101, 142-143 n.86.

⁷⁵ See *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* (11th Edition, 2003), s.v. Sack; *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (Houghton Mifflin, 4th Edition, 2000), Appendix II Semitic Roots, s.v. *sqq*.

⁷⁶ Masson, 25.

⁷⁷ For the detailed record, see *LSJ*, s.v. *Sakkophoros*.

⁷⁸ *Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. *Krypto*; *Phalos*.

⁷⁹ Chantraine, s.v. *Kekryphalos*.

goddess Hera.⁸⁰ The passage depicts her tearing the headdress after hearing of her husband's death: "From her head she threw off her shining headdress—frontlet, cap (*kekryphalos*), woven headband, the veil that golden Aphrodite gave her" (*Iliad* 22.468–72). These verses imply that the Greeks were aware of this headdress as early as this epic poem, and associated it with Eastern women.

This brief overview suggests the Eastern *mitra*, *sakkos* and *kekryphalos* were foreign items adopted by the Athenians. Remarkably, in Athens imported fashions generally made an appearance as exotic styles only to vanish shortly. In contrast, the headdress fashion was not only embraced, but also became widespread, appearing regularly on Attic pottery from Archaic to Hellenistic times.⁸¹

Eastern Roots

The Semitic etymologies of *mitra*, *sakkos* and *kekryphalos* establish a strong argument for the headdresses' Eastern origin. They were worn from India to Lydia, as best shown on the Achaemenid monuments depicting subjected peoples, such as the palace staircase reliefs in Persepolis (ca. 500 BCE).⁸² Other examples include depictions of Phoenicians, Judeans and men of Carchemish at Nimrud and Nineveh; and North Syrian neo-Hittites and Phrygians at Khorsabad on reliefs and other stone carvings (Figure 3.1).⁸³

⁸⁰ Llewellyn-Jones, 30-31.

⁸¹ Bonfante, 142-143 n.86.

⁸² Boardman & Kurtz, 51.

⁸³ Boardman & Kurtz, 66.

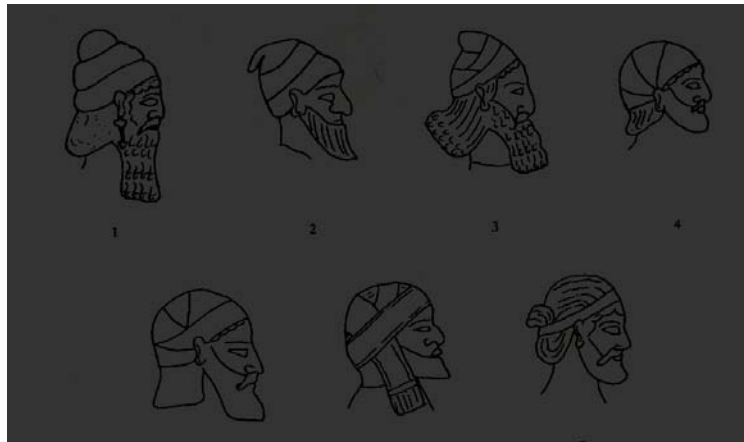


Figure 3.1. Male Eastern headdresses from Nimrud, Nineveh and Khorsabad relief monuments

Similarly, in Anatolia, depictions of men with the headdresses appear as early as the beginning of the 6th century BCE, as seen for example on a Chian cup dated ca. 570–550 BCE.⁸⁴ Eastern monuments tend to show the headdresses exclusively on men,⁸⁵ while in Anatolia, women are also depicted with them. This is evident on two examples: the first is the 6th century BCE fresco from Gordion in Phrygia,⁸⁶ and the second is the Polyxena sarcophagus from the Granicus Plain in the Troad, ca. 520–500 BCE.⁸⁷ On the sarcophagus, a mourner wears a *sakkos* during the sacrifice of Polyxena; another one wears a *sakkos* in a Hekabe scene; five women have *sakkoi* in the funerary celebration (including the one holding the lyre, and the other with *alabastron* – Figure 3.2); and, finally, there are three women with *sakkoi* in the *symposion* scene, including the central

⁸⁴ Boardman & Kurtz, 51.

⁸⁵ Also referenced by Herodotus in *Histories*, 1.195, 7.90.

⁸⁶ G. M. A. Richter, *Handbook of Greek Art* (London, 1959), fig. 384.

⁸⁷ N. Sevinc, "A New Sarcophagus of Polyxena from the Salvage Excavations at Gümüşçay," *Studia Troica* 6 (1996): 251-264.

seated figure which wears one underneath the veil (Figure 3.3).⁸⁸ This evidence suggests that Anatolia was a region where the headdress made the transition from the Oriental male symbol of social standing to the female head covering later found in Greece.⁸⁹



Figure 3.2. Polyxena sarcophagus:
Four women wearing *sakkoi* on funerary celebration



Figure 3.3. Polyxena sarcophagus:
Three women wearing *sakkoi* at the *symposion*

⁸⁸ It is not certain whether the three veiled women have headdresses underneath their veils. In addition, the identities of these women are unknown.

⁸⁹ Miller (1992), 100. At the same time the East was influencing Greece, it equally affected Etruria and Magna Graecia, creating the same outcome in these regions as it did in mainland Greece. Etruscan tomb art from the 7th and 6th century BCE portrays a similarly pointed cap on women attending a banquet, providing evidence that this region was directly affected by the Ionians (see Llewellyn-Jones, 31; and E. Richardson, *The Etruscans* (University of Chicago Press, 1964), 103.). Another familiar feature is two female sphinxes, Eastern monsters, wearing *mitrai* on an Etruscan Black-Figure amphora from ca. 530 BCE (Martin von Wagner Museum, University of Würzburg L 778).

In addition, some Anatolian coins depict goddesses with headdresses, thus providing further evidence of female wearers and their social status. Examples from Knidos in Caria (Figure 3.4) and Phokaia in Ionia (Figure 3.5) portray fertility deities with *mitrai*, *sakkoi* and *kekryphaloi* in the 6th century BCE.⁹⁰ It is believed these particular coins depict Astarte, Eastern predecessor of the Greek Aphrodite, as will be explained shortly.

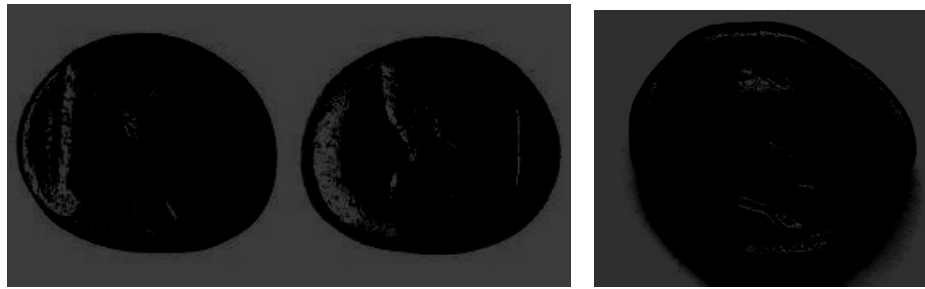


Figure 3.4. Aphrodite / Astarte with the *mitra* and *sakkos* within incus square Carian staters, from Knidos (ca. 530–525 BCE)

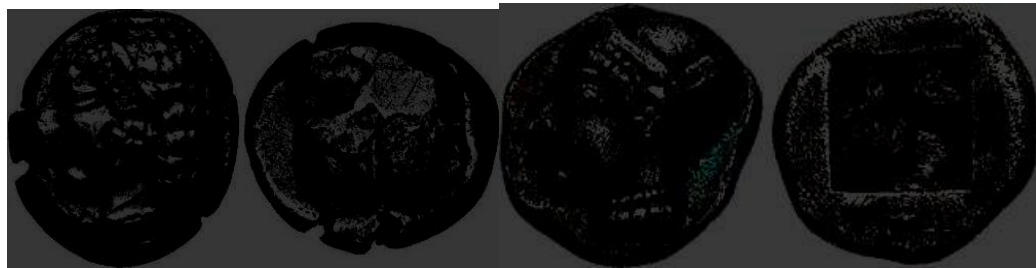


Figure 3.5. A) Goddess wearing a hair-net, *kekryphalos* (ca. 521–478 BCE); B) Goddess with a close fitting cap, *sakkos* (late 6th century BCE), Phokaia, Ionia

In sum, the headdresses were primarily a part of male attire in the East. They were worn by both genders in Anatolia, while in Attica they chiefly represented female apparel. Some men still donned the headdresses in Athens, but they were the ones linked

⁹⁰ See BMC, *Caria, Cos, Rhodes, etc.*; BMC, *Ionia*.

with Eastern customs and religious cults. These men were komasts and symposiasts connected with Eastern traditions, and followers of the god Dionysos.⁹¹ They are seen on Boston 13.199⁹² wearing *mitrai* and playing the lyre; on Berlin 3251⁹³ wearing *sakkoi* and earrings; and on Munich 2619A⁹⁴ (Figure 3.6) with *mitrai*, holding the lyre and mixing wine.

Dionysos' mythical female followers, maenads, who were driven into madness and ecstasy by their god, also wore the headdresses, as seen in Naples H1,⁹⁵ Paris G2⁹⁶ and Boston 76.41⁹⁷ (Figure 3.7).⁹⁸ In addition, the nymphs who raised the infant god on Mount Nysa became his followers as well, and these two types of female attendants are often perceived as one. These women roamed mountains and forests, adorned with ivy and skins of animals, waving the *thyrsos*, the pine cone staff, and were a frequent subject in Attic vase-painting. They were closely associated with prostitutes, which will be discussed in a later section.⁹⁹

⁹¹ Dionysos was supposedly a Thracian deity, but he is not listed in the Homeric cycle of divinities, and is generally thought to have come from the East or the Orient.

⁹² Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 13.199; Beazley Archive Database No. 206804.

⁹³ The illustration is not available; for a description see L. Kurke, "Inventing the *Hetaira*: Sex, Politics and Discursive Conflict in Archaic Greece," *Classical Antiquity* 16/1 (1997): 133.

⁹⁴ Munich, Antikensammlungen: 2619A; Beazley Archive Database No. 201289.

⁹⁵ Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: H1; Beazley Archive Database No. 200612.

⁹⁶ Paris, Musée du Louvre: G2; Beazley Archive database No. 200434.

⁹⁷ Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 76.41; Beazley Archive Database No. 340502.

⁹⁸ Theban women were called *mainades* in Euripides' play *Bacchae*: see G. Hedreen, "Silens, Nymphs, and Maenads," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 114/1 (1994): 49.

⁹⁹ See E. Keuls, "Male-Female Interaction in Fifth Century Dionysiac Ritual," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 35 (1984): 287-296.

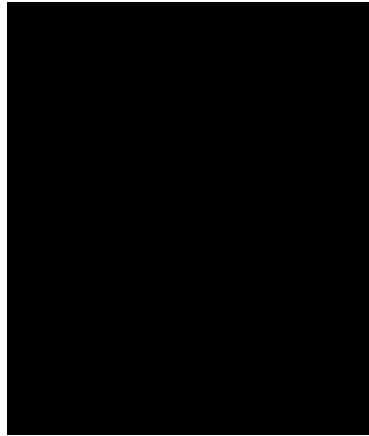


Figure 3.6. Reveler wearing a *mitra*
Munich, Antikensammlungen: 2619A; Beazley Archive Database No. 201289



Figure 3.7. Maenad wearing red and black *mitra*
Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 76.41; Beazley Archive Database No. 340502

Dionysos was the god of intoxication and festivities, whose most notable gift was wine, a beverage to be tamed and drunk with caution.¹⁰⁰ The very vessels and cups used for wine mixing and drinking illustrate Dionysiac imagery, such as maenads and satyrs, men assembled on banquets reclining on couches (*symposia*), and a joyous singing,

¹⁰⁰J. L. Durand, F. Frontisi-Ducroux, & F. Lissarrague, "Wine: Human and Divine," in C. Bérard (ed.), *City of Images: Iconography and Society in Ancient Greece* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 121.

dancing and drinking that occurred afterwards (*komoi*); both *symposion* and *komos* usually involved women entertainers and prostitutes.¹⁰¹

Traditionally, symposiasts and komasts were characterized as stereotypical effeminate males from the East, and were associated with the Ionian poet Anakreon, who came to Athens in the 520s BCE. However, these Eastern attributes were intended to epitomize the status of wealth and high rank, just as they did in the Lydian and Persian worlds.¹⁰² Stated otherwise, although these men wore luxurious Anatolian male dress, they were viewed in Athens as effeminate.¹⁰³ Even so, no Anatolian Greek wore a *mitra* with his hair pulled through the crown, which was a true feminine arrangement seen in many Attic depictions (Figure 3.8). This confirms that the headdresses were perceived not only as effeminate, but also as exclusively feminine from the very beginning. Still, representations of male wearers precede the female evidence, and the earliest surviving examples of men appear around 560 BCE, just about a decade later than the Ionian cases in point, while women emerge in the second half of the 6th century BCE.¹⁰⁴ At that time, the women who wore these headdresses were almost exclusively maenads and prostitutes, linked with Dionysos, *symposion* and *komos*.

¹⁰¹ A *symposion* was a banquet essentially devoted to drinking, after the guests had already had a meal (F. Lissarrague, *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet: Images of Wine and Ritual* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 7). The heroes of Homer feasted sitting; however, drinking while lying on a couch was soon accepted, following an Eastern model (Eastern kings and dynasts enjoyed a rich, magnificent and complex ceremonial banquet – see the well-known stone relief with Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, found near Nineveh). Such models were very attractive to members of the Greek aristocracy, beginning with those of Eastern Greek cities, which bordered oriental kingdoms. During the 7th century BCE, these men constructed a luxurious lifestyle marked by a strong Near Eastern influence, in order to display their rank and power (see J. Burton, “Women's Commensality in the Ancient Greek World,” *Greece & Rome* 45 (1998): 146).

¹⁰² Miller (1999), 234-235.

¹⁰³ Miller (1999), 235, 240-241.

¹⁰⁴ Boardman & Kurtz, 51.



Figure 3.8. Komasts wearing open and closed headdresses
 Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional: 11009; Beazley Archive Database No. 9514

The Goddess Aphrodite

Dionysos was not the only Eastern deity whose followers wore the headdresses, since it is believed that Aphrodite developed from Eastern fertility deities who were depicted with headdresses and were patronesses of prostitutes, as was the Greek goddess herself. Prostitutes and other followers of Aphrodite comprised the majority of female headdress wearers, whom I will now examine in detail.

Aphrodite was the patron goddess of Corinth, the port city that was also a likely entry point for Oriental and Anatolian fashions.¹⁰⁵ This city may have had a strong link with the headdress, the goddess and prostitution.¹⁰⁶ Corinth, for example, was an

¹⁰⁵ See W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).

¹⁰⁶ Corinthian coins depicted a female head with a headdress over a long period of time. The city was also known for its infamous “sacred prostitution” and Acrocorinth possibly housed a statue of armed Aphrodite

important trade centre, and the main spot for the exchange of customs and traditions long before Athens.¹⁰⁷ It was *the* port on all major trade routes connecting the West and the East. Corinth's position on the Isthmus gave the city its influence and power, and allowed it to become one of the most important locations in the Mediterranean.¹⁰⁸ It was a place where numerous cultures, customs and traditions mixed, as well as a main location for slave markets. As a result, foreign costumes were easily observed, adopted, imported and distributed. Corinth, then, seems the most obvious site for the introduction of the Eastern headdresses, which afterwards spread to the rest of the Greek world.

In addition, Corinth was the first Greek place to experience the impact of the Orient, as confirmed by orientalized art styles from the 8th century BCE.¹⁰⁹ Mesopotamian and Anatolian motifs and designs were adopted during the so-called Orientalizing period ca. 725–625 BCE, which included fantastic monsters – griffins, sirens, lions, and Eastern floral and animal motifs. The influence first began in Corinth ca. 725 BCE, and reached Athens about twenty-five years later.¹¹⁰ In fact, sympotic scenes appeared for the first time on pots made in Corinth at the end of the 7th century BCE.¹¹¹

in her temple. The Greek proverbial saying stated that, “Not every man has the luck to sail to Corinth” or “Not for every man is the voyage to Corinth” (Strabo, *Geography* 8.6.20). Also, for the ancient writings on Corinth see Strabo, *Geography*, 8.6.20-23 and Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 2.1.1-5.1.

¹⁰⁷ J. B. Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth: a History of the City to 338 BC* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 133.

¹⁰⁸ The Isthmus provided a safer alternative to traveling around the southern tip of Greece via Cape of Malea.

¹⁰⁹ R. J. Hopper, “Ancient Corinth,” *Greece & Rome* 2/1 (1955): 8-11. At that time, the island of Aegina was the rivaling power, while Athens' supremacy was yet to emerge. Corinth's position, however, was never truly challenged, since all trade from Athens would still have to pass via the Isthmus to continue its journey.

¹¹⁰ J. G. Pedley, *Greek Art and Archaeology* (NJ: Prentice Hall, 1993), 123, 126.

¹¹¹ R. Osborne, “Projecting Identities in the Greek Symposium,” in J. Sofaer (ed.), *Material Identities* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2007), 49.

Asia Minor also influenced Corinthian coinage, as its mint designs closely resembled Eastern examples. Corinth was one of the earliest Greek cities to issue coins that first appeared in Lydia ca. 700 BCE, and adopted its weighing standards from Asia Minor.¹¹² After ca. 500 BCE, a woman's head appeared on Corinth's drachms with her hair initially dressed in elaborate hairstyles,¹¹³ which a century later was placed in a *sakkos*; these depictions lasted until 243 BCE (Figure 3.9).¹¹⁴ The headdress styles closely resembled Anatolian examples, especially the later mints, as seen on a late 5th or early 4th century BCE coin from Phokaia in Ionia (Figure 3.10).¹¹⁵



Figure 3.9. Three heads of Aphrodite wearing *sakkos*
Corinthian silver drachms, ca. 400–300 BCE

¹¹² Salmon, 171; BMC, *Corinth, Colonies of Corinth, etc.*, xix. The first Greek coins, however, were minted on Aegina.

¹¹³ For instance, rolled round a diadem, bound with a fillet, beads or *sphendone*.

¹¹⁴ BMC, *Corinth, Colonies of Corinth, etc.*

¹¹⁵ BMC, *Ionia*.

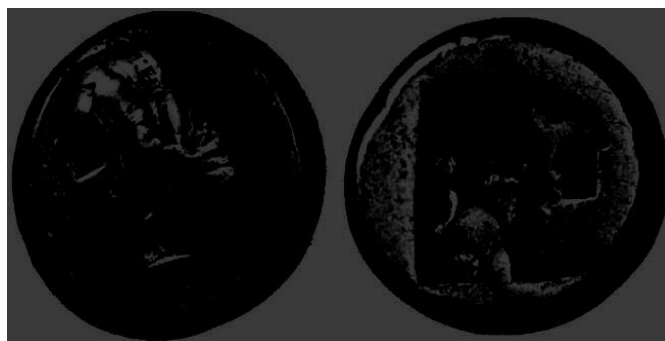


Figure 3.10. Female head with the headdress, ca. 477–388 BCE, Phokaia, Ionia

The Corinthian *sakkos* head was identified either as Aphrodite or as the nymph Peirene.¹¹⁶ The former was an imported goddess with compelling Eastern roots who served as a city patroness, while the latter was associated with Corinth's renowned and legendary fountain (Strabo, *Geography* 8.6.20-23; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 2.1.1-5.1).¹¹⁷ Since the fountain itself was located behind the temple on the Acrocorinth and was sacred to Aphrodite, the evidence appears to point more convincingly to Aphrodite.¹¹⁸ The cult of the goddess was strong in Corinth, including her sanctuary on Acrocorinth linked with temple prostitution in ancient times (Pindar, fr.122; Strabo,

¹¹⁶ The possibility of the head being that of the personification of the city is eliminated by the evidence from a bronze mirror discovered in Corinth (4th century BCE), which was engraved with two figures: a male figure with the inscription *Korinthos* and a female with *Leukas*. This example confirms that the personification of the city of Corinth / *Korinthos* (masculine form) was represented by a male figure, while the city of Leukas (feminine form) was represented by a female figure; see P. Gardner, "Countries and Cities in Ancient Art," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 9 (1888): 61-63.

¹¹⁷ Bellerophos tamed the winged horse Pegasus at the fountain.

¹¹⁸ BMC, *Corinth, Colonies of Corinth, etc.* Similar debate exists regarding the helmeted female head on Corinthian coins, as some scholars believe it is Athena while others insist it is Aphrodite. See P. E. Blomberg, *On Corinthian Iconography: The Bridled Winged Horse and the Helmeted Female Head in the Sixth Century BC* (Uppsala, Sweden, 1996); C. Williams, "Corinth and the Cult of Aphrodite," in *Corinthiaca: Studies in Honor of Darrell A. Amyx* (University of Missouri Press, Columbia, MO, 1986), 12-24; J. Flemberg, "Venus Armata," in *Studien zur bewaffneten Aphrodite in der griechisch-römischen Kunst* (Uppsala, 1989); O. Broneer, "The 'Armed Aphrodite' on Acrocorinth and the Aphrodite of Capua," *University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology* 1/2 (1930): 65-84; and D. Smith, "Aphrodite: Classical Greek Goddess of War," *Celator* 20/1 (2006): 6-18. I am also inclined to believe the head is that of Aphrodite.

Geography 8.6.20-22).¹¹⁹ Predictably, Aphrodite was also a patron deity of prostitutes, and she was called Aphrodite *Porne* or *Hetaira* in that role.¹²⁰

It appears that the Greek Aphrodite developed from Oriental fertility goddesses, who were depicted on Eastern coinage. The above listed examples of the 6th and 5th century BCE Carian and Phokaia coins shows a goddess with a similar headdress, probably Astarte, Aphrodite's Eastern counterpart (see Figures 3.4-5, 3.10). It is tempting to speculate that Eastern coinage influenced the Corinthian *sakkos*-ed Aphrodite; however, this theory is problematic, as dates and styles do not match, as the Corinthian *sakkos* coins first appeared around 400 BCE, much later than their Eastern examples. Nevertheless, a connection between Aphrodite coins and Corinthian prostitution is appealing, since small denominations with Aphrodite *sakkos* heads would have been used to pay prostitutes, who actually wore these headdresses.¹²¹

Aphrodite's connection with the East and the headdress testifies further to the headdress's Eastern origin. In fact, a Persian goddess adopted from Assyria and identified with Greek Aphrodite was called Mitra, the same word as the headdress (Herodotus, *Histories* 1.131). To clarify this further, the scholars believe that Aphrodite developed

¹¹⁹ Aphrodite's temple on Acrocorinth is a controversial subject, as ancient sources refer to it, yet modern archaeological excavations have not been able to confirm its glorious existence so far. Nevertheless, Blegen and his team found remains of the temple from the 7th century BCE: see C. W. Blegen et al., *Corinth: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical School at Athens: Acrocorinth, Excavations in 1926 vol. 3/1* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930), 4. In addition, McDonnell lists evidence that four or five temples of Aphrodite existed in Corinth: see J. M. McDonnell, *The Cult of Aphrodite at Corinth: Evidence and Interpretation* (MA Thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1991), 38-39.

¹²⁰ M. Marcovich, "From Ishtar to Aphrodite," *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 30/2 (1996): 49.

¹²¹ The connection between Aphrodite *sakkos* coins and prostitutes' pay brings to mind a similar link once said to have existed between the withdrawn Canadian two-dollar bill and a prostitute's fee, especially in Western Canada. Legend has it that during the frontier era, the two-dollar bills were used to pay prostitutes,

from an Eastern fertility goddess variously known as Astarte, Ishtar and Inanna, dating as far back as ca. 3000 BCE.¹²² After ca. 2400 BCE, Inanna, the Sumerian version of this goddess, became the Old Babylonian Ishtar.¹²³ During the second millennium BCE, the cult of Ishtar spread throughout the Middle East – from Mesopotamia to Canaan, Syria, Palestine, Phoenicia and Arabia, with different versions of the name Astarte, from which the name Aphrodite developed, meaning that Aphrodite's roots and name are Semitic.¹²⁴

In fact, her name relates directly to the phonology and morphology of the Cyprian-Canaanite or Phoenician language, from the region, which is also known as the centre of Aphrodite's cult.¹²⁵ The Cyprian goddess evolved from the Levantine Astarte, and Pausanias offered the following opinion: "The Assyrians were the first of the human race to worship the heavenly one [Aphrodite *Ourania*]; then the people of Paphos in Cyprus, and of Phoenician Askalon in Palestine, and the people of Kythera, who learnt her worship from the Phoenicians" (*Description of Greece* 1.14.7).¹²⁶ In all probability,

and it was therefore considered inappropriate to give one to a woman as change. See C. Robinson & E. G. McGoun, "The Sociology of Personal Finance," *Financial Services Review* 7 (1998), 170.

¹²² See Marcovich, 45; S. Budin, "A Reconsideration of the Aphrodite-Ashtart Syncretism," *Numen* 51/2 (2004): 95-145; M. West, "The Name of Aphrodite," *Glotta* 76 (2002): 134-138; C. Penglase, *Greek Myths and Mesopotamia* (London: Routledge, 1994), 176ff.

¹²³ Marcovich, 45-49: Sumerian Inanna and Akkadian Ishtar were powerful goddesses of carnal love and fertility from the early 3rd millennium BCE. Ishtar was also the goddess of love, war and heaven – the three aspects also found in the Greek Aphrodite. First, like Ishtar, Aphrodite had the epithet "Heavenly", or *Ourania*, as she was the daughter of Ouranos, the god of Heaven (see Hesiod, *Theogony* 154-206). Second, in her function as a war goddess, Aphrodite *Areia* or *Strateia* was represented as armed, as was a wife of the Greek god of war, Ares (for bibliography see note 118). Third, the goddesses Inanna and Ishtar had the epithet "The Whore", as did the Greek Aphrodite *Porne* or *Hetaira*; all three goddesses were linked with prostitution.

¹²⁴ West, 134-138.

¹²⁵ West, 134-138. See also Budin (2004), 95-145; Marcovich, 46.

¹²⁶ See S. Budin, *Origin of Aphrodite* (CDL Press, 2002); and Budin (2004).

the goddess' worship came to Greece in the period between 1200 and 800 BCE under the influence of Cyprus.¹²⁷

Aphrodite's worshippers adorned the Eastern headdresses in a fashion similar to that of the followers of Dionysos (Frankfurt 539¹²⁸ – Figure 3.11), and exemplary vases from Apollonia Pontica¹²⁹ depict female figures wearing *sakkoi* in front of a sacred cone (Figure 3.12). Even though these depictions are of a later date, they curiously evoke the cult of Paphian Aphrodite from Cyprus, where the goddess was worshipped in the form of a sacred stone.¹³⁰



Figure 3.11. Aphrodite worshippers with *sakkoi*, Attic
Munich, Furtwangler: XXXX539; Beazley Archive Database No. 7879

¹²⁷ Penglase, 176ff. Her name is absent from the Mycenaean religion as known from the Linear B tablets.

¹²⁸ Munich, Furtwangler: XXXX539; Beazley Archive Database No. 7879.

¹²⁹ They were found in or near Apollonia of Thrace, a Greek colony founded around the 6th century BCE by the Milesians; the *lekythoi* date from the 4th century BCE.

¹³⁰ For Paphian religion on Cyprus see A. Westholm, "The Temple of the Paphian Aphrodite and its Relation to Oriental Architecture," *Acta Archaeologica* 4 (1933): 201-36; S. Paraskos, *Aphrodite Cypris Goddess of Love* (Interworld Publications, 1988); and R. G. Lavithis, *Paphos: Land of Aphrodite* (Interworld Publications, 1992).

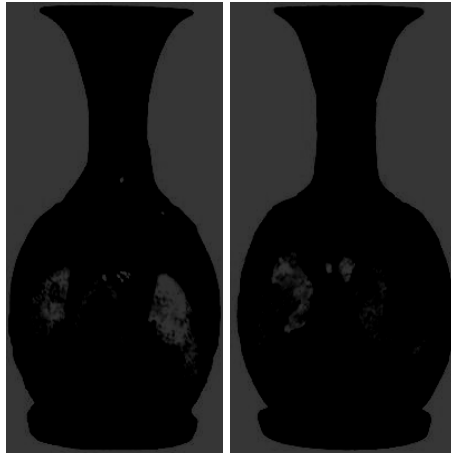


Figure 3.12. Two Red-figure *lekythoi* with female heads wearing *sakkoi* worshipping Aphrodite's sacred cone, from Apollonia Pontica

During excavations in 1913, the black granite stone was discovered next to the temple of Aphrodite, where it was originally enclosed and covered with veils visited only by a high priestess (Figure 3.13). This made Paleapaphos (Old Paphos) the centre of the world for the worshippers of Aphrodite.¹³¹ Hence, reverence of Aphrodite's sacred cone by two women wearing the headdresses strongly suggests the depiction of the goddess's cult.¹³² In addition to pottery illustrations, sculptural evidence from the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Cyprus confirms this notion, as a votive offering in a form of a *kore* wearing a headdress was found at the location (Musée Borély 2484).¹³³ She is adorned with jewelry and holds a number of apples in her arms.

¹³¹ Lavithis, 77. The sacred stone was depicted on numerous Cyprian coins; see *LIMC*, vol. 2, Aphrodite 1a-b, and BMC, *Cyprus*.

¹³² Other similar examples are *LIMC*, vol. 2, Aphrodite 42, 44, and 46.

¹³³ Musée Borély, Marseille. For the illustration see M. Yon, *Un dépôt de sculptures archaïques. Salamine de Chypre*, vol 5 (Paris: de Boccard, 1974), fig. 37.

Finally, textual evidence reinforces the link between Aphrodite's worshippers and the headdresses, as seen in a dedication in which a *kekryphalos* was offered to the goddess:¹³⁴

With joy, methinks, Aphrodite will receive this offering
from Symaetha, the caul (*kekryphalos*) that bound her hair;
for it is delicately wrought and hath a certain sweet smell
of nectar, that nectar with which she, too, anoints lovely Adonis.
(*Greek Anthology* 6.275)

¹³⁴ This 3rd century BCE poem appears to have been written by the poetess Nossis, who lived in Epizephyrian Locri, a city in Magna Graecia. Aphrodite was also adopted in the West, as is confirmed by the abundance of evidence. For example, a colossal sculpture of enthroned Aphrodite wearing a *sakkos* was found in Tarentum, dated ca. 480 BCE (Berlin, AntikenMuseen Sk 1761). The Ludovisi Throne (ca. 460 BCE) portrays a woman on a cushion, playing a double flute and wearing a *sakkos* identified as a prostitute; Aphrodite's birth is sculpted on the main panel. Notably, Locri was associated with Aphrodite's temple prostitution in its foundation legend and the Votum of 477/6 BCE (see S. Barnard, "Hellenistic Women Poets," *Classical Journal* 73/3 (1978): 211; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, "Persephone and Aphrodite at Locri: A Model of Personality Definitions in Greek Religion," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 98 (1978): 101-121, and "The Votum of 477/6 B.C. and the Foundation Legend of Locri Epizephyrii," *Classical Quarterly* 24/2 (1974): 186-198; L. Woodbury, "The Gratitude of the Locrian Maiden: Pindar, Pyth. 2.18-20," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 108 (1978): 285-299).

Aphrodite's temple in Locri goes back to the 7th century BCE and was rebuilt in the 5th century BCE, when the references to prostitution began correlating to the time when numerous plaques or *pinakes* were dedicated to the goddess. Also, two mirrors from Tarentum (New York 38.11.3) dated as early as ca. 550 BCE, have handles in a shape of a nude figure wearing a net-like snood, just like the Greek examples, which are said to represent Aphrodite (see J. R. Mertens, "Greek Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 43/2 (1985): 23-24, and M. Bennett & A. J. Paul, *Magna Graecia: Greek Art from South Italy and Sicily* (Hudson Hill Press, 2002), 76). Finally, South Italian vase-paintings from the 5th and 4th century BCE depict a plethora of *sakkos* illustrations, both on Aphrodite and her worshippers. Their number is vast; for example, one painter alone created over 600 pots with female heads wearing *sakkoi* (see A. D. Trendall, *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily*, (Thames and Hudson, 1989). Curiously, Eros, Aphrodite's constant companion, is shown with long hair and also wearing the headdress, and in a few instances, they are depicted together, both wearing the *sakkoi* (St. Petersburg State Hermitage Museum 4323; A. D. Trendall, *Red Figure Vases of Apulia vol. 2* (Clarendon Press, 1978), fig 173).

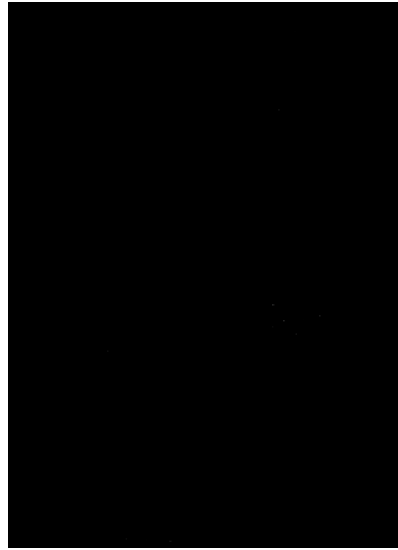


Figure 3.13. Sacred stone of Aphrodite from Paphos
Archaeological Museum, Kouklia, Cyprus

Since Aphrodite derived from Near Eastern fertility goddesses – Inanna, Ishtar and Astarte, who were simultaneously divine consorts of the king, queens of heaven and patronesses of prostitutes, one would expect the Greek goddess to have inherited these qualities.¹³⁵ However, contrary to the complex and versatile cult of her Eastern counterparts, Greek Aphrodite was primarily a goddess of beauty, sensuality and lust, while her other traits remained veiled and understated.

She played the roles of a divine matchmaker and agent of sensual desire and infatuation, whose magical charms were enough to entice even the gods into acts of lust and illicit love.¹³⁶ Timothy Gantz clearly summarizes Aphrodite's role, stating “Aside

¹³⁵ W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 152.

¹³⁶ In the *Iliad*, for example, Aphrodite is said to arouse immediate desire in the eyes of her beholder (14.216), and verbs formed from the goddess's name denote the act of love (*Odyssey* 22.444). Aphrodite is famous for her liaisons with various heroes and gods. Aphrodite's adulterous dalliance with Ares was the source of much amusement to the gods of Olympus, and was most likely a subject of ancient cult as well (*Odyssey* 8.266-364). She had love affairs with Adonis and Anchises, which became ancient traditions

from Homer and these (relatively few) amatory encounters, Aphrodite's role in myth is limited to isolated instances of aiding lovers or punishing those who reject love".¹³⁷

This Greek tendency to simplify complex imported deities was seen in myths where originally multifaceted divinities became compartmentalized through time. Such a specialization in function appears to have occurred in the cases of Aphrodite and Dionysos.¹³⁸ In case of Aphrodite, the Greeks compartmentalized her different functions and, by the late 5th century BCE, philosophers separated Aphrodite into two main aspects: one was *Ourania*, or "Heavenly", and the other was *Pandemos*, or "Common" or "Of the People" and symbolized carnal love.¹³⁹ As such, this Aphrodite was equated with or corresponded to Aphrodite *Porne* or *Hetaira*.¹⁴⁰

Aphrodite *Ourania* was a daughter of Ouranos, born from her father's severed genitals in the sea foam near Cyprus, closely resembling her Eastern predecessors, while *Pandemos* was a daughter of Zeus and Dione, a later creation.¹⁴¹ Pausanias remarks that Aphrodite *Pandemos* and Aphrodite *Ourania* were represented in the same temple, which

surrounding the goddess. Her torrid love affair with Adonis ended tragically. According to one version of the myth, the goddess is said to have leapt off the Leucadian rock in grief for the beautiful youth. (See the discussion in L. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States vol. II* (New Rochelle, NY: Caratzas Brothers, 1977), 650). For her affair with Anchises see *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*.

¹³⁷ T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 104.

¹³⁸ Regarding Aphrodite, Jane Harrison states, "Another note of her late coming into Greece proper is that she is in Homer a departmental goddess, having for her sphere one human passion. The earlier forms of divinities are of larger import, they tend to be gods of all work. When the fusion of tribes and the influence of literature conjointly bring together a number of local divinities, perforce, if they are to hold together, they divide functions and attributes, i.e., become departmental" (J. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (New York: The Viking Press, 1975), 308.)

¹³⁹ Plato, *Symposium* 181a–d.

¹⁴⁰ These attributes were somewhat unclear.

¹⁴¹ The goddess's epithet *Ourania* offers a valuable clue, since the Greek word was a translation of the Semitic title *malkat ha-ssamayim*, meaning "the queen of the heavens," which was a reference to Ishtar (see Farnell, 629; L. Bobrova & A. Militarev, "From Mesopotamia to Greece: to the Origin of Semitic and

actually belonged to *Ourania*, and *Pandemos* was depicted riding on a goat, symbol of carnal lust (*Description of Greece* 6.25.1).¹⁴² This example, despite its later date, demonstrated that regardless of the division, the Greeks still saw Aphrodite's different functions as parts of one divinity.¹⁴³ Artistic representations confirm this notion in depictions of both Aphrodite *Ourania* and Aphrodite *Pandemos* wearing the headdresses. For example, the 5th century BCE enthroned Aphrodite *Ourania* with a *sakkos* is holding a dove (Hornbostel no.113¹⁴⁴), and a Red-figure pelike shows Aphrodite wearing a *sakkos* rising from the seashell (Salonica 685¹⁴⁵). Similarly, Aphrodite *Porne* with a *sakkos* is sculpted on terra-cotta relief holding a he-goat,¹⁴⁶ and a Red-figure hydria portrays a similar concept of Aphrodite riding on a goat (Paris CA928¹⁴⁷).

Another noteworthy aspect is the overlap of Aphrodite's worship with the Dionysiac cult. Besides headdresses, Aphrodite and Dionysos were associated with goats, and were both seen riding on these animals.¹⁴⁸ Likewise, Aphrodite appears with

Greek Star Names," in H. Galter (ed.), *Die Rolle der Astronomie in den Kulturen Mesopotamiens. Proceedings of the 3rd Graz Oriental Symposium* (Graz, 1993), 315.

¹⁴² Pausanias states: "Behind the portico built from the spoils of Corcyra is a temple of Aphrodite, the precinct being in the open, not far from the temple. The goddess in the temple they call Heavenly [Ourania]; she is of ivory and gold, the work of Pheidias, and she stands with one foot upon a tortoise. The precinct of the other Aphrodite is surrounded by a wall, and within the precinct has been made a basement, upon which sits a bronze image of Aphrodite upon a bronze he-goat. It is a work of Scopas, and the Aphrodite is named Common [Pandemos]. The meaning of the tortoise and of the he-goat I leave to those who care to guess" (*Description of Greece* 6.25.1).

¹⁴³ Later on, the Neoplatonists and eventually their Christian interpreters saw Aphrodite *Ourania*, the celestial Aphrodite, as a representation of love of body and soul, while Aphrodite *Pandemos* was associated with mere physical love.

¹⁴⁴ Rhodian terracotta, from a private collection in Germany. For the illustration, see W. Hornbostel (ed.), *Kunst der Antike: Schätze aus norddt. Privatbesitz* (Mainz, 1977), no.113.

¹⁴⁵ Salonica, Archaeological Museum: 685; Beazley Archive Database No. 14847.

¹⁴⁶ From Gela, ca. 500 BCE, currently at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. For the illustration, see Richter, fig.331.

¹⁴⁷ Paris, Musée du Louvre: CA928; Beazley Archive Database No. 230504.

¹⁴⁸ Symposiasts with goats: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: 516 (Beazley Archive Database No. 200528), Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco: 73127 (Beazley Archive Database No. 201568); Dionysos riding a

Dionysos' followers, satyrs, as her worshippers, as seen in Paris 298¹⁴⁹ (Figure 3.14), Boston 01.8032,¹⁵⁰ Rhodes 12454,¹⁵¹ Rome 50320,¹⁵² Rome 8236¹⁵³ and Brussels R286.¹⁵⁴ In almost all cases where Aphrodite is depicted with a headdress ascending from the earth, she is surrounded by satyrs.¹⁵⁵ There is no doubt the figure represents Aphrodite, as she is named in a few instances (see Rhodes 12454¹⁵⁶ - Figure 3.15). The connection between these two Eastern deities is reinforced in the scenes of *symposion* and sex, evoking the ancient Greek proverb, which states "Aphrodite and Dionysos [love and wine] go together".¹⁵⁷



Figure 3.14. Ascent of Aphrodite between two satyrs with hammers
Paris, Cabinet des Médailles: 298; Beazley Archive Database No. 330746

goat: Paris, Musée du Louvre: CA944 (Beazley Archive Database No. 201961); a drinking cup in a shape of a goat's head: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum: 737 (Beazley Archive Database No. 218706).

¹⁴⁹ Paris, Cabinet des Médailles: 298; Beazley Archive Database No. 330746.

¹⁵⁰ Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 01.8032; Beazley Archive Database No. 211718.

¹⁵¹ Rhodes, Archaeological Museum: 12454; Beazley Archive Database No. 216599.

¹⁵² Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia: 50320; Beazley Archive Database No. 212239.

¹⁵³ Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia: 8236; *LIMC*, vol. 2, Aphrodite 1165.

¹⁵⁴ Brussels, Musées Royaux: R286; Beazley Archive Database No. 230395.

¹⁵⁵ The theme portrayed from the 6th century until the 4th century BCE.

¹⁵⁶ Rhodes, Archaeological Museum: 12454; Beazley Archive Database No. 216599.

¹⁵⁷ F. Lissarrague, "Figures of Women," in P. Schmitt (ed.), *A History of Women in the West: Volume I: From Ancient Goddesses to Christian Saints* (Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 1992), 217–18.



Figure 3.15. Named Aphrodite ascending
Rhodes, Archaeological Museum: 12454; Beazley Archive Database No. 216599

Accordingly, both deities were strongly linked with the headdress. Aphrodite's association with the headdress nevertheless deepened to the point where it actually became one of her attributes unmistakably seen in Judgment scenes. For example, the judgment of Paris on a Red-figure amphora (London E 178¹⁵⁸ - Figure 3.16) shows Hera with her veil, Athena with her armour and Aphrodite with her *sakkos*. London E 178 is not an exceptional case, as at least another five vases portray identical iconography: Berlin F2005¹⁵⁹ (Figure 3.17), New York 1981.11.9¹⁶⁰ (Figure 3.18), Cincinnati 1962.386-388¹⁶¹ (Figure 3.19) and Karlsruhe 259¹⁶² (Figure 3.20), including an Etruscan amphora Munich 837¹⁶³ (Figure 3.21). Therefore, it can be concluded that the headdress

¹⁵⁸ London, British Museum E 178; Beazley Archive Database No. 205649.

¹⁵⁹ Berlin, Antikensammlung: F2005; Beazley Archive Database No. 46027.

¹⁶⁰ New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum: 1981.11.9; Beazley Archive Database No. 9988. Aphrodite's head is damaged, but the hair protruding from the crown opening of her headdress is still visible.

¹⁶¹ Cincinnati (OH), Art Museum: 1962.386-388; Beazley Archive Database No. 207351; see Boulter, 120-1, fig. A.

¹⁶² Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 259; Beazley Archive Database No. 220515.

¹⁶³ Munich, Antikensammlungen 837; this is an Etruscan vase, yet with a noteworthy depiction of the Judgment modeled on Attic examples.

was used by the painter to establish Aphrodite's identity and was seen as her attribute.

The vases come from different periods and locations, yet they all depict the goddess wearing a *sakkos*.¹⁶⁴ Aphrodite's identity is beyond doubt in the Judgment examples, yet there are other instances where she is both named and wearing the headdress, as in the Cincinnati (Figure 3.19) and Karlsruhe (Figure 3.20) vases. Other vases that clearly name Aphrodite with a headdress are Bologna 17358,¹⁶⁵ Boston 13.186¹⁶⁶ (Figure 3.22), London E73¹⁶⁷ and Rhodes 12454¹⁶⁸ (Figure 3.15).¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁴ Munich 837 is an Etruscan Black-figure amphora ca. 550 BCE; London E 178 an Attic Red-figure hydria ca. 480 BCE, Karlsruhe 259 an Attic Red-figure hydria ca. 400 BCE and Cincinnati 1962.386-388 an Attic Red-figure krater ca. 450 BCE.

¹⁶⁵ Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico: 17358; Beazley Archive Database No. 213717.

¹⁶⁶ Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 13.186; Beazley Archive Database No. 204681.

¹⁶⁷ London, British Museum: E73; Beazley Archive Database No. 201754.

¹⁶⁸ Rhodes, Archaeological Museum: 12454; Beazley Archive Database No. 216599.

¹⁶⁹ Besides Aphrodite, Eos and Nereids were also depicted with the headdresses. At first glance, this correlation seems without foundation, but an in-depth comparison reveals a clear motive. Eos and Nereids shared with Aphrodite the notion of unruly female sexuality and forbidden union with the mortal.

Aphrodite's affairs with Adonis and Anchises endangered their well-being, leading to Adonis's death. In the case of Anchises, he had to remain content with the promise that he would come to no harm and be the father of a magnificent son, who must be concealed and brought up by the nymphs. Similarly, Eos was fond of young men and abducted several of them: her lovers included Orion, Phaethon, Kephalos and Tithonos, who either faced misfortune or death as a result of their relation to Eos, including her son Memnon (for the connected between Aphrodite and Eos see A. Suter, "Aphrodite/Paris/Helen: A Vedic Myth in the *Iliad*," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 117 (1987): 51–58). In regard to Nereids, they were the sea nymphs related to the nymphs of Dionysos, who were thus also related to maenads and unruly sexuality, frequently depicted nude. The most popular Nereid was Thetis, who was married to a mortal king Peleus and had a son Achilles, who was doomed to either an early heroic death or a long life in obscurity.

It is usually a woman who fears a loss of physical attraction as the years advance, but in the case of these unruly goddesses, the situation is reversed and it is the male who suffers a progressive and inevitable decline. Aphrodite was not in a position to do for Anchises what Zeus did for Ganymede, and Eos, a goddess herself, had to ask Zeus that Tithonos be made immortal, and although Zeus granted the request, he deceived Eos by cruelly omitting to add the gift of eternal youth to that of immortality. Thetis tried to save her son from his fate, but failed. In sum, goddesses and nymphs depicted with headdresses share a few similar traits with Aphrodite, but it is she who is associated with this head covering the most. Eos: Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 95.28 (Beazley Archive Database No. 205036); Paris, Musée du Louvre: G115 (Beazley Archive Database No. 205119); London, British Museum: E72 (Beazley Archive Database No. 211658). Thetis: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum: 137 (Beazley Archive Database No. 287); Paris, Musée du Louvre: G3 (Beazley Archive Database No. 200435); Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 00.335 (Beazley Archive Database No. 200178).

Finally, I would like to comment on the depictions of a winged female figure with the headdress pouring a libation, with the incense burner, playing the lyre or carrying a torch. These figures have been

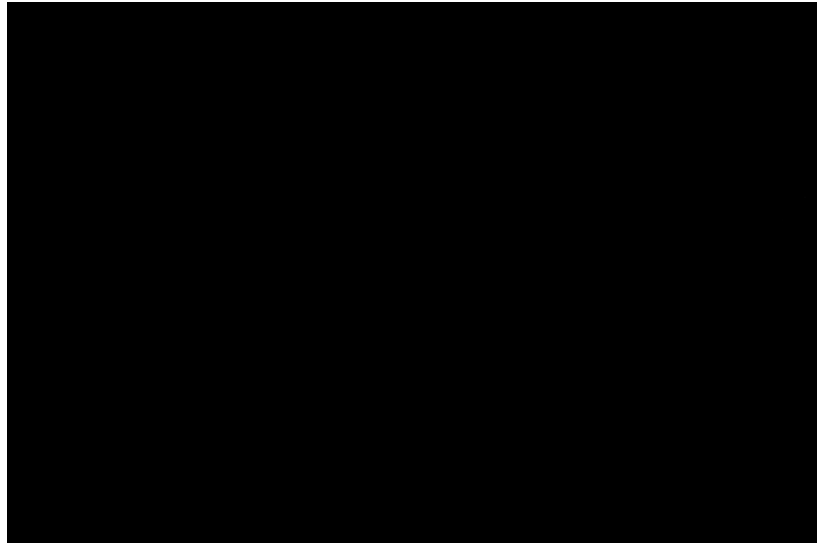


Figure 3.16. Judgment of Paris - Aphrodite wearing a *sakkos*
London, British Museum E 178; Beazley Archive Database No. 205649

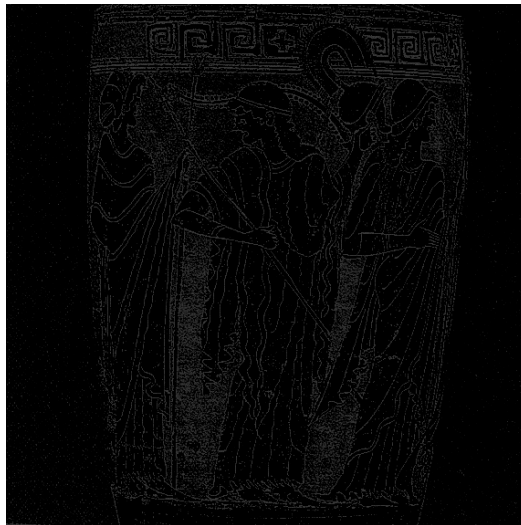


Figure 3.17. Judgment of Paris - Aphrodite wearing a *sakkos*
Berlin, Antikensammlung: F2005; Beazley Archive Database No. 46027

labeled Nike, the goddess of victory, but I believe that some of them were misinterpreted and in fact represent Eos, e.g. Berlin, Antikensammlung: 3389 (Beazley Archive Database No. 205352). The cases of positive Nike depictions are confusing indeed, as there are no explanations for linking the headdress and the goddess known to me; however, it must be pointed out that these vases are of a later date, emerging around the middle of the 5th century BCE.

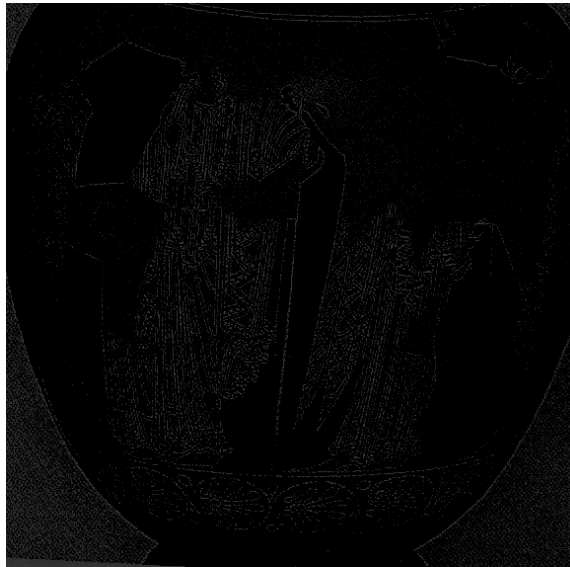


Figure 3.18. Judgment of Paris - Aphrodite wearing a *sakkos* (hair protruding from the crown opening of Aphrodite's headdress is still visible on this damage vase)
New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum: 1981.11.9; Beazley Archive Database No. 9988

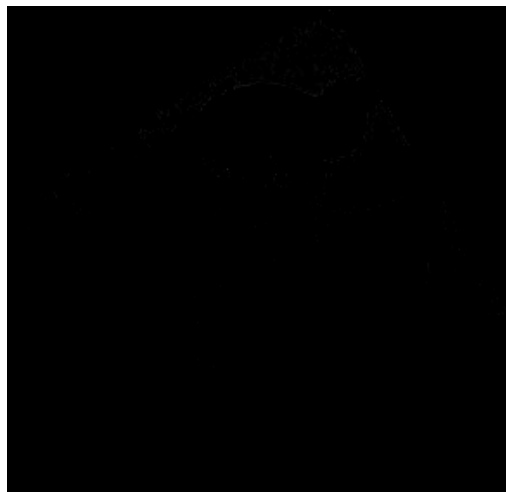


Figure 3.19. Judgment of Paris, named Aphrodite with a purple *sakkos*
Cincinnati Art Museum 1962.386-388; Beazley Archive Database No. 207351



Figure 3.20. Judgment of Paris, Aphrodite wearing a headdress with Eros (named) Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 259; Beazley Archive Database 220515



Figure 3.21. Judgment of Paris - Aphrodite wearing a *sakkos*, Etruscan Munich, Antikensammlungen 837



Figure 3.22. Named Aphrodite with the headdress Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 13.186; Beazley Archive Database No. 204681

Aphrodite's Prostitutes

Since Aphrodite's Eastern predecessors – Inanna, Ishtar, Astarte and Paphian – were linked with prostitution and bore the epithet “Whore”, it is not surprising that the Greek goddess sustained this connection as well.¹⁷⁰ Prostitutes were seen as in service to Aphrodite, and were called her “trained fillies” (Eubulus, *Pannychis* F82 KA).¹⁷¹ All prostitutes – courtesans and slaves, worshipped Aphrodite as their patron deity, and their association with the goddess resulted in social legitimacy of their profession.¹⁷² Prostitutes prayed and made offerings to their patroness, just as wives and pregnant women worshipped Hera and Artemis, and supplicants of Aphrodite often sought prostitutes' help (Athenaeus 13.573c).¹⁷³ Aphrodite was perceived to have great powers over human affairs, and was believed to aid *hetairai* in obtaining wealthy clients (Athenaeus 13.588c).¹⁷⁴

Who were the prostitutes? Most often, they were slaves, freed slaves, foreign residents and occasionally citizens.¹⁷⁵ Slaves were forced into the trade, freed slave prostitutes continued to practice the profession, while foreign residents used it as a means

¹⁷⁰ Marcovich, 49.

¹⁷¹ The Greek word was *polous*; from Athenaeus 13.568e.

¹⁷² J. Neils, “Others Within the Other,” in B. Cohen (ed.), *Not the Classical Ideal, Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2000), 216. See E. E. Cohen, “Athenian Prostitution as a Liberal Profession,” in G. W. Bakewell & J. P. Sickinger (eds.), *Gestures. Essays in Ancient History, Literature, and Philosophy Presented to Alan L. Boegehold on the Occasion of his Retirement and his Seventy-fifth Birthday* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2003), 215; and Cohen, E. E. “Laws Affecting Prostitution at Athens,” in E. Cantarella (ed.), *Symposion 2005. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte. Salerno, 14.-18. September 2005* (Vienna, 2007), 202.

¹⁷³ Neils, 216.

¹⁷⁴ C. Calame, *The Poetics of Eros in Ancient Greece* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 11-20.

¹⁷⁵ E. E. Cohen, “Written Contracts of Prostitution in Fourth-Century Athens,” in M. I. Triantaphyllopoulos, *Timai Triantaphyllopoulou* (Athens: Ant. N. Sakkoula, 2000a), 115. See also E. E. Cohen, ““Whoring Under Contract”: The Legal Context of Prostitution in Fourth Century Athens,” in V. Hunter & J. Edmondson (eds.), *Law and Social Status in Classical Athens* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000b), 113-147.

of survival in necessity. Some women thus chose it willingly and in a case of extreme poverty, a freeborn Athenian woman could turn to the streets (*Greek Anthology* 6.47-48). Besides, an unmarried adult woman could choose a life of prostitution, as her presence in the household was both costly and shameful for the entire *oikos*.¹⁷⁶ In addition, youthfulness surely was prized in women; however, both pottery evidence as well as written texts confirms that mature and old women practiced the profession (e.g. Malibu 80.AE.31¹⁷⁷ and *Greek Anthology* 5.38, 258).

Nevertheless, six classifications were continuously used to rank prostitutes – a brothel slave, a streetwalker, an entertainer, a courtesan, a temple prostitute and a concubine. First, I will discuss the brothel girls or *pornai*. The word *porne* comes from the verb *pernemi* (to sell), which translates as “one who is on sale”.¹⁷⁸ The *pornai* were the lowest class of prostitutes who lacked status even among the women in the trade.¹⁷⁹ They were often recruited from the slave market or were abandoned children picked up by the brothel keepers.¹⁸⁰ Their fee was next to nothing (Athenaeus 13.568-569).¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁶ M. Golden, “Demography and Exposure of Girls at Athens,” *Phoenix* 35/4 (1981): 325. Edward Cohen exposed written contracts of prostitution written for the free citizens in the 4th century BCE Athens thus proving the existence of citizen prostitutes; see Cohen (2000a), 109-122; Cohen (2000b), 123-136.

¹⁷⁷ Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum: 80.AE.31; Beazley Archive Database No. 275008.

¹⁷⁸ *LSJ* s.v. *Porne*: harlot, prostitute; used by Archilochos (142) and Aristophanes (*Acharnians* 527); (from *pernemi* “to sell as slaves”, as prostitutes were commonly bought slaves).

¹⁷⁹ Since many prostitutes were slaves, they would generally have cropped hair. However, prostitutes had their hair cropped, knotted, loose, tied up with a band or in the headdress. Ingeborg Peschel found in her study that the balance between long and short hair was never such to produce solid conclusions about female slave status ((1987), 185). In addition, it was not in the best interest of a woman’s owner to crop her hair if she could earn more money by looking like a high-class courtesan. However, some scenes with prostitutes wearing the *sakkoi* differ in their hair depiction. The visible front hair protruding under the headdress is drawn in a crude spiky manner (Paris, Musée du Louvre: G2 (Beazley Archive database No. 200434); Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum: 86.AE.293 (Beazley Archive Database No. 275963)), as if the hair under the *sakkos* was short. It may be possible that the *sakkos* was used to hide or cover the unattractively cropped hair of a slave.

¹⁸⁰ Golden (1981), 316-331.

Besides the *pornai* in brothels, household slaves were available to their masters and were used by their friends at drinking gatherings.¹⁸²

Streetwalkers were slightly above the *pornai* in the hierarchy.¹⁸³ They did not wait for their customers in the brothels but sought them out in streets, taverns or similar places. Often, they were freed *pornai*, called *paidēs* (sg. *pais*), who continued to practice their profession,¹⁸⁴ or they were impoverished foreign residents (metics) or even citizens.¹⁸⁵ In addition, they were older women, perhaps ex-*hetairai* (courtesans) who had fallen on bad times or those who lacked the stamina to remain in the brothel. Some were servants in inns and taverns, as it was common for the innkeepers to have girls available to satisfy the travelers (Theophrastus, *Characters* 6).¹⁸⁶ Plato, for example, classifies brothels and inns in the same category and remarks on the poor reputation of these establishments (*Laws* 11.918d-e). Some prostitutes made the arrangements personally or had an assistant who followed a few steps behind (*Greek Anthology* 5.101). Others did not go out but rather stationed themselves at open windows.¹⁸⁷

Female entertainers, *mousourgoi* (literally “workers of the Muses”) belong to the third category. The most common ones were *auletris* (flute player), *psaltria* (harpist),

¹⁸¹ D. M. Halperin, “Democratic Body: Prostitution and Citizenship in Classical Athens” in *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality and Other Essays on Greek Love* (NY: Routledge, 1990), 107-112.

¹⁸² Neils, 207.

¹⁸³ The term *pezos* “infantryman” may be referring to a streetwalker, Phrynichus fr. 33.

¹⁸⁴ See Cohen (2003), 218-227.

¹⁸⁵ See Cohen (2000a) and (2000b).

¹⁸⁶ J. Massynbaerde Ford, “Bookshelf on Prostitution,” *BTB Readers Guide* 23 (1993): 128.

¹⁸⁷ See H. J. Graham, “The Women at the Window: Observations on the « Stele from the Harbour » of Thasos,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 118 (1998): 22-40, and A. S. Henry, “Hookers and Lookers: Prostitution and Soliciting in Late Archaic Thasos,” *Annual of the British School at Athens* 97 (2002): 217-221.

orchestris (dancer), and *mousourgos* (singer).¹⁸⁸ They provided not only musical and acrobatic entertainment during the banquet but also engaged in sexual activities with the symposiasts (Demosthenes 59.33ff; Isaeus 3.13-17).¹⁸⁹ In vase-painting, depictions of flutes and flute-cases were usually used to identify them. Flute-players were sold at a high price at slave auctions and their sexual abilities were a factor in increasing their value.¹⁹⁰ This was also true of dancers who often sang phallic songs to encourage further amorous advances (Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 1195; Athenaeus 13.608b, 14.129a-b).

Next, *hetairai* (literally female companions) were essentially courtesans at the top of social ladder who enjoyed a position unequalled by any other of their gender. In other words, *hetairai* had contact with almost every important male personality of their time and politicians were their preferred customers (Alciphron, *Letters* 16). Some of these *hetairai* were wealthy and the best educated women of the time (e.g. Phyne, Lamia and Theodote). Statues of several of these women were set up in temples or other public buildings by the citizens, often close to those of generals and statesmen (Alciphron, *Letters* 1.3.3; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.23.2). It seems that the greatest difference between *hetairai* and other prostitutes was the element of payment, as *hetairai*'s earnings were based on "gift-giving" while other women were paid per service

¹⁸⁸ L. McClure, *Courtesans at Table: Gender & Greek Literary Culture in Athenaeus* (NY: Routledge, 2003), 21.

¹⁸⁹ McClure (2003), 21.

¹⁹⁰ McClure (2003), 21. Famous examples of flute players are Lamia and Nanno who became highly accomplished prostitutes.

(Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3.11).¹⁹¹ However, these “gifts” were paid in advance and written into legal agreements, which were essentially contracts for sexual services and prostitutional obligations (Aeschines 1.160, 165).¹⁹² Some courtesans were high-fee, grand (*megalomisthoi*) *hetairai* and unapproachable (*semnotatai*) *hetairai*, while the others were common (*koinai*) *hetairai*.¹⁹³ Regardless of their ranking, *hetairai*’s relations were relatively long-term in general.

Many *hetairai* were also considered concubines or *pallakai*.¹⁹⁴ Concubinage was claimed to be a foreign tradition, most likely adopted from the Near Eastern customs (Athenaeus 13.556b-d). These women were quasi-marital associates of men secondary to their wives.¹⁹⁵ In other words, a concubine was not necessarily a prostitute, yet a prostitute could become a concubine.¹⁹⁶ The *pallake* resided within the household, although only in the absence of a wife (Demosthenes 59.118) and her presence in the house, as well as her relatively permanent status, distinguished her from a regular prostitute.¹⁹⁷ However, in one instance a prostitute is referred to as a man’s *hetaira*, *pallake* and *gyne* at the same time (Menander, *Samia* 561). In addition, the transition

¹⁹¹ D. Harvey, “Painted Ladies: Fact, Fiction and Fantasy?” in J. Christiansen & T. Melander (eds.), *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery, August 31 – September 4, 1987* (Copenhagen, 1988), 249.

¹⁹² In Plautus’ *Asinaria*, an adaptation of a Greek original, Cleareta was paid 2,000 drachmas, a “gift” paid in advance for her to spend her time exclusively with Diabolus for a period of one year (751-754). For prostitution contracts, see Cohen (2000a), (2000b) and (2003).

¹⁹³ Davidson (2006), 36.

¹⁹⁴ For example, in Isaeus 3, the speaker portrays Phile’s mother both as a *hetaira* and as a concubine to Phile’s father Pyrrhus.

¹⁹⁵ McClure (2003), 18-19.

¹⁹⁶ For example, Philoneus threatened his *pallake* with dismissal and wanted to put her into a brothel (Antiphon *Letters* 1.14-15). Also, Aristogeiton cast out his *pallake*, Zobia, a metic, and dragged her off to the authorities; Zobia was saved from being sold into slavery because she could prove she had paid the *metoikion*, the metic tax, or tax imposed on resident non-Athenians (Demosthenes 25.56-57).

¹⁹⁷ Massynbaerde Ford, 128; C. Patterson, “Those Athenian Bastards” *Classical Antiquity* 9 (1990): 55; McClure (2003), 19.

from a prostitute to a concubine was not necessarily definitive and permanent (Demosthenes 25.56-57). Her children were not recognized as legitimate, yet the law against adultery applied equally to the lawful wife as well as to the *pallake* (Lysias 1.31).

Last, I will mention temple or “sacred” prostitutes (*hierodouli*) who were the most controversial women of the trade and many scholars deny their existence.¹⁹⁸ They were evident in the Middle East - Phoenicia, Syria, Babylon and Asia Minor (Herodotus *Histories* 1.199; Lucian, *De Dea Syria* 6 and Strabo, *Geography* 11.532f), and possible Greek territories that housed temple prostitutes were Corinth and Cyprus.¹⁹⁹ Originally, it was believed that the sexual act was performed in honour of the goddess worshipped as Ishtar, Astarte, Mylitta and Aphrodite, in accordance with the symbolism of fertility of the earth and the prosperity of the city.²⁰⁰ However, these prostitutes seem to have been the regular temple personnel; the collected money did not increase their fortune but was rather kept in the treasury of the temple.²⁰¹

Despite these divisions, prostitution terminology overlapped in most cases and absolute distinctions were rare.²⁰² For example, two or more different terms could

¹⁹⁸ Current scholarship denies the existence of sacred prostitution, the practice where prostitutes and their earnings belonged to the Aphrodite temple. Although, some scholars distinguish between sacred and temple prostitution, there is still a heated debate. “Sacred prostitution” became an umbrella term for poorly understood sexual practices linked with temples, rituals and cults; see Davidson (2006), 33-34; M. Beard & J. Henderson, “With This Body I Thee Worship: Sacred Prostitution in Antiquity,” *Gender & History* 9/3 (1997): 480-503; B. MacLachlan, “Sacred Prostitution and Aphrodite,” *Studies in Religion* 21/2 (1992): 145-162 and S. Budin, “Sacred Prostitution in the First Person,” in C. Faraone & L. McClure (eds.), *Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Ancient World* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 77-92.

¹⁹⁹ W. A. Krenkel, “Prostitution,” in M. Grant & R. Kitzinger (eds.), *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece and Rome vol. II* (NY: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1988), 1293.

²⁰⁰ N. A. Vissintzis, *Love, Sex & Marriage in Ancient Greece* (Agia Paraskevi, Greece: Polygrama, 1997), 64.

²⁰¹ Vissintzis, 64.

²⁰² McClure, 9.

describe the same prostitute, naming a girl a *hetaira* as well as a *porne* in the same sentence (Anaxilas fr. 21 K; Diphilus fr.43 K, 39f).²⁰³ Also, a female musician addressed as a harpist (*psaltria*) is at the same time described as a *porne* (Menander, *Epitrepontes* 646).²⁰⁴ In many instances, the ancient vocabulary for a prostitute is listed under the general term *eromene*, meaning “mistress”.²⁰⁵

In summary, a prostitute could begin her career as a *porne* or *auletris* but prosper into a *hetaira* or *pallake*, and many collected extensive earnings demonstrating that prostitution was a lucrative profession (e.g. Neaira in Demosthenes 59.30-2).²⁰⁶ Put differently, some *hetairai* started as low-class prostitutes but flourished and thrived into high-end courtesans.²⁰⁷ Because of its popularity and wide distribution, prostitution is one of the most commonly represented female activities on Athenian pottery.²⁰⁸

Since prostitutes were mainly foreigners and slaves from Asia Minor brought in for prostitution and entertainment, a practice most likely inspired by the Lydians and Ionians, their connection with Aphrodite and the headdress seems predictable (Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* 3.11; Iseaus 3.8ff, 37, 39; Demosthenes 39, 40).²⁰⁹ These women continued to wear their Eastern clothing, including the headdress, which as a result became associated with prostitutes in general. Their patron goddess was portrayed with the headdress repeatedly, as her links with the East and this particular head covering was

²⁰³ P. G. McC. Brown, “Plots and Prostitutes in Greek New Comedy,” *Papers of the Leeds International Seminar* 6 (1990): 248.

²⁰⁴ Brown, 249.

²⁰⁵ McClure, 9.

²⁰⁶ See Halperin, 107-112 and Llewellyn-Jones, 111-112.

²⁰⁷ For example, Lamia, a famous courtesan, began her career as a flute-player (Athenaeus 13.577d-f).

²⁰⁸ Lewis, 98.

²⁰⁹ Katz, 72-3.

explained earlier. Later on, the headdress was adopted as a part of everyday Greek attire, yet evidence shows that it continued to dominate prostitutes' circles, since these women produced the headdresses on small hand frames during their free time between customer visits, as will be explained shortly.²¹⁰ In addition, the following chapters will further demonstrate prostitutes connection with Aphrodite based on depictions of objects, such as mirrors, *alabastra*, love gifts, magical instruments, etc. which were strongly linked both with the women and the goddess.

Regarding the headdresses, textual evidence is rather scarce, especially when it comes to the Archaic material. Nevertheless, a few Hellenistic epigrams suggest that prostitutes' wore the headdresses. An earlier cited epigram by Nossis (*Greek Anthology* 6.275) and the two following records declare that *kekryphaloi* were dedicated to Aphrodite:

To Aphrodite the Heavenly (Ourania) we girl companions,
all of one age, give these gifts: Bitinna these sandals,
a comfort to her feet, the pretty work of skilled shoemakers,
Philaenis the net (*kekryphalos*), dyed with sea-purple,
that confined her straying hair, Anticlea her fan, lovely
Heraclea her veil, fine as a spider's web, and the daughter of
Aristotle, who bears her father's name, her coiled snake,
the gold ornament of her slender ankles.

(*Greek Anthology* 6.206)

²¹⁰ Jenkins, & Williams, 411-418; Clark, 91-96.

Bitinna gives these sandals, Philaenis the purple net (*kekryphalos*)
 that confines her vagrant hair, fair-haired Anticlea her fan
 in which lurks bastard wind, her defense against the violent heat,
 Heraclea this fine veil for her face, wrought like unto a spider's web,
 and Aristoteleia, who bears her father's name, the snake,
 her beautiful anklet. Girls all of one age, dwelling in
 low-lying Naucratis, they offer these rich gifts to thee,
 Aphrodite (Cypris), who presidest over weddings.
 (*Greek Anthology* 6.207)

On the other hand, numerous Attic vase-paintings depict prostitutes wearing *mitrai*, *sakkoi* and *kekryphaloi* (Figures 3.23-25). The *hetairai* who flourished at the time were brought in from Ionia where their learning and education were encouraged and promoted.²¹¹ Their attire included the most costly and luxurious items, which perhaps inspired the high fashion of wealthy Greek women. In other words, Greek women may have adopted the headdresses in order to evoke the appearance of these beautiful and influential figures. In addition, lesser prostitutes may have adopted the headdress to imitate *hetairai* and attract more customers.

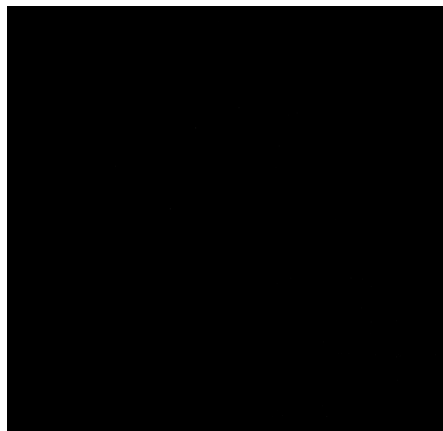


Figure 3.23. Nude prostitute wearing a *mitra*
 St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum: 14611; Beazley Archive Database No. 200587

²¹¹ Katz, 73.

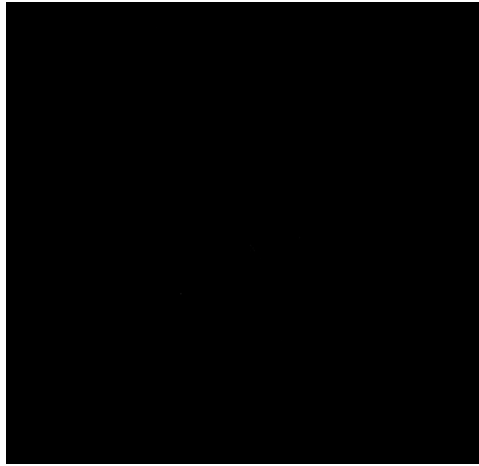


Figure 3.24. Nude prostitute with a *kekryphalos*
 London, British Museum: E34; Beazley Archive Database No. 200943



Figure 3.25. Prostitute wearing a *sakkos*
 Malibu (CA), J. Paul Getty Museum: 86.AE.293; Beazley Archive Database No. 275963

In conclusion, the prostitutes' protectress was the goddess Aphrodite, an imported Greek deity from the East, also the headdresses' place of origin. Her Eastern predecessors, who were also depicted with the headdresses, bore the epithet "Whore",

which translated into Greek as Aphrodite *Hetaira* or Aphrodite *Porne*, and most of these goddesses were represented with the headdresses. Because of the prostitutes' link with their patroness, a plethora of the 6th and 5th century BCE Attic vase-painting shows these women wearing a *mitra*, *sakkos* and *kekryphalos*. Significantly, a few of these illustrations show the prostitutes producing the headdresses on small hand frames. The process of making these headdresses was known as the sprang technique and will be examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE HEADDRESSES AND THE SPRANG TECHNIQUE

Having established the headdresses' origins, I will now move on to their method of creation identified as the sprang technique. What ensues is a review of the scholarship on the technique, including an examination of the sprang origin, and especially the identification of the small hand frames used for producing the sprang fabric. Twenty depictions of these frames are analyzed with a conclusion that these illustrations suggest the prostitutes' involvement in this wool-working task. What follows is an analysis of the frame scenes' iconography, which will incorporate topics on gender, sexuality, women "quarters", doors, clothing, skirt-lifting, girdle gesture, mirrors, oil containers, musical instruments, erotic magic, love gifts, purses, architectural elements, animals, sport objects, wool-baskets and headdresses.

The Sprang Technique

Evidence

Having established the headdresses' origin, I will now explain their method of creation. Since the origin of the headdress was Eastern, it seems reasonable that the technique of its manufacture would also have been introduced from the Near East.²¹² For instance, according to the available sources, the headdress from the Nahal Hemar cave in Israel was produced by a technique of netting and interlacing, which is similar but not

²¹² For example, Phoenicia was a source of many fine textiles and dyes, including the luxurious purple pigment (see D. B. Harden, *The Phoenicians* (London, 1980), 134-136).

identical to Coptic examples. Certainly, twined and knotted fabrics were present in the Near East, but not much is known about the local sprang. Therefore, based on the existing data, it is not possible to conclude that the sprang technique originated in the East.

Nonetheless, it is the surviving evidence from Coptic Egypt that offers the most valuable material. Key information on Greek headdresses comes from these models, made in the sprang technique, alternately called braiding or plaiting.²¹³ Scholars have observed that the Coptic headdresses were made of a net-like fabric, yielding and elastic in nature, and prompted by this discovery, a closer examination of Greek depictions confirmed that they were of the same material and method as the Coptic examples.

Next, it was concluded that the sprang fabric was made on small hand frames, which were depicted on Attic Red-figure pottery. In addition, literary sources reveal that the verb *plekô*, “to plait” or “to braid”, applied to headdresses, as seen in its combination with *kekryphalos* and *sakkos*, resulting in the terms *kekryphaloplokoï* and *sakkoplokoï*, hence identifying the people who made them (Pollux 7.179; PGiss.10.5,19²¹⁴). Greek terminology thus confirms that the *kekryphaloï* and the *sakkoï* were made of sprang, in contrast to the *mitrai*, which were not mentioned in combination with *plekô*.

Nevertheless, the verb is used with *seira* and *anadesme*, both translating as “hair-band” or “head-band”, the sashes applied for head binding.²¹⁵ In other words, since a *mitra* was

²¹³ The word “sprang” is Swedish and refers both to a process and a product; see P. Collingwood, *The Techniques of Sprang* (London, 1974), 34.

²¹⁴ *Griechische Papyri im Museum des oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Giessen* (The Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri).

²¹⁵ *Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. *Seira*; *Anadesme*. Jenkins & Williams, 413.

wrapped around the head, these bands made of sprang could have been used to create the turban.

Based on this analogy, I would be inclined to believe that the *mitra* was also made of sprang, at least in some instances, although additional evidence is still needed to make this assumption a sure fact. Nonetheless, many images of head-bands or sashes hanging on the wall have the “springy” quality to them, as seen on Havana 211643²¹⁶ (Figure 4.1). Still, even though the *mitra*’s link with the sprang is somewhat uncertain, the *sakkos* and the *kekryphalos* evidence is undeniable.



Figure 4.1. “Springy” sash
Havana, Lagunillas: XXXX211643; Beazley Archive Database No. 211643

The Technique

The sprang fabric, a type of knotless netting, is a network of threads twisted over each other, produced on a frame so that the fabric builds up on both ends.²¹⁷ The interworked warps can be manipulated in one of three ways: interlinking (plaiting), interlacing (braiding), or intertwining (oblique intertwining); and fabrics can be made

²¹⁶ Havana, Lagunillas: XXXX211643; Beazley Archive Database No. 211643.

²¹⁷ H. Skowronski, & M. Reddy, *Sprang: Thread Twisting: A Creative Textile Technique* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1974), 7; L. Welters, "The Peloponnesian “Zonari”: A Twentieth-century

either flat or circular.²¹⁸ The technique for sprang making required simple paraphernalia – no more than a frame and yarn. The sprang textile frame was lyre-like and small enough to be held on a woman's lap.²¹⁹ It was taller than it was wide, and consisted of two upright sticks, sometimes curved like an ancient Greek lyre, with a pair of horizontal bars separating them near the top and bottom. The fabric was made between these bars. The technique involved stretching the warps between two bars, and the work took place at the bottom of the warp, with each movement being mirrored at the top.²²⁰ The fibers were manipulated by fingers and temporarily held in place by sticks. When the top and bottom mirror-image patterns met in the center, it was necessary to fasten these halves together or the fabric would unravel. The textile fibers can be worked in hundreds of different ways, and thus produce diverse patterning and texture.

Sprang textiles were lace-like and colour variations were made possible by using warps of different dye. In addition, in Coptic models this pattern was produced by regularly changing from intertwining to twining and back again.²²¹ One example was made of purple wool yarn and bordered with colored stripes: red, natural and two shades of yellow.²²² Another example was made of blackish-blue, yellow ochre, red coral and green. Many Attic pottery illustrations have horizontal zig-zags, which bear resemblance

String Skirt," in L. Welters (ed.), *Folk Dress in Europe and Anatolia: Beliefs About Protection and Fertility* (New York: NYU Press, 1999), 56.

²¹⁸ Welters, 56-56.

²¹⁹ Clark, 92-94.

²²⁰ Welters, 56.

²²¹ Clark, 94.

²²² M. Hald, *Ancient Danish Textiles from Bogs and Burials* (Copenhagen, 1980), 254-255.

to contemporaneous patterning of Near Eastern textile works, as clearly demonstrated in headdress-frames analogy in Figure 4.2.²²³



A – *kekryphalos*(?)

B – frame

C - *sakkos*

D – frame

Figure 4.2. Sprang headdresses and frames

- A) Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 13.189; Beazley Archive Database No. 204114
- B) Chicago (IL), Art Institute: 1911.456; Source: Beazley Archive Database No. 206580
- C) Providence (RI), Rhode Island School of Design: 25.088; Beazley Archive Database No. 207244
- D) Paris, Musée du Louvre: CA587; Beazley Archive Database No. 216046

Due to the compliant nature of the frame, the plaiting was easily interrupted and the frame put away until the next sitting. The frame's manoeuvrability and low cost meant that the production of small textiles was suitable for prostitutes to fill their idle hours in brothels or in their own homes. I believe, as Jenkins and Williams have suggested, that prostitutes made headdresses during their spare time for personal use as

²²³ Miller (1997), 179.

well as for sale to supplement their earnings.²²⁴ In view of this, they did not weave on looms due to their size, impracticality, and the required investment of time and capital.

Rediscovery and Research

Scholarship on the sprang was non-existent until 1890, the year of Luise Schinnerer's study describing the technique.²²⁵ The author was working with Egyptian caps and bags, unaware of the parallel research on a prehistoric net from Denmark by Perta Godskesen, a Danish student at Klein's Drawing Academy, who was given the task of finding out how the ancient headdress was made.²²⁶ She succeeded in producing a copy of the cap, which was exhibited in the Danish archaeological section at the World Fair in Paris in 1889, thus rediscovering the technique.²²⁷ Since Godskesen never published her finds, Schinnerer's work was considered the groundbreaking contribution on the sprang technique.

Next, Jan Six²²⁸ published an article in 1919 in which he argued that the small hand-frames depicted on Greek vases were not used for embroidery, as previously thought, but rather for working the fabric in sprang, thus being the first scholar to identify the method and device for making it. Six automatically assumed that the women depicted on Attic pottery holding and working on these frames were citizen wives, an opinion which remained unchallenged until Jenkins and Williams.

²²⁴ Jenkins & Williams, 416.

²²⁵ L. Schinnerer, *Antike Handarbeiten* (Vienna, 1890).

²²⁶ Hald (1980), 245.

²²⁷ Hald (1980), 245.

²²⁸ J. Six, "Altgriechische 'Durchbrochene Arbeit'," *Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 19-20 (1919): 162-166.

Textile expert Elisabeth van Reesema, who introduced Six to the technique, was intensely studying plaiting at the time. She succeeded in reproducing some early European textiles and complicated Egyptian patterns by using stretched vertical threads and adjustable horizontal cords.²²⁹ With Six's guidance and inspiration, van Reesema recreated the ancient frame and reproduced the cap she saw on ancient vases, publishing her results in 1926.²³⁰ In fact, she reproduced the *sakkos* depicted on an Apulian plate shown to her by Six.²³¹ This experiment confirmed that Greek *sakkoi* were made by the sprang technique, which was a breakthrough in the scholarship.

A textile historian, Margrethe Hald, incorporated the evidence of Greek vase-painting into her work on Bronze Age Denmark, and made appropriate use of the analogue in her discussion on Scandinavian sprang.²³² In her numerous publications, most notably from 1946 and 1980, Hald reported evidence of sprang in Scandinavia, 1,000 years before the depictions of the small frames, which she believed were used for plaiting.²³³ Hald noted, wrongly in my opinion, that a pattern similar to the Scandinavian was common in Coptic Egypt, and suggested the possibility that the Greeks may have been responsible for the discovery and spread of the technique.²³⁴

²²⁹ Clark, 93.

²³⁰ E. van Reesema, "Contribution to the Early History of Textile Technics," in E. Nierstrasz (ed.), *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam Afdeeling Letterkunde* n.s. 26.2 (Amsterdam, 1926), 14-25.

²³¹ For a full account of the experiment, see van Reesema (1926), 5-8, fig. 5.

²³² M. Hald, "Ancient Textile techniques of Egypt and Scandinavia," *Acta Archaeologica* 17 (1946): 88-92, and Hald (1980).

²³³ Clark, 93.

²³⁴ Clark, 93.

In 1950, Irmgard Weitlaner Johnson wrote her Master's thesis on the history of sprang, or what she called "twine-plaiting", providing a plethora of valuable illustrations and original photographs in her extensive study.²³⁵ The conducted research was, however, superficial and without focus, briefly touching on a number of locations and time periods.

In 1974, Peter Collingwood wrote a comprehensive study of the sprang, including a full description of the technique, a brief history and an account of its rediscovery.²³⁶ The author presented a chronological list in which he cited possible examples found in New Mexico and Arizona, ignoring the ancient Greek evidence.²³⁷ During his research, Collingwood came across several contemporary examples of small upright frames for sprang from Moravia and the Former Yugoslavia.

The two critical studies discussed earlier were published in mid-1980s. The first was by Louise Clark, who wrote on small textile frames depicted on Greek vases, confirming that the sprang was used for women's caps and hair-nets, thus reviving the attention of classical scholars.²³⁸ The second article was co-written by Ian Jenkins and Dyfri Williams, who investigated ancient hair-nets, sprang frames and the women who worked on them.²³⁹ Unfortunately, the authors paid more attention to the frames and application of the sprang than on controversial aspects of the female workers. Still, they provided invaluable suggestions, and challenged the traditional view by linking these women to prostitution.

²³⁵ I. W. Johnson, *Twine-Plaiting: A Historical, Technical, and Comparative Study* (MA Thesis, University of California, 1950).

²³⁶ See Collingwood.

²³⁷ Clark, 93.

²³⁸ Clark, 91-96.

²³⁹ Jenkins & Williams, 411-418.

Further notable publications are W.D. Cooke and A. Tullo's report on surviving Coptic sprang hats in the Whitworth Art Gallery in Manchester, which offers detailed descriptions and explanations of the technique and fabric,²⁴⁰ and Elizabeth Barber's extensive 1991 study of prehistoric textiles with special focus on the Aegean.²⁴¹ Barber's section on the sprang is not far-reaching, but she linked the frames and technique with the Greek caps, thus recognizing the magnitude of Attic evidence.

Finally, Linda Welter's 1999 publication on modern Greek *zonari* – a woman's sprang belt worn during childbearing for talismanic protection, provided remarkable information on the fabric.²⁴² The belt is still made in certain areas of the Peloponnesian peninsula on "stick frames", as described by Greek women who regard the sprang technique as highly specialized.²⁴³ The sprang is directly connected to the belief in the "evil eye", the concept which existed throughout the Mediterranean in ancient times.²⁴⁴ The "evil eye" was a belief that someone can project harm merely by looking or staring, and common targets were people at critical stages in life, such as newlyweds, pregnant women and children. Amulets against the "evil eye" take many forms, and *zonari* is one of those apotropaic objects due to its sprang texture. In other words, *zonari*'s power lies in the prophylactic characteristics of its structure, that is, the sprang technique reputedly

²⁴⁰ W.D. Cooke & A. Tullo, "The Conservation of a Collection of Coptic Sprang Hats in the Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester," *Bulletin du Centre International des Etudes des Textils Anciens* 66 (1988): 5-14.

²⁴¹ See E. J. W. Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles: the Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages with Special References to the Aegean* (Princeton University Press, 1991), 122-124.

²⁴² Welter, 53-70.

²⁴³ Welter, 57; the author states that only two women in the area knew how to make it.

²⁴⁴ Welter, 64.

made it resistant to evil forces.²⁴⁵ Due to the sprang in both modern *zonari* and ancient headdresses, would it be possible to make an analogy and pass on the belt's apotropaic qualities to ancient Attic examples? If so, the talismanic character of sprang would explain the headdresses' popularity and wide distribution, as well as their continued existence among Greek women even after the Persian wars, when almost all that was Eastern was rejected and condemned.²⁴⁶

Origin of the Sprang Technique

Even though many textile experts have published on sprang cases known to them, no comprehensive investigation of the technique's origin has been undertaken outside of Austria, Egypt, Scandinavia and Denmark.²⁴⁷ However, evidence from other regions and periods also exists. The earliest example ever found originates from north Germany in a form of sprang fabric impressions made on Neolithic potsherds and the now lost fragment from the Egypt's 22nd dynasty tomb, dated ca. 945–715 BCE, much earlier than the well-known Coptic examples.²⁴⁸

Conspicuously, no one has acknowledged the evidence from Thera, a Cycladic island under the Minoan and later Mycenaean rule until its volcanic destruction around

²⁴⁵ Welters, 65-66. As one woman put it, the belt confused the devil or the "evil eye" because of its unusual structure, including the tassels that were difficult to unravel, as there was no edge to undo them. The same was said of the belt's irregular coloration, patterning and colour.

²⁴⁶ See Miller (1997), 1, 179 and M. Miller, "Persians: The Oriental other," *Source. Notes in the History of Art* 15/1 (1995): 38-44. After the second Persian war (480-479 BCE), almost all that was Eastern was rejected and condemned. By the end of the 5th century BCE, the word *barbaros* denoted an inhabitant of the Persian Empire, indicating cowardice, weakness and effeminacy. Nevertheless, Athens' relations with Persia persisted, as well as headdress images.

²⁴⁷ Hald (1980), 259.

²⁴⁸ See Barber (1991), 122-123.

1500 BCE. The existence of the headdress in the Theran Late Bronze Age culture is indicated by the wall frescos from Xeste 3, which depict two women wearing headdresses comparable to the *sakkoi*, while the saffron girls wear stretchy looking headbands (Figure 4.3).²⁴⁹ Unfortunately, neither Nano Marinatos, the most authoritative scholar on the Theran culture, nor any other researcher, has examined women's headdresses from that site.

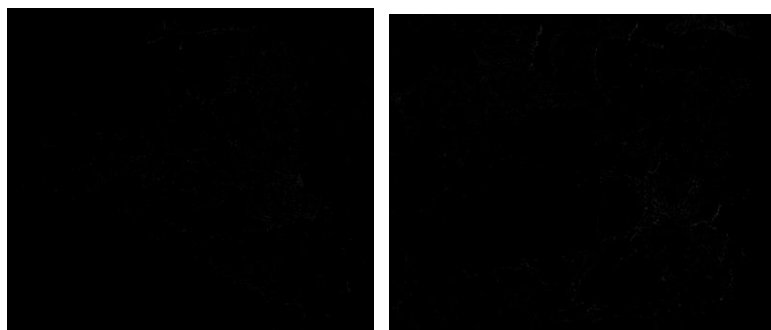


Figure 4.3. Theran women wearing the headdresses, Xeste 3, Akrotiri

The scholars focus on Europe as the technique's place of origin, as for example Barber, who concludes that the sprang spread from Hallstatt culture, in what is now Austria, at the start of the Iron Age.²⁵⁰ On the other hand, Hald is more careful when making conclusions. She states that the existing material cannot answer the question of when and where the sprang originated, and although she believes the earliest evidence of sprang comes from the early Bronze Age in Denmark (ca. 1400–1200 BCE), she warns that it should not be assumed that the technique has its origin in that part of the world.²⁵¹

²⁴⁹ N. Marinatos, *Art and Religion in Thera: Reconstructing a Bronze Age Society* (Athens: D. & I. Mathioulakis, 1984), 68, figs. 45-46.

²⁵⁰ Barber (1991), 124.

²⁵¹ Hald (1980), 274.

Additionally, Hald advises that the Egyptian evidence is also not clear and further excavation is needed of its neighbouring countries. In fact, the Greek vase-paintings influence Hald to accept the possibility that the Egyptians learnt the art of sprang from the Greeks, yet she is still concerned about the Greek vases being far later (5th century BCE) than the Danish Bronze Age caps in sprang (Figure 4.4).²⁵² Hald also points out that the Greeks most likely knew of the technique long before the vase-paintings, but the evidence fails in this respect.

Finally, the question remains whether Scandinavia and Greece were influenced by a common source further east, as nothing is known about the survival of sprang in the cultures of Near East and Asia. However, if the evidence of the headdresses' roots and connection with the East is combined with the facts on the technique of their making, I believe that the future research on the sprang origin will direct scholars towards Near East and Asia Minor.



Figure 4.4. Bonnet made in the sprang technique from the bog Bredmosen, Storården sogn, Denmark

²⁵² Hald (1980), 275.

The Sprang Frames in Attic Vase-painting

Headdress depictions appear in vase-painting in the 6th century BCE, yet it is only a century later that we see the sprang frames represented on pottery. Even though most of these frame vases are of a mid-5th century BCE, they offer invaluable iconographic evidence relevant to the earlier headdress examples. These scenes reveal two forms of sprang frames: forked and rectangular (only one depiction). The forked one, which resembles the branches of a tree, can be regarded as the more simple kind, while the rectangular frame seems more carefully constructed.²⁵³

The common forked frame resembled a lyre, specifically the one fashioned out of a tortoise shell (see Figure 3.6).²⁵⁴ According to the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, Hermes formed the first lyre by passing the strings through the shell (2.39-50). Interestingly, Roman names for lyre parts are analogous to the parts of the loom.²⁵⁵ Also, the Rhodian poetess Erinna links the tortoise with a loom in her poem *Distaff* from ca. 600 BCE, and the manner in which a woman played the lyre is identical to the manner of a woman working the sprang frame (Figure 4.5).²⁵⁶ This is a notable parallel, particularly if the women working on the frames were prostitutes who also entertained their customers, which symbolized that there was no difference between the earnings made from the work on the lyre and the frame.

²⁵³ Jenkins & Williams, 412-413.

²⁵⁴ S. Pomeroy, "Supplementary Notes on Erinna," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 32 (1978): 19, 22, fig. 3.

²⁵⁵ Pomeroy (1978), 19.

²⁵⁶ For additional illustrations, see Pomeroy (1978), 19, 22 fig. 1-3. Peculiarly, Aphrodite was linked with the tortoise, as noted in Pausanias' description of a lost statue portraying the goddess standing with one foot on a tortoise (*Description of Greece* 6.25). It was made by Phidias and stood within her temple in Elis. Curiously, a tortoise relief was found in a Paphian temple in Cyprus (M. R. James, "Excavations in Cyprus,

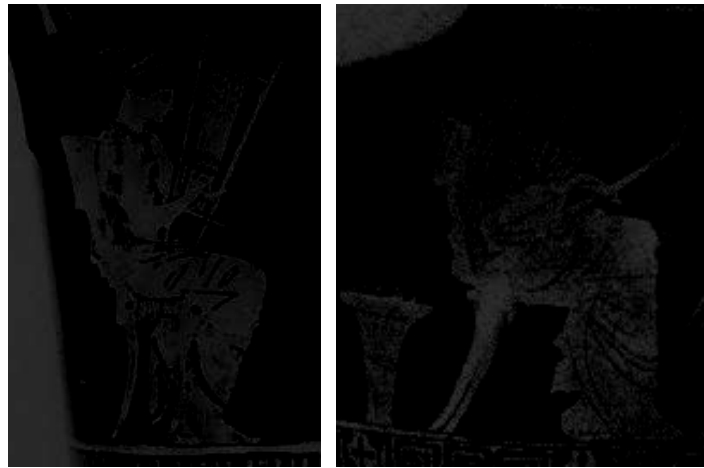


Figure 4.5. A) Woman working on the frame B) Woman playing a lyre
 A) University of Durham 3; Beazley Archive Database No. 9115
 B) Munich, Antikensammlungen: 6452; Beazley Archive Database No. 215202

Sprang frames were depicted on Attic Red-figure pottery (ca. 550-420 BCE), and I have examined twenty (20) depictions on eighteen (18) vases,²⁵⁷ showing the frames in three different states – 1) used, 2) held and 3) hung. These records are crucial as they provide the illustrations of the sprang technique in process and link prostitutes with its making. The list is as follows:

A) Used:

1. Athens Vlasto 215607
2. Durham 3
3. London 1905.11-2.3
4. Pourtalès-Gorgier (Paris), lost
5. Stanford 17.412

1887-88,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 9 (1888): 253). In addition, Thessalian women beat the prostitute Lais to death with wooden turtles (Athenaeus 13.589a).

²⁵⁷ These are all the available depictions to my knowledge.

B) Held:

1. Agrigento AG22276
2. Centre Island B
3. Chicago 1911.456
4. London 1907.5-19.1
5. London R330.1936
6. Paris CA587
7. Stettin 214773
8. Vienna 3719

C) Hung:

1. Aleria 1893
2. Aleria 2095
3. Centre Island A
4. Chicago 1889.27
5. Havana 211643 side A & B
6. Heidelberg 64.5

Note: See Appendix A for vase descriptions and illustrations.

Iconography and Interpretation

What ensues is a detailed analysis of frame depictions. As stated, there are eighteen (18) vases depicting twenty (20) frame scenes: five (5) in use, eight (8) held and seven (7) hung on the wall. The vases include seven (7) *hydriai*, seven (7) *kylikes*, three (3) *pyxides*, one (1) *lekythoi*, one (1) *kalathos* and one (1) bell-shaped object (Table 1). The discussion will incorporate topics on gender, sexuality, women “quarters”, doors, clothing, skirt-lifting, girdle gesture, mirrors, oil containers, musical instruments, erotic magic, love gifts, purses, architectural elements, animals, sport objects, wool-baskets and, finally, headdresses.

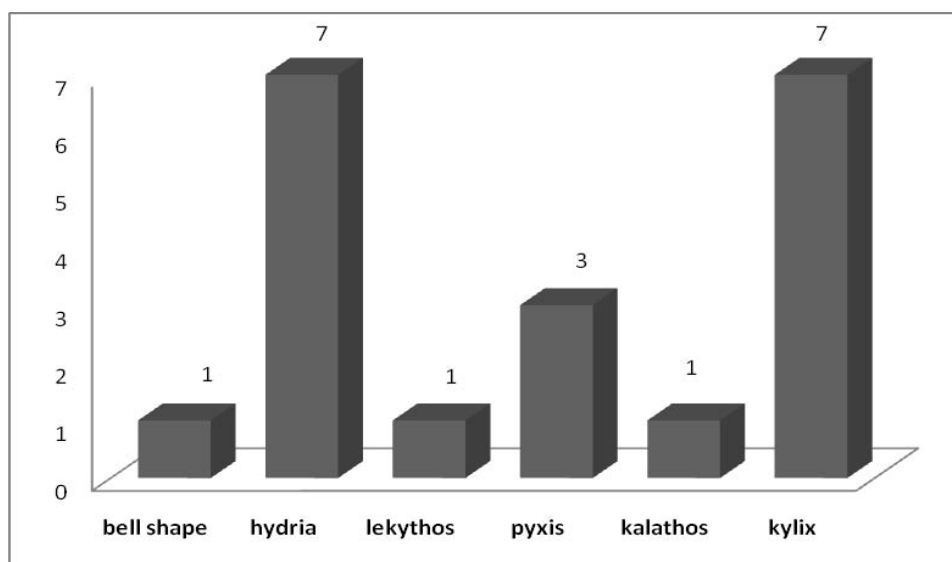


Table 1. Pottery Shapes: Attic red-figure Frame Vases

Shapes and Functions

As stated, frame scenes appear on different types of vessels, which were used for various purposes. Some were handled exclusively by women and others exclusively by men. The *hydria*, *pyxis* and *kalathos* were primarily female objects, while a *kylix* was a male drinking cup. The *lekythos* and the unknown bell-shaped item are somewhat uncategorized, since the *lekythos* did not belong specifically to a particular gender, and the bell's purpose is unknown, yet leaning towards female usage based on its iconography. However, besides storing oil, a *lekythos* was used for anointing the dead bodies of unmarried men and was seen as a phallic object in comic plays (Aristophanes *Frogs*, 1198ff), which will be discussed below.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁸ See D. Sider, "Lekythion apolesen: Aristophanes' Limp Phallic Joke?" *Mnemosyne* 45 (1992): 359-362.

On the other hand, the *hydria*, *pyxis* and *kylix* had a clear purpose. The *hydriai*, the three-handled jars, were used for water carrying, primarily a woman's task, and were thus observed by women. Similarly, the *pyxides*, small jars with lids, were used for storing cosmetics and jewelry, and a *kalathos* was a ceramic vessel modeled after a woman's wool-basket. In contrast, the *kylikes* were male drinking cups intended for the all-male *symposia*.

Nevertheless, the meaning of these drinking vessels is not straightforward, as it was often overlooked that female prostitutes and entertainers attended these banquets as well.²⁵⁹ In effect, some Attic vessels depict all-female *symposia*, a phenomenon that caused some controversy in scholarly circles.²⁶⁰ A *hydria*, Munich 2421,²⁶¹ a wine cooler (*psykter*), St. Petersburg 644,²⁶² and a *kylix*, Madrid 11267,²⁶³ depict nude women reclining on symposiac beds, playing *kottabos*, a drinking game, while entertaining themselves. They are also wearing the headdresses and their names are inscribed into the clay. Even though some scholars believe these illustrations represent accounts of male fantasy, it is more likely that these vessels were commissioned by courtesans and prostitutes and are depictions of self-representations. It is evident that Athenian prostitutes co-opted various concepts from the male world, such as rhetorical, ritual,

²⁵⁹ Surely, female slaves responsible for serving and cleaning were also exposed to the *symposion* vessels.

²⁶⁰ See, for example: I. Peschel, *Die Hetare bei Symposium und Komos in der attisch-rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei des 6-4 Jahrh. v. Chr.* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1987), 70-74, 110-112; C. Reinsberg, *Ehe, Hetarentnm und Knabenliebe im antiken Griechenland* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1993), 112-114; J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 71-98; L. Kurke, *Coins, Bodies, Games, and Gold: The Politics of Meaning in Archaic Greece* (Princeton University Press, 1999), 205-208.

²⁶¹ Munich, Antikensammlungen: 2421; Beazley Archive Database No. 200126.

²⁶² St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum: 644; Beazley Archive Database No. 200078.

²⁶³ Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional: 11267; Beazley Archive Database No. 200443.

symposiastic, and so on, in order to assert their own autonomy and independence.²⁶⁴ In fact, in some situations prostitutes found themselves in direct competition with older males, as they both pursued the same young men.²⁶⁵ As a result, these women were also consumers and commissioners of graphic arts and thus had more control of the imagery than was traditionally assumed.

In a similar fashion, the female *hydriai* carried the water, which was not only meant for the general household usage, but also for mixing wine at the male gatherings. Hence, some water jars were possibly intended for that purpose alone and thus intentionally selected with the aim of being observed by the symposiasts. Besides the Munich *hydria* with a female banquet discussed above, which may or may not portray a male erotic fantasy, a few examples depict men courting²⁶⁶ or molesting women (with headdresses) at the fountain who were obviously not of the citizen type (e.g. Würzburg L304,²⁶⁷ Vatican 427,²⁶⁸ Detroit 63.13²⁶⁹ and St. Petersburg ST1612²⁷⁰).²⁷¹ The figures were also named, in one case after flowers, and declarations of affection (*kale* meaning “beautiful”) were included as well.²⁷² In fact, in St. Petersburg *hydria*, a nude woman is

²⁶⁴ C. Faraone, “The Masculine Arts of the Ancient Greek Courtesan: Male Fantasy or Female Self-representation?” in M. Feldman & B. Gordon (eds.), *The Courtesan’s Arts: Cross-Cultural Perspectives* (Oxford University Press, 2006), 209.

²⁶⁵ Faraone (2006), 216.

²⁶⁶ The term “courting” is an ambiguous concept, used generally to indicate respected romantic interaction between citizens, both homoerotic and heterosexual. In this study, the term will also imply an “un-respected” exchange or hustling between a man and his sexual object, either a slave or a prostitute.

²⁶⁷ Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Museum: L304; Beazley Archive Database No. 306484.

²⁶⁸ Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano: 427; Beazley Archive Database No. 303000.

²⁶⁹ Detroit (MI), Institute of Arts: 63.13; Beazley Archive Database No. 206470.

²⁷⁰ St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum: ST1612; Beazley Archive Database No. 200198.

²⁷¹ For a detailed examination of sexual aggression and fountain imagery, see E. Keuls, *The Reign of Phallus: Sexual Politics in Ancient Athens* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 235-240.

²⁷² From around the mid-6th to the mid-5th centuries BCE, *kalos/kale* inscriptions appear on Athenian vases; see F. Lissarrague, “Publicity and Performance: Kalos Inscriptions in Attic Vase-painting,” in S. Goldhill & R. Osborne (eds.), *Performance Culture and Athenian Democracy* (Cambridge, 1999), 359–

masturbating by the fountain. These women placed at this locale were most likely slaves, who served as *pornai* for their masters.²⁷³ In addition, the Greek word *lakkos*, which indicated a cistern, pit or tank of water was applied to prostitutes “referring apparently to their enormous sexual capacity, or, more graphically, to their passive reception of effluvia”.²⁷⁴ Likewise, fountain houses carried the same connotation as a *lakkos*, thus alluding to the character of women who frequented these locations. Curiously, illustrations of animal combat often accompanied these fountain scenes openly suggesting the presence of male aggression at these places (Würzburg L304²⁷⁵).²⁷⁶

For the same reason, cosmetic jars were not exclusively owned by Athenian citizen women, but were also used by courtesans and prostitutes, who had a greater need for storing make-up and luxurious beauty products. In essence, contrived beauty, such as elaborate hairstyles and use of cosmetics, was a hallmark of a prostitute.²⁷⁷ Archaic literature demonstrates that the motif of beauty was often seen as a source of danger, epitomized in the figures of Pandora and Helen.²⁷⁸ Similarly, a well-known passage in the *Iliad* focuses on feminine beauty as a means of deceiving a male by recounting the story

373. For explanation of *kalos* inscriptions, see J. Boardman, “‘Reading’ Greek Vases?” *Oxford Journal of Archeology* 22/1 (2003): 109-114.

²⁷³ Neils, 209.

²⁷⁴ Davidson (1997), 79.

²⁷⁵ Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Museum: L304; Beazley Archive Database No. 306484.

²⁷⁶ These animal friezes evoke the image of women’s vulnerability exposed to the predatory male instinct. In general, ancient fountain houses were seen as dangerous places for women, who usually traveled there collectively in order to avoid unpleasant advances or even rape, see Berlin, *Antikensammlung: F1910* (Beazley Archive Database No. 302895).

²⁷⁷ Hawley (1998), 37-54. Especially in the 5th and the 4th centuries BCE, respected women were advised to avoid cosmetics (see Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*).

²⁷⁸ For the myth of Pandora, see Hesiod’s *Theogony* (560-612) and *Works and Days* (60-105). For Helen of Troy, see *Iliad* (3.199, 418, 426); *Odyssey* (4.184, 219; 23.218); Diodorus (4.63.1-3); Plutarch, *Theseus* (31-34); Euripides, *Helen* (16-21, 257-259).

of Hera's seduction of Zeus in order to distract him from the battle (14.153ff). Then, Simonides includes the mare woman in his nine types of bad women, as one excessively concerned with her appearance (*Satire on Women* 57-70). In addition, later comic plays portray actors plastering their faces with white lead, their cheeks with dyed chalk of shellfish purple and eyes with gray alum when their roles as prostitutes needed to be clearly emphasized.²⁷⁹ In vase-painting and in real-life, cosmetic and similar containers used for storing make-up, jewelry and other beautifying items signified vanity and leisurely pastimes, which were condemned in respected women and associated with prostitutes and courtesans.

In sum, modern scholarship has traditionally classified these vessels into male and (respected) female categories, thereby repeatedly overlooking prostitutes, who in reality were linked with these objects more than previously acknowledged. Prostitutes as viewers and owners of the imagery ought to be equally considered, since many were affluent and thus commissioned and owned these vessels themselves.

Gender and Sexuality

Gender and sexuality issues in Attic society emerge in the frame scenes, which include twelve (12) cases of men and women intermingling freely - a taboo in ancient Athens (Agrigento AG22276, Aleria 1893, Aleria 2095, Centre Island Side A and Side B, Chicago 1889.27, Chicago 1911.456, Havana 211643 Side A and Side B, Heidelberg 64.5, London R330.1936 and Stettin 214773). In fact, on Chicago 1911.456, a youth is

²⁷⁹ See, for example, Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae* 877-929 and Plautus, *Mostellaria* 157-293.

actually kissing and caressing a girl, an act not performed freely in Attic society. Women from Athenian families were under a particular degree of seclusion due to the importance of legitimacy of children.²⁸⁰ Generally, the only women with whom Athenian men had free contact were prostitutes. Robert Sutton claims that when male and female figures intermingle, or when several couples are simultaneously courting, these women are indisputably prostitutes.²⁸¹

The absence of effective contraception and a belief that a son inherits his qualities solely from his father greatly restricted the availability of citizen women as objects of pursuit.²⁸² The contemporaneous laws and restrictions on these matters did not survive to the present day, yet the later 4th and 3rd century BCE laws testify that it was adulterous to pursue a woman related to an Athenian male, and that the adulterer could be held for compensation, prosecuted, sodomized or killed by the offended *kyrios*, the head of the *oikos*.²⁸³ Even though it is most likely that the earlier laws were not as rigorous as the surviving decrees influenced by the ever-increasing value of the Athenian citizenship,²⁸⁴ it is still possible to gain a glimpse of the preliminary separation of wives and prostitutes, which certainly existed in the 6th and 5th centuries BCE. In other words, prostitutes

²⁸⁰ D. Cohen, "Seclusion, Separation, and the Status of Women in Classical Athens," *Greece & Rome* 36/1 (1989): 3-15; R. Just, "Conception of Women in Classical Athens," *Anthropological Society of Oxford Journal* 6 (1975): 153-170. Just divides scholars into "optimistic" and "pessimistic" schools of thought. The former believe that women had more freedom than the ancient sources reveal, and the latter argue for the complete seclusion and repression. Also, refer to note 12.

²⁸¹ R. F. Sutton Jr., *The Interaction Between Men and Women Portrayed on Attic Red-Figure Pottery* (Ph.D. diss. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1981), 360.

²⁸² M. Skinner, *Sexuality in Greek and Roman Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 31.

²⁸³ D. Cohen, "Athenian Law of Adultery," *Revue Internationale des Droits de L'Antiquite* 31 (1984): 147-165.

²⁸⁴ See the citizenship laws of Perikles of 451/50 BCE; C. Patterson, *Pericles' Citizenship Law of 451-50 BC* (New York: Arno Press, 1981).

played a visible role in Attic society, and citizen wives were kept outside of the public sphere.

Another feature of the mixed-gender scenes is that not a single woman is working on the frame. Instead, the frames are only held or hung up. In contrast to the mixed-gender depictions, all eight (8) scenes portraying only women show them working. Based on this analogy, is it possible to conclude that these mixed scenes depict prostitutes who had ceased working because a potential customer had entered the premises? In support of this argument, I will point out four (4) scenes with explicit erotic connotations, including the one with a rather innocent-looking woman untying her belt. The vases are Havana 211643A, Chicago 1889.27, Duhram 3 and Chicago 1911.456.

I will begin with Havana 211643A, which depicts two couples interacting. The first pair consists of a youth offering a fruit to a young woman, while the second couple is involved in a bracelet exchange - the woman with a bracelet is tying a cord around a man's wrist. In addition, a woman placed between the two couples holds a flower. This vase illustrates two rituals of erotic magic and a flower as a love gift. Both concepts will be examined shortly.

The second erotic scene is on Chicago 1889.27, which shows two couples in conversation, including a female figure pointing towards the man's genital area, an utterly inappropriate gesture for a reputable woman. The gesture is similar to the scene in London E61,²⁸⁵ where a man expects sexual services for his gift. This vase depicts a delighted woman admiring her new wreath, handed to her by a youth who is boldly

²⁸⁵ London, British Museum: E61; Beazley Archive Database No. 204827.

pointing at her genitals. In other words, the youth sees his gift as a clear exchange for sexual favours or services. In addition to the erotic image of the exterior, the tondo of Chicago 1889.27 shows a woman with a *sakkos* and bony²⁸⁶ hands standing by a mirror and a bed.²⁸⁷ She evokes an image of an aged *hetaira* whose advances or pleas were rejected by the departing youth in the image. The iconography of this vase includes a mirror, money-bag and sport objects, the elements explored in the subsequent analysis.

The third vase is Durham 3, which shows lavishly dressed women in their “quarters”, including a woman wearing a transparent tunic (*chiton*) and her body is visible underneath.²⁸⁸ The woman is holding up her blouse (*kolpos*) or the overflow to adjust the girdle or belt, the gesture which most of the time conveys overt female sexuality.²⁸⁹ The other five women are adorned in garments with dark borders, which was a likely mark of a prostitute or a courtesan. In addition, the scene incorporates an image of a mirror, *kalathos*, oil containers, *krotala* (musical instruments) and the headdress that will be examined shortly.

²⁸⁶ Woman’s fingers are depicted in a series of heavy arcs; see R. Catton Rich, “Five Red-Figured Vases in the Art Institute of Chicago,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 34/2 (1930): 154.

²⁸⁷ A *symposion* couch is similar to a stool, *diphros*, yet I believe the couch is a more appropriate interpretation in some listed scenes; see, for example, Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 98.930 (Beazley Archive Database No. 205089). The vase depicts a symposiast with a *kylix* dancing next to a minuscule couch.

²⁸⁸ See Keuls (1985), 115; and R. Williams, “An Attic Red-Figure Kalathos,” *Antike Kunst* 4 (1961): 27-29.

²⁸⁹ The girdle motif is known from a series of examples, ranging from the early 5th century and continuing into the 4th century BCE. It was recognized in wedding and nuptial scenes; however, many images do not contain such a setting, e.g. Berlin, Antikensammlung: 4496 (Beazley Archive Database No. 202984), Athens, Agora Museum: P6053 (Beazley Archive Database No. 215235), Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: 126055 (Beazley Archive Database No. 214170). For “girdle adjusting” in nuptial scenes, see V. Sabetai, “Aspects of Nuptial and Genre Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens: Issues of Interpretation and Methodology,” in J. H. Oakley, W. Coulson & O. Palagia (eds.), *Athenian Potters and Painters: The Conference Proceedings* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997), 319-335.

The last openly erotic scene is depicted on Chicago 1911.456 and is the most sexually explicit of all. The couple in the centre is kissing, while the girl's hands are wrapped tightly around the youth's neck who is "cupping at her crotch".²⁹⁰ To the left, another youth and a woman are watching. The second youth is leaning towards the nearby female figure as if having similar expectations, while an oil-container hangs above. This scene unmistakably represents a prostitute, as such explicit sexual gestures of kissing and "cupping" were surely reserved for women in the profession, and not for respected wives at home.

A comparable embrace is depicted on Canterbury CML6²⁹¹ (Figure 4.6) where the couple is standing by the bed and the youth is gesturing towards it. Likewise, a similar "crotch cupping gesture" is seen on an already mentioned Malibu 86.AE.293²⁹² (Figure 3.25) where a youth is distinctly placing his hand with a flower over the woman's genitals, implying sexual connotations to the gesticulation.²⁹³ The woman is holding a mirror, dressed in a transparent tunic with a bordered *himation*, and the couple is standing next to the *symposion* bed. These correlations between the Chicago, Canterbury and Malibu examples imply that the kissing frame scene depicts a clear sexual encounter with a prostitute.

In conclusion, these four (4) openly sexual illustrations form a part of a group, where all twenty (20) scenes are connected by analogous imagery. The following analysis

²⁹⁰ W. G. Moon & L. Berge, *Greek Vase-Painting in Midwestern Collection* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1979), 170.

²⁹¹ University of Canterbury, New Zealand, James Logie Memorial Collection CML6.

²⁹² Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum: 86.AE.293; Beazley Archive Database No. 275963.

²⁹³ A flower as a sexual symbol will be examined shortly.

will confirm that these settings did not take place in Athenian homes, but rather in brothels, and prostitutes' and courtesans' residences. To sum up, this section will demonstrate that the women in the trade were the ones who worked on the frames and created the sprang products, including the headdresses.



Figure 4.6. Embraced couple by the door
University of Canterbury, New Zealand, James Logie Memorial Coll. CML6

Women “Quarters” and Doors

In addition to twelve (12) mixed-gender scenes, eight (8) depict only women (Athens Vlasto 215607, Durham 3, London 1905.11-2.3, London 1907.5-19.1, Paris CA 587, Pourtalès-Gorgier *hydria*, Stanford 17.412 and Vienna 3719). Traditionally, these images were interpreted as taking place in women's quarters (*gynaikonitis*), especially the ones on “female” vessels: three *pyxides* (London 1907.5-19.1, Paris and Vienna), two *hydriai* (Stanford and Pourtalès-Gorgier), Durham *kalathos*, and Athens Vlasto. However, as pointed out, the general air of these scenes is of vanity and self-adornment, for mirrors and perfume bottles are plentiful, leading to a conclusion they are rather

portraying “*hetairai* filling their idle hours” than industrious citizen women.²⁹⁴ In other words, even though conventional reading of these images has been of respected women, I believe they are prostitutes – most likely courtesans in their homes, preparing for the *symposion* or an encounter with the lover/customer.

The *pyxides* commonly bore illustrations of weddings and funerals, and were thus automatically assumed to have belonged to Athenian women. Nevertheless, as explained earlier, some containers were surely in the ownership of prostitutes and courtesans, who regularly applied make-up and adorned jewelry. Consequently, these *pyxides* would bear imagery appropriate for these women, including activities in their quarters. The same can be said of the Stanford and Pourtalès-Gorgier *hydria*²⁹⁵ and the Athens Vlasto object, which could have belonged to a *hetaira*’s household or possibly even to a brothel.

In contrast to the female-group scenes, the London 1905.11-2.3 *lekythos* depicts a single woman working on a frame. Nevertheless, I am inclined to believe that the presence of the frame could identify this woman as prostitute or courtesan; however, since the iconography is limited, the identity of the figure remains uncertain and unresolved.

Another remarkable element in the female scenes in general, specifically Athens Vlasto, Paris and Vienna *pyxides*, is an image of a door, which opens to reveal what Jenkins and Williams identify as an *andron* – a part of the house reserved for men and their symposiastic gatherings.²⁹⁶ This room was easily recognizable due to its couches or

²⁹⁴ Jenkins & Williams, 416.

²⁹⁵ Regarding the Pourtalès-Gorgier vase, since the Paris *hydria* is now lost, it is not certain what other figures or objects, if any, were depicted in the scene.

²⁹⁶ Jenkins & Williams, 416.

beds, and was off limits to wives and other women of the household, except for servants, prostitutes and entertainers. Notably, in the two scenes (Paris and Vienna), beds with pillows are seen through the open doors, covered in Eastern patterns as on sympotic couches (see other similar examples: Athens CC1158,²⁹⁷ Berlin F2299A,²⁹⁸ Munich 2301,²⁹⁹ Munich 2302,³⁰⁰ St. Petersburg 1602³⁰¹). The notion of an *andron* is confirmed in Canterbury CML6³⁰² (Figure 4.6), which depicts an embracing couple standing by the door while the youth is gesturing towards the bed. There is no doubt that the scene takes place in an *andron*, since Attic vases did not portray intimate moments of a married couple, and especially not a depiction of a sexually aggressive wife.

In Athens Vlasto, the *andron* room is not visible, since the door is closed, but the scene offers other invaluable evidence. In front of a closed door, a woman is depicted carrying a mirror and an *alabastron*, as if she has just exited the banquet. The most curious element is the cross-shaped ornamentation on her chest, which I believe identifies her as a prostitute, most likely a *hetaira*. The ornament consists of two bands, each passing over a shoulder and under the opposite arm, crossing the other band between the breasts and on the back. This article undeniably resembles the description of Aphrodite's *kestos himas*, her magical saltire, which was described in the *Iliad* (14.214-221) and depicted rarely. Due to its magical properties, the ornament would be appropriate for prostitutes, who used magic to attract and retain their customers and lovers, as will be

²⁹⁷ Athens, National Museum: CC1158; Beazley Archive Database No. 9534.

²⁹⁸ Berlin, Antikensammlung: F2299A; Beazley Archive Database No. 18347.

²⁹⁹ Munich, Antikensammlungen: 2301; Beazley Archive Database No. 200009.

³⁰⁰ Munich, Antikensammlungen: 2302; Beazley Archive Database No. 200021.

³⁰¹ St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum: 1602; Beazley Archive Database No. 203792.

³⁰² University of Canterbury, New Zealand, James Logie Memorial Collection CML6.

explains shortly. Also, regarding the saltire, I will return to this object in the section on Aphrodite and textiles (Chapter Five), and discuss it then in detail. In any case, literary sources reveal that only prostitutes and slaves opened the door in person (Theophrastus, *Characters* 28.3), since it was unthinkable that a respected woman would open the door and expose herself to strangers.³⁰³

In addition, the imagery of doorways and entranceways was used in literature to refer to sexual act and sexual organs.³⁰⁴ The words *thyra* and *pyla* (door, gates) and a few other similar terms were used in *Lysistrata* to identify both the actual gates and “gates of love”, where the gesture of women closing of the Acropolis was made analogous to their decision to ban sexual intercourse with their husbands (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 309). Other comparable passages occur in Aristophanes’ *Ecclesiazusae* 709, 962, 990; *Lysistrata* 250, 265, 423, 1163, *Thesmophoriazusae* 424 and *Wasps* 768. In *Thesmophoriazusae*, for example, the image of a wife opening the door is used as a metaphor for her secret affair with a lover, and in *Wasps*, a servant girl was punished sexually because “she opened the/her doorway on the sly”.³⁰⁵ Finally, a term *demiaisi pylais*, which incorporates the word door, denoted common prostitutes.³⁰⁶

³⁰³ Neils, 211.

³⁰⁴ J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy* (Oxford University Press, 1975), 137-139.

³⁰⁵ Henderson (1991), 137-138.

³⁰⁶ See fr. 805 in T. Koch, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta* (Leipzig, 1880-1888); Henderson (1991), 137.

Luxury: Clothing and Adornment

Next, the air of luxury and vanity associated with prostitutes and courtesans is indicated by the presence of related items, such as wooden boxes or chests, which appear in four (4) frame scenes (Paris CA587, London 1907.5-19.1, London R330.1936, Stettin 214773). These chests were used for storing the finest textiles (*Odyssey* 8.95ff; 15.104-110; 21.51-52; *Iliad* 9.200) and other valuables, such as jewelry (London E773³⁰⁷). Paris CA587 confirms this, as it shows a woman folding a large fabric into an open chest. A correlation between *hetairai* and fine clothing is evident in ancient texts, as they are described wearing finer clothes than other women.³⁰⁸

The Greek phrase “dresses and gold” (*himatia kai khrysea*) is used as a standard description for the two accoutrements of *hetairai*.³⁰⁹ For example, in the account of the prostitute Neaira, she is said to have packed up her *himatia* and *khrysea* when she left her lover Phrynion who accused her of stealing his property, which in the end was rightfully awarded to Neaira in the arbitration (Demosthenes, *Against Neaira* 35, 46). Likewise, it is stated that the entertainer Nannion had a beautiful face and wore *khrysea* and expensive *himatia*, yet she was ugly when she stripped naked (Athenaeus 587b). Furthermore, a number of laws state that only prostitutes were allowed to adorn themselves with golden ornaments and jewelry, and to wear flowery dresses and garments with a (purple) border.³¹⁰ In fact, almost all frame scenes depict women wearing luxurious clothing,

³⁰⁷ London, British Museum: E773; Beazley Archive Database No. 209970.

³⁰⁸ A. Dalby, “Levels of Concealment: The Dress of *Hetairai* and *Pornai* in Greek Texts,” in L. Llewellyn-Jones (ed.), *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World* (London: Duckworth Publishing, 2002), 111-124.

³⁰⁹ Dalby, 115.

³¹⁰ See the laws of Locri Epizephyrri (Diodorus Siculus, *Historical Library* 12.21), Syracuse (Phylarchus in Athenaeus 521b) and Sparta (Clement of Alexandria, *Educator* 2.10 bis.105).

some also with visible borders: Athens Vlasto, Agrigento, Centre Island A, Durham 3, Paris CA587 and Vienna 3719.³¹¹ Additionally, Aleria 1893 depicts a woman with flowery decorations on her *sakkos*.

Besides luxurious and voluminous garments, on the other side of the spectrum were transparent dresses. This type of attire was evident in all prostitutes' categories, from *pornai* to *hetairai*. These garments were made in two particular ways described in classical Greek texts: one was a semi-transparent golden-tinted material made from the shellfish *Pinna nobilis* from Tarentum, while the other was made of wild silk, possibly from Cos or Amorgos.³¹² Transparent materials applied to various clothing items including *diazoma*,³¹³ scarves, veils, tunics, undergarments and dresses.³¹⁴ This minimal level of concealment was used to catch the eye of a potential client and tantalize observers.³¹⁵ For example, the woman untying her belt in Durham 3 is dressed in a transparent garment. In addition, the woman holding a frame in Chicago 1911.456 has a garment draped over her transparent tunic, which has slid off her body. The fabric has retained the shape of her breasts and even has her genital area marked by "V" folds of the material.

³¹¹ Some additional borders or garment decorations may not be visible in the images and drawings available for this study.

³¹² The former was called *tarantinon* (Menander, *Arbitrators* 489), and the latter *trikhaptos ampekhone* or *amorgina* (Athenaeus 269b; Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 150-1). See Dalby, 115-121.

³¹³ An ancient equivalent to a g-string.

³¹⁴ The high-class *hetairai* were said to have worn transparent veils, as seen on Athens, National Museum 16457 (Beazley Archive Digital Database No. 208932). This white-ground *alabastron* depicts three women; one is wearing a *sakkos* covered by a transparent veil and holds a mirror. She is wearing a *himation* with a dark border. A *kalathos* full of wool is nearby, with the word *kale* coming out of it. The second woman is wearing a transparent tunic with a *himation* and holds a flower, while the third one is also dressed in a transparent tunic with a border and plays *krotala*.

³¹⁵ See, for example, Athenaeus 269b, 568a-f, 569b, 582d, 589f, 590d, 596c; Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 1177-89.

In summary, prostitutes used both ends of the clothing spectrum to either display or conceal according to the occasion and circumstance. Low-class prostitutes were required to reveal practically everything, while their high-class counterparts dressed no differently than respected wives, but with more elaboration and luxury.

Skirt-Lifting

The woman mentioned above, from Chicago 1911.456, with the sliding cloak and transparent tunic holding the frame was clutching her garment and lifting it. The same gesture occurs in London 1907.5-19.1, where one running woman is lifting her skirt. In vase-painting, this gesticulation may have been used to simply draw attention to the figure's femininity, however, there seem to be an added symbolism to the activity. In the latter example, the skirt lifting may imply that women were having difficulties running, which was a part of male freedom, and that they were not designed to move in this manner symbolizing their vulnerability and incapacity.³¹⁶ On the other hand, static dress-lifting carried a more straightforward sexual connotation, as seen in the courting and brothel scenes of Berlin F2279,³¹⁷ Munich 2427³¹⁸ and Copenhagen 124.³¹⁹ The Copenhagen *stamnos* (Figure 4.7) shows a man offering a bag to an undressing woman on the right with a flute-case and the woman on the left stands and lifts up her skirt while holding a mirror. The gesture clearly involved the element of the erotic display.

³¹⁶ S. Blundell, "Clutching at Clothes," in L. Llewellyn-Jones (ed.), *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World* (London: Duckworth Publishing, 2002), 153-155.

³¹⁷ Berlin, Antikensammlung: F2279; Beazley Archive Digital Database No. 200977.

³¹⁸ Munich, Antikensammlungen: 2427; Beazley Archive Digital Database No. 201720.

³¹⁹ Copenhagen, National Museum Collection 124; Beazley Archive Database No. 202230.

As a result, the two frame scenes that depict such a motion include specific message. In London 1907.5-19.1, the image of a woman lifting her skirt signifies her biological sex and her lower status in the Athenian society, thus implying her sexual identity.³²⁰ The gesture in other example of Chicago 1911.456 clearly alludes to the woman's femininity and creates an atmosphere of sensuality and erotic mood.



Figure 4.7. Woman lifting her skirt and a man offering a payment
Copenhagen, National Museum 124; Beazley Archive Database No. 202230

Girdle Gesture

Another curious gesture, besides skirt-lifting, was the untying of the girdle. Returning to the Durham vase, which showed women dressed in luxurious and transparent clothing, the scene included a female figure in a see-through *chiton* holding up her *kolpos* to adjust the girdle or belt.³²¹ As a rule, a woman's belt conveyed her

³²⁰ Blundell, 155-156.

³²¹ The girdle motif is known from a series of examples, ranging from the early 5th century and continuing into the 4th century BCE. It was recognized in wedding and nuptial scenes; however, many images do not contain such a setting, e.g. Berlin, Antikensammlung: 4496 (Beazley Archive Database No. 202984), Athens, Agora Museum: P6053 (Beazley Archive Database No. 215235), Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: 126055 (Beazley Archive Database No. 214170). For "girdle adjusting" in nuptial scenes, see Sabetai, 319-335.

sexuality, depending on whether it was fastened or loosened, concealed or exposed.³²²

The ritual of untying the belt on the night of the wedding symbolized the loss of virginity and consummation of the marriage (Euripides, *Alcestis* 177; *Odyssey* 11.245).³²³ In vase-painting, handling of the belt was often set in sensual and festive environment alongside perfume jars, mirrors, luxurious clothing and jewelry (London E719³²⁴), and usually occurred in the erotic context (London E44³²⁵).

The first belt-related example of London E719³²⁶ is an *alabastron* depicting a woman untying her girdle; she is lavishly dressed and wears a crown, with a *kalathos*, an *alabastron* and a *lekythos* nearby. A young man standing in front offers her a necklace while declaring “*kale*” (beautiful).³²⁷ Together with a gift and declaration of affection, loosening of the belt alludes to the sexual climax of the occasion. The second, more explicit example is a *kylix* tondo, London E44,³²⁸ which depicts a woman untying her belt while a seated man is urging her to hasten (Figure 4.8). Her body is visible under the transparent garments and she is wearing a *sakkos*. Additionally, the lyre is lying on the floor, the dining basket is hanging above and the *kalos* message is inscribed in the tondo. As a result, the woman is undeniably a prostitute undressing for the sexual encounter with a symposiast. Finally, textual evidence supports the artistic rendering of the gesture.

³²² Blundell, 156.

³²³ In addition, the girdle appears in the myth of the Amazon queen Hippolyta and Herakles, whose ninth labour was to obtain the queen's girdle. Hippolyta was so intrigued by Herakles' muscles and lion skin, that she gave him the girdle willingly, which probably symbolized their sexual union.

³²⁴ London, British Museum: E719; Beazley Archive Database No. 275017.

³²⁵ London, British Museum: E44; Beazley Archive Database No. 203219.

³²⁶ London, British Museum: E719; Beazley Archive Database No. 275017.

³²⁷ Blundell believes the woman is not untying but tying her belt (p. 56-57). The presence of the youth with the purse contradicts her argument; she supposes him to be the groom.

³²⁸ London, British Museum: E44; Beazley Archive Database No. 203219.

During a scene in *Lysistrata*, where the husband is hurrying his wife to get ready for sexual intercourse, Myrrhine replies, “I’m loosening my girdle now”, thus confirming that this motion denoted imminent sexual encounter (*Lysistrata* 946).

Based on the above examples, the woman loosening her belt on the Durham vase is clearly exposing her sexuality and therefore imposing an erotic reading onto the entire scene. In other words, without the girdle detail, the vase would convey the image of the women “innocently” working in their quarters. Instead, the scene can be interpreted as a depiction of prostitutes or courtesans in an atmosphere of vanity showing a madame training a novice how to braid on the sprang frame, while another brings more wool. To the right, a *hetaira* looking into a mirror is attended by her servant, with *krotala* on the wall. In the centre, the woman untying her girdle is placed between the two groups as a subtle clue for unlocking the true meaning.³²⁹

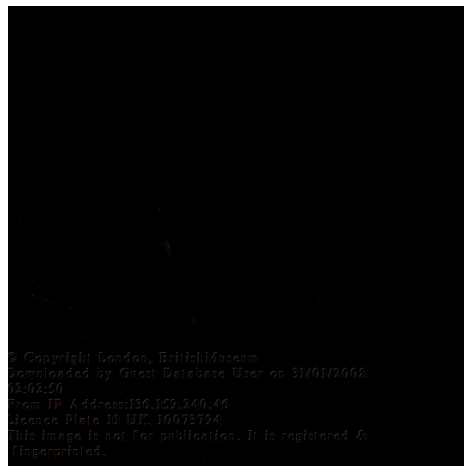


Figure 4.8. Prostitute untying her belt
London, British Museum: E44; Beazley Archive Database No. 203219

³²⁹ The scene was depicted on a ceramic wool-basket (*kalathos*), which may contribute to the assumption that these are respected women. However, I will show in a later section that a *kalathos* was equally linked with prostitutes as with wives.

Mirrors

The mirror, held in the Durham scene, contributed to the air of vanity and leisurely pastime. Including this vessel, six (6) frame scenes portray this typical female object, in each case held by a woman, except in Athens Vlasto, where it is hung on the wall (Athens Vlasto 215607, Durham 3, London R330.1936, Paris CA587, Stanford 17.412, and Vienna 3719). Mirrors were usually, though not exclusively, present in scenes with prostitutes, as for example in Paris G143,³³⁰ Toledo 1972.55³³¹ and Malibu 86.AE.293,³³² to list only a few.³³³ In Paris G143 (Figure 4.9), a mirror is hanging on the wall above three sexually involved couples; in Toledo 1972.55 (Figure 4.10), a mirror hangs in the centre of a courting scene, and in Malibu 86.AE.293 (Figure 3.25), a youth offers a flower to a woman holding a mirror with his hand intentionally placed over her genitals. In addition, a few dedicatory epigrams describe a woman named Lais, a prostitute, offering her mirror to Aphrodite (*Greek Anthology* 6.1, 18-20). Other similar dedications refer to women with prostitute's names (6.210-211).³³⁴

³³⁰ Paris, Musée du Louvre G143; Beazley Archive Database No. 204830.

³³¹ Toledo (OH), Museum of Art Collection 1972.55; Beazley Archive Database No. 7766.

³³² Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.293; Beazley Archive Database No. 275963.

³³³ Noteworthy are remarks in Plautus, *Mostellaria* 157-293, who even though a later source, offers valuable insights: when a woman, Philematium, is getting ready to meet her lover, she is anxious about her dress and her hair and wants a mirror, and hence proceeds to apply make-up. The maid reminds her to wipe her hands after handling the mirror so that her lover will not notice the smell of bronze and assume she was handling cash, thus implying that Philematium was in the business of making money by meeting men.

³³⁴ For the list of prostitutes' names, see *RE*, s.v. *Hetairai*.



Figure 4.9. Prostitute straddling a customer, mirror on the wall
Paris, Musée du Louvre G143; Beazley Archive Database No. 204830

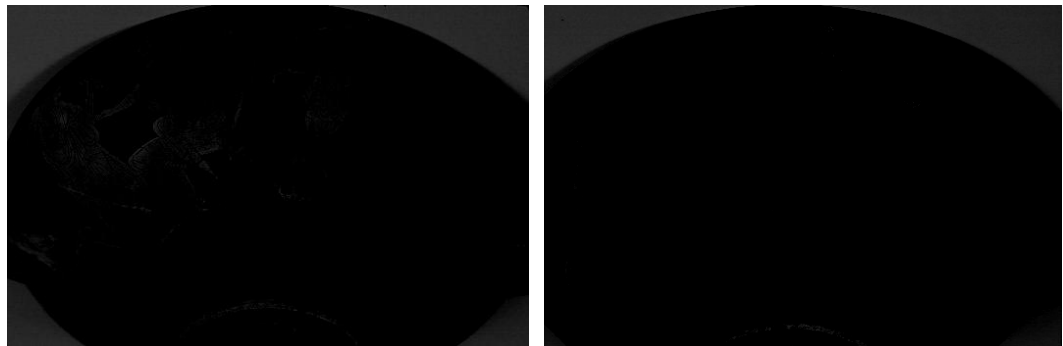


Figure 4.10. Mirror and oil-sets between the couples
Toledo, Museum of Art Collection 1972.55; Beazley Archive Database No. 7766

The mirror's association with women in the trade is also seen on the engravings and reliefs on the mirrors themselves, or on their cases. Some mirrors contained erotic imagery appropriate only for the prostitute's ownership, as they would not have been viewed kindly if seen in the possession of a respected woman.³³⁵ The most intriguing example comes from a mirror case found in a tomb in Corinth.³³⁶ Even though the mirror is dated the 4th century BCE, its iconography is based on 6th and 5th century BCE vase-

³³⁵ Stewart, 136-154.

³³⁶ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 08.32c.

painting.³³⁷ It depicts a relief of a nude couple intertwined on a bed (exterior) and an engraving of a couple in a “lioness” position where the woman is wearing a headdress (interior) (Figure 4.11). It appears that the female figure in both images is the same person, but the identity of the male figures cannot be confirmed.

However, the most remarkable is the manner in which the woman is represented on the interior “lioness” image, since she is looking outside the picture and gazing at the viewer. She appears confident and assured - a sexual subject rather than an object, a novelty in Greek iconography. In view of that, it has been concluded that the mirror belonged to a courtesan, possibly Leaina, mentioned in ancient texts.³³⁸ However, Andrew Stewart actually suggests that the mirror belonged to a lesser prostitute and not a grand *hetaira*, since it was made of bronze, and not of silver or gold, and the craftsmanship was somewhat unrefined for such a distinguished owner.³³⁹ In any case, the mirror did belong to a woman in the profession, and seems to have been specially commissioned by this individual.

³³⁷ See for example, Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum: 83.AE.322 (Beazley Archive Database No. 44982) and London, British Museum: E816 (Beazley Archive Database No. 203238). Stewart, 146.

³³⁸ The name Leaina translates as Lioness; Stewart, 147-148.

³³⁹ Stewart, 146.



Figure 4.11. Bronze mirror case from Corinth
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 08.32c

Since the mirror was linked with prostitutes, it was automatically linked with Aphrodite, the goddess of desire, beauty and vanity. As a result, the majority of surviving mirrors incorporate the image of the goddess. Some examples have handles sculpted in her image, while others portray her on the cases. The following examples are dated from the 6th and 5th centuries BCE: Athens 7417,³⁴⁰ Athens 7465,³⁴¹ Athens 7670,³⁴² Boston 0.4-7,³⁴³ Cleveland 50.7,³⁴⁴ London 548,³⁴⁵ Munich SL5,³⁴⁶ New York 38.11.3³⁴⁷ (Figure 4.12), Paris MND 1091³⁴⁸ and St. Petersburg B815.³⁴⁹ Aphrodite herself was also depicted with a mirror, either merely holding it or looking into it. A 5th century BCE ring

³⁴⁰ Athens, National Museum 7417; *LIMC*, vol. 2, Aphrodite 937.

³⁴¹ Athens, National Museum: 7465; *LIMC*, vol. 2, Aphrodite 89.

³⁴² Athens, National Museum 7670; *LIMC*, vol. 2, Aphrodite 874.

³⁴³ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 0.4-7; *LIMC*, vol. 2, Aphrodite 92.

³⁴⁴ Cleveland (OH), Museum of Art 50.7; *LIMC*, vol. 2, Aphrodite 111.

³⁴⁵ London, British Museum: 548; *LIMC*, vol. 2, Aphrodite 91.

³⁴⁶ Munich, Antikensammlungen: SL5; *LIMC*, vol. 2, Aphrodite 93.

³⁴⁷ For more illustrations of the same Archaic bronze mirror see G. M. A. Richter, "An Archaic Greek Mirror," *American Journal of Archaeology* 42/3 (1938): fig.1-5.

³⁴⁸ Paris, Musée du Louvre: MNC 1091; *LIMC*, vol. 2, Aphrodite 87.

³⁴⁹ St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum: B815; *LIMC*, vol. 2, Aphrodite 94.

depicts Aphrodite gazing into a mirror while carefully arranging her bound hair.³⁵⁰

Finally, a noteworthy depiction of a later mid-4th century BCE Judgment of Paris identifies Aphrodite in the scene by her mirror and the headdress as her recurring attributes (Oxford 1944.15³⁵¹).



Figure 4.12. Aphrodite mirror³⁵²
New York, Metropolitan Museum: 38.11.3

The depiction of a mirror alone cannot determine the identity of a woman or the setting; but it can point to the woman's vanity, luxury and leisurely pastime. A noteworthy aspect of a mirror on pottery is that it can be mistaken for a distaff, and vice versa, since the shapes are rather similar.³⁵³ In addition, positions in which the woman is holding the mirror or distaff are sometimes interchangeable as well, as seen on Paris CA587, where the woman seated by the door is holding a mirror. At first sight, the viewer assumes the woman is holding a distaff, but on closer examination, the object is clearly a mirror, and not the yarn. Likewise, on Heidelberg 64.5, the seated woman is

³⁵⁰ Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum; *LIMC*, vol. 2, Aphrodite 836.

³⁵¹ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: 1944.15; Beazley Archive Database No. 430003.

³⁵² Notice that Aphrodite has an ornament across her chest. This is a depiction of her *kestos himas* that will be discussed later on.

³⁵³ For example, see Keuls' interpretation of Tampa (FL), Museum of Art: 86.70 in Keuls (1985), 260.

holding a distaff – wooden stick with the yarn, which appears to be a mirror at first.³⁵⁴

Was this similarity perhaps created deliberately in order to emphasize the two opposites, vanity and work?

Oil Containers: the Alabastron, Aryballos and Lekythos

Mirrors were frequently depicted together with *alabastra*, oil flasks, and were even stored or carried together as seen in a depiction of a cosmetic case on Rome 1197³⁵⁵ (Figure 4.13). Both objects symbolized luxury and vanity and were linked with the leisurely atmosphere of idle pastime and amusement.



Figure 4.13. Mirror and *alabastron* case
Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia: 1197; Beazley Archive Database No. 9002167

The elongated flask was used for oil, either pure or perfumed, and appears in six (6) frame scenes (Athens Vlasto 215607, Centre Island Side A, Durham 3, Havana 211643 Side B, Paris CA587, and Vienna 3719). In these scenes, the flasks are either

³⁵⁴ Unusually, when the depiction of a distaff is intended, other wool-working supplies are included, such as a spindle, a wool-basket, or roves of wool on the distaff.

³⁵⁵ Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia: 1197; Beazley Archive Database No. 9002167. This is an Etruscan vase, but in this case, the purpose is to show the cosmetic case.

hung on the wall or held, including a gesture of a woman offering it to a man (Centre Island A). Besides these examples, many of Attic images depict women with *alabastra*, which were principally female vessels, and rarely associated with men, as seen in the example of Munich 2411,³⁵⁶ which depicts three women using the oil from an *alabastron* while bathing. In contrast, men used an *aryballos*, a male version of the flask. Amazons defied the rule and were the only women portrayed using the *aryballos*, for instance during their bath on Paris F203.³⁵⁷ However, since the Amazons were marginal “barbaric” figures, opposite to the “civilized” Athenian women, their exception confirms the rule.³⁵⁸

The intriguing fact about the *alabastron* is that it appears in ambiguous settings and circumstances. For instance, Centre Island A shows a woman offering a flask to an approaching male figure, and Havana B depicts the vessel hanging in the midst of a courting couple. Other vase-paintings indicate the existence of some sort of exchange symbolized by the flask, as seen in the puzzling case of Berlin 31426³⁵⁹ (Figure 4.14), showing women offering *alabastra* to men. It is generally unclear what this gesture symbolizes, and in this example even more so, since the image has been interpreted as a brothel setting.³⁶⁰ Similarly, many scenes that include the *alabastra* also depict gift giving, such as love tokens or money-bags, and the women are usually lavishly dressed,

³⁵⁶ Munich, Antikensammlungen Collection 2411; Beazley Archive Database No. 213649.

³⁵⁷ Paris, Musée du Louvre F203; Beazley Archive Database No. 200013. Images of only women handling *aryballoi*, without any references to men, are very rare.

³⁵⁸ The Amazons were a mythical ancient nation of all-female warriors. They were cited in the *Iliad* and described by Herodotus, Diodorus, and a few other ancient writers.

³⁵⁹ Berlin, Antikensammlung 31426; Beazley Archive Database No. 209808.

³⁶⁰ See Keuls (1983a), 258.

holding mirrors and placed next to wool-baskets. One such case is the already mentioned London *alabastron*,³⁶¹ where a luxuriously adorned woman is loosening her belt in the presence of a man who is offering her gifts, while an *alabastron* hangs on the wall and a *kalathos* is on the floor. In addition, St. Petersburg 4309³⁶² portrays an *alabastron* exchange between a woman and winged Eros, clearly stating that the *alabastron* is an erotically charged object.



Figure 4.14. Woman offering an *alabastron* to a man; Brothel scene (?)
Berlin, Antikensammlung 31426; Beazley Archive Database No. 209808

Furthermore, the identity of the women with *alabastra* becomes evident in other, more explicit cases where they are clearly shown as prostitutes. For instance, Naples STG5³⁶³ (Figure 4.15) portrays two nude women: one is cleaning her boots while the other is offering her an *alabastron*. Due to the women's nudity, it is reasonable to assume they are prostitutes, possibly preparing for the *symposion*. Similarly, Oxford 0.3411³⁶⁴ shows a nude woman standing over a basin depilating her genitalia with the help of a lamp and an *alabastron*. Additionally, Tarquinia 87778³⁶⁵ portrays two nude women: one

³⁶¹ London, British Museum: E719; Beazley Archive Database No. 275017.

³⁶² St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum: 4309; Beazley Archive Database No. 216525.

³⁶³ Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale STG5; Beazley Archive Database No. 200173.

³⁶⁴ Oxford (MS), Robinson Collection 0.3411; Beazley Archive Database No. 203411.

³⁶⁵ Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese 87778; Beazley Archive Database No. 352439.

is anointing the other's genitals, while the *alabastron* hangs in the midst (Figure 4.16).

These examples clearly demonstrate that the *alabastron* had erotic connotations.



Figure 4.15. Two nude women with an *alabastron*
Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale STG5; Beazley Archive Database No. 200173

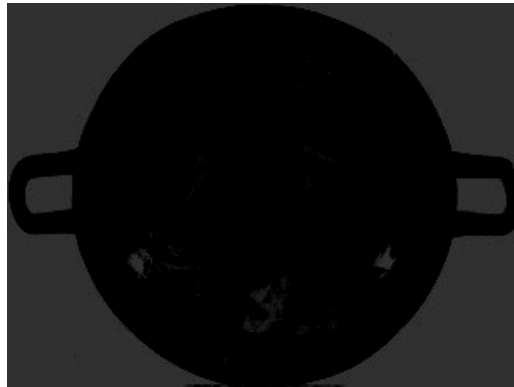


Figure 4.16. A prostitute anoints the genitals of her companion
Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese 87778; Beazley Archive Database No. 352439

In fact, I believe that some *alabastra* contained the perfume applied by women during bathing and in the scenes of luxury and vanity, while others enclosed lubricating oil used during intercourse.³⁶⁶ In other to demonstrate my point, I will explain the

³⁶⁶ It is worth noting that the renowned Turin Erotic Papyrus 55001 (an Egyptian scroll now in the Egyptian Museum in Turin, Italy) depicts couples in various stages of intercourse with Egyptian *alabastra* and *aryballoi* placed all around. In addition, one woman is gazing into her hand mirror during the penetration. Notably, the Greek *aryballos*, *alabastron* and mirror originated in Egypt, from where they were later

alabastron's function based on three concepts – 1) its connection with Aphrodite, 2) an analogy with the *aryballos* and 3) the flask's iconography.

First, the majority of objects connected to Aphrodite generally contained, in one way or another, a sexual meaning. So far, this has been seen in the example of mirrors, and will be demonstrated on apples, knotted cords and headdresses. Since the *alabastron* conveyed erotic symbolism, it is not surprising that some examples were in a form of the goddess. For instance, Paris S1072,³⁶⁷ Paris MNB2052,³⁶⁸ London B329³⁶⁹ and New York 39.11.7³⁷⁰ were all such examples from the 6th century BCE, which confirm this connection between the flask and the goddess of sexual desire.

Second, comparable to a female *alabastron* was an *aryballos*, the globular oil flask used in a similar manner by men.³⁷¹ Corresponding to Aphrodite-shaped *alabastra*, *aryballoi* in the shape of male genitals survive to the present day. For example, Hornbostel no.203,³⁷² Boston 95.55³⁷³ and Boston 13.105³⁷⁴ *aryballoi* were in the form of a *phallos* and scrotum, with the last example also depicting a male courting scene on the back of its handle.

adopted by the Greeks. For the illustration of the scroll see <http://www.biblicalarchaeology.org> or J. Omlin, *Der Papyrus 55001 und seine Satirisch-erotischen Zeichnungen und Inschriften* (Turin: Fratelli Pozzo-Torino, n.d.).

³⁶⁷ Paris, Musée du Louvre S1072; *LIMC*, vol. 2, Aphrodite 74.

³⁶⁸ Paris, Musée du Louvre MNB 2052; *LIMC*, vol. 2, Aphrodite 1079.

³⁶⁹ London, British Museum B329; *LIMC*, vol. 2, Aphrodite 75.

³⁷⁰ New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum: 39.11.7; for illustration see G. M. A. Richter, "Recent Acquisitions of the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *American Journal of Archaeology* 44/2 (1940): fig.4-5.

³⁷¹ The *aryballos* is primarily linked to the activities in the *palaistra* and the *gymnasion*, and was traditionally seen functioning as a location marker; yet it occasionally appeared in the *symposion* settings; see a *kantharos* from the Collection Ebnother Les Arcs which shows men reclining at the *symposion*, while *aryballoi* hang on the wall (see W. Slater, *Dining in the Classical Context* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1991), 80. Fig 15-18).

³⁷² Hornbostel, no.203.

³⁷³ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts Collection 95.55.

³⁷⁴ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts Collection 13.105.

In addition, vase-painting confirms the *aryballos*' connection with intercourse, as seen in Florence V48,³⁷⁵ which shows a youth at the *symposion* handing the oil-jar to the man on his right, while the man on the left is grabbing the shoulder of a youth holding the jar. Next, Florence 3922³⁷⁶ depicts men at the *symposion*, where a servant is passing the *aryballos* to a man playing *kottabos*, a drinking game. Again, this is exclusively a male space linked to sexual activities, and not a *gymnasion* where an *aryballos* contained the oil used by the athletes for their bodies.

Similarly, erotic scenes on the *aryballos* itself confirm the flask's sexual function, as seen on an example in Boston (98.879³⁷⁷). The vessel shows athletes relaxing in the *palaistra*: one athlete is stripping the oil from his body with a strigil (erotic imagery); three pairs of youths and boys stand in conversation; one youth with a dog (an erotic symbol)³⁷⁸ offers his younger friend a flower. Between the figures is the *kalos* inscription (beautiful), which stands for a declaration of affection. In addition, Boston 13.106,³⁷⁹ a chessboard-patterned *aryballos*, depicts two explicit scenes of homoerotic courting and love-making on each handle.

In its sexual function, an *aryballos* indicated copulation by homosexual couples, anal intercourse in particular, as it contained the lubricating oil.³⁸⁰ Even though the *aryballos* was used primarily in homoerotic relations, Boston 1970.223³⁸¹ tondo portrays

³⁷⁵ Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco V48; Beazley Archive Database No. 205103.

³⁷⁶ Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 3922; Beazley Archive Database No. 205099.

³⁷⁷ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts Collection 98.879.

³⁷⁸ A dog symbolized the erect male genitals; see Henderson, 127.

³⁷⁹ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts Collection 13.106.

³⁸⁰ Kilmer, 94. This is puzzling since this particular sexual contact was explicitly prohibited.

³⁸¹ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts Collection 1970.223.

a heterosexual couple copulating anally, where the *aryballos* plays an active role. In other words, the woman is supporting herself on a *symposion* couch on top of which is an overturned *aryballos*, as if it has just been used. Therefore, like the *alabastron*, the *aryballos* is strongly linked with sexual intercourse, generally indicating an imminent or anticipated action.

Third, returning to the *alabastron* and its iconography, many *alabastra* depict interacting couples or beautifully adorned women, often with headdresses. So, just as the *aryballos* portray pederastic and copulating couples, the *alabastra* vases also illustrate on their exteriors prostitutes and the buying of their service. For example, Oxford 1921.1214,³⁸² Athens CC1205³⁸³ and Athens 16457³⁸⁴ show women getting ready (for a *symposion*?), as they are holding mirrors, flowers and *krotala*. Other examples depict couples interacting, including Boston 00.358,³⁸⁵ Copenhagen 2661,³⁸⁶ Athens 17207,³⁸⁷ New York 13285³⁸⁸ and Athens 480.³⁸⁹ The Boston 00.358 *alabastron* portrays women with *krotala*, flowers and fruit together with a komast. The Copenhagen 2661 *alabastron* shows a seated symposiast with a woman dancing with *krotala*. Athens 17207 depicts buying of a prostitute since a man leaning on his staff is offering a purse to a woman with a *kalathos*. The New York 13285 flask shows a seated woman between draped youths,

³⁸² Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: 1921.1214; Beazley Archive Database No. 200874.

³⁸³ Athens, National Museum: CC1205; Beazley Archive Database No. 201531.

³⁸⁴ Athens, National Museum: 16457; Beazley Archive Database No. 208932.

³⁸⁵ Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 00.358; Beazley Archive Database No. 200888.

³⁸⁶ Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek: 2661; Beazley Archive Database No. 200872.

³⁸⁷ Athens, National Museum: 17207; Beazley Archive Database No. 206368.

³⁸⁸ New York (NY), Hoppin Collection: XXXX13285; Beazley Archive Database No. 13285.

³⁸⁹ Athens, National Museum: 480; Beazley Archive Database No. 50012.

one of whom is holding a purse; and finally, Athens 480 depicts a woman playing pipes and man leaning on his staff with a purse; the examples are endless.

Finally, textual evidence supports the link between the *alabastron* and the sexual act, as stated by Aristophanes in his plays. He implied the sexual application of the flask by having one of his comic characters provide instructions on how a bride should “massage” or anoint her husband’s *peos* (*phallos*) with the oil contained in the *alabastron*, on their wedding night (*Acharnians* 1063). Dikaiopolis not only explains the process, but also vividly demonstrates it on the *alabastron*.³⁹⁰ Finally, key textual evidence for the flask’s sexual function and phallic association is an exchange between a wife and her husband in *Lysistrata*. The dialogue is clear and unmistakable, and goes as following:

MYRRHINE: Would you like me to perfume³⁹¹ you?
 KINESIAS: By Apollo, no!
 MYRRHINE: By Aphrodite, I’ll do it anyway.
 KINESIAS: Lord Zeus, may she soon use up all the myrrh.
 MYRRHINE: Stretch out your hand. Take it and rub it in.
 KINESIAS: Hmm, it is not as fragrant as might be; that is,
 Not before it is smeared. It does not smell of kisses.
 MYRRHINE: How silly I am: I have brought you Rhodian scents.³⁹²
 KINESIAS: It is good enough, leave it, love.
 MYRRHINE: You must be jesting.
 KINESIAS: Plague rack the man who first compounded scent!
 MYRRHINE: Here, take this flask (*alabastron*).
 KINESIAS: I have a far better one.
 (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 937-949)

³⁹⁰ J. Henderson, “The Lekythos and Frogs 1200-1248,” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 76 (1972): 137.

³⁹¹ The word used is *murisô*, meaning “to rub with ointment or unguent, anoint”; see *LJS*, v.s. *Murizô*.

³⁹² Henderson interprets the term *rhodiov myron* as a rose scented oil, where the rose alludes to female sexual organs; (1991), 135.

Myrrhine uses *myron* (myrrh) based in oil to anoint her husband's genitals.

Similarly, this usage of the perfumed oil for lubrication is implied clearly in *Ekklesiazousai* where Blepyrus proclaims: "What? Cannot a woman possibly be laid without *myron*?" (525).³⁹³ As a final point, a line from *Triphales*, *alabastothekas treis exousan ek mias* (fr. 548),³⁹⁴ though obscure, is unquestionably phallic in its reference to the *alabastron*. Noteworthy is the feminine gender of the participle, which again shows the exclusively feminine reference of this vessel.³⁹⁵

Finally, under erotic vessels, Kilmer also lists a *lekythos*. A *lekythos* shaped like a *phallos* was present in the scene of a lost *kylix* tondo (once Magnoncourt 34³⁹⁶) that showed nude women using *phalloi* or *olisboi*.³⁹⁷ A surviving example of a tondo (Cambridge 12.27³⁹⁸) depicts a man and a woman in a passionate embrace next to a bed, above which a *lekythos* hangs (Figure 4.17). In both cases, the *lekythos* is a part of a scene's sexual symbolism, and connotes definite penetration or intercourse. The Old Comedy confirms this notion by the use of the term *lekythos* to indicate a *phallos* (Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 589, 1182; *Frogs* 1200-1248).³⁹⁹

Regarding the frame vases, five (5) depict *lekythoi* in their scenes: Aleria 1893, Centre Island B, Chicago 1911.456, Havana A and Paris CA587. In Centre Island B,

³⁹³ Kilmer suggests that the oil and its containers symbolized primarily anal intercourse stating that lubrication was only necessary in such occasions, which I believe is incorrect (81-86).

³⁹⁴ For better understanding: ἀλάβαστοθήκας τρεῖς ἐχουσάν ἐκ μίας.

³⁹⁵ Henderson (1972), 137.

³⁹⁶ Now lost. once Magnoncourt, Musée: 34; Beazley Archive Database No. 200634.

³⁹⁷ See J. C. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Attic Red-Figure Vases. Vol.1* (Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 1919), 337.

³⁹⁸ Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum: 12.27; Beazley Archive Database No. 204826.

³⁹⁹ See Sider, 359-362; C. H. Whitman "Ληκυθιον Απωλεσεν," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 73 (1969): 109-112; Henderson (1972), 133-143.

Havana A, Paris CA587 and Chicago 1911.456, the *lekythoi* are hanging on the wall, while in Aleria 1893 a woman is handing the flask over to a man.



Figure 4.17. A *lekythos* in a sexual context
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum: 12.27; Beazley Archive Database No. 204826

In summary, the oil-jars, such as *alabastron*, *aryballos* and *lekythos* were sexually charged objects that had a phallic overtone. They were present in erotic scenes as well as in subtly composed representations of prostitutes and their clients.⁴⁰⁰ I believe that the vessels' presence in the frame scenes alluded to sexual symbolism and indicated prostitute's presence, as well as the imminent sexual encounter. In sum, the combination of oil and sex could not be better symbolized than by the phallic shaped jar.

⁴⁰⁰ Kilmer argued that the *alabastron* was a particularly erotic shape, given its phallic form and suggests that as an oil container it should be considered an essential adjunct to sex (Kilmer, 81-89).

Musical Instruments: the Aulos, Lyra, Barbitos and Krotala

Musical instruments were objects that identified certain women as prostitutes in a similar manner as mirrors and oil-jars. According to Kilmer, *aulos*, the flute, was “the most solid piece of evidence” of a prostitute, thus indicating her profession by its presence.⁴⁰¹ A frame scene on Stettin 214773 shows a woman with a headdress holding a *kalathos* and a cup. Eros is flying towards her carrying a sprang frame and a flute-case, while a man with a purse is waiting. It appears that the woman was working wool when the customer showed up. Eros, the personification of sexual desire, was helping her by putting away the wool paraphernalia and fetching the instruments of her profession – a drinking cup and a double flute – so that she could service the paying customer.

Initially, *aulos* was centered on the Dionysiac cult, but then it spread into other areas in Greek life.⁴⁰² Besides depictions of maenads with flutes, the female flute players (*auletrides*) were a constant presence in the *symposion* and *komos* scenes during the 6th and 5th centuries BCE.⁴⁰³ At first, before *auletrides*, male players, *auletes*, accompanied religious and other public ceremonies, led warrior phalanxes (see Chigi vase)⁴⁰⁴ and even played at banquets until the end of the 6th century BCE.⁴⁰⁵ As a result, women were shown only playing the lyre on Black-figure and the first stages of Red-figure, which soon changed when the female flute players took over the trade.⁴⁰⁶ The existence of *auletrides* was not an Attic invention, since the employment of female players and other

⁴⁰¹ Kilmer, 159.

⁴⁰² The flute or pipes could be single *aulos* or double, *diaulos*.

⁴⁰³ C. G. Starr, “An Evening with the Flute-Girls,” *Parola del Passato* 33 (1978): 402-403.

⁴⁰⁴ A Corinthian *oinochoe* from the 7th century BCE, presently at Villa Giulia, Rome.

⁴⁰⁵ Starr, 402.

⁴⁰⁶ T. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens* (London: Methuen, 1972), 228ff.

entertainers was evident in Near Eastern and Egyptian art.⁴⁰⁷ In fact, flute-playing was associated with Anatolia, confirmed by Attic vase-painting, where *auletrides* were depicted wearing Ionian clothing, marking them as East Greek.⁴⁰⁸

The flute was the instrument that produced lewd music and deformed the face in the process, and thus was not proper for citizen women.⁴⁰⁹ An illustration of Athena, the inventor of the flute in Greek myth, depicts her casting the instruments away because her face was disfigured when she played them (Berlin F2418⁴¹⁰). In addition, ancient texts report that fellatio was a specialty of flute girls, and visual resemblance between performing fellatio and playing flutes was hinted at in the vase-painting and comic plays (Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1346; Nikophon 17).⁴¹¹ As a result, women in Attic pottery playing flutes are prostitutes and entertainers.⁴¹²

Attic vases, such as Copenhagen 124⁴¹³ (Figure 4.7), Toledo 1972.55⁴¹⁴ (Figure 4.10), Taranto 0.6436⁴¹⁵ (Figure 4.18) and Paris G143 B⁴¹⁶ (Figure 4.19) contain depictions of flute players. First, Copenhagen 124⁴¹⁷ shows a man offering a bag to a

⁴⁰⁷ For evidence on Mesopotamian musicians see E. Yamauchi, *Greece and Babylon* (Grand Rapids, 1967), 21-4. Also, an Egyptian tomb painting from the 18th Dynasty depicts three singers, an *aulos*-player and two almost nude dancers; for the illustration see N. Davies & A. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Painting* (University of Chicago Press, 1936), pl. lxx.

⁴⁰⁸ Miller (1997), 175.

⁴⁰⁹ Plato banned the flute from his ideal city (*Republic* 399d) and Aristotle considered it “immoral” instrument (*Politics* 1341).

⁴¹⁰ Berlin, Antikensammlung: F2418; Beazley Archive Database No. 6982.

⁴¹¹ Similarly, Archilochus compares fellatio to drinking through a straw (fr. 43). See also R. Sutton Jr., “The Good, the Base and the Ugly: The Drunken Orgy in Attic Vase Painting and the Athenian Self,” in B. Cohen (ed.), *Not the Classical Ideal, Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2000), 190-191.

⁴¹² A few images, however, depict Muses playing the flute.

⁴¹³ Copenhagen, National Museum Collection 124; Beazley Archive Database No. 202230.

⁴¹⁴ Toledo (OH), Museum of Art Collection 1972.55; Beazley Archive Database No. 7766.

⁴¹⁵ Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Collection 0.6436; Beazley Archive Database No. 206436.

⁴¹⁶ Paris, Musée du Louvre G143; Beazley Archive Database No. 204830.

⁴¹⁷ Copenhagen, National Museum Collection 124; Beazley Archive Database No. 202230.

barely dressed woman while a flute-case hangs between the two. Second, Toledo 1972.55⁴¹⁸ illustrates men offering purses and flowers to women with a flute placed on the wall. Third, Taranto 0.6436⁴¹⁹ portrays a man holding out a purse towards two women; one is playing the *diaulos*, while the other is holding the case. Finally, Paris G143 B⁴²⁰ depicts a couple kissing while a mirror and a flute-case are on the wall.

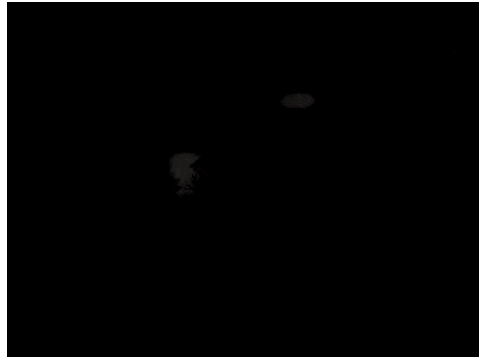


Figure 4.18. Man offering a money-bag to musicians
Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Collection 0.6436; Beazley Archive
Database No. 206436

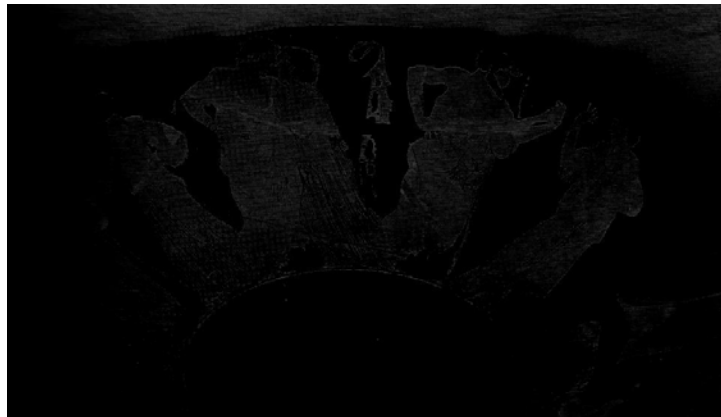


Figure 4.19. A couple kissing, a flute-case on the wall
Paris, Musée du Louvre G143; Beazley Archive Database No. 204830

⁴¹⁸ Toledo (OH), Museum of Art Collection 1972.55; Beazley Archive Database No. 7766.

⁴¹⁹ Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Collection 0.6436; Beazley Archive Database No. 206436.

⁴²⁰ Paris, Musée du Louvre G143; Beazley Archive Database No. 204830.

Other common instruments were the *krotala* (castanets) and the three string ones - the *lyra*, the *barbitos* and the *kithara*.⁴²¹ Two frame scenes, Durham 3 and Vienna 3719, depict a set of *krotala* on the wall where women appear in preparation for an event. The *krotala* were commonly played by maenads and prostitutes, as seen on numerous examples. The former were depicted on Vienna 137,⁴²² Munich 2300⁴²³ and Paris F204,⁴²⁴ while the latter were illustrated on Parma C63,⁴²⁵ London E38,⁴²⁶ Berlin F4221⁴²⁷ and Malibu 86.AE.285⁴²⁸ (Figure 4.20). Komasts and symposiasts were also depicted playing them, as seen in Athens CC1158⁴²⁹ and Taranto 10892,⁴³⁰ thus demonstrating that *krotala* were not used by citizen wives, in order to avoid association. In addition, a strong relation between musical instruments, mirrors and headdresses existed, linking these objects as prostitutes' belongings, as seen on Tampa 86.81⁴³¹ (Figure 4.21).

⁴²¹ The *lyra* was originally called the *chelys*, because of the tortoise shell used as its sound box. In the 8th-7th century BCE, the *lyra* was a seven stringed instrument and remained in use during the Classical period. The *barbitos* or *barbiton* was a common instrument of the lyre family and resembles the *lyra*, but had longer arms and narrower sound box. The *cithara* was a plucked instrument with five strings originally, but later as many as twelve strings, and was bigger than the *lyra*. On ancient string instruments, see M. Maas & J. McIntosh Snyder, *Stringed Instruments of Ancient Greece* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

⁴²² Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum: 137; Beazley Archive Database No. 287.

⁴²³ Munich, Antikensammlungen: 2300; Beazley Archive Database No. 200000.

⁴²⁴ Paris, Musée du Louvre: F204; Beazley Archive Database No. 200011.

⁴²⁵ Parma, Museo Nazionale di Antichità: C63; Beazley Archive Database No. 1256.

⁴²⁶ London, British Museum: E38; Beazley Archive Database No. 200460.

⁴²⁷ Berlin, Antikensammlung: F4221; Beazley Archive Database No. 200509.

⁴²⁸ Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum: 86.AE.285; Beazley Archive Database No. 46454.

⁴²⁹ Athens, National Museum: CC1158; Beazley Archive Database No. 9534.

⁴³⁰ Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: 10892; Beazley Archive Database No. 23633.

⁴³¹ Tampa (FL), Museum of Art: 86.81; Beazley Archive Database No. 204675.

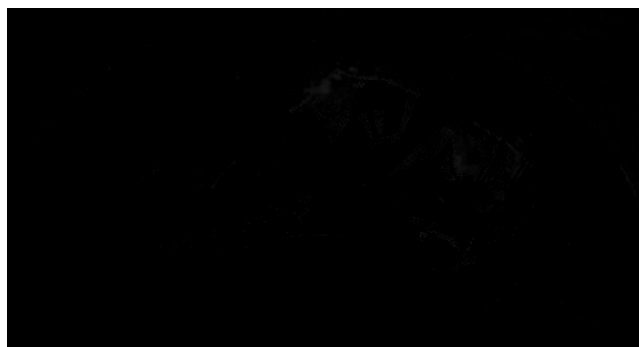


Figure 4.20. A prostitute playing the *krotala* at the *symposion*
Malibu (CA), J. Paul Getty Museum: 86.AE.285; Beazley Archive Database No. 46454

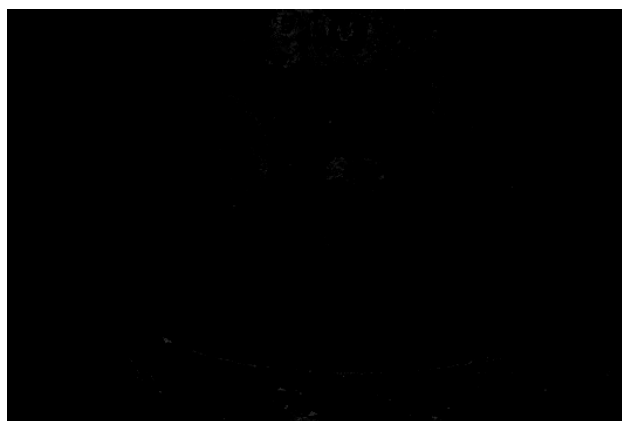


Figure 4.21. Mirror, *krotala* and a *sakkos*
Tampa (FL), Museum of Art: 86.81; Beazley Archive Database No. 204675

Next, the *lyra*, *barbitos* and *cithara* players were often depicted at the *symposion* and *komos* and usually wore the headdresses, as in Bologna 492,⁴³² Copenhagen 2701,⁴³³ Ferrara 2998,⁴³⁴ Cambridge 1959.188⁴³⁵ and London E44.⁴³⁶ London E44, an earlier example, shows the lyre lying on the floor while a woman is untying her belt and a seated

⁴³² Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico: 492; Beazley Archive Database No. 209670.

⁴³³ Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek: 2701; Beazley Archive Database No. 202015.

⁴³⁴ Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina: 2998; Beazley Archive Database No. 206674.

⁴³⁵ Cambridge (MA), Harvard University, Arthur M. Sackler Museum: 1959.188; Beazley Archive Database No. 206484.

⁴³⁶ London, British Museum: E44; Beazley Archive Database No. 203219.

man is urging her to hasten (Figure 4.8). This image of a *kylix* tondo confirms that musicians and entertainers doubled as prostitutes and performed sexual services, also validated by the earlier *krotala* example of a nude player (Figure 4.20) as well as Cambridge 204353⁴³⁷ where a nude woman is playing a double flute in the midst of the *symposion* with a *barbitos* on the wall (Figure 4.22).



Figure 4.22. Nude woman playing pipes
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum: 204353; Beazley Archive Database No. 204353

Nevertheless, these musicians must have been adequately trained to play the instruments and to learn the music for it, which raises the question of the level of education of these women. They most likely knew how to read,⁴³⁸ yet according to Starr, such instruction required considerable investment of time and money, which an ordinary free girl could not afford.⁴³⁹ Unlike a free woman, a slave of a wealthy owner would be a likely candidate for such training, as her expenses would be provided for. Nevertheless, the service fees of flute players were high, and Aristotle, a valuable though later source,

⁴³⁷ Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum: XXXX204353; Beazley Archive Database No. 204353.

⁴³⁸ For an illustration of women reading music notes, see Basel, Private: XXXX11020 (Beazley Archive Database No. 11020).

⁴³⁹ Starr, 404.

states that Athens employed the services of city regulators, *astynomoi*, to keep control over the flute-girls, harp-girls and lyre-girls and monitor their charges (*Constitution of Athens* 50). Perhaps the professions of *auletrides* and other musicians constituted the highest level of income that a woman could earn in Athens, besides a high-class courtesan. In addition, it seems that the owner maintained the slave in a manner befitting her valuable and profitable position, a fortunate arrangement for a slave.⁴⁴⁰ In fact, Athenaeus mentions a slave *aulos*-player who owned a slave *hetaira* (12.526b-c).

Erotic Magic

Similarly to the *aulos*, magical instruments were a certain sign of a prostitute and were depicted on Havana 211643A, as pointed out earlier. The first couple's gesture of tossing of an apple symbolized attraction and affection, as apples and all round seeded fruit were used as love gifts and were instruments in erotic magic.⁴⁴¹ The rite was designed to produce sexual desire and usually figured in seduction scenes, a claim convincingly argued by Christopher Faraone.⁴⁴² Faraone refuted the traditional view that the apple spell was intended to promote fertility and thus was a symbol of fecundity and marriage. Aristophanes testifies to this matter stating: "And don't run after dancing girls, so that as a consequence you don't, while foolishly gaping, get hit by an apple thrown by a prostitute and wreck your name completely" (*Clouds* 996-997). The scholiast on the passage explains that the expression "to get hit by an apple" meant "to become

⁴⁴⁰ Starr, 406-407.

⁴⁴¹ C. Faraone, "Aphrodite's ΚΕΣΤΟΣ and Apples for Atalanta: Aphrodisiacs in Early Greek Myth and Ritual," *Phoenix* 44/3 (1990), 219-243.

⁴⁴² C. Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic* (Harvard University Press, 1999), 69-80.

enamoured or sexually excited”.⁴⁴³ Noteworthy is the role of a prostitute as an aggressor and employer of this rite.

This apple spell goes as far back as the 9th century BCE, as it was listed in Neo-Assyrian ritual texts that link apples and erotic desire.⁴⁴⁴ In these incantations, the goddess Inanna (Sumerian for Ishtar, equated with Greek Aphrodite) is associated with apples and pomegranates.⁴⁴⁵ Subsequently, Aphrodite is also linked with apples, as related in the Atalanta and Hippomenes myth, where she granted three golden apples to the hero because of his prayers to win a bride. Similarly, in the myth of Paris and Helen, Aphrodite was awarded a golden apple in the judgment in exchange for the most beautiful woman in the world.⁴⁴⁶

In the second couple on the Havana vase, we see another form of erotic magic taking place, indicated by the gesture of bracelet exchange. In other words, cords, bands and knots were widely believed to have magical properties and were used in binding spells. The Greek words for amulets, *periapton* or *periamma*, meant “that which is tied round”, implying that earlier amulets were mere knotted cords.⁴⁴⁷ Actual examples of magical spells from the Near East and Greece involve wearing knotted cords to gain

⁴⁴³ See Aristophanes, *Clouds* 997 with scholia. In a case of a female victim, she seems to be aware that the apple is a love token and her active role in taking it signals her consent.

⁴⁴⁴ R. D. Biggs, *SA.ZI.GA: Ancient Mesopotamian Potency Incantations* (NY: Locust Valley, 1989), 70-74.

⁴⁴⁵ A few surviving statues portray Aphrodite with a headdress holding an apple, e.g. Paris, Musée du Louvre CA1502 (*LIMC*, vol. 2, Aphrodite 172), a 5th century BCE terracotta. Venus, her Roman version, was also closely associated with apples, as seen on coins depicting the goddess holding an apple (e.g. Julia Domna, Faustina the Younger, Lucilla Aureus coins).

⁴⁴⁶ Helen was seen not as a virtuous wife but as a paradigm of a temptress, like Aphrodite and Pandora (see G. Ferrari, *Figures of Speech: Men and Maidens in Ancient Greece* (University of Chicago Press, 2002), 58).

⁴⁴⁷ C. Bonner, “KESTOS IMAS and the Saltire of Aphrodite,” *American Journal of Philology* 70 (1949): 2.

mastery of another, erotically or for some other purpose.⁴⁴⁸ Therefore, the second couple with cord bracelets appears to be exchanging magical love amulets. Knotted cords were also seen on prostitutes, as in London E203⁴⁴⁹ (Figure 4.23), where two nude dancing girls are depicted practicing under the watchful eye of their instructor or madame. Notably, both women sport knotted cords around their thighs while the woman on the left has an additional amulet around her calf as well.



Figure 4.23. Two nude dancing girls with knotted cords on their thighs
London, British Museum: E203; Beazley Archive Database No. 214974

In his study, Faraone attests that aggressive erotic magic, such as apple and binding spells, were used by prostitutes and courtesans in order to gain, keep or reclaim a customer or lover.⁴⁵⁰ Interestingly, these *eros* spells were reserved for men, who traditionally played the role of a seducer; nevertheless, a prostitute's use of these spells clearly signalled her intention to be the "seducer" herself.⁴⁵¹ Indeed, it seems reasonable

⁴⁴⁸ Skinner, 24; Faraone (1999), 101-103.

⁴⁴⁹ London, British Museum: E203; Beazley Archive Database No. 214974.

⁴⁵⁰ Faraone (1999), 149-155.

⁴⁵¹ For examples see Aristophanes, *Clouds* 996-997 for the apple spell; Theokritos, *Idyll* 2 for an elaborate erotic spell; and a much later Lucian, *Dialogue of the Courtesans* 4, for a depiction of two Athenian *hetairai* swapping tales and recipes.

that courtesans and prostitutes used this type of aggressive “male” magic, since these women were similar to Greek men, especially in their economic autonomy and general self-sufficiency.⁴⁵² In fact, some prostitutes, at least the successful ones, lived in their own homes, and not brothels, sought out their lovers and customers and adopted behaviour that was traditionally limited to the Athenian male population. The disreputable custom of publicly naming prostitutes as a sign of their low status can also be seen as a “backhanded compliment”, since such treatment was reserved only for men.⁴⁵³ Faraone explains this “maleness of prostitutes” by stating: “Prostitutes in Morocco and Algeria, for instance, regularly co-opt aspects of male dress and behaviour, as well as certain types of body language that are culturally defined as male – such as sitting or standing with legs spread apart or leaning on doorposts”.⁴⁵⁴

Applying this statement to our question may provide a feasible explanation for the headdresses’ transition from the exclusively Eastern male to the exclusively Greek female attire. Is it possible that Ionians, by adopting Eastern *symposion* and *komos*, contributed to the rise or even establishment of prostitutes, entertainers and courtesans, who in turn assumed the habit of wearing the Eastern dress of their employers and patrons? Is there evidence that this had already ensued earlier in the East?⁴⁵⁵ Could it be assumed along the same lines that Aphrodite and her Eastern predecessors were linked with the headdress due to their patronage of prostitutes, and not vice versa?

Unfortunately, these questions cannot be answered, at least not at present, as more

⁴⁵² Faraone (1999), 156.

⁴⁵³ Faraone (1999), 156.

⁴⁵⁴ Faraone (1999), 156.

⁴⁵⁵ There is no existing evidence or research to my knowledge on the possibility of this phenomenon.

research is needed. Nevertheless, what can be concluded is that representations of women related to any form of aggressive erotic magic, including the Havana 211643A example, identify prostitutes.

Love Gifts

Besides gifts that figured in erotic magic, other affection tokens included birds, wreaths, garlands and flowers, which featured prominently in courting or prostitute-client scenes.⁴⁵⁶ In fact, the Havana vase depicts a woman holding a flower. The fact that a flower represented a love gift is confirmed in Kassel T676,⁴⁵⁷ where a seated woman holds a fruit and a flower while a youth is offering her yet another gift in the form of a bird. Similarly, London E13⁴⁵⁸ and Florence 91456⁴⁵⁹ depict Eros with a flower, a clear connection between the gift and erotic passion. Likewise, Bowdoin A3093⁴⁶⁰ depicts a woman with a mirror and *krotala* surrounded by two men handing her a flower, while New York 21.88.148⁴⁶¹ shows two men courting a woman who has already received her gift.⁴⁶²

Curiously, flowers were also offered to wool-working women, as seen in

⁴⁵⁶ Interestingly, Aphrodite was often associated with a flower, a rose in particular.

⁴⁵⁷ Kassel, Staatliche Museen Kassel, Antikensammlung: T676; Beazley Archive Database No. 275303.

⁴⁵⁸ London, British Museum: E13; Beazley Archive Database No. 200935.

⁴⁵⁹ Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco: 91456; Beazley Archive Database No. 200931.

⁴⁶⁰ Brunswick (ME), Bowdoin College: A3093; Beazley Archive Database No. 205600.

⁴⁶¹ New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum: 21.88.148; Beazley Archive Database No. 205958.

⁴⁶² However, flowers are not only present in heterosexual courting but also in homoerotic scenes. For instance, Munich, Antikensammlungen: SL513B (Beazley Archive Database No. 205360) shows a homoerotic couple courting where a youth is offering a flower to his lover.

Vienna 846,⁴⁶³ where a man is leaning towards a seated woman with a *kalathos*, while placing a flower in her outstretched hand. Next, London E51⁴⁶⁴ depicts a woman surrounded by a *kalathos*, a mirror and a *symposion* bed enjoying the flower in her hand. Similarly, Athens 12778⁴⁶⁵ shows a seated woman spinning while a youth offers her a purse and a flower; Oxford 327⁴⁶⁶ portrays a youth offering a flower to a spinning woman with a *kalathos* nearby; and Florence 81602⁴⁶⁷ shows a woman holding a *kalathos* and a distaff between two youths who are leaning towards her with a flower. Traditionally, women working wool were seen as respected wives; however, the erotic symbolism in these representations suggests a different interpretation. Stated otherwise, it appears that wool-working women were not exclusively depictions of citizens, but possibly of prostitutes as well.⁴⁶⁸

Finally, the evidence that a flower was an erotic gift is unmistakable in Malibu 86.AE.293⁴⁶⁹ (Figure 3.25) where a youth is offering one to a woman with a mirror standing next to the *symposion* bed. Here, the key factor is the manner in which the youth holds the flower, as his hand is placed distinctly over the woman's genitals. The scene therefore implies a clear connection between a flower and female sexuality.⁴⁷⁰ Flowers in

⁴⁶³ Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum: 846; Beazley Archive Database No. 207539.

⁴⁶⁴ London, British Museum: E51; Beazley Archive Database No. 205338.

⁴⁶⁵ Athens, National Museum: 12778; Beazley Archive Database No. 207765.

⁴⁶⁶ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: 327; Beazley Archive Database No. 208804.

⁴⁶⁷ Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco: 81602; Beazley Archive Database No. 210004.

⁴⁶⁸ This will be discussed later on.

⁴⁶⁹ Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum: 86.AE.293; Beazley Archive Database No. 275963.

⁴⁷⁰ This connection is still seen in contemporary language, where woman's virginity is called a "flower" or in the term "to deflower" meaning, "to take away a woman's virginity".

vase-painting were usually rendered in red, possibly suggesting a rose, which was linked in the ancient texts with female genitals.⁴⁷¹

As a final point, Havana 211643 depicts a wreath as a love gift as well. In the vase tondo, a youth is offering a wreath to a young woman wearing a *sakkos*; she appears pleased by the gift (Figure 4.24).⁴⁷² As already mentioned, London E61⁴⁷³ validates the point by a similar depiction of a delighted woman admiring her new wreath, handed to her by a youth who is boldly pointing at her genitals. In other words, the youth sees his gift as a clear exchange for sexual favours or services.

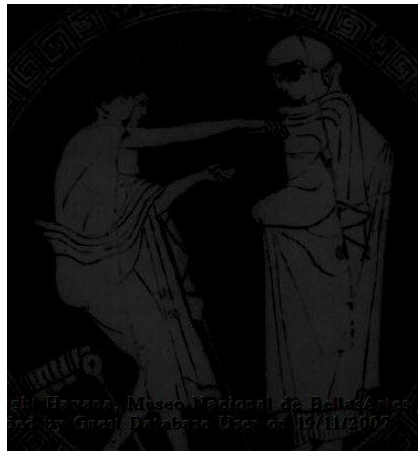


Figure 4.24. Man and a woman (a prostitute?)
Havana 211643 tondo; Beazley Archive Database No. 211643

Money-Bags

Another object that often marked the woman in question as a prostitute was a purse or a money-bag. The purse is present in six (6) frame scenes depicting men and

⁴⁷¹ Henderson (1991), 135.

⁴⁷² In addition, *kalos* affection declarations are inscribed on both exterior scenes and tondo.

⁴⁷³ London, British Museum: E61; Beazley Archive Database No. 204827.

women interacting (Agrigento AG22276, Aleria 2095, Chicago 1889.27, Havana 211643 Side B, Heidelberg 64.5, and Stettin 214773). On Aleria and Chicago vases, the purses are hanging on the wall, while in the other four examples the men are holding purses ready to be handed over to the women.

Gloria Pinney suggests that the bag contained knucklebones, *astragaloi*, which were used as a game or as love-gifts.⁴⁷⁴ Sian Lewis interprets the pouch as a bag of money held by a prospective customer offered to a (respected) female vendor.⁴⁷⁵ In contrast, Keuls, Sutton, Knigge and Rodenwaldt believe the scenes where a man offers a bag to a woman represent the buying of a prostitute's services.⁴⁷⁶ In fact, Keuls labeled the concept of money exchange "the economic phallus", classifying a scene where a woman refuses a bag as "rape by money".⁴⁷⁷ She concludes that "as a symbol, the money pouch reinforces the man's awareness of the victory of male over female, which formed the psychological basis of his existence".⁴⁷⁸

In my opinion, some illustrations evidently allude to exchange of money for merchandise while others undoubtedly illustrate sexual tension, as in the exchange between the prostitute and her client. The first category is represented in the example of Baltimore B4,⁴⁷⁹ which portrays a man holding a bag in front of a mound of pots, depicting a pottery purchase. On the other hand, the earlier examples of Copenhagen

⁴⁷⁴ G. F. Pinney, "Money-Bags?" *American Journal of Archeology* 90 (1986): 218.

⁴⁷⁵ Lewis, 93.

⁴⁷⁶ Keuls (1983a), 262; Sutton (1981), 290-297, U. Knigge, "Ein rotfiguriges Alabastron aus dem Kerameikos," *Mitteilungen des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 79 (1964): 105-113; G. Rodenwaldt, "Spinnende Hetären," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 47 (1932): 7-22.

⁴⁷⁷ Keuls (1983a), 262.

⁴⁷⁸ Keuls (1983a), 264.

⁴⁷⁹ Baltimore (MD), Johns Hopkins University Collection B4; Beazley Archive Database No. 200139.

124,⁴⁸⁰ Taranto 0.6436⁴⁸¹ and Paris G143⁴⁸² represent the second category. First, Copenhagen 124⁴⁸³ shows a seated man with his staff offering a bag to a woman who is undressing in front of him (Figure 4.7). Her clothes are transparent and her breasts are visible. In addition, a double flute-case is hanging between the two, thus identifying her as a female entertainer.⁴⁸⁴ Next, Taranto 0.6436⁴⁸⁵ (Figure 4.18) shows a man, leaning on his staff, offering a bag to two women in front of him. The first one is seated on a chair playing a double flute and the other one is standing holding the flute-case in her hand; they are surrounded by musical instruments. Then, Paris G143⁴⁸⁶ (Figure 4.9) portrays six courting couples: on Side A, a woman is climbing on top of a seated man and on Side B a couple is kissing (Figure 4.19); the mirror and the flute-case are on the wall and a few men are holding purses. Again, I believe the men are purchasing women's services.

Furthermore, a comparison of Paris CA 1852⁴⁸⁷ (Figure 4.25A), which depicts a pottery purchase, and Adolphseck 41⁴⁸⁸ (Figure 4.25B), which shows a man in an identical position, but offering a purse to a seated woman with a flower, corroborates the claim of the bag as a money purse. Finally, a lost tondo of Munich 211241⁴⁸⁹ (Figure 4.26) pictures a nude couple copulating in a "lioness" position, where the woman is

⁴⁸⁰ Copenhagen, National Museum Collection 124; Beazley Archive Database No. 202230.

⁴⁸¹ Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Collection 0.6436; Beazley Archive Database No. 206436.

⁴⁸² Paris, Musée du Louvre G143; Beazley Archive Database No. 204830.

⁴⁸³ Copenhagen, National Museum Collection 124; Beazley Archive Database No. 202230.

⁴⁸⁴ See Starr, 401-410; R. Harmon, "Plato, Aristotle and Women Musicians," *Music & Letters* 86/3 (2005): 351-356.

⁴⁸⁵ Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Collection 0.6436; Beazley Archive Database No. 206436.

⁴⁸⁶ Paris, Musée du Louvre G143; Beazley Archive Database No. 204830.

⁴⁸⁷ Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 1852; Beazley Archive Database No. 206122.

⁴⁸⁸ Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie: 41; Beazley Archive Database No. 206482.

⁴⁸⁹ Munich, Arndt: XXXX211241; Beazley Archive Database No. 211241.

wearing a *sakkos* while the purse is hanging on the wall. The centrally positioned money-bag symbolizes the nature of their relationship, and stands for the received payment for the services.



Figure 4.25. A) Man buying a pot; B) Man buying a woman's services
 A) Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 1852; Beazley Archive Database No. 206122
 B) Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie: 41; Beazley Archive Database No. 206482



Figure 4.26. A copulating couple with the purse hanging
 Munich, Arndt: 211241; Beazley Archive Database No. 211241

The analysis of purse scenes leads to a conclusion that the bag exchange only occurred between men and women, as there are no similar bag scenes between men. The exception is New York 52.11.4,⁴⁹⁰ a *kylix* tondo depicting a man offering a bag to a seated youth labeled *kalos*, “beautiful”. With his posture and gesture, the youth resembles a female prostitute, which suggests that he is possibly her male counterpart. In other words, only female and male prostitutes were hired for money, while youths in pederastic relationships were courted by gifts.⁴⁹¹

Architectural Elements

Contrary to the highly debated money-bag, not much thought has been given to architectural settings on Attic pottery. The frame scene on Paris CA587 depicts a column next to a door, and side B of Aleria 1893 (Figure 4.27) depicts a column which separates a woman holding a *kalathos* from a visitor entering the premises. Comparable circumstances occur on Florence PD55⁴⁹² and Warsaw 142317⁴⁹³ with almost identical settings.

⁴⁹⁰ New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum: 52.11.4; Beazley Archive Database No. 205160.

⁴⁹¹ Courtesans were generally not hired for a single service, but courted with “gifts” during a long-term relationship. Still, surviving legal contracts show that even they received the “gift of money”, paid in advance for a certain length of time. See Cohen (2000a) and (2000b).

⁴⁹² Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco: PD55; Beazley Archive Database No. 210168.

⁴⁹³ Warsaw, National Museum: 142317; Beazley Archive Database No. 210166.



Figure 4.27. Architectural element: column
Aleria, Musée Archeologique: 1893

Depictions of architectural elements are intriguing, since representations of such structures are a rarity in Greek art. Elements of architecture, as with landscape, merely operated as functional attributes of the scene in which they figured.⁴⁹⁴ For example, according to Jenifer Neils, doorways in wedding scenes appear to indicate the liminal space between the married and unmarried state, thus serving as a metaphor for the change in status of the bride from a virgin to a wife.⁴⁹⁵ However, since the wedding is not the context of any of the listed vases,⁴⁹⁶ architecture can be interpreted as a reference to sexual intercourse outside of marriage.⁴⁹⁷ As mentioned, Aristophanes uses the words “door” (*thyra*) and “gateway” (*pyla*) to refer to female sexual organs, and applies expressions “to open the door” or “rush the gates” to sexual intercourse (*Lysistrata* 250, 309, 265, 1163).⁴⁹⁸ It therefore seems likely that the vase painter wished to allude to the

⁴⁹⁴ Neils, 212-213.

⁴⁹⁵ In addition, the doorway figures prominently in the scenes of the *hieros gamos*, the religious ritual of sacred marriage in which the god Dionysos visits the chosen woman for the night: see Neils, 213, n.37.

⁴⁹⁶ Regarding Paris CA587, I do not believe this vase depicts a bride, because the elements used for this reading could also be interpreted as the indicators of a prostitute: a bird, a column, an open door with a bed, an *alabastron*, a mirror, a sprang frame and a chest.

⁴⁹⁷ Neils, 213.

⁴⁹⁸ Henderson (1991), 137-139.

sexual connotation and did so by including an unusual motif, such as a column and the entranceway.⁴⁹⁹ Tampa 86.70⁵⁰⁰ (Figure 4.28) serves as an excellent example for this concept: the scene contains all the expected prostitute's elements, such as a mirror, an *alabastron*, an oil-set, a purse, a headdress plus an elaborate entranceway or a porch, marked by a column and a frieze.⁵⁰¹

In fact, architecture may refer to a colonnade, which was a usual element of an athletic complex. Archaeological evidence confirms the notion that brothels and sport grounds were closely connected.⁵⁰² The excavations of Thessaloniki's ancient *gymnasion* compound from the 1st century BCE yielded evidence that a brothel was a part of such a complex, together with a tavern and the baths, and therefore, the architectural element in the vase could be a reference to a similar setting. The early *gymnasion* seems not to have had architectural development but was an open space marked by groves and trees, as late as the 5th century BCE.⁵⁰³ In contrast, the *palaistra* was an enclosed courtyard, and thus could be the element depicted in the vase.⁵⁰⁴ Generally, then, columns and similar architectural features can be a part of a subtle Athenian manner of depicting prostitutes and thus need proper decoding by the viewer.

⁴⁹⁹ Neils, 213.

⁵⁰⁰ Tampa (FL), Museum of Art: 86.70; Beazley Archive Digital Database No. 202666.

⁵⁰¹ See the author's forthcoming article: M. Fischer, "Sport Objects and Homosexuality in Ancient Greek Vase-Painting: the New Reading of Tampa Museum Vase 86.70," *Nikephoros* 20 (2007).

⁵⁰² Y. Stavrakakis, "Thessaloniki Brothel," *Archaeology* 51/3 (1998): 23. I am not aware of any other similar excavations.

⁵⁰³ *OCD*, s.v. *Gymnasion*.

⁵⁰⁴ *OCD*, s.v. *Palaistra*.

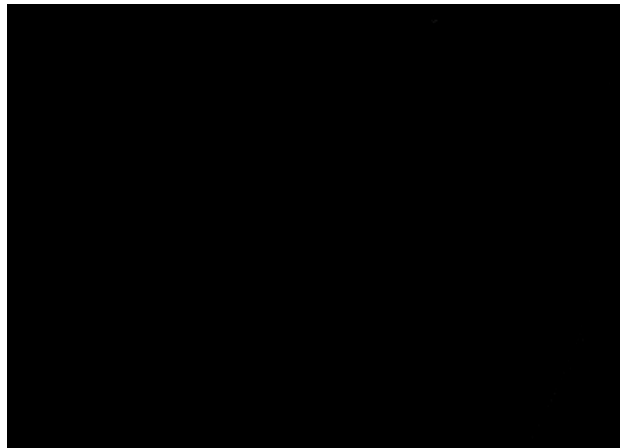


Figure 4.28. A visit to a prostitute; architectural elements
Tampa (FL), Museum of Art: 86.70; Beazley Archive Digital Database No. 202666

Animals: Birds and Dogs

Animals are a frequent feature in Attic vase-painting, yet not much thought has been dedicated to this topic. Certain animals accompanied gods and were their attributes, such as Athena's owl, Aphrodite's dove, goose and goat, Dionysos' donkey, and so on. In addition, animals played an important role in genre scenes and denoted certain contexts and symbolism. Thus, it is not surprising that five (5) frame scenes depict animals and birds: Athens Vlasto, Stanford 17.412, London 1907.5-19.1, London R330.1936 and Paris CA587. The depictions include a dog, a rooster, two small birds and three herons. The Athens vessel, the London lid and the Paris *pyxis* include the birds in the female setting, while a dog, rooster and heron are present in mixed gender scenes of Stanford and London R330.1936.

A heron was a frequent image on Attic pottery, usually linked with women; however, its meaning remains unclear. According to one ancient text, a heron was linked

with the death of Odysseus caused by the fish-bone dropped by the bird in its flight.⁵⁰⁵ In Greek myth, it was a heron, and not a dove, that the Argonauts, or rather Athena, let fly between the Clashing Rocks (Orphica, *Argonautica* 683-714). As a result, it was assumed that the heron was associated with Athena,⁵⁰⁶ the goddess of chaste wives, even though ancient authors claim differently.⁵⁰⁷ In fact, the heron was Aphrodite's bird and was sacred to the goddess.⁵⁰⁸ Other birds linked with Aphrodite were swans, geese and doves.

In art, a heron was difficult to distinguish from a swan due to its long neck and beak, as in the case of St. Petersburg 670,⁵⁰⁹ portraying a goddess with the bird. The notion that herons were associated exclusively with respected women in their quarters is disproved by the birds' connection with marginal women, such as maenads and Amazons.⁵¹⁰ Such a depiction occurs on two *alabastra* illustrating a maenad and an Amazon (Athens 15002⁵¹¹), and a youth and an Amazon with the bird (Basel KA403⁵¹²).

⁵⁰⁵ "For a heron, in its flight on high, shall smite thee with its dung, its belly's emptyings; a spine from out this beast of the sea shall rot thy head, aged and scant of hair" (Aeschylus, fr. 152. Scholiast on *Odyssey* L 134).

⁵⁰⁶ See D. W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford University Press, 1936), 58.

⁵⁰⁷ The idea that a heron was Athena's bird was based on this passage from the *Iliad*: "So when the twain had clothed them in their dread armour, they went their way and left there all the chieftains. And for them Pallas Athene sent forth on their right a heron, hard by the way, and though they saw it not through the darkness of night, yet they heard its cry. And Odysseus was glad at the omen, and made prayer to Athene..." (272). This notion was disputed even in antiquity, see Aelian, *On Animals*: "I think that Homer knowing full well that the owl was nowhere a favorable omen, says that Athena sent a heron from the rivers to the comrades of Diomedes when they went off to spy upon the Trojans' camp - a heron, not an owl, even though it appears to be her favourite" (10.37).

⁵⁰⁸ B. A. Forbes, "The Princeton Art Museum's Collection of Classical and Classicizing Engraved Gemstones," *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 54/1 (1995): 29 n.5.

⁵⁰⁹ St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum: 670; Beazley Archive Digital No. 206365.

⁵¹⁰ A depiction of Kirke, a sorceress from the *Odyssey*, with a heron also exists, unfortunately I am unable to provide the vase information. A description of the scene is as following: the witch Kirke transforms two of Odysseus' men into donkeys. The men are depicted with animal heads, tails and genitals. Kirke herself is seated on a rocky throne, surrounded by vines and a pair of heron birds. She stirs her potion with her wand.

⁵¹¹ Athens, National Museum: 15002; Beazley Archive Digital No. 200860. For marginality and "otherness" of Amazons and maenads, and for the comparison between a maenad/prostitute and maenad/Amazon composition, see Neils, 203-226.

⁵¹² Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig: KA403; Beazley Archive Digital No. 202821.

Similarly, a heron is present in a parallel setting of an *alabastron* depicting a maenad and a prostitute (London B668⁵¹³).

Another vase shows a woman wearing a *sakkos* holding a mirror with a *kalathos* nearby while a heron is placed in front of her (Boston 99.928⁵¹⁴ - Figure 4.29). In my opinion, the woman is a prostitute based on her paraphernalia, the mirror and a *kalathos*. A comparable example occurs on Taranto 20309,⁵¹⁵ which illustrates a scene of a woman with a *sakkos* making a wreath with a heron looking on. A mirror, *lekythos*, *alabastron* and basket are suspended. Wreath making was associated with low-class women, and such an activity in reference to a respected woman could have been interpreted as a sign of her unfaithfulness (Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 400-401, 446-458). In any case, images of women linked with prostitutes' items in the presence of a heron are abundant, including scenes of courting, gift-giving and money-bags (e.g. Athens Vlasto 0.9100,⁵¹⁶ Paris G444⁵¹⁷ and Syracuse 18426⁵¹⁸ - Figure 4.30).



Figure 4.29. Woman with a heron
Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 99.928; Beazley Archive Digital No. 202759

⁵¹³ London, British Museum: B668; Beazley Archive Digital No. 200859.

⁵¹⁴ Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 99.928; Beazley Archive Digital No. 202759.

⁵¹⁵ Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: 20309; Beazley Archive Digital No. 208170.

⁵¹⁶ Athens, M. Vlasto: XXXX0.9100; Beazley Archive Digital No. 209100.

⁵¹⁷ Paris, Musée du Louvre: G444; Beazley Archive Digital No. 213912.

⁵¹⁸ Syracuse, Museo Arch. Regionale Paolo Orsi: 18426; Beazley Archive Digital No. 214764.

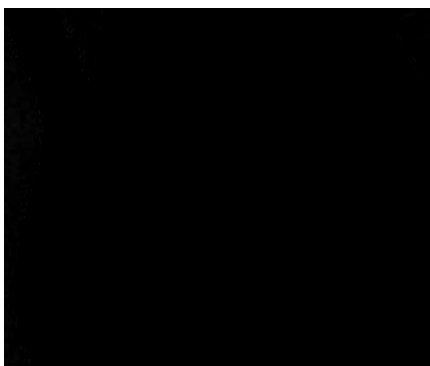


Figure 4.30. Man bringing a mirror and a purse to a woman with a heron
Syracuse, Museo Arch. Regionale Paolo Orsi: 18426; Beazley Archive Digital No.
214764

Besides herons, smaller birds also carried sexual connotations, as suggested by Greek vocabulary. The word *pteron* denoted a kind of a bird and was slang for *phallos*, as was the word *strouthos*, a “sparrow”.⁵¹⁹ Concerning female erotica, some of the words for birds also indicated women’s genitals, such as *aêbonion*, *aêbôn*, *titis*, and so on, translated variously as a nightingale, swallow and chirping bird, the idea being that the birds are small, hiding in foliage and shrubs, waiting to be found.⁵²⁰ In addition, flying is metaphorically connected with sex, as sexually aroused female-deserters in *Lysistrata* attempt to “fly away on wings” or “on a sparrow” (774). Finally, a small bird called *iunx* was used as an instrument in an erotic magical rite for attracting a lover. It was tied to a wheel, spun around and eventually killed.⁵²¹ By this act, the “madness” of the bird was transferred to the victim, thus believed to cause uncontrollable passion. As a result, the bird was associated with eroticism.

⁵¹⁹ For additional explanation, see Henderson (1991), 128-129.

⁵²⁰ For additional explanation, see Henderson (1991), 47, 147.

⁵²¹ C. Faraone, “The Wheel, the Whip and Other Implements of Torture: Erotic Magic in Pindar Pythian 4.213-19,” *Classical Journal* 89/1 (1993): 1-19.

Next, a rooster was depicted in a scene with three women working wool and two girls playing on Stanford 17.412. These birds generally represented male aggression and were used in cock-fights and given as love-gifts in homoerotic relationships (e.g. Ferrara 9351,⁵²² Leiden I1956.1.1,⁵²³ Leipzig T61⁵²⁴ and Toledo 66.110⁵²⁵). However, Attic pottery offers evidence that roosters were associated with women and heterosexuality as well. A scene illustrating a woman offering a rooster to a youth while surrounded by a dog and a heron creates a curious image (Palermo 796⁵²⁶). In addition, a Tarquinia *amphora* depicts an ithyphallic man looking under a woman's skirt while a rooster looks on (Tarquinia 0.2076⁵²⁷ - Figure 4.31). Moreover, roosters were present in exclusively female settings, thus proving that they were not exclusively a pederastic symbol (e.g. London 1917.12-12.1⁵²⁸ and Philadelphia 351530⁵²⁹).

⁵²² Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina: 9351; Beazley Archive Digital No. 211576.

⁵²³ Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden: I1956.1.1; Beazley Archive Digital No. 602.

⁵²⁴ Leipzig, Antikemuseum d. Universität Leipzig: T61; Beazley Archive Digital No. 660.

⁵²⁵ Toledo (OH), Museum of Art: 66.110; Beazley Archive Digital No. 699.

⁵²⁶ Palermo, Mormino Collection: 796; Beazley Archive Digital No. 2718.

⁵²⁷ Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese: XXXX0.2076; Beazley Archive Digital No. 202076.

⁵²⁸ London, British Museum: 1917.12-12.1; Beazley Archive Digital No. 208876.

⁵²⁹ Philadelphia (PA), Market: XXXX351530; Beazley Archive Digital No. 351530.



Figure 4.31. Erotic: man, woman and a rooster
Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese: XXXX0.2076; Beazley Archive Digital No. 202076

Lastly, an image of a dog in the same Stanford vase is equally puzzling at first glance. Like roosters, they were featured in homoerotic scenes and were associated with male genitals. The Greek word *kyôn*, meaning a “dog”, referred to the testicles and *phallos*, especially erect.⁵³⁰ In addition, the words for a (dog’s) tail also indicated male sexual organs.⁵³¹ This is clearly illustrated in a Vatican *amphora*⁵³² showing men and youths holding two roosters accompanied by two dogs (Figure 4.32). Regarding the central couple, the man is reaching for the youth’s genitals while a dog is sniffing the area. Moreover, the dog’s tail is positioned purposefully over the man’s behind, suggesting anal intercourse. In addition, the previously mentioned Copenhagen 124⁵³³ (Figure 4.7), which shows a man offering a bag to a disrobing woman with a flute-case,

⁵³⁰ Henderson (1991), 127.

⁵³¹ Henderson (1991), 128.

⁵³² Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano: 352; Beazley Archive Digital No. 301064.

⁵³³ Copenhagen, National Museum Collection 124; Beazley Archive Database No. 202230.

also has a dog in the scene. The presence of the animal confirms the intention of the youth who is buying the prostitute's services.

The word "dog" also denoted female genitals and described masturbation (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 158).⁵³⁴ In addition, a prostitute's name *Kynnê* was based on the word "dog" and was used in comic plays (Aristophanes, *Peace* 755; *Wasps* 1032). The following images suggest that these animals belonged to the realm of heterosexual relations as well. The above-mentioned *alabastron* (Palermo 796⁵³⁵) showed a man and woman courting surrounded by a rooster, a heron and a dog. A scene on another *alabastron* depicts a woman with a headdress playing *krotala* in a company of a youth and a man attended by a dog and a heron (Rhodes 12149⁵³⁶). She is seated and the setting is marked by a column, thus possibly indicating a brothel or a similar establishment. Finally, a depiction of a woman and a man reclining shows a dog resting under the beds. They were surrounded by food and wreaths portraying an unmistakable image of a *symposion* (Taranto 143541⁵³⁷ - Figure 4.33).

⁵³⁴ For additional explanation, see Henderson (1991), 133.

⁵³⁵ Palermo, Mormino Collection: 796; Beazley Archive Digital No. 2718.

⁵³⁶ Rhodes, Archaeological Museum: 12149; Beazley Archive Digital No. 14350.

⁵³⁷ Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: 143541; Beazley Archive Digital No. 23667.



Figure 4.32. Men and youths with dogs and roosters
Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano: 352; Beazley Archive Digital No. 301064



Figure 4.33. *Symposium* and a dog
Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: 143541; Beazley Archive Digital No. 23667

It is clear, then, that animal and bird imagery carried sexual connotations in addition to its standard symbolism. Depictions of herons, small birds, roosters and dogs held erotic meaning in the frame vases as well as in Attic vase-painting in general. Moreover, herons and other certain birds were associated with Aphrodite and their presence thus contributed to the identification of prostitutes.

Sport Objects

Next, I will discuss sport objects that appear in Chicago 1889.27,⁵³⁸ an erotic frame scene. The vase illustrates two or possibly three such items, depending on the interpretation,⁵³⁹ including weights, a sport bag and a strigil. Weights were applied in athletic training, a bag was used for carrying the equipment, and a strigil was a metal tool used for scraping the oil from the athletes' bodies.⁵⁴⁰ The oil came from an *aryballos*, which, together with the strigil and a sponge, formed the so-called oil-set. Weights and strigils represented activities that took place in *gymnasion* or *palaistra*, the settings exclusively reserved for men.⁵⁴¹ Similarly, in vase-painting, it was assumed that the function of these objects was to identify the place of action as the exercise grounds. However, this is not the case in Chicago vase, as the figures are clearly not placed there. In fact, numerous instances show athletic objects placed in heterosexual courting and love-making scenes, as in the earlier example of Toledo⁵⁴² (Figure 4.10), which depicts two oil-sets. The scene shows men offering purses and flowers to women, while a mirror, a flute-case and a couple of oil-sets are hanging on the wall – clearly not the *palaistra*

⁵³⁸ The scene in question depicts a couple with the woman pointing at the man's genitals.

⁵³⁹ Catton Rich identified the objects as weights, without mentioning a strigil (p. 156), while Clark only recognized the strigil (p. 95).

⁵⁴⁰ The strigil was used by Greek athletes to scrape the dust off their bodies after exercising or competition, which were covered with olive oil prior to the occasion, and after bathing. The curved handle allowed the strigil to be hung on the wall, together with the sponge and the *aryballos*, the elements, which comprised the oil-set. The strigil did not possess an explicit sexual symbolism, but it did allude to the subtle eroticism of the male athletic body. Numerous depictions of young athletes scraping their nude bodies testify to that effect and confirm the voyeuristic approach to the experience (see Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco PD269 (Beazley Archive Digital Database No. 205383), Barcelona, Museo Arqueológico 4301 (Beazley Archive Digital Database No. 8309), London, British Museum E347 (Beazley Archive Digital Database No. 13284), and Adria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale B244 (Beazley Archive Digital Database No. 13932). Notably the majority of examples are painted on *kylix* tondos intended for a *symposion*.

⁵⁴¹ Both the *gymnasion* and *palaistra* were sport settings; the former was a place for exercise while the latter was a wrestling ground.

⁵⁴² Toledo (OH), Museum of Art Collection 1972.55; Beazley Archive Database No. 7766.

location. Likewise, Würzburg 486⁵⁴³ depicts a man leaning on his staff, offering a bag to two women standing in front of him. A strigil and an *aryballos* are placed before him, and a mirror and a *sakkos* are hanging on the wall.

In such settings, I believe these oil-sets, together with any sport objects, suggest the identity of the men involved, indicating their aristocratic status, their privileged life, and their leisurely hours spent not only in the *palaistra*, but also with prostitutes and courtesans. These men had time and resources to attend *symposia*, organize such gatherings and pay for the women's services. Berlin F3218,⁵⁴⁴ a *kylix* tondo, proves this argument, as it portrays a nude woman with a sport object (Figure 4.34). She is placing her clothes and boots on the stool, while an *aryballos* and a strigil are suspended on a citizen staff behind her. The male figure is absent, yet these objects allude to his presence. Obviously, the woman is preparing for the *symposion*, the all-male elite gathering where she will entertain and service them. These sport objects were powerful symbols, which did not require a presence of the male user in order to convey the message.

⁵⁴³ Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Museum 486; Beazley Archive Digital Database No. 207264.

⁵⁴⁴ Berlin, lost F3218; Beazley Archive Database No. 204190.



Figure 4.34. Prostitute getting ready for the *symposion*
Berlin, lost F3218; Beazley Archive Database 204190

As explained earlier in the section on architecture, archaeological evidence of Thessaloniki's ancient *gymnasion* compound revealed that a brothel, a tavern and baths were a part of a large *gymnasion* structure, and that the athletes were provided with an easy access to the brothel, connected through a door.⁵⁴⁵ In summary, depictions of sport objects in the company of women suggest that the involved figures are prostitutes, as is the case in Chicago 1889.27.

Wool-working: the Kalathos

The majority of the above-discussed items have always been linked with prostitutes and their connection has never created much debate or disagreement in scholarly circles. A *kalathos* or a wool-basket, on the other hand, is the most controversial object linked with prostitutes thus far. Traditionally, it was seen as a sign of

⁵⁴⁵ Stavrakakis, 23.

an industrious wife, together with any wool-working activity, yet it has also been suggested that it connoted a subtle sexual symbolism.⁵⁴⁶ Consequently, the basket is present in nine (9) out of twenty (20) frame scenes (Agrigento AG22276, Aleria 1893, Athens Vlasto 215607, Centre Island Side A, Durham 3, London 1905.11-2.3, London 1907.5-19.1, Stettin 214773 and Vienna 3719).

In Athens Vlasto, London 1907.5-19.1, and Vienna 3719, the scenes that depict only women, the basket is placed on the floor, but the working figure is not positioned nearby. In London 1905.11-2.3, the woman is working wool with the *kalathos* on the floor, and in the Durham vessel, which is actually in a shape of a *kalathos*, a woman is holding an empty basket. On the other hand, Agrigento AG22276, Aleria 1893, Centre Island A and Stettin 214773 depict *kalathoi* in the presence of men. In Agrigento AG22276, a basket is on the floor between a negotiating couple; in Aleria 1893 and Centre Island A a basket is behind a woman greeting her customer, while in Aleria, a spindle and a distaff are protruding from the basket; and finally in Stettin 214773 a *kalathos* is held by a woman facing Eros and an awaiting customer.

In general, a *kalathos* is depicted in illustrations of women working wool, and is an ambiguous symbol for feminine sexuality.⁵⁴⁷ Metaphorically speaking, the idea of feminine sexuality can be either contained or spilled out of a *kalathos* just as carded wool can be contained or drawn out.⁵⁴⁸ The scene on Cambridge 1972.45⁵⁴⁹ (Figure 4.35)

⁵⁴⁶ J. Sebesta, "Visions of Gleaming Textiles and a Clay Core: Textiles, Greek Women, and Pandora," in L. Llewellyn-Jones (ed.), *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World* (London: Duckworth Publishing, 2002), 128-135.

⁵⁴⁷ Sebesta, 128.

⁵⁴⁸ Sebesta, 128.

clearly illustrates this concept: it shows a woman with a *sakkos* admiring a wreath, given to her as a gift by the man facing her. A *kalathos* is placed between them and red wool is overflowing out of the basket. A clue that this is not a domestic scene is found in the inscriptions, stating *kalos* next to the man and *kale* referring to the woman. In conclusion, this is a depiction of a customer's visit to a prostitute.

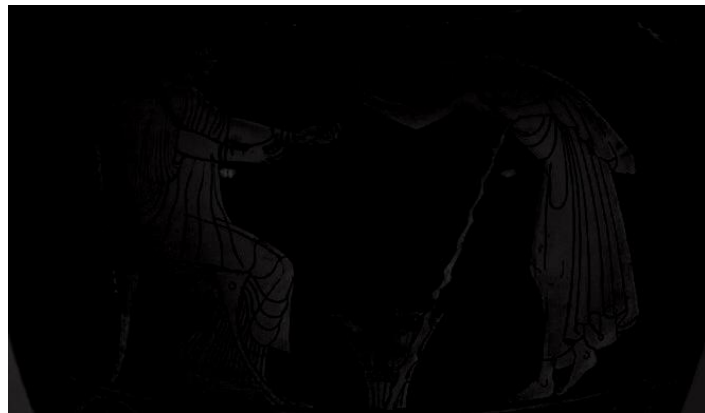


Figure 4.35. Woman and man with a wool-basket
Cambridge (MA), Harvard University, Arthur M. Sackler Museum: 1972.45;
Beazley Archive Database No. 207394

This notion is corroborated by illustrations of women who were pursued and eventually raped while carrying a wool-basket. For instance, Vatican 16554⁵⁵⁰ (Figure 4.36) portrays Poseidon pursuing Aithra, who is running away and holding a *kalathos* at the same time.⁵⁵¹ Similarly, Danae receives Zeus in the form of the golden shower while sitting by her *kalathos*, and Europa holds her wool-basket as she is abducted by Zeus in a

⁵⁴⁹ Cambridge (MA), Harvard University, Arthur M. Sackler Museum: 1972.45; Beazley Archive Database No. 207394.

⁵⁵⁰ Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano: 16554; Beazley Archive Database No. 202893.

⁵⁵¹ Another such depiction occurs on London, British Museum E179; Beazley Archive Database No. 202258.

form of a white bull (St. Petersburg 601⁵⁵² – Figure 4.37).⁵⁵³ Many *kalathos* scenes undermine the stereotypical division of Athenian women into wives and prostitutes, as the presence of the *kalathos* can be read either way, and the status of a woman is thus determined by her relation to the man in the scene.⁵⁵⁴ In other words, the *kalathos* symbolizes the woman's social standing: she is either a restrained wife or a prostitute spilling her sexuality for a price.

This argument does not claim that every *kalathos* occurrence indicates a woman of a questionable social status or dubious sexual reputation, but points to a multi-levelled symbolism inherent in this object and its surrounding. Additionally, it demonstrates that no one-dimensional meaning should be hastily assumed about any given concept.

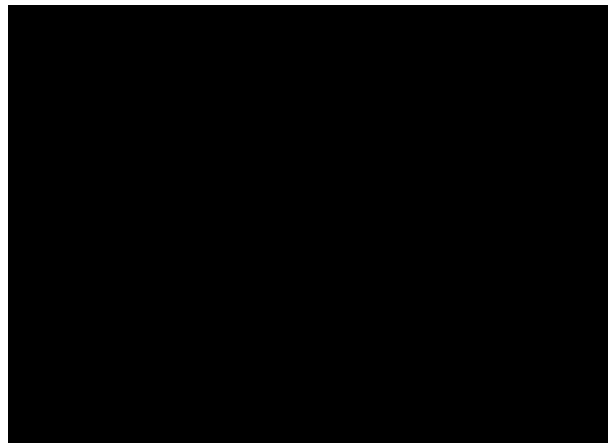


Figure 4.36. Poseidon pursuing Aithra with a *kalathos*
Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano: 16554; Beazley Archive
Database No. 202893

⁵⁵² St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum: 601; Beazley Archive Database No. 202453.

⁵⁵³ Ferrari, 26.

⁵⁵⁴ Sebesta, 135.



Figure 4.37. Europa holding a *kalathos* on Zeus as a white bull
St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Mus.: 601; Beazley Archive Database No. 202453

Headdresses: the Mitra, Sakkos and Kekryphalos

Finally, I will examine depictions of the headdresses in the frame scenes. Notably, almost all scenes show women wearing the head coverings. Seventeen (17) scenes in particular portray the headdresses, with their total number of twenty-five (25) – twenty-one (21) worn and four (4) hung on the wall. The women wearing them are engaged in various activities, and the list is as follows (see also Table 4):

- **Athens Vlasto:** 1) seated, holding a frame
2) carrying a sash
- **Durham 3:** untying the girdle
- **Stanford 17.412:** 1) seated, holding a frame
2) seated, holding a mirror
3) seated, spinning
- **Agrigento AG22276:** seated, holding a frame and talking to a man
- **Centre Island B:** seated, holding a frame and talking to a man
- **Chicago 1911.456:** looking at the kissing couple
- **London 1907.5-19.1:** seated, juggling balls

- **London R330.1936:** seated, holding a mirror and talking to a man
- **Paris CA587:** talking to a woman with an *alabastron*, in front of a chest
- **Stettin 214773:** seated, holding a *kalathos*, talking to Eros with a frame, flute case
- **Vienna 3719:** 1) seated, holding a mirror
2) holding a chest
- **Aleria 1893:** seated, talking to a man
- **Aleria 2095:** seated, talking to a man
- **Centre Island A:** seated, holding an *alabastron*, a woman (?) and man in front
- **Chicago 1889.27:** pointing at the man's genitals
- **Havana 211643 A:** seated, exchanging cord bracelets
- **Heidelberg 64.5:** talking to a seated woman with a distaff, next to a hung frame

In summary, eleven (11) women associated with frames are wearing the headdresses: three (3) are working the frames, six (6) are holding them and eight (8) are placed near the ones hung on the wall (Table 2). In addition, headdresses mainly appear on *hydriai* (5) and *kylikes* (5), with the exception of the bell-shaped object (Table 3). Due to the poor quality of some images, it is difficult to establish the types of headdresses in these scenes, yet it seems that the *sakkos* type was the most predominant one. Durham and Aleria 1893 appear to be patterned and decorated, while the others were generally plain. Again, this lack of ornamentation does not necessarily imply that the headdresses were colorless and plain in reality, but only that they were represented as such by the painters. For the same reason, the *kekryphalos* is almost impossible to detect, unless the artist had carefully drawn out the netting.

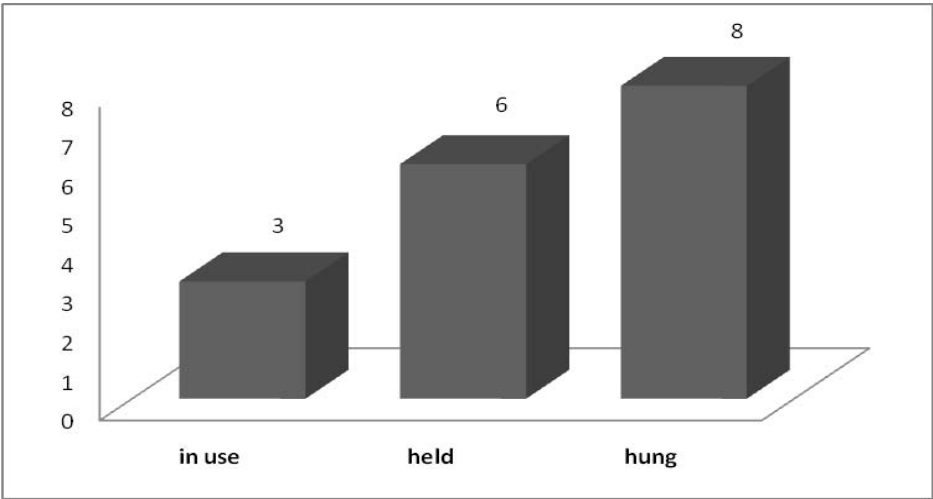


Table 2. Headdresses: Attic Red-figure Frame Vases

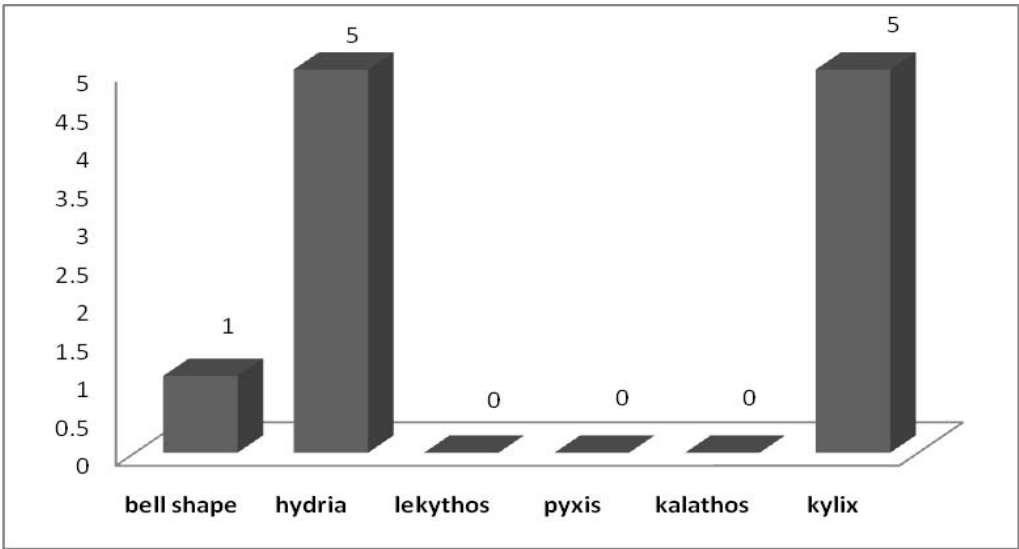


Table 3. Headdresses and Pottery: Attic Red-figure Frame Vases

Additionally, there are four (4) headdresses hanging on the wall included in Agrigento AG22276, Chicago 1911.456, Vienna 3719 and Heidelberg 64.5 depictions.

All four examples appear to be made of a plain, monochrome fabric, except for the *sakkos* in Agrigento, where the fabric is patterned in horizontal zig-zags. In general, headdresses are often depicted hanging, and they are present even though women with covered heads are in the scene. One such example outside of the frame scenes is an *alabastron* portraying two women with *sakkoi*: one is standing holding a distaff, and the other is seated gazing at the *sakkos* on the wall (Arlesheim 0.4249⁵⁵⁵). The two *sakkoi* on the women are plain or monochrome, while the one on the wall is patterned with zig-zag lines. Unfortunately, it seems that the intended message of a “double” *sakkos* is lost to a modern viewer.

In conclusion, the frame scenes offer a plethora of subtle, obscure symbols and hidden meanings. The strong connection between the frame and the headdress is apparent, and the repetition of objects used in these scenes is significant and meaningful, as they are all recurring elements within the genre of prostitution. Together with the headdresses, they are all connected to prostitutes and/or Aphrodite, creating a pattern that develops further in the following chapters, and which contributes to the subtle and skilful network of symbols.

Table 4. Frame Scenes Overview (see the following page)

⁵⁵⁵ Arlesheim, S. Schweizer: XXXX0.4249; Beazley Archive Digital Database No. 204249.

VASE USED	HEADRESS	WOMAN	FRAME	ALABASTRON	MIRROR	MUSIC	KALATHOS	PURSE
Athens Vlasto 215607	1. bag open 2. bag. design	with frame with sash	only vertical strings	2 1	2 1	krotala	1 1	
Durham 3	bag. design	untying the girdle	working up and down, zig zag					
London 1905.11.2.3			only vertical strings				1	
Paris, lost			full, horizontal design					
Stanford 17.412	1. bag. plain? 2. bag. plain? 3. bag. plain?	with the frame with the mirror spinning	not legible	1				
HELD								
Agrigento AG2276	1. bag 2. bag. lines, zig-zag wall	talking to a man, with frame	empty				1	1
Centre Island (NY), private, B	bag. plain	talking to a man, with frame	full, plain or monochrome					
Chicago 1911.456	1. bag. plain 2. bag. plain wall	watching a kissing couple	full, horizontal lines, zig-zag					
London 1907.5.49.1	bag. patterned	juggling small balls	full, up and down				1	
London R330.1936	bag. plain	talking to a man, with mirror	empty		1			
Paris CA587	wrap. plain	talking to a woman with alabastron	full up and down, lines, zig-zag	1	1			
Stettin 214773	bag?, plain	talking to Eros	full (?) not legible			flute case	1	1
Vienna 3719	1. bag. plain 2. bag. plain 3. bag. plain, wall	holding a box holding a mirror	only vertical strings	2	1	krotala	1	
HUNG								
Aleria 1893	bag. design	talking to a man	horizontal lines, unfinished				1	
Aleria 2095	bag. plain	talking to a man	horizontal lines, unfinished					1
Centre Island (NY), private, A	bag. plain	talking to a man (?), holding alabastron	horizontal lines, unfinished	1			1	
Chicago 1889.27	bag. plain	talking to a man	full, plain or monochrome					1
Havana, Lagunillas 211643, A	bag. plain	talking to a man, magic cords	full, horizontal lines					
Havana, Lagunillas 211643, B		talking to a man with purse	full, horizontal lines	1				1
Heidelberg inv. 64.5	1. bag. plain 2. bag. plain wall	talking to woman and man with purse	full, plain or monochrome					1
TOTAL (20)	25			8	7	3	9	6

CHAPTER FIVE: PROSTITUTES AND THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

To better understand prostitutes and their connection to the headdresses, the history of the profession is discussed together with an examination of the prostitutes' involvement in the textile industry. In Attic iconography, these women regularly wore the headdresses and were associated with their production through the frames, wool-baskets and gestures of spinning. In this section, the wool-working scenes will be examined in detail, showing that both courtesans and low-class prostitutes were portrayed performing these tasks. The prostitutes' patron deity, Aphrodite, was also linked with textiles through images of spinning and her "embroidered" chest ornament (*kestos himas*).

History and Evidence

It is generally believed that prostitution in Athens was instigated by the Ionians in the 6th century BCE, who, under the influence of the neighbouring peoples of Asia Minor and especially Lydians, instated the exclusion of women from the public sphere and adopted the practice of prostitution.⁵⁵⁶ Perhaps the exclusion primarily affected well-born and upper-class women, an issue still heavily debated in scholarly circles.⁵⁵⁷ This resulted in the adoption of prostitution, or more likely an expansion of the already existing practice. Imagery associated with prostitution spread on Attic pottery, gradually

⁵⁵⁶ Katz, 72.

⁵⁵⁷ See Just, 153-170; and note 280.

prevailing over common homoerotic illustrations by the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 5th century BCE.⁵⁵⁸

In the 6th century BCE, the lawgiver Solon allegedly introduced public⁵⁵⁹ brothels into Athens.⁵⁶⁰ According to ancient sources, in 594 BCE he established brothels (*porneiai*) where the price was deliberately kept low to encourage patronage (Athenaeus 13.569d).⁵⁶¹ Apparently, his aim was to distract men from adulterous affairs, a crime punishable by death, as seduction and rape of a citizen female was classified as *hybris*, the worst offence according to the surviving laws from classical Athens.⁵⁶² As a result, no free citizen of Athens was permitted to prostitute herself, and if found out, she was sold into slavery (Plutarch, *Solon* 23.2).⁵⁶³ Therefore, the girls were recruited from the slave market, registered and supervised by state officials. Their prices were regulated, and prostitutes were liable for taxes (*pornikon telos*), as attested by Aeschines (1.119-20).⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁵⁸ See K. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (London: Duckworth, 1978); Kilmer (1993).

⁵⁵⁹ Private brothels, presumably, existed before Solon allegedly introduced state-owned establishments. See J. McGarry, "Athenian Prostitute," *Pegasus* 32 (1989): 22.

⁵⁶⁰ Some scholars are rightly questioning this account. See F. Frost, "Solon *Pornoboskos* and Aphrodite Pandemos," *Syllecta Classica* 13 (2002): 34-36, and V. J. Rosivach, "Solon's Brothels," *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 20 (1995): 2-3. In any case, whether it was Solon personally who introduced the brothels in Athens, this date of the 6th century BCE confirms a change or reform in the prostitution business at that time.

⁵⁶¹ Athenaeus gives us the price of one *obol*, yet this could also stand symbolically for a small sum of money; for prices see Halperin, 107-112.

⁵⁶² C. Carey, "Rape and Adultery in Athenian Law," *Classical Quarterly* 45/2 (1995): 407-417; D. Cohen, "Sexuality, Violence and the Athenian Law of 'Hybris'," *Greece & Rome* 38/2 (1991): 171-188; E. M. Harris, "Did the Athenians Regard seduction as a Worse Crime Than Rape?" *Classical Quarterly* 40/2 (1990): 370-377.

⁵⁶³ This does not seem to have been the reality; see Cohen (2000a) and (2000b).

⁵⁶⁴ Aeschines is a 4th century BCE source. For complete documentation of ancient sources, see *RE*, s.v. *Pornikon Telos*.

The brothels were open night and day, as clients passed a porter into a courtyard where the girls sat at the entrances to their rooms.⁵⁶⁵ They were located in the district of the Kerameikos (The Potter's Quarter), on the northwestern outskirts of Athens, next to the graveyard of the same name. During the excavations in the Kerameikos, Building Z was identified as a brothel due to its room plan and material finds, though not all scholars agree on its function.⁵⁶⁶ Taverns and inns were also used for prostitution, but these structures are hard to detect during archaeological surveys due to their unremarkable characters.⁵⁶⁷ Besides the city core, brothels and similar establishments also existed in Piraeus, the port-town of Athens, where mercantile ships anchored (Aristophanes *Peace*, 165).⁵⁶⁸

In the 5th century BCE, restrictions on Athenian women increased, inspired by Perikles' citizenship law in 451/50 BCE, stating that only the offspring of two Athenians could be citizens (Aristotle, *Politics* 8.1278a). Consequently, men turned even more to prostitutes and courtesans for both sexual services and female intellectual stimulation. The institution of prostitution became as indispensable as the institutions of marriage, concubinage or slavery, as these women provided both immediate access to sexual

⁵⁶⁵ The premises were respected as a sanctuary where the law could not intrude; debtors could not be pursued, nor could relatives hunt their errant kinfolk. H. Evans, *Harlots, Whores and Hookers: A History of Prostitution* (NY: Taplinger, 1979), 37.

⁵⁶⁶ U. Knigge, *Der Kerameikos von Athens* (Athens, 1988), 88-94; U. Knigge, & W. Kovacscovis, "Kerameikos. Tätigkeitsbericht 1981," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1983): 209-224, and "Kerameikos. Tätigkeitsbericht 1979," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1981): 385-396.

⁵⁶⁷ Vrissimtzis, 62. For comparison, see evidence on Pompeian brothels: T. A. McGinn, "Pompeian Brothels and Social History" in T. A. McGinn et al (eds.), *Pompeian Brothels, Pompeii's Ancient History, Mirrors and Mysteries, Art and Nature at Oplontis, & the Herculaneum "Basilica"*. *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement* 47 (2002), 7-46.

⁵⁶⁸ For brothels in ports, see Graham, 22-40, and Henry, 217-221.

gratification and female company.⁵⁶⁹ Demosthenes confirms this in his 4th century BCE speech *Against Neaira*, where he states that “Men have courtesans (*hetairai*) for pleasure; concubines (*pallakai*) for daily use, and wives (*gynaikes*) of his own rank to bring up his children and be faithful housewives” (59.122). Courtesans were their constant companions, and prostitutes played an important role as they relieved sexual pressures in both adolescent youth and older men, preventing them from committing crimes against citizen women.

In the 4th century BCE, prostitutes and courtesans continued to play important roles as companions to influential and powerful men (e.g., Lamia, Leaina, Gnathaena and Phryne)⁵⁷⁰ even though respected women began to turn to education and learning thus rejecting their traditional roles.⁵⁷¹ Finally, in the following centuries, the prominence of prostitutes continued as they relocated to Alexandria, a new cultural and political centre that became known for its courtesans.⁵⁷²

The importance of the profession is confirmed by the existence of over fifty Greek words for prostitutes.⁵⁷³ As discussed, a variety of types existed, including the six categories described earlier: brothel slaves, streetwalkers, musicians and entertainers, courtesans, concubines and sacred prostitutes.⁵⁷⁴ Among these categories, a group of

⁵⁶⁹ *OCD*, s.v. Prostitution.

⁵⁷⁰ See R. Whiteley, *Courtesans and Kings: Ancient Greek Perspectives on the Hetairai* (MA Thesis, University of Calgary, 2000); D. Ogden, *Polygamy, Prostitutes and Death: The Hellenistic Dynasties* (London: Duckworth, 1999).

⁵⁷¹ S. Pomeroy, “Technikai kai Mousikai: The Education of Women in the Fourth Century and in the Hellenistic Period,” *American Journal of Ancient History* 2 (1977): 51-68.

⁵⁷² See D. Montserrat, *Sex and Society in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (New York, 1996).

⁵⁷³ Keuls (1983a), 35.

⁵⁷⁴ See category descriptions in the introductory chapter.

women termed *paides* (sg. *pais*) belonged to the profession, most likely as a part of the independent streetwalker type. They were freed *pornai*, or brothel slaves, who, owing to their wool-working abilities, managed to buy their freedom, yet continued to work in both textile and sex industry even under their new free standing. Because of their (proven) connection with textiles, the *paides* will be examined in more detail later on.

Evidence with respect to ancient prostitutes is difficult to find, and is mostly unreliable and misleading. As a result, literary and archaeological data linking prostitutes, textiles and the headdresses is almost non-existent, and the evidence that does exist is largely overlooked and represents “mute” data, since it belongs to the “material of the excluded”.⁵⁷⁵ In other words, the history of prostitutes seems invisible only because the scholars have not thought it worth looking for.⁵⁷⁶

Regarding the literary evidence, none survives from the Bronze and Iron Ages; there are limited references from the 6th and 5th centuries BCE, yet extensive and crucial information from the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE. Starting with the earliest, Homer does not mention prostitutes, let alone organized prostitution, and his heroes use their female slaves instead (*Iliad* 1.111; 8.284; 9.449; *Odyssey* 1.433). The initial evidence comes from the 7th century BCE verses of Archilochos, the first surviving Greek poet to mention prostitutes, *pornai* (fr.142, 184).⁵⁷⁷ From the 5th century BCE onwards, the literary evidence becomes more available, but it generally comprises of texts written by

⁵⁷⁵ I. Morris, “Remaining Invisible: The Archaeology of the Excluded in Classical Athens,” in S. R. Joshel & S. Murnaghan (eds.), *Women and Slaves in Greco-Roman Culture: Differential Equations* (London and NY, 1998), 193-220.

⁵⁷⁶ In the past twenty years, scholars have done much to re-reading of the already well-known sources against the androcentric grain; see Morris, 193.

⁵⁷⁷ Krenkel, 1291.

men, usually members of the elite, whose facts are sketchy, highly questionable, and rather prescriptive than descriptive. In other words, these texts do not describe reality but focus on moral judgments and expected behaviour, hardly ever linking prostitutes with textiles and headdresses.

First, poetry and plays form a significant body of evidence, including the well-known works of Alkman (7th century BCE), Sappho (ca. 620-570 BCE), Anakreon (ca. 560-488 BCE), Pindar (ca. 522-443 BCE), Euripides (ca. 480-406 BCE) and Aristophanes (ca. 448-380 BCE).⁵⁷⁸ Poets Alkman and Sappho refer to a *mitra* as a girl's headdress introduced from Lydia (Alkman 1, 32; Sappho fr. 98), while Anakreon mentions it on Eros (fr. 28). Pindar's *skolion* (fr. 122)⁵⁷⁹ talks about Corinthian temple prostitutes, unfortunately without mentioning the headdresses, and his *Odes* (*Nemean* 8.13 and *Isthmian* 5.62) cite a *mitra* as a male Lydian headdress. Furthermore, Euripides' tragedies link a *mitra* to three different characters: maenads (*Bacchae* 833, 928, 1115), Eastern women (*Hecuba* 924) and Greek women (*Electra* 163). Lastly, Aristophanes mentions a *mitra* in a few instances as a general women's headdress (*Thesmophoriazusae* 135, 258, 940), which is also worn as a night cap (257).⁵⁸⁰

Likewise, historical texts ignore the subject of prostitute and headdresses. For example, Herodotus describes a *mitra* merely as a male Eastern headdress (*Histories*

⁵⁷⁸ Brown, 241-266. Information provided in Greek drama cannot always be relied upon, as the plays did not necessarily mirror daily life or reflect reality.

⁵⁷⁹ This drinking song from 464 BCE is a short, obscure and ignored fragment on prostitutes; see L. Kurke, "Pindar and the Prostitutes, or Reading Ancient "Pornography"," *Arion* 4/2 (1996): 50-51.

⁵⁸⁰ A later comedy fragment on the appearance of the 4th century BCE Athenian prostitutes does not mention headdresses at all (Alexis fr.103; see M. Lefkowitz & M. B. Fant, *Women's Life in Greece & Rome: A Source Book in Translation* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 209 no. 287). However, a

1.195; 7.90), and lists a *sakkos* simply as a bag (9.80).⁵⁸¹ Athenaeus, a key source on Greek prostitutes though dated 2nd or 3rd century CE, connects a *mitra* only with Dionysos (2.198d) and criticizes men who wore *kekryphaloi* (15.681c). Not even a crucial Greek text on prostitutes, Apollodoros' 4th century BCE record of Demosthenes' court speech *Against Neaira* (*Kata Neairas*), mentions Neaira's dress or appearance.⁵⁸² In fact, none of the essential sources, such as Strabo's *Geography*,⁵⁸³ Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*,⁵⁸⁴ *Hippocratic Corpus*,⁵⁸⁵ nor the above-mentioned Herodotus' *Histories* or Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistai*,⁵⁸⁶ provides evidence on prostitutes, wool-working or headdresses. Thus far, the only definite textual evidence comes from Hellenistic epigrams, which declare that prostitutes offered their headdresses to the goddess Aphrodite (*Greek Anthology* 2.206-207, 275). These examples list *kekryphaloi* as prostitutes' head coverings, and were quoted earlier in Chapter Three (p. 65-66).

In contrast, the archaeological evidence is bountiful, since an abundance of vase-paintings, sculptures and reliefs offer reliable facts. Attic pottery outnumbers other

Roman writer Pollux describes the characters of Athenian *hetairai* wearing the *mitra* in his text on Greek theater (4.151, 154).

⁵⁸¹ Herodotus provides a few accounts on prostitutes, and was the earliest attested author to use the term *hetaira* (2.134-135).

⁵⁸² In the speech, Neaira, a wife of Stephanos, is accused of being a prostitute; see D. Hamel, *Trying Neaira: The True Story of a Courtesan's Scandalous Life in Ancient Greece* (Yale University Press, 2003). A recent study on the portrayal of women in law court documents, and specifically the trial of Neaira, concludes that accounts of women in these speeches cannot be trusted; see A. Glazebrook, "Making of a Prostitute: Apollodoros's Portrait of Neaira," *Arethusa* 38 (2005): 161-187.

⁵⁸³ Strabo makes statements about Corinthian "sacred" prostitutes and their brothels (*Geography* 8.6.20).

⁵⁸⁴ Aristotle mentions *astunomoi* (city regulators) who supervised prostitutes and monitored their charges; see Keuls (1983a), 28.

⁵⁸⁵ Medical texts hint at prostitutes' knowledge of reproduction, contraception and abortion. In *Fleshes* 19, the author attributes both the information on the fetus and abortion to these women; see King, 136, 144.

⁵⁸⁶ The text was written in Greek while the author lived in Rome during the late 2nd or early 3rd century CE. Despite being a later source, Athenaeus is widely cited, as he is said to quote Attic authors from the 5th and 4th centuries BCE; see R. Hawley, "'Pretty, Witty and Wise': Courtesans in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistai* Book 13," *International Journal of Moral and Social Studies* 8/1 (1993): 74-76.

material, as prostitute illustrations flourished between 550 and 450 BCE, including 150 surviving vases with sexual scenes and about 2,000 portrayals of *symposia* without explicit sexual imagery.⁵⁸⁷ These pots mainly depict prostitutes with headdresses, including typical scenes at the banquets and revelry, as well as at other settings placed both indoors and outdoors.

Black-figure and Red-figure vases show erotic scenes, though Black-figure is somewhat less restricted in subject matter than Red-figure.⁵⁸⁸ Red-figure pottery primarily focuses on *symposia* and courting, where the latter captures a negotiation moment between a client and a prostitute. In essence, these so-called courtship scenes tend to work more by inference than by direct statement, and it is from the explicitly sexual scenes that we must interpret the implications present in the courtships.⁵⁸⁹ For example, an image of a copulating couple is clear and unmistakable (Oxford 1967.305⁵⁹⁰). On the other hand, Toledo 1972.55⁵⁹¹ (Figure 4.10) depicts a pair negotiating, where the man is offering “gifts”. In sum, the payment is provided and sexual contact is obviously imminent.

Not all illustrations are clear-cut representations of prostitutes, yet based on the presence of their usual markers, it is safe to assume their identities. The majority of women depicted on Attic pottery, in my opinion, are not representations of citizens. The analogy of Attic theatre may help explain this speculation: many comedies were written

⁵⁸⁷ R. F. Sutton Jr., “Pornography and Persuasion on Attic Pottery,” in A. Richlin (ed.), *Pornography and Presentation in Greece and Rome* (New York and Oxford, 1992), 7.

⁵⁸⁸ Kilmer, 2.

⁵⁸⁹ Kilmer, 97.

⁵⁹⁰ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: 1967.305; Beazley Archive Database No. 204435.

⁵⁹¹ Toledo, Museum of Art Collection 1972.55; Beazley Archive Database No. 7766.

on the subject of love and passion; however, they had to face a problem of how to relate to reality for unmarried free-born girls rarely appeared in public in Athens, and in many instances they were married off to men they had never seen before.⁵⁹² Even comedy writers, including Aristophanes, who otherwise rarely spared anything or anyone, were forced to respect this.⁵⁹³ Therefore, prostitutes and other low-status women played the majority of the roles. Later on, in New Comedy, young men had to fall in love with girls of lower social standing, whom in general they would not be given permission to marry, but as fate and luck intervened, the woman in question often proved to be of much higher birth than first thought (e.g. Menander's *Aspis*, *Epitrepontes*, *Dyskolos*, *Perikeiromene*, *Samia*, *Sikyonioi*).⁵⁹⁴ Therefore, based on this analogy, publicly displayed women on pottery would generally not be citizens, but women connected to prostitution. Thus, this study of the headdresses contributes to the recognition of these misidentified women, and will hopefully play an important role in the scholarship by providing further insights into the lives of prostitutes.

Unfortunately, prostitute depictions on pottery are still denied, ignored and debated, as scholars refuse to believe that these women would be portrayed on vessels for daily use. In particular, images that show prostitutes at their homes, brothels or in other personal settings performing regular daily tasks of working wool, enjoying leisurely pastimes, and preparing for the *symposion*, are persistently rejected. In addition, the fact

⁵⁹² K. Neiiendam, *The Art of Acting in Antiquity. Iconographical Studies in Classical, Hellenistic and Byzantine Theatre* (University of Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1992), 68.

⁵⁹³ Neiiendam, 68.

⁵⁹⁴ See V. J. Rosivach, *When a Young Man Falls in Love: The Sexual Exploitation of Women in New Comedy* (London and New York, 1998); Brown, 241-266; D. Wiles, "Marriage and Prostitution in Classical New Comedy," *Themes in Drama* 11 (1989): 31-48.

that prostitutes owned vessels, containers and mirrors is often overlooked, and the notion that they commissioned these items by requesting the imagery to reflect their existence and livelihood has hardly ever been acknowledged.

“Spinning *Hetaira*”: A Re-examination

Because of a general denial of prostitutes’ visibility in Athenian society, many scenes depicting prostitutes spinning have been extensively questioned and debated. Nevertheless, prostitutes were often linked with the textile industry through the illustrations of frames, wool-baskets, and gestures of spinning while customers are approaching. In the following section, the wool-working scenes will be examined, showing that both courtesans and low-class prostitutes were portrayed performing these tasks.

The depictions of wool-working prostitutes or so-called “spinning *hetairai*” alluded to a sexualized concept of female labour. I will explain the presence of an ambiguous wool-basket, and show that the scenes of spinning prostitutes possibly referred to the magical rite of a *iunx* and *rhombos*, as these devices performed the spinning motion in the process. In order to demonstrate that prostitutes did indeed work wool, I will examine a vessel awarded to a prostitute in the textile competition. Finally, I will link the images of working women with the braiding technique and the production of sprang fabrics.

In 1931, John Beazley made a statement regarding images of spinning women declaring: “The woman is spinning, therefore she is respectable; if she were not respectable she might spin in her spare moments, but she could not be *represented*

spinning”.⁵⁹⁵ In other words, when a spinning woman is depicted in male company, the couple is meant to be a husband and wife. The best-known reaction to Beazley’s statement was Gerhard Rodenwaldt’s rebuttal in which he introduced the concept of “spinning *hetairai*”.⁵⁹⁶ The term “spinning *hetaira*” is applied to a woman pictured spinning who at the same time is engaged in some sort of interaction with her client or is identified as a prostitute in an alternate manner, such as luxurious surroundings or revealing clothing. Since the majority of the “spinning *hetaira*” scenes involved men offering gifts and purses, Rodenwaldt argued that they beyond all doubt identified the women as prostitutes, the high-class ones in particular.⁵⁹⁷

Subsequently, different views emerged, including the noteworthy Johann Crome’s rebuff, in which he emphasized Hellenistic epigrams on women abandoning a life of poverty and low status in the service of Athena (wool-working), in preference for a merry and profitable life in the service of Aphrodite (prostitution).⁵⁹⁸ Crome used this evidence to argue that these spinning women were not prostitutes but poor respected women tempted into the profession by wealthy men.⁵⁹⁹ Still, despite rejections of Rodenwaldt’s theory, his identification of the spinning women as prostitutes remained mainly unchallenged.

⁵⁹⁵ Beazley maintained this position until his death, see J. Beazley, “Review of Athens CVA 1,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 51/1 (1931): 121.

⁵⁹⁶ Rodenwaldt, 7-22.

⁵⁹⁷ The female wool workers are given valuable gifts; purses are most common, but food, necklaces, wreaths, fillets, sprigs and *alabastra* are also seen. Sutton (1981), 348.

⁵⁹⁸ J. Crome, “Spinnende Hetären?” *Gymnasium* 73 (1966): 245-247.

⁵⁹⁹ His argument was weak, as some spinning women were indeed lavishly dressed. See Sutton (1981), 349.

Later scholars who acknowledge the problem, including Ursula Knigge,⁶⁰⁰ Barbara Follman,⁶⁰¹ Robert Sutton Jr.,⁶⁰² Dyfri Williams,⁶⁰³ Eva Keuls⁶⁰⁴ and Gloria Ferrari⁶⁰⁵ (listed chronologically), generally cite the original arguments, and then side with one view or the other without contributing additional evidence on the subject. Contrary to this “mute” position, I believe that the study of headdresses offers a possible solution to the problem by bringing valuable insights into this puzzling iconography.

Prior to the explanation, I will analyze a few important points of the current scholarship. All above-listed scholars support the *hetaira* reading, except Ferrari, who, despite disagreeing with the theory, still accepts the interpretation. Noteworthy is Sutton’s supposition that these depictions are set both indoors in a feminine environment and outdoors in the male sphere. He interpreted the former location as a brothel or a residence of female entertainers, and the latter as the urban setting, the male territory where prostitutes were to be found.⁶⁰⁶ The indoor venue of a brothel or a prostitute’s residence is distinguished from the *gynaikonitis* by the presence of food, drinks and musical instruments.⁶⁰⁷ Although it may be claimed that some images are not enough overtly erotic to identify women as prostitutes, there is clearly a sexual element to the scenes.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁰ Knigge (1964), 105-113.

⁶⁰¹ B. Follman, *Der Pan-Maler*, (Bonn: Bouvier, 1968), 67, n.397.

⁶⁰² Sutton (1981), 347-369.

⁶⁰³ D. Williams, “An Oinochoe in the British Museum and the Brygos Painter’s Work on a White Ground,” *Jahrbuch der Berliner Musée* 24 (1982), 20.

⁶⁰⁴ Keuls, (1983b), 209-230.

⁶⁰⁵ Ferrari, 11-60.

⁶⁰⁶ See Sutton (1981), 349-353.

⁶⁰⁷ Sutton (1981), 352.

⁶⁰⁸ Sutton (1981), 356.

Sutton cites a *kylix* by Ambrosios Painter dated ca. 510 BCE as the most convincing evidence that some wool-working women are indeed prostitutes (Figure 5.1).⁶⁰⁹ The *kylix* shows men interested in women occupied with their appearance as well as the ones entertaining the company with music from their flutes. Surprisingly, they are equally interested in women who are spinning. The abundance of flute-cases suggests that most, if not all, of the women served as entertainers. The scene shows that besides prostitution, these women kept themselves clothed and fed by additional earnings - spinning for wages or merely for they own survival.

In contrast to the women on the vase, the men are of the leisurely class. They are in no hurry to leave, while they are watching and flirting with women who are carrying out their chores. Even though the vase is damaged, Aphrodisia (named) is still visible seated and holding up a spindle full of yarn to an unnamed woman standing in front with a wool-basket full of wool. They are finishing with their tasks and preparing to go out with the clients. To the right, another named woman (Obole) is seated playing the flute to a standing man holding out a flower to her. Behind, the fourth woman is spinning, which clearly indicates that wool-working and entertainment were not contradictory activities.⁶¹⁰

On the other side of the *kylix*, a seated man watches a lavishly dressed woman (named Rhodo...) fastening her sandal, obviously preparing to go outdoors. Next, a man

⁶⁰⁹ Beazley Archive Database No. 788. The vase is located in Munich, private collection. For further explanation and illustration see Sutton (1981), 356, pl.20, and R. F. Sutton Jr., "Family Portraits: Recognizing the *Oikos* on Attic Red-figure Pottery," in A. P. Chapin (ed.), *Charis: Essays in Honor of Sara A. Immerwahr. Hesperia Supplement 33* (2004), 333-37, fig.17.6.

⁶¹⁰ Sutton (1981), 358.

leaning on his staff reaches to take the wreath offered to him by a seated woman, while another man looks on. This vase clearly demonstrates that no sharp distinction was made between domestic lives of respected and non-respected women, except in terms of their dealings with men. There is no other vase that provides with such certainty a glimpse into the life of prostitutes, who appear otherwise only as entertainers at *symposia*.⁶¹¹

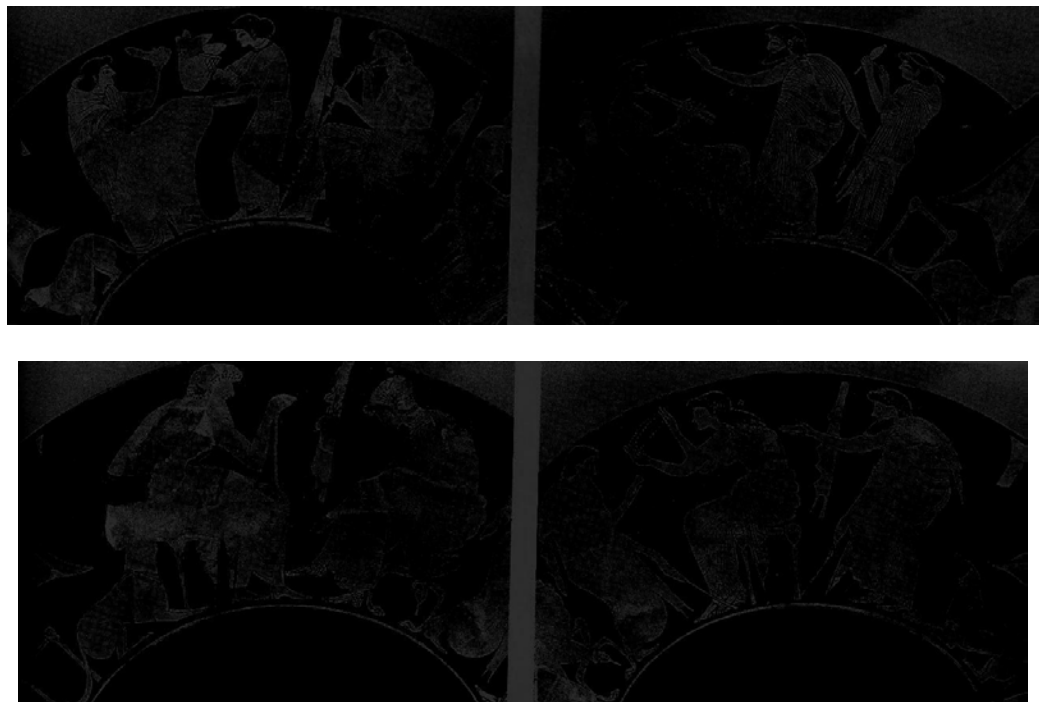


Figure 5.1. Ambrosios *kylix*
Munich, private collection; Beazley Archive Database No. 788

In conclusion, Ambrosios *kylix* shows that textile industry and sexuality merge in the scenes of wool-working. In other words, it seems that the simple and arduous labour of women aroused male erotic fantasies. This notion is confirmed by the images of the

⁶¹¹ Sutton (1981), 358.

already discussed task of water-carrying that fall into the same category.⁶¹² In Keuls' examination of "spinning *hetaira*", she uses the topic of water-fetching as a prelude to her discussion of textile-making, since the two pictorial themes appear to share the elements of male-centered viewpoint, voyeurism and the erotic appeal of the humble submission of women.⁶¹³ The earlier examples of water-carrying scenes included images of men molesting or soliciting women (also with headdresses) at the fountain (see Würzburg L304,⁶¹⁴ Vatican 427,⁶¹⁵ Detroit 63.13⁶¹⁶ and St. Petersburg ST1612⁶¹⁷). In other words, the iconography of female labour embodied a clear erotic element.

Still, the concept "spinning *hetaira*" is somewhat problematic, as it only focuses on grand courtesans, *megalomisthoi*, and thus excludes all other types of prostitutes. Surprisingly, however, none of the scholars questioned this notion. Instead, they focused on the problem of money handling, as these successful women allegedly⁶¹⁸ operated solely on gift-giving and did not receive explicit payment for their services (Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3.11).⁶¹⁹ In order to solve this problem, Ferrari assumed that the purses did not contain payment but knucklebones, the "favourite game of children and like-minded adults", stating that "these gifts [are] pretty things that have little or no value, [and] that

⁶¹² Keuls (1983b), 212.

⁶¹³ Keuls (1983b), 214.

⁶¹⁴ Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Museum: L304; Beazley Archive Database No. 306484.

⁶¹⁵ Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano: 427; Beazley Archive Database No. 303000.

⁶¹⁶ Detroit (MI), Institute of Arts: 63.13; Beazley Archive Database No. 206470.

⁶¹⁷ St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum: ST1612; Beazley Archive Database No. 200198.

⁶¹⁸ In contrast, see Cohen's prostitution contracts (2000a) and (2000b).

⁶¹⁹ Ferrari scorns Rodenwaldt's argument, stating: "...this view represents a significant twist of the Rodenwaldt hypothesis, one that turns the high-rank courtesan into a prostitute, the *hetaira* into the *porne*" (Ferrari, 13). Nevertheless, Ferrari does not inquire further into the ranks of prostitutes, but uses it to undermine Rodenwaldt's theory.

they should fall under the category of treats rather than payments”.⁶²⁰ Rather than acknowledging the identities of these women as different types of prostitute, Ferrari replaces the notion of money payment with childish game pieces. The iconography of money-bags was addressed earlier, where it was argued that the images in question clearly depict monetary transactions. Overall, in the spinning scenes, the portrayal of a high-class courtesan is certainly possible, but depictions of other types of prostitutes are also likely and should be considered as well. In fact, not every *hetaira* was a grand *hetaira*; many of them struggled to make a living and were called *koinai* (common) *hetairai*.⁶²¹ Thus, a depiction of a successful prostitute, such as a “regular” *hetaira*, receiving a gift and a money-bag, is more plausible than a depiction of a high-class *megalomisthos hetaira*. Even a depiction of a lower-class independently operating women is conceivable. On the other hand, a representation of a *porne* is rather questionable, as they were not seen as worthy of gifts.

Now, regarding the *kalathos*, this frequently ignored element in wool-working scenes, I believe, contributes to a complete understanding of the imagery. It was the spinning woman’s constant companion, and an object that held subtle erotic connotations. As stated earlier, the image of a *kalathos* signified feminine sexuality, which, metaphorically speaking could be either contained or spilled out just as carded wool can be contained or drawn out of a *kalathos*. The images of women carrying wool-baskets while being pursued and raped⁶²² reveal “men delighted in transgressing the very

⁶²⁰ Ferrari, 14-15.

⁶²¹ Davidson (2006), 36. See for example Lucian, *Dialogue of the Courtesans*.

⁶²² See for example Poseidon and Aithra, Europa and Zeus, Danae and Zeus.

boundaries of female behaviour which they themselves had set up for their convenience and utility”.⁶²³ Clearly, the equation “spinning means housewife” did not apply.⁶²⁴ On the contrary, depictions of prostitutes working wool may have held a further degree of eroticism, since these women were put on display for the men who handled these vases.⁶²⁵

Returning to the spinning scenes, some images showed working prostitutes with an approaching customer, while the others portrayed erotically charged depictions where men are absent. Such illustrations of unaccompanied women are seen on Copenhagen 153,⁶²⁶ Florence 3918⁶²⁷ and Berlin 2289.⁶²⁸ First, the example of a Copenhagen *hydria*⁶²⁹ (Figure 5.2) depicts a woman, nude but for a thigh amulet, spinning in a presence of a seated woman, who has been identified as a madame. These amulets and cords recall to the previously discussed practice of aggressive erotic magic employed by prostitutes. The other two scenes on Florence⁶³⁰ and Berlin⁶³¹ vases show women carding fibers with their legs propped up on low footstools while passing the wool over their exposed knees (Figures 5.3-4). These scenes are painted in the tondos, the circular

⁶²³ Keuls (1983b), 221. In addition, this notion is confirmed by an image of Poseidon about to rape Amymone, who is running away while holding a large *hydria* (New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum: 17.230.35 (Beazley Archive Database No. 214280); Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia: 20846 (Beazley Archive Database No. 205561)). The scene represents the myth in which Amymone was searching for the well when she was molested by a satyr. Poseidon rescued her from the satyr, but then raped her himself and showed her a well as compensation for her virginity. Even though the *hydria* may symbolize the plot of the myth, it still alludes to the real-life women responsible for the water-carrying task.

⁶²⁴ Keuls (1983b), 229.

⁶²⁵ Sebesta, 131.

⁶²⁶ Copenhagen, National Museum: VIII520; Beazley Archive Database No. 214971.

⁶²⁷ Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco: 3918; Beazley Archive Database No. 210261.

⁶²⁸ Berlin, Antikensammlung: F2289; Beazley Archive Database No. 205141.

⁶²⁹ Copenhagen, National Museum: VIII520; Beazley Archive Database No. 214971.

⁶³⁰ Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco: 3918; Beazley Archive Database No. 210261.

⁶³¹ Berlin, Antikensammlung: F2289; Beazley Archive Database No. 205141.

bottoms of the *kylix* cups often reserved for openly erotic imagery. As the symposiast was drinking wine, the tondo would slowly emerge revealing the image to an intoxicated participant, therefore implying voyeuristic approach of a drinker to the depicted scenes.⁶³²



Figure 5.2. Nude woman spinning
Copenhagen, National Museum: VIII520; Beazley Archive Database No. 214971



Figure 5.3. Women working wool
Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco: 3918; Beazley Archive Database No. 210261

⁶³² Keuls (1983b), 222.

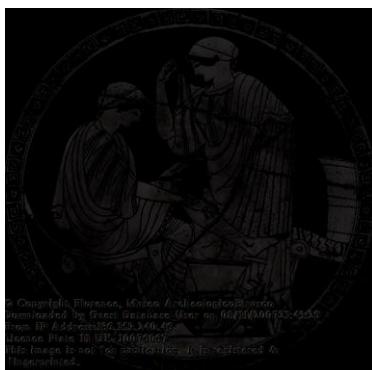


Figure 5.4. Women working wool (with *kalos* inscriptions)
Berlin, Antikensammlung: F2289; Beazley Archive Database No. 205141

Furthermore, two spinning instruments used in aggressive magic to infuse irresistible passion in a desired object were the *rhombos* and the *iunx*.⁶³³ Prostitutes employed these spells in order to attract customers, as related in an idyll of Theokritos where the *hetaira* Simaitha used a *iunx* in an attempt to entice her lover back to her (*Idyll* 2). In the same text, the prostitute Niko dedicated a jewelled *iunx* to Aphrodite upon her retirement.⁶³⁴ Predictably, Aphrodite was linked with these instruments and is said to have given them to Jason to seduce Medea (Pindar, *Pythian* 4.211-50).

Notably, during the spell, a *rhombos* and a *iunx* imitated a spinning motion that the images of spinning prostitutes were possibly alluding to. In other words, the spindle's insinuation of a *rhombos/iunx* ritual was a visual reminder of the prostitute's craftiness

⁶³³ The *rhombos* was an instrument attached to the end of a string and whirled about. The *iunx* was a bird associated with eroticism that was tied to a wheel and spun around as a magical rite to attract a lover; the bird was eventually killed in the rite; see Sebesta, 131, 138, n.30, and Faraone (1999).

⁶³⁴ For analysis of Niko's dedication see Faraone (1999), 151-2. For other references to *iunx* and *rhombos* see Eupolis, *Baptai* fr. 83 (K-A); Aristophanes, *Heroes* fr. 315 (K-A) and *Lysistrata* 1110; Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3.11.17-18; Lucian, *Dialogues of Courtesans* 4.1.

and trickery.⁶³⁵ For example, a *hydria* by Orpheus Painter⁶³⁶ (Figure 5.5) shows a brothel scene where a woman is spinning, while another is picking up an empty *kalathos* to refill it. Standing in the center, Eros holds female slippers and watches a third woman interacting with her client, who is intimately grabbing her shoulder. It looks as if Eros is about to hand her the slippers so that she can leave the residence and depart with her client. The juxtaposition of the three female figures communicates the influence of a woman's craft, her ability to entice and lure a man with sex.⁶³⁷

This form of forceful erotic magic, as pointed out earlier, was normally reserved for men, but was used by prostitutes to attract customers and thus cross into the male sphere of aggressive sexuality. Amulet cords in binding spells and the spinning motion of the *rhombos/iunx* ritual link prostitutes with wool-working, therefore assigning a degree of eroticism to the images of spinning women.



Figure 5.5. A brothel scene with Eros
New York, Metropolitan Museum: 17.230.15; Beazley Archive Database No. 216183

⁶³⁵ Sebesta, 133.

⁶³⁶ New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum: 17.230.15; Beazley Archive Database No. 216183.

⁶³⁷ Predictably, a mirror and a *sakkos* are hanging on the wall. Sebesta, 133.

The fact that prostitutes did work wool is confirmed by an example of a vessel used as a prize in a textile contest that was awarded to a prostitute. An Attic Black-figure *kylix* dated ca. 540-530 BCE was given as a prize for wool-working, with the winner's name, Melosa, inscribed on it.⁶³⁸ This rare name appears on four Attic vases from the 5th century BCE ascribed to mythological characters, which may have something to do with the owner of the *kylix*.⁶³⁹ Mythological names were for the most part avoided by the people of good standing, particularly before the 4th century BCE; *hetairai*, on the other hand, showed an evident liking for them.⁶⁴⁰ Consequently, it can be presumed that the woman who bore this name and won this *kylix* was a prostitute.⁶⁴¹

Further evidence that prostitutes worked wool was presented in the section on sprang frames and it can be therefore said that a “spinning *hetaira*” is analogous to a “braiding *hetaira*”. Without repeating earlier arguments, I will briefly return to the *hydria* by Hephaistos Painter (Stettin 214773⁶⁴²), which illustrates this point clearly. It depicts a woman holding both a cup and a wool-basket while Eros approaches with a sprang frame and a flute-case. At the same time, a youth is leaning on his staff, holding a purse and looking towards the woman. At first glance, it appears that Eros is bringing the frame and the case to the woman. However, since the woman is holding up the *kalathos* as if handing it to Eros, the image can be read in the reverse manner: the customer is arriving

⁶³⁸ The name can also be read Melousa. M. Milne, “A Prize for Wool-Working,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 49/4 (1945): 528-533.

⁶³⁹ Milne, 531. For the list of prostitute names, see *RE*, s.v. *Hetaira*.

⁶⁴⁰ Milne, 531.

⁶⁴¹ While discussing this vase, Ferrari ignores the evidence and interprets the inscription as a “dirty joke that exploits the juxtaposition of opposite kinds of working girls” (see Ferrari, 59).

⁶⁴² Stettin, A. Vogell: XXXX214773; Beazley Archive Database No. 214773. See Appendix A.

and woman is ceasing her wool-work; Eros, a personification of woman's profession, is assisting by bringing her the flute to entertain the youth while carrying off the paraphernalia used in between the clients.

Concerning the headdresses, many working women were depicted wearing them. In the frame scenes, eleven (11) women with the headdresses are braiding, plus two (2) women spinning on Stanford 17.412 and one (1) woman with her spindle and distaff protruding from a *kalathos* in Aleria 1893. In addition, many Attic vase-paintings depict women with headdresses working wool: Berlin F2289⁶⁴³ (Figure 5.4), Berlin 31426⁶⁴⁴ (Figure 4.14), Cambridge 37.24,⁶⁴⁵ Hannover L1.1982,⁶⁴⁶ Cambridge 1972.45⁶⁴⁷ (Figure 4.35), Laon 37.1030,⁶⁴⁸ New York 06.1117,⁶⁴⁹ Oxford V 327,⁶⁵⁰ etc. The majority of these wool-working women are seated on elegant chairs, *klismoi*, which had four curved, splayed legs and curved back rails with a narrow concave backrest. This chair was assumed to have belonged to the “matron” of the household, generally implying an Athenian wife.⁶⁵¹ This traditional view is misleading, since female figures are depicted on these chairs performing a variety of tasks. Men, however, are absent from such seats with a rare exception confirming the rule. The scene in question is the previously discussed

⁶⁴³ Berlin, Antikensammlung: F2289; Beazley Archive Database No. 205141.

⁶⁴⁴ Berlin, Antikensammlung: 31426; Beazley Archive Database No. 209808.

⁶⁴⁵ Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum: 37.24; Beazley Archive Database No. 203806.

⁶⁴⁶ Hannover, Kestner Museum: L1.1982; Beazley Archive Database No. 205161.

⁶⁴⁷ Cambridge (MA), Harvard University, Arthur M. Sackler Museum: 1972.45; Beazley Archive Database No. 207394.

⁶⁴⁸ Laon, Musée Archeologique Municipal: 37.1030; Beazley Archive Database No. 214933.

⁶⁴⁹ New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum: 06.1117; Beazley Archive Database No. 210088.

⁶⁵⁰ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: V327; Beazley Archive Database No. 208804.

⁶⁵¹ For example, see Williams (2003), 96.

kylix tondo (New York 52.11.4⁶⁵²) that depicts a youth on a *klismos* labeled *kalos*, facing a man with a bag. The fact that the seated youth resembles his female counterpart with his posture and gesture, in addition to the presence of the usual money-bag, strongly suggests that he is a male prostitute.⁶⁵³ In sum, this seated male prostitute reinforces the association of the *klismos* with a seated female prostitute in the company of a gift-giving man.

As a final point, I will discuss Aleria 65.51,⁶⁵⁴ a little-known Attic *kylix* found on Corsica, dated mid-5th century BCE. The tondo depicts a seated woman admiring her finished work – a sprang headdress, surrounded by a *kalathos* and a mirror (Figure 5.6). Notably, the fabric appears elastic and the cloth is patterned with familiar horizontal lines and zig-zag motifs. The headdress has the loop or the tassel on the top, identifying the technique of its making. The woman is moderately dressed with a bordered *himation* and her hair is short and unsightly. It is unlikely that she is a courtesan or any kind of successful prostitute, but more probably a common one or possibly a *pais*. Accordingly, a damaged inscription *pais kal*[...] was indicated in the tondo, yet it is uncertain whether the inscription indicated a male or female gender, since the rest of the letters are missing.⁶⁵⁵

⁶⁵² New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum: 52.11.4; Beazley Archive Database No. 205160.

⁶⁵³ Only female and male prostitutes were hired for money, while youths in pederastic relationship were courted by gifts.

⁶⁵⁴ Aleria, Musée Archeologique: 65.51; Beazley Archive Database No. 9408.

⁶⁵⁵ *Ho pais kalos* inscriptions were common, regardless of the gender of a depicted figure; however, *he pais kale* does not occur in representations of male figures.



Figure 5.6. Woman holding a sprang headdress
Aleria, Musée Archeologique: 65.51; Beazley Archive Database No. 9408

Similarly, Mannheim 182⁶⁵⁶ and London E51⁶⁵⁷ are two tondos from the same period as the Aleria kylix. The former depicts a woman standing next to a *kalathos* and a *klismos* while holding an *alabastron* and a *sakkos* (Figure 5.7). She is holding the zig-zag patterned headdress above the wool-basket as if she is placing it inside or has just removed it from there. The latter shows a woman next to a wool-basket, a mirror and a *symposion* bed (Figure 5.8). She is enjoying a flower in her hand and is dressed in a *chiton*, a bordered *himation* and a patterned headdress. This tondo also has the *he pais kale* inscription. The significance of this message lies in the feminine form of the word *kale* indicating a female *pais*, a type of a woman discussed in the next section.

⁶⁵⁶ Mannheim, Reiss-Museum: 182; Beazley Archive Database No. 212197.

⁶⁵⁷ London, British Museum: E51; Beazley Archive Database No. 205338.

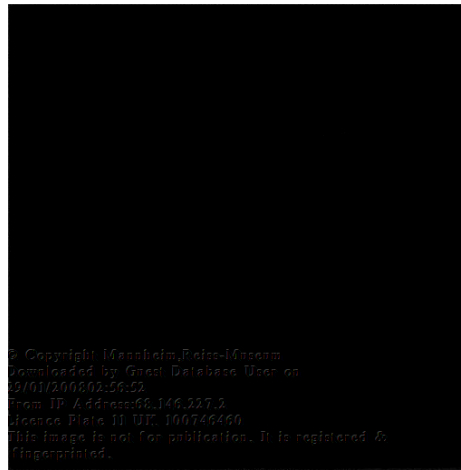


Figure 5.7. Woman holding a sprang headdress
Mannheim, Reiss-Museum: 182; Beazley Archive Database No. 212197



Figure 5.8. Woman with a flower, with *he pais kale* inscription
London, British Museum: E51; Beazley Archive Database No. 205338

Brothels: Textiles and Sex

The scenes of spinning or braiding *hetairai* brought attention to images of prostitutes working wool. Most of these women were upper-class courtesans or successful prostitutes, but I believe women from all positions of the prostitution spectrum, including the middle ranks, were involved in the textile industry. The grand courtesans may have sought an appearance of respectability, while their middle- to lower-

class equivalents worked between customers for their own needs as well as to supplement their earnings. The bottom ranks of prostitutes, such as *pornai*, were forced to work in brothels plus perhaps to produce textiles for their owners. The Corsican tondo, Aleria 65.51,⁶⁵⁸ draws special attention to lower-class prostitutes as textile workers, and specifically as headdress makers. What follows is an examination of brothel slaves (*pornai*), and their freed counterparts (*paides*) in relation to wool-working and headdresses.

The livelihood of a woman in the profession differed significantly from that of a citizen wife. Contrary to the secluded and possibly dull life of a citizen woman in *gynaikonitis*, who worked on looms, prostitutes mingled freely with men and filled their time in between customers by spinning yarn and making small textiles such as headdresses. This particular wool-working task was purposefully chosen for its simplicity, cost effectiveness and manoeuvrability of the frame. These activities were demeaning when compared to the respected household's grand productions on large looms, executed not for personal adornment or sale but out of social obligation.⁶⁵⁹ A wife's domestic duties and wool-working were also designed to guard against character corruption and sexual activity, precisely the kind in which prostitutes engaged. A comparison can be found in the analogy of food preparation. Quickly prepared dishes were called prostitutes' food by the Greeks in Asia Minor.⁶⁶⁰ In contrast, the meal preparations of a good wife were expected to be time consuming and required high

⁶⁵⁸ Aleria, Musée Archeologique: 65.51; Beazley Archive Database No. 9408.

⁶⁵⁹ I. Jenkins, "The Ambiguity of Greek Textiles," *Arethusa* 18 (1985): 113.

⁶⁶⁰ R. Hirschon, "Open Body/Closed Space: The Transformation of Female Sexuality," in S. Ardener (ed.), *Defining Females: The Nature of Women in Society* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1978), 83.

standards, constant effort and long hours, similar to the wife's elaborate and intricate work on the loom.

In ancient Athens, the productions of prostitute labour could be sold for quick financial gain. It is known that lower-class women exploited their domestic activities for profit, manufacturing goods at home for sale in the market, which included the making and selling of textiles (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 208d, *Frogs* 1349-1351, Plato, *Laws* 805e).⁶⁶¹ Garlands, ribbons, headdresses and clothing were luxury goods, primarily purchased for the *symposion*,⁶⁶² and consequently, the braiding of a head ornament by a respected woman could have been seen as a sign of her unfaithfulness (Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 400-401, 446-458).⁶⁶³ Since ancient sources implied these women at the markets were foreigners and of low status, it can be concluded without doubt that some were also prostitutes (Eupolis fr. 262; Demosthenes 57.31, 35).

As a final point, I will return to the Building Z, a possible Athenian brothel, where loom-weights were found. The building was a labyrinth-like structure with numerous small rooms where evidence of foreign slaves and worship of night Aphrodite was discovered. Davidson states that the location was a cloth factory during at least one of its three phases.⁶⁶⁴ This appears puzzling at first, since prostitutes were not thought of as loom workers, but it is possible that brothel *pornai* worked wool on a greater scale than small establishments or independent prostitutes, because of their large number and better organization.

⁶⁶¹ Brock, 338, 340.

⁶⁶² Brock, 340.

⁶⁶³ Aristophanes used the verb *plekô*.

⁶⁶⁴ Davidson (2006), 36.

Now I will explain the link between a *porne* and a *pais*. A *porne* was a brothel slave, while a *pais* was a freed prostitute, most likely a former *porne*, or possibly a household slave who was available to her master as well as his friends.⁶⁶⁵ The word *porne* comes from the verb *pernemi* (to sell), which translates as “one who is on sale”.⁶⁶⁶ On the other hand, the word *pais* was usually used for the passive partner, but it also stood for “child”, “girl”, “boy”, “son”, “daughter”, “slave”, “servant” and “maid”.⁶⁶⁷ Plato identified male and female *paidēs* as objects of sexual desire (*Laws* 836a-7).⁶⁶⁸

The *pornai* were the lowest class of prostitutes, lacking status even among the women in the trade.⁶⁶⁹ They were often recruited from the slave market or were abandoned children taken in by the brothel keepers.⁶⁷⁰ Due to Athenian aversion to salaried employment, providing sex, especially in brothels, was appropriate only for slaves.⁶⁷¹ Brothels represented a fundamental unit for their slaves who both worked and resided there, analogous to the Athenian household (*oikos*) that was a central unit of ancient society.⁶⁷² Since all slaves received training for their occupations and positions, it is expected that slaves working as prostitutes also received specialized training,

⁶⁶⁵ Neils, 207.

⁶⁶⁶ *LSJ*, s.v. *Porne*.

⁶⁶⁷ *LSJ*, s.v. *Pais*.

⁶⁶⁸ For further discussion on the term *pais*, see M. Golden, “*Pais*, “Child” and “Slave”,” *L'Antiquité Classique* 54 (1985): 91-104. Golden states that the word usually implied relationship, but not an intense emotional one (p. 97). For the use of *pais* to indicate a subordinate member of a male homosexual couple, see Dover, 16-17.

⁶⁶⁹ It is believed they had cropped hair as a mark of their status.

⁶⁷⁰ See Golden (1981), 316-331.

⁶⁷¹ Athenians expected that persons performing repetitive functions in a commercial context as employed workers – whether in the bank or in the brothel – were slaves; see Cohen (2003), 218.

⁶⁷² K. Kapparis, *Apollodoros 'Against Neaira' (D. 59)* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), 228.

sometimes starting in childhood, as was the case of Nikarete and Neaira (Demosthenes 59.18).

Notably, even the most skilled and educated slaves in charge of prominent duties also performed household labours. This pattern of multiple tasking provides the explanation for a division of labour in which some female slaves worked both as prostitutes and as wool-workers.⁶⁷³ In fact, brothel prostitution and textiles were Athens' most profitable industries, since the actual textile production was almost entirely the work of female slaves, despite citizen women's skill in this craft.⁶⁷⁴ The majority of prostitutes were probably not involved in the textile industry, and many wool-workers were not part of the profession, yet substantial evidence suggests that numerous female slaves were used as both wool-workers and brothel prostitutes.⁶⁷⁵ As a result, Athena, the goddess of the wool-working craft, received numerous dedications and offerings from prostitutes.⁶⁷⁶ Again, this is a possible explanation for the more than a hundred loom-weights and a plethora of drinking vessels found together in virtually every room of Building Z in Athens.⁶⁷⁷

⁶⁷³ Y. Garlan, *Slavery in Ancient Greece* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), 62; Cohen (2003), 221-222.

⁶⁷⁴ For women working wool see Aristophanes *Frogs*, 1349-1351, *Lysistrata* 519-520, 536-537, 728-730; Xenophon *Economics* 7.6, 21, 36. For slave workers see Webster (1972); M. Tod, "Epigraphical Notes on Freedmen's Profession," *Epigraphica* 12 (1950): 10-11.

⁶⁷⁵ See Rodenwaldt; Keuls (1985); 240-247; Neils, 203-226; Davidson (1997), 89.

⁶⁷⁶ See Harris (1995). Numerous lyres and flutes (*auloi*) and their cases were dedicated to Athena over the centuries (e.g. IV. 41-44b, V.190-197). Some women were listed by first name only; they were most likely low-class, which is supported by a 6th century BCE fragment from Acropolis naming women by their first name together with their occupation, see IG ii2, 401-462 (p. 237).

⁶⁷⁷ See Lind; U. Knigge, *Der Kerameikos von Athens* (Athens, 1988), 88-94 and "(O A)STH\|R TH=S *)AFRODI/THS," *Mitteilungen aus des deutsches Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 97 (1982): 153-170.

Edward Cohen's analysis of manumission tablets of Athenian slaves from 320s BCE provides solid evidence for the wool-working prostitutes.⁶⁷⁸ Even though Cohen's evidence applies to the 4th century BCE material, I believe the study and its conclusions can be applied to the earlier examples as well. The artistic link already exists and was established in the sections on the sprang frames and spinning prostitutes. In contrast, the textual evidence from the 6th and 5th centuries BCE is nearly non-existent, thus forcing the inclusion of later sources as secondary evidence, which, if carefully applied, can bring new light to yet unfamiliar territories, as the lives of Athenian women did not change dramatically over the period of a few centuries.

In Cohen's analysis, the manumission tablets indicate that these dedications were presented chiefly by female freed slaves. Besides the freedom payments, these women offered additional costly gifts for this occasion, which indicated their good standing and possible prosperity.⁶⁷⁹ It was traditionally believed that slaves who managed to buy their freedom were the highly skilled ones, as they could earn high fees and provide funds for the purchase of their freedom, or at least offer a source of repayment if it was advanced by others.⁶⁸⁰ Accordingly, the enslaved female wool-workers (*talasiourgoi*) who were listed in majority in the manumission records⁶⁸¹ would not have had opportunity to earn

⁶⁷⁸ Cohen (2003), 218-227.

⁶⁷⁹ Mostly, they offered a 100-drachma silver bowl, *phiale*.

⁶⁸⁰ Cohen (2003), 224-225.

⁶⁸¹ Of 42 freedwomen whose profession is known to us, 32 were *talasiourgoi*, and the remainder were distributed among other occupations: IG ii2 1553-1578; SEG XVIII36, XXV 178, 180 (see D. Schaps, *Economic Right of Women in Ancient Greece* (Edinburgh University Press, 1979), 19-20, n.14. Interestingly, Rosivach lists 52 freedwomen of which 29 were *talasiourgoi* (see V. J. Rosivach, "Talasiourgoi and Paidia in IG ii2 1553-78: a Note on Athenian Social History," *Historia* 38 (1989): 365-370).

such funds or gain access to possible benefactors.⁶⁸² In fact, the impoverished state of women employed only as wool-workers is confirmed in Hellenistic epigrams (*Greek Anthology* 6.47-48, 283-285).⁶⁸³

Contrary to the simple wool-workers, slave prostitutes were in a position to earn such sums and establish “personal relations” with their clients.⁶⁸⁴ A surviving court record reveals that Neaira, an alleged slave prostitute, bought her freedom through a combination of her own personal accumulated earnings and assistance from several of her lovers (Demosthenes 59.29-32). Consequently, many freed slaves carried names that are typical for prostitutes, e.g. Glykera (Sweetie) and Malthake (Softie).⁶⁸⁵ *Pornai* who worked as both wool-workers and prostitutes were able to buy their freedom, yet continued the craft as well as the trade in order to support themselves.⁶⁸⁶ In all probability, these women continued to practice prostitution independently, as streetwalkers or with the help of an attendant. Since these freed women were not *pornai* any longer, but continued to engage in sexual activities at the request of a paying customer, they were now called *paides*.

These women possessed a valuable skill, yet their freedom was attainable due to their wages from sexual services. Fittingly, Athenian vase-painting offers a plethora of

⁶⁸² Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* 2.7; Cohen (2003), 225. The slaved skilled at wool-working was worth twice the price of an untrained one (*Oeconomicus* 7.41).

⁶⁸³ Furthermore, the contrast between a destitute simple wool-worker and a money-earning prostitute is evident in these epigrams that describe dedications offered by women planning to abandon the respected task of wool-working in order to become prostitutes.

⁶⁸⁴ Halperin, 107-112; W. T. Loomis, *Wages, Welfare Costs and Inflation in Classical Athens* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 185.

⁶⁸⁵ Cohen (2003), 226.

⁶⁸⁶ Rosivach (1989), 368-369.

images linking prostitution and wool-working, occasionally including the *pais* affection declarations (*he pais kale*) applied to female figures in general as well as the spinning ones (e.g. Athens 2713,⁶⁸⁷ Bologna PU278,⁶⁸⁸ Boston 1970.233,⁶⁸⁹ London D13,⁶⁹⁰ London E51,⁶⁹¹ Paris 0.5143⁶⁹² and Rome 15708⁶⁹³). The example of London E51⁶⁹⁴ has already been discussed, and three *he pais kale* vases, Athens 2713,⁶⁹⁵ Paris 0.5143⁶⁹⁶ and London D13,⁶⁹⁷ will be examined now because of their explicit sexual connotations.

First, the Kerameikos *alabastron* (Athens 2713⁶⁹⁸), dated ca. 525-475 BCE, depicts a spinning woman with a plain *sakkos*, seated on a *klismos* with a wool-basket behind it (Figure 5.9).⁶⁹⁹ A youth approaches, bringing her a hare and a wreath as gifts. The second part of the scene illustrates a youth and a woman dressed in a transparent tunic in a passionate embrace. Neither of the women, who may be the same person, has an air of luxury or vanity; to the contrary, both appear crude and unattractive. The second woman is aggressively embracing the youth by placing her arm tightly around his head, pushing it for a kiss. Similarly, the man is grabbing the woman's head pressing it towards his. Accordingly, the image appears on an *alabastron*, which, as discussed, conveyed

⁶⁸⁷ Athens, Acropolis Museum: 2713; Beazley Archive Database No. 352434.

⁶⁸⁸ Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico: PU278; Beazley Archive Database No. 205368.

⁶⁸⁹ Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 1970.233; Beazley Archive Database No. 205288.

⁶⁹⁰ London, British Museum: D13; Beazley Archive Database No. 204379.

⁶⁹¹ London, British Museum: E51; Beazley Archive Database No. 205338.

⁶⁹² Paris, Private: XXXX0.5143; Beazley Archive Database No. 205143.

⁶⁹³ Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia: 15708; Beazley Archive Database No. 212214. The vase includes three *he pais kale* inscriptions.

⁶⁹⁴ London, British Museum: E51; Beazley Archive Database No. 205338.

⁶⁹⁵ Athens, Acropolis Museum: 2713; Beazley Archive Database No. 352434.

⁶⁹⁶ Paris, Private: XXXX0.5143; Beazley Archive Database No. 205143.

⁶⁹⁷ London, British Museum: D13; Beazley Archive Database No. 204379.

⁶⁹⁸ Athens, Acropolis Museum: 2713; Beazley Archive Database No. 352434.

⁶⁹⁹ For a detailed record of the vase, see Knigge (1964), 105-113.

sexual symbolism. Due to its erotic iconography, this particular vase was in all likelihood used for the lubricating oil.

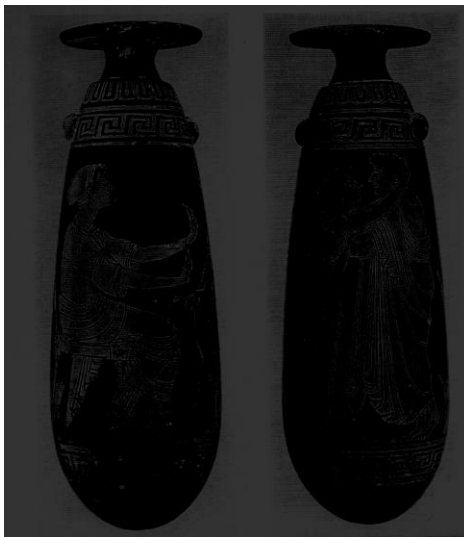


Figure 5.9. Kerameikos *alabastron*
Athens, Acropolis Museum: 2713; Beazley Archive Database No. 352434

Second, a fragment of a *kylix* tondo (Paris 0.5143⁷⁰⁰) shows a *symposion* scene where a woman and a bearded man are reclining on a bed, holding a *skyphos*; a dining basket is hanging in the corner (Figure 5.10). The woman is dressed in a transparent tunic and is wearing a necklace and earrings. On her head is a *sakkos*, yet the woman is binding or unbinding the fabric that formed the *mitra* worn over it. Stated otherwise, she is either undressing or placing her garments back on after removing them for the *symposion*.⁷⁰¹

⁷⁰⁰ Paris, Private: XXXX0.5143; Beazley Archive Database No. 205143.

⁷⁰¹ Many actions in vase-painting are associated with acts of dressing or undressing, and they are generally open-ended in their meanings. Since the action is “frozen” in time it is difficult to distinguish between women putting clothes on and taking them off. In images such as Paris tondo, where the gesture could easily go either way, the interplay between concealment and exposure is an inherent component of the scene’s meaning. This concept also applies to the girdle gesture. See Blundell, 144-145.

sitting, and the expected wool-working or female paraphernalia is absent. This setting separates the figure from other ordinary spinning women, and thus represents either a grand courtesan (the *megalomisthos hetaira*) or the goddess Aphrodite.⁷⁰³ This notion is further confirmed by a *he pais kale* inscription found on this vase. The link between the declaration and the figure has never been related before, to my knowledge. It is only in light of this novel meaning of *pais* as a prostitute that associations with the courtesan or the goddess seem conceivable. In sum, the spinning figure on London D13 could, though unlikely, represent a *pais*, essentially a very successful one, or more likely Aphrodite herself, who was the patroness of *paides*, in their role as prostitutes.⁷⁰⁴

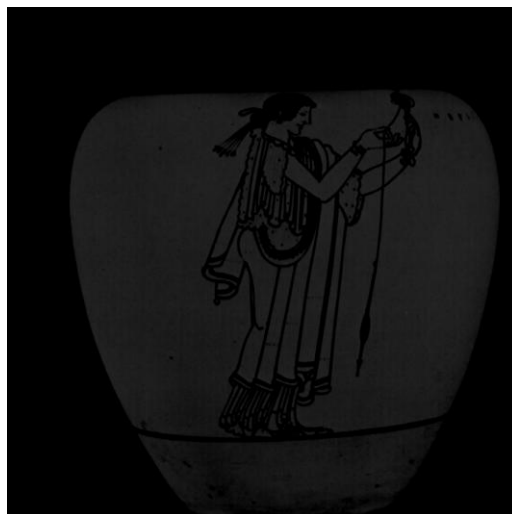


Figure 5.11. Woman spinning
London, British Museum: D13; Beazley Archive Database No. 204379

⁷⁰³ Williams suggests one of the Fates or Moirai, possibly Klotho. For his detailed account of this vase, see Williams (1982), 17-40.

⁷⁰⁴ The interpretation of this vase is certainly a complex task, to which my reading can hopefully contribute, as a full understanding of the imagery is still to come.

Aphrodite and Wool-working

Aphrodite was often depicted in a manner similar to that of her *hetairai*, and her attributes were frequently mirrored in prostitutes and vice versa, as seen in the above example of London *oinochoe*. Based on this analogy, it would be expected that Aphrodite be also linked with wool-working and textiles. Surviving depictions of spinning Aphrodite could validate this notion. A few statues, which have unfortunately lost their arms, were reconstructed in a spinning action (e.g. Venus de Milo and Aphrodite of Capua), yet such interpretations still remain controversial.⁷⁰⁵

In contrast, Attic pottery provides clear and undeniable evidence. For example, a St. Petersburg *kylix*⁷⁰⁶ (Figure 5.12) shows Aphrodite nude to the waist adorned with jewels looking off into a mirror held by her attendant. The spinning equipment is clearly visible, held out in both hands, and below the spindle is the wool-basket. She is in a company of a number of divinities, including Eros and Dionysos. Next, a Berlin *lekythos*⁷⁰⁷ (Figure 5.13) depicts Aphrodite riding on the back of a swan or a goose above the waves of the sea surrounded by Ares and winged Eros. Behind is the full moon, identifying her as the Heavenly Aphrodite. Again, the goddess is half-nude and bejewelled. Her arms are outstretched, and she is holding a distaff and the extended

⁷⁰⁵ E. Suhr, *The Spinning Aphrodite. The Evolution of the Goddess from Earliest Pre-Hellenic Symbolism Through Late Classical Times* (New York: Helios Press, 1969); "The Spinning Aphrodite in the Minor Arts," *American Journal of Archaeology* 67/1 (1963): 63-68; "The Spinning Aphrodite in sculpture," *American Journal of Archaeology* 64/3 (1960): 253-264; *Venus de Milo, The Spinner: the Link between a Famous Art Mystery and Ancient Fertility Symbol* (New York: Exposition Press, 1958). Suhr based his reconstruction of damaged Aphrodite statues on complete representations of the goddess, concluding that she was occupied by spinning yarn.

⁷⁰⁶ Suhr (1963), pl. 1 fig. 1. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum.

⁷⁰⁷ Suhr (1963), pl. 1 fig. 2. Berlin, Antikensammlung.

fibers. Then, Berlin *askos*⁷⁰⁸ portrays Aphrodite riding over the sea with her arms and hands extended in a spinning gesture.⁷⁰⁹ She is astride the sea animal, torso turned towards the viewer with the head in profile, spinning mindlessly. Finally, London D2⁷¹⁰ (Figure 5.14), a well-known Red-figure cup, illustrates Aphrodite with the headdress riding on a goose. Her hands are active with the left palm upward and the forefinger held against the thumb in a position of drawing the fibers from the distaff. The right hand appears to hold a flower of a spiral formation, “a thread saturated with life”.⁷¹¹ Thus, in the context of her form as Aphrodite *Ourania*, Aphrodite’s spinning is a symbol of creation. This activity is also seen on her Eastern predecessors, as the whirling swindle can be traced back to the East, where these goddesses were depicted creating the cosmos.⁷¹²



Figure 5.12. Aphrodite spinning
St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum

⁷⁰⁸ Suhr (1963), pl. 1, fig. 5. Berlin, Antikensammlung F2899.

⁷⁰⁹ This figure has originally been interpreted as one of the Nereids; see Suhr (1963), 67.

⁷¹⁰ London, British Museum: D2; Beazley Archive Database No. 211350.

⁷¹¹ Suhr (1963), 66.

⁷¹² J. Boardman, *Persia and the West: an Archaeological Investigation of the Genesis of Achaemenid Art* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2000); Suhr (1958), 37-38; J. B. Pitchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures* (Princeton, 1954), 43.



Figure 5.13. Spinning Aphrodite on a goose with Eros and Ares
Berlin, Antikensammlung

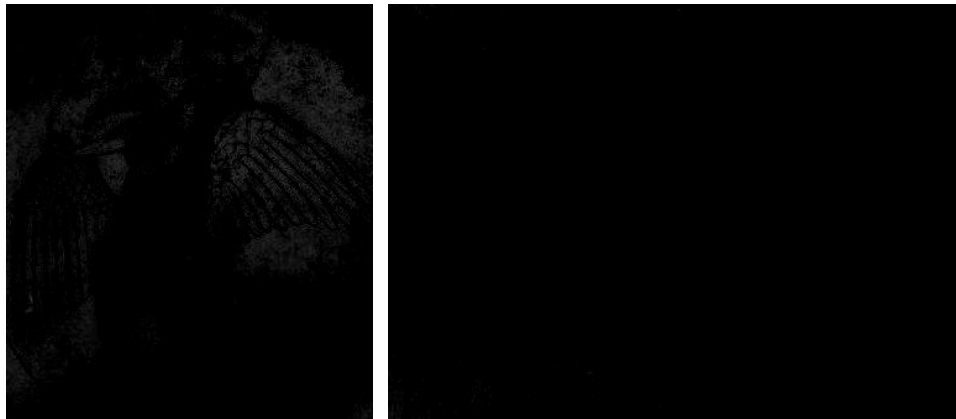


Figure 5.14. Aphrodite on a goose spinning
London, British Museum: D2; Beazley Archive Database No. 211350

Most of the above listed vessels are not widely known, and the images of spinning Aphrodite are overlooked and ignored, possibly because they are her unconventional depictions. By tradition, Athena, the virginal goddess, has been linked with spinning and wool-working, and all such depictions are automatically assigned to her identity.⁷¹³ However, the above listed cases clearly represent Aphrodite. Curiously, her constant

⁷¹³ Aphrodite was reduced in importance, but could not be fundamentally deprived of form and function. Aphrodite was allowed to keep her spinning attribute and although she remained a powerful divinity she was pushed aside in Athens by Athena.

companion Eros is also depicted spinning; his identity is undisputed due to his genitals, nudity and wings, and in the example of a gem in Berlin, he is wearing a headdress (Figure 5.15).⁷¹⁴



Figure 5.15. Eros Spinning, with a goose on a gem
Berlin, Antikensammlung

Besides spinning and wearing of the headdresses, Aphrodite is associated with other forms of textiles, such as Andromache's veil (*Iliad* 22.469) and her *kestos himas* (*Iliad* 14.214-221). This sacred sash in a shape of a saltire (*kestos himas*) alludes to the use of belts and amulets in ancient love magic,⁷¹⁵ as knotted threads and cords were used to enhance attractiveness.⁷¹⁶ In fact, some depictions of this saltire have knots or charms attached to the straps.⁷¹⁷ This ornament survives on Eastern fertility figurines depicting Ishtar, Astarte, Atargatis or Aphrodite, from regions including Kish, Susa and Anatolia,

⁷¹⁴ R. Carpenter, "Two Postscripts to the Hermes Controversy," *American Journal of Archaeology* 58/1 (1954): 9-10; pl.1 fig 3.

⁷¹⁵ Bonner, 1-6.

⁷¹⁶ Faraone (1990), 223.

⁷¹⁷ F. E. Brenk, "Aphrodite's Girdle: No way to Treat a Lady (*Iliad* 14.214-223)," *Classical Bulletin* 54/2 (1977): 17.

dating as early as ca. 3000 BCE.⁷¹⁸ An example from Hasanoglan, in present-day Turkey, is made of silver and gold and with a saltire of crossed sashes over Aphrodite's chest (Figure 5.16). Similar nude figurines with this ornamentation appear in Syria and the Indus Valley at about 1400 BCE, and almost a thousand years later the sash is seen on figurines of the Persian period.⁷¹⁹ As expected, the same chest ornament appears on representations of Aphrodite from the Greek Classical and Hellenistic periods as well as during Roman times (Figure 5.17).



Figure 5.16. Fertility goddess with saltire from Anatolia
Anatolia Civilization Museum, Ankara, Turkey

⁷¹⁸ DuMesnil du Buisson (Le Comte), *Le sautoir d'Atargatis et la chaîne d'amulettes. Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui, vol. I* (Leiden: Brill, 1947).

⁷¹⁹ Images are available in the publication by DuMesnil du Buisson, see note 718.



Figure 5.17. 4th century BCE cup fragment, Aphrodite wearing a *kestos himas* with Eros
Jena, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität: 390; Beazley Archive Database No. 230957

The *Iliad* states that the goddess's *kestos himas* was *poikilos* (14.215), a word of many meanings, including “woven”, “plaited”, “braided” and “embroidered”, thus possibly implying sprang.⁷²⁰ This *poikilos* quality curiously evokes the characteristics of the already mentioned *zonari* belts from modern Greece, which are still believed to have magical properties. They are made of sprang and used by women for protection because of their miraculous attributes. Based on this similarity, is it possible that Aphrodite's *kestos himas* was made of sprang as well?

Even more curious is the depiction of a woman in Athens Vlasto vessel⁷²¹ wearing a cross-shaped adornment over her chest (Figure 5.18). She is placed in front of a door carrying a mirror and an *alabastron*; unfortunately, due to damage, her head is missing. The ornament consists of two bands, each passing over a shoulder and under the opposite arm, crossing the other band between the breasts and on the back. This article undeniably resembles the description of Aphrodite's *kestos himas*, which was depicted in

⁷²⁰ *LSJ*, s.v. *Poikilos*.

⁷²¹ Athens, M. Vlasto 215607; Beazley Archive Database No. 215607.

vase-painting very rarely. Due to its magical properties, especially in regards to sexuality, the ornament would be appropriate on prostitutes, who were known for using magic for attracting and retaining their customers and lovers. Besides this sash, the presence of a mirror and an *alabastron* corroborate her identity as a woman in the profession. She is depicted in front of a door, as if she has just exited the *symposion*, the banquet held at the *andron*, where she has serviced the symposiasts.

A 3rd century BCE poet Asclepiades declared that prostitutes had worn such devices: “I myself once played with easy Hermione, who wore a variegated girdle of flowers, O Paphian one, which had a golden inscription: ‘Keep loving me forever and do not get angry if another man holds me’”.⁷²² In other words, according to Faraone, Hermione was a prostitute who wore this saltire as a magical device with an incantation designed to ensure that her boyfriends love her and do not get angry with her, similar to the Homeric *kestos himas*.⁷²³ This is confirmed by a 5th century BCE image of a nude entertainer/prostitute who is depicted wearing the same cords crossed over her chest while dancing and playing *krotala* (St. Petersburg ST808⁷²⁴ - Figure 5.19).

⁷²² Faraone (1999), 100-101.

⁷²³ Faraone lists as evidence a Roman magic gemstone with the identical inscription depicting Eros with hands bound behind his back (British Museum 1468); Faraone (1999), 101.

⁷²⁴ St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum: ST808; Beazley Archive Database No. 216220.

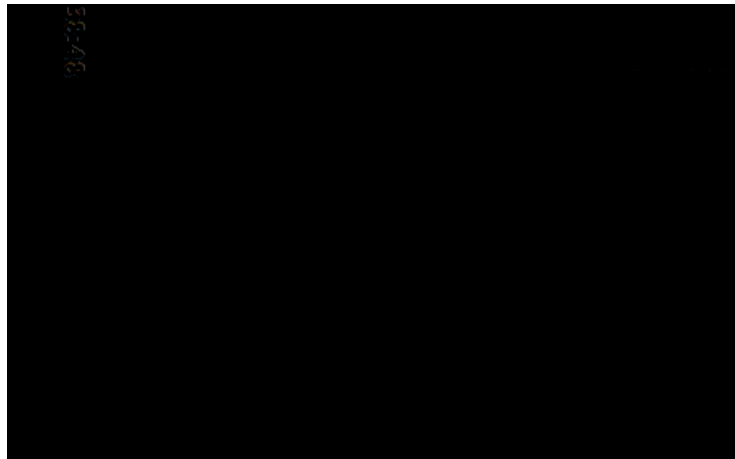


Figure 5.18. Woman wearing a saltire, in front of a door
Athens, M. Vlasto 215607; Beazley Archive Database No. 215607



Figure 5.19. Nude prostitute with a saltire playing a *krotala*
St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum: ST808; Beazley Archive Database No. 216220

In summary, Aphrodite, the goddess of prostitutes, was unquestionably associated with textiles through her sacred sash, depictions of spinning and adornment of the headdresses. Nevertheless, she was never linked with weaving and elaborate textiles to

the same degree as Athena and her Panathenaic *peplos* ritual.⁷²⁵ The cloth prepared for Athena *Parthenos* was colossal, the creation requiring great skill and mastery of the craft.⁷²⁶ The disparity between Aphrodite and Athena is analogous to the prostitute vs. wife paradigm. As explained, a prostitute's quick-meal and her simple headdress contrasted with a wife's elaborate dishes and complex fabrics in the same way as Aphrodite's mindless spinning and deceitful sash contrasted with Athena's intricate textiles and virtuous craft.

⁷²⁵ A *peplos* was the typical garment worn by women in the archaic period and was a traditional gift to Athena as early as the *Iliad* (6.302-304). This Athenian festival was celebrated in honour of Athena and involved bringing a new cloak or *peplos* to the ceremonial statue of the goddess inside the Erechtheum, as depicted on the Parthenon sculptural frieze.

⁷²⁶ Each year a newly woven *peplos* was taken by the craftswomen (*ergastinai*) into the Erechtheum and placed on a life-size old wooden statue of Athena *Poliás* (Guardian of the City), while every four years in the Great Panathenaea, an enormous *peplos* was taken to the Acropolis for Athena *Parthenos* (virgin) in the Parthenon. Both *peploi* were decorated with intricate embroidery depicting Olympian gods. See, for example, J. Mansfield, *The Robe of Athena and the Panathenaic "Peplos"* (PhD diss. University of California: Berkeley 1985).

CHAPTER SIX: THE HEADDRESSES IN ATTIC VASE-PAINTING

On Attic pottery, maenads and prostitutes epitomized two groups of female figures depicted with the headdresses and linked with sexual activities. Prostitutes were real-life tangible women while maenads were fictional mythological figures, and as such, they represented two sides of the same coin. Despite the similarities, the numbers of prostitutes' depictions with headdresses were significantly higher than the maenads' depictions. What ensues in this final chapter is an analysis of the headdress scenes compiled in the catalogue. This investigation is based on the previous discussion of vessel shapes, gender, sexuality, clothing, girdle gesture, and so on; with the two additional topics of prostitutes' religion and footwear, implied by the images of altars, sandals and boots.

Evidence

As already established, the headdress depictions were widespread on Greek pottery. The surviving Attic vase-painting is especially bountiful in such illustrations, and also well documented. The majority of scenes are dated between ca. 550-450 BCE, thus encompassing a part of High Archaic and all of Late Archaic (ca. 520-480 BCE) as well as Early Classical (ca. 480-450 BCE) artistic styles.

The headdress first appeared in High Archaic period marked by Black-figure pottery (ca. 575-550 BCE), and thus a few Black-figure examples have been provided in this survey for a complete background and better understanding. The Red-figure pottery mainly portrays maenads, komasts and prostitutes wearing the headdresses during the

period between ca. 550-450 BCE. Between ca. 480-450 BCE, images of komasts gradually vanish, thus leaving maenads and prostitutes to dominate the iconography.⁷²⁷ As a result, the primary focus of the study is Red-figure pottery, dated between ca. 550-450 BCE. This selection of time period was influenced by inconsistency in pottery dating, which depends on a method chosen by the particular scholar.

Of all figures that are depicted with the headdress, prostitutes form the greatest number of wearers, and the headdress is strongly associated with their profession. This fact is based on the data provided in the study. During the marked period, male figures appear with the headdresses on forty-six (46) and maenads on thirty-six (36) pots (see Appendix B for the full list). In contrast, prostitutes with the headdresses occur on at least one hundred and seventy-eight (178) vases (see Appendix C for the full catalogue). The catalogue lists two hundred and ten (210) examples, because the additional thirty-two (32) scenes that appear on the same vessels were examined separately.

⁷²⁷ In the following periods of High and Late Classical and Hellenistic (ca. 450-431 BCE), which are not a part of this study, the headdresses' popularity becomes widespread extending to brides, wives and children.

For brides see Paris, Musée du Louvre S 1671 (ca. 450-425 BCE), depicting a woman preparing for her wedding, and University of Mississippi, University Museums: 1977.3.90 (ca. 440), showing a woman in an *anakalypteria* gesture wearing the *sakkos*.

Wives are depicted in the house environment performing domestic tasks: working wool, weaving, performing religious rituals, childrearing, etc. For example, a mother with her child seated on the chair is wearing a *sakkos* (Cambridge (MA), Harvard Univ., Arthur M. Sackler Mus: 1960.342 (Beazley Archive Database No. 8184) ca. 440-430 BCE).

Young girls and unmarried women generally wore their hair down, loose and uncovered in the Archaic period (see F. B. Tarbell, "Note on the Hair-Dressing of Athenian Girls and Women," *Classical Philology* 6/4 (1911): 479-481; Lewis, 27). In Classical and Hellenistic times they wore headdresses - see the grave Stele of Silenis ca. 350 BCE (Berlin, Antikenmuseen 1492) depicts a girl with a *sakkos*; she stands next to a young unmarried woman, holding a box. A similar example comes from a stele from Boston ca. 320 BCE (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 1979.510) showing a young girl with a *sakkos*, also holding a box. Next, an invocation dedicated to Artemis by a young girl mentions the maidens offering their snood (*Greek Anthology* 6.280).

Maenads vs. Prostitutes

With the omission of male and focus on female figures in this study, the headdress trend appeared first on maenads and then on prostitutes. At first glance, these women had little in common, yet it is obvious from the artistic representations and some literary references that these two types were intimately related.⁷²⁸ They shared the characteristics of consumption of wine, open sexual behaviour, music, dancing, and religiosity, most of which belonged to the male domain.⁷²⁹ In addition, these figures were related in art by overlaying the attributes of one on the other.⁷³⁰ For example, a prostitute with a headdress is shown wearing a maenad's animal skin at a *komos* (London E38⁷³¹). On the other hand, a maenad wearing a headdress is illustrated in a transparent yellow tunic calmly playing the double flute, without any maenad attributes, in the midst of a Dionysiac frenzy (Berlin F2290⁷³²). But these two types of female figures were closely paralleled compositionally, suggesting an equation of their "untamed" otherness.⁷³³ Overall, both maenad and prostitute are portrayed as potential sex objects, at times impossible to distinguish.

Nevertheless, the former were marginal mythological figures, followers of Dionysos, driven into madness and ecstasy by their god.⁷³⁴ These women roamed mountains and forests, adorned with ivy and animal skins, waving the *thyrsos* (pine cone

⁷²⁸ For instance, Anakreon described a *hetaira* as "walking in a wiggling manner" (fr. 458), followed by a similar reference to a maenad calling these women "the hip-swaying Bassarids" (fr. 461).

⁷²⁹ Neils, 219.

⁷³⁰ Neils, 222.

⁷³¹ London, British Museum: E38; Beazley Archive Database No. 200460

⁷³² Berlin, Antikensammlung: F2290; Beazley Archive Database No. 204730.

⁷³³ Neils, 206.

⁷³⁴ Theban women were called *mainades* in Euripides' *Bacchae*; see Hedreen, 49.

staff) and, together with satyrs, half-man-half-beast attendants of Dionysos, were seen as “the other” – uncivilized and barbaric, symbolizing everything non-Greek.⁷³⁵

In 6th century BCE Attic vase-painting, the relations between maenads and satyrs were friendly and often intimate, which reflects the early mythological tradition wherein the two were lovers.⁷³⁶ In later periods, maenads became much less responsive to the satyrs’ desires, as seen in depictions of pursuit and resistance.⁷³⁷ In general, maenads are usually clothed and wearing the headdresses, but they are also depicted nude. A plethora of vases dated ca. 550-450 BCE depict maenads, starting from the early examples in a Black-figure technique to the later Red-figure pottery, such as Boston 76.41,⁷³⁸ Boston 91.223,⁷³⁹ Boston 95.30,⁷⁴⁰ Munich 2589,⁷⁴¹ NY 0.4403,⁷⁴² Oberlin 70.11,⁷⁴³ Princeton 33.41,⁷⁴⁴ etc.; three scenes will be singled out in order to demonstrate the progression of maenad imagery.

⁷³⁵ Like maenads, Amazons were seen as barbaric and non-Greek “other” as well. They were a mythical ancient nation of all-female warriors living outside civilized world. In a few instances, Amazons were shown wearing the headdress and in one occasion the *sakkos* was decorated with leopard spots, thus appearing to have been made from an animal skin (Paris, Musée du Louvre: F203; Beazley Archive Database No. 200013). Both maenads and Amazons completely reversed the virtues expected of the Greek women. Amazons rejected woman’s “natural” function by refusing marriage and amputating the breast; they brought up girls but destroyed or mutilated boys, and stressed their abnormality by living outside the civilized world, in the recesses of the Black Sea or North Africa (P. Walcot, “The Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite*: A Literary Appraisal,” *Greece & Rome* 38/2 (1991): 142). Thus, the Amazons defined what was normal by turning the norm on its head. Curiously, most of headdress wearers lived outside the Greek norms for respected women.

⁷³⁶ See, for example, the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*.

⁷³⁷ For a possible explanation, see Hedreen, 63.

⁷³⁸ Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 76.41; Beazley Archive Database No. 340502.

⁷³⁹ Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 91.223; Beazley Archive Database No. 209709.

⁷⁴⁰ Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 95.30; Beazley Archive Database No. 210144.

⁷⁴¹ Munich, Antikensammlungen: 2589; Beazley Archive Database No. 200957.

⁷⁴² New York (NY), Market: XXXX0.4403; Beazley Archive Database No. 204403.

⁷⁴³ Oberlin (OH), Oberlin Collection, Allen Memorial Art Museum: 70.11; Beazley Archive Database No. 5177.

⁷⁴⁴ Princeton (NJ), University Art Museum: 33.41; Beazley Archive Database No. 200483.

First, NY 0.4403⁷⁴⁵ is a Red-figure *kylix* tondo that illustrates a harmonious image of a satyr and a maenad (Figure 6.1). The maenad is dressed in an Ionic tunic and a leopard skin fastened on her shoulder confined at the waist by a broad belt. A plain *sakkos*, the Closed-Bag type, is on her head. The satyr is plying the double flute and she is dancing. This peaceful image of the pair implies the friendliness of the initial stages of their myth and a lack of the enmity and aggression seen in later examples.⁷⁴⁶

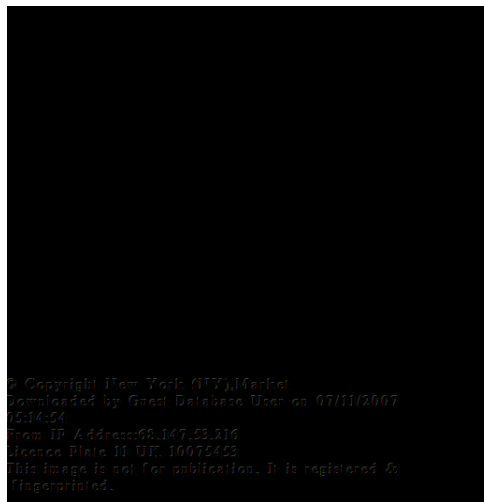


Figure 6.1. Maenad and satyr in harmony
New York (NY), Market: XXXX0.4403; Beazley Archive Database No. 204403

Second, Boston 91.223,⁷⁴⁷ a Red-figure *kylix*, shows two maenads confronting three satyrs (Figure 6.2). The maenads are fully dressed; the former has a Doric tunic and the latter the same outfit as the maenad from the previous New York tondo – Ionic tunic

⁷⁴⁵ New York (NY), Market: XXXX0.4403; Beazley Archive Database No. 204403.

⁷⁴⁶ This is a later vase-painting, dated ca. 450 BCE, but it was chosen to demonstrate the peaceful relationship between the two figures. Numerous vases convey similar depictions, especially Black-figure, yet this image was available to the author.

⁷⁴⁷ Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 91.223; Beazley Archive Database No. 209709.

with a leopard skin around her shoulder and waist. Both maenads are wearing the headdresses and are carrying *thyrsoi*, using them to defend themselves against the approaching satyrs. The head coverings are the same as in the first example, plain monochrome *sakkoi*, Closed-Bag types. The confrontation is not fully hostile and the satyrs are not ithyphallic.



Figure 6.2. Maenads confronting the satyrs
Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 91.223; Beazley Archive Database No. 209709

Third, Princeton 33.41,⁷⁴⁸ a Red-figure *kylix*, contains an illustrated tondo depicting an antagonistic encounter between a maenad and a satyr (Figure 6.3). The image is damaged; however, the fully nude body of the maenad is clearly visible, which is a rare occurrence. She is wearing a plain *mitra*, the Closed-Bag type, with outlined folds. In her left hand, the maenad is holding a *thyrsos*, which she is using to defend herself from the attacking satyr by hitting him in the groin. The satyr was most likely ithyphallic.

⁷⁴⁸ Princeton (NJ), University Art Museum: 33.41; Beazley Archive Database No. 200483.



Figure 6.3. Nude maenad attacking a satyr
Princeton (NJ), University Art Museum: 33.41; Source: Beazley Archive Database No. 200483

These three examples illustrate different levels of interaction between satyrs and maenads and point to the maenads' sexuality. As shown, the defining element of the maenad-satyr relationship was their unconsummated bond. Nevertheless, some vases portray satyrs sexually involved with women closely resembling the maenads, and one such example is Würzburg 2164⁷⁴⁹ (Figure 6.4). This Black-figure cup shows a satyr copulating with a woman. At first, the likely identification of the female figure is that of a maenad, but her identifying attributes are absent. The woman is completely nude but for a *sakkos*, marked by a tassel or a loop at the top. This scene and other similar examples where women lack maenads' attributes, embody different relationship patterns, particularly in the illustrations of the consummated sexual contact. I believe these scenes do not depict maenads, but prostitutes, the real-life women able to fulfill satyrs' carnal desires.

⁷⁴⁹ Würzburg, Universität, Martin von Wagner Mus.: 2164; Beazley Archive Database No. 31655.



Figure 6.4. Satyr and a prostitute
Würzburg 2164; Beazley Archive Database No. 31655

Due to unruly sexuality and nudity, depictions of maenads and prostitutes were at times hard to differentiate, since they were both associated with these qualities. An Attic Black-figure drinking cup, ca. 575-525 BCE (New York 25.78.4⁷⁵⁰), shows a head of a woman wearing a *kekryphalos* (Figure 6.5). Since the image on the other side has been identified as Dionysos, the woman is then presumably a maenad. Nevertheless, no certainty can be imposed on these images of such plain and simple rendering. The fact that the woman is adorned with jewelry (she is wearing a necklace) may provide for an alternative interpretation. The notion that she may represent a prostitute should not be ruled out completely. As for the presence of Dionysos, his image may symbolize the *symposion* and wine drinking, in which case the figure of a prostitute would indicate entertainment and services provided at these events.

⁷⁵⁰ New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum: 25.78.4; Beazley Archive Database No. 310289.



Figure 6.5. Maenad or prostitute with the headdress
New York, Metropolitan Museum: 25.78.4; Beazley Archive Database No. 310289

Another example of mistaken identity is shown in Milan 265⁷⁵¹ (Figure 6.6). This *kylix* tondo depicts a satyr with a nude woman wearing the headdress, a rather large *mitra*. Usually, the presence of a satyr would identify the woman as a maenad; however, this is not clear in the discussed case. Curiously, the woman, without the maenad attributes, is advancing toward the satyr, who is about to touch her genitals. This is an unusual and strange arrangement, since typically the satyr was the one attacking the maenad.⁷⁵² Thus, based on the earlier discussion of the standard maenad/satyr imagery, I am inclined to identify this female figure as a prostitute.

⁷⁵¹ Milan, Civico Museo Archeologico: 265; Beazley Archive Database No. 13120.

⁷⁵² Another such example occurs on Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum: 63.104 (Beazley Archive Database No. 275635).

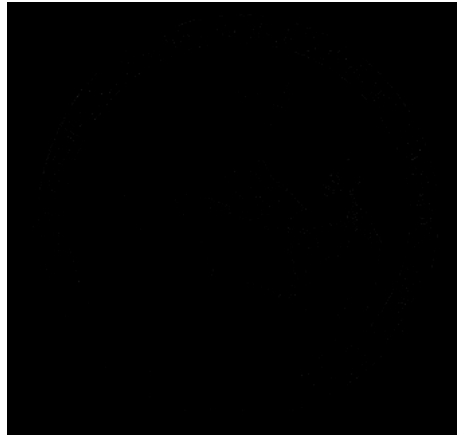


Figure 6.6. Prostitute wearing a headdress with a satyr
 Milan, Civico Museo Archeologico: 265; Beazley Archive Database No. 13120

Therefore, despite obvious parallels, images of prostitutes are distinguishable from their mythical counterparts. For instance, even though maenads and prostitutes dressed in a similar fashion (including nudity), they noticeably differed in some respects. Maenads regularly adorned animal skins, carried a *thyrsos* or were marked by other Dionysiac symbols; above all, they never engaged in consummated sexual relationships. In addition, the maenads were never named, in contrast to the numerous name inscriptions indicating prostitutes.

A Black-figure drinking cup dated ca. 550 BCE provides an excellent example of named prostitutes (Figure 6.7). Munich 2167⁷⁵³ depicts two female busts on each side, with two inscriptions, reading *Kalistanthe kale* under each woman.⁷⁵⁴ They are unlikely to be maenads, as their attributes are missing (e.g. the animal skin, the *thyrsos*, ivy leaves, etc.) and the names refer to “beautiful” women. In addition, regarding these public name

⁷⁵³ Boardman & Kurtz, 52. Munich, Antikensammlungen: 2167; Beazley Archive Database No. 306480.

⁷⁵⁴ From around the mid-6th to the mid-5th centuries BCE, *kalos* inscriptions appear on Athenian vases, and are particularly prevalent on Red-Figure cups from that period; see Lissarrague (1999), 359–373.

affection-declarations, representations of respected women would not be seen as appropriate, especially not on a drinking cup.⁷⁵⁵ Similar examples occur on other comparable vessels, such as Munich 2164,⁷⁵⁶ Munich 2165⁷⁵⁷ and Munich 2166,⁷⁵⁸ where women (without headdresses) are wearing large earrings and necklaces, and are accompanied by inscriptions. Based on the above-listed reasons, I believe these are depictions of prostitutes.

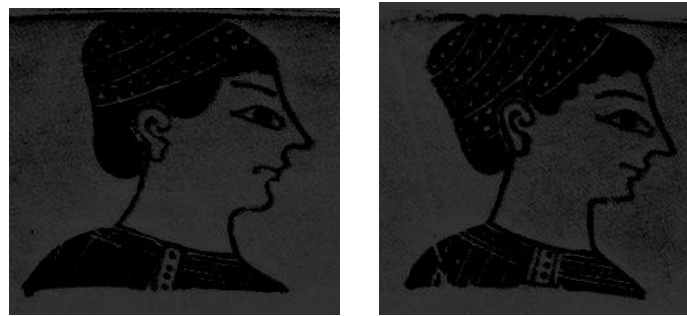


Figure 6.7. Two prostitutes with *sakkoi*
Munich, Antikensammlungen: 2167; Beazley Archive Database No. 306480

Next, an apparent depiction of a prostitute appears on a cup fragment from Athenian Acropolis ca. 550 BCE (Figure 6.8), showing a couple having intercourse *a tergo*. The woman, painted in white, is leaning on the *symposion* bed in front of her. She appears lavishly dressed since she is wearing an exquisite *sakkos* with two decorative bands. As a result, the woman likely represents a successful *hetaira*.⁷⁵⁹ Another similar

⁷⁵⁵ See D. Schaps, "The Women Least Mentioned: Etiquette and Women's Names," *Classical Quarterly* 27 (1977): 323-330. Even though this cup is from an earlier period, it is very likely that the tradition also existed during this time.

⁷⁵⁶ Munich, Antikensammlungen: 2164; Beazley Archive Database No. 310557.

⁷⁵⁷ Munich, Antikensammlungen: 2165; Beazley Archive Database No. 301088.

⁷⁵⁸ Munich, Antikensammlungen: 2166; Beazley Archive Database No. 301102.

⁷⁵⁹ Acropolis no.1639. See A. Lemos, "Athenian Black-Figure: Rhodes Revisited" in J. Oakley et al. (eds.), *Athenian Potters and Painters: The Conference Proceedings* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997), 463.

depiction comes from a mid-6th century BCE Athenian amphora, Munich 1432⁷⁶⁰ (Figure 6.9), where a woman, clearly engaged in sexual activity, is wearing a delicate *kekryphalos*.

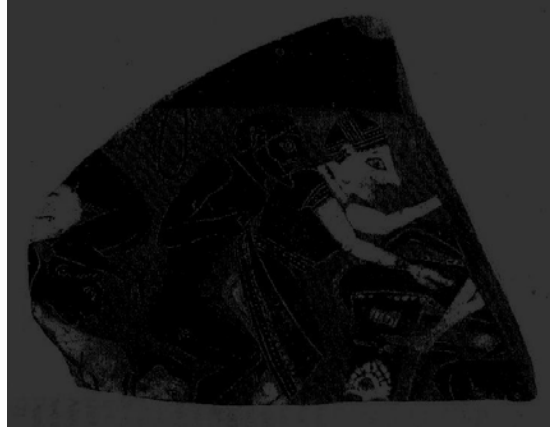


Figure 6.8. Copulating couple, woman wearing a *sakkos*
Acropolis fragment no.1639



Figure 6.9. Copulation couple, woman wearing a *kekryphalos*
Munich, Antikensammlungen: 1432; Beazley Archive Database No. 310097

⁷⁶⁰ Munich, Antikensammlungen: 1432; Beazley Archive Database No. 310097.

Finally, in order to summarize the prostitute-maenad relation, I will examine a drinking cup in a private collection in Germany (Hornbostel no.263⁷⁶¹), dated ca. 480 BCE (Figure 6.10). One side of the *kylix* depicts an image of a nude maenad sleeping while a satyr approaches grabbing her by her thigh; her *thyrsos* lies nearby. The other side portrays a similar nude reclining figure, with a headdress, propped up on banquet pillows. A satyr is resting next to her and they are interacting amicably. A wine skin and a nautilus shell are hanging on the wall. The former scene is set outdoors while the latter is clearly indoors. The two pictures are closely paralleled compositionally, yet there is no doubt that the first female figure is a maenad and the second a prostitute.⁷⁶² The maenad's nudity is accidental and she is identified by her staff, while the prostitute's nudity is intentional and she is recognized by the shell, a documented offering to Aphrodite.⁷⁶³

⁷⁶¹ Hornbostel, no.263.

⁷⁶² A parallel imagery occurs on Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: H1 (Beazley Archive Database No. 200612), which depicts a nude maenad holding a *thyrsos* with an ithyphallic donkey on one side and a nude prostitute with a *skyphos* getting ready for sexual intercourse with an ithyphallic satyr on the other. Both female figures are wearing the headdresses, Open-Wrap types.

⁷⁶³ See Callimachus, *Epigram* 5 (*Athenaeus* 7.318b).



Figure 6.10 Maenad vs. prostitute
Germany, Private Collection

In summary, both maenads and prostitutes were linked with the headdresses and explicit sexual activities. The former were mythological creatures depicted in unconsummated sexual interactions with satyrs, while the latter were real-life women intended for sexual fulfillment depicted in scenes of achieved consummation. In both cases, the headdresses were associated with the sexuality and “otherness” of the figures that functioned outside the norms of Attic society.

Prostitutes and Headdresses on Pottery

Clearly, a better understanding of Athenian prostitutes depends on a careful reading of the visual imagery. The majority of vessels considered in this study fall within

the period of the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th century BCE, which was dominated by the unruly depictions of Dionysiac revelry. These vases contained images of easily identifiable prostitutes. Later on, Early and High Classical iconography was much tamer and less openly sexual, thus creating a difficulty in recognizing prostitutes. The reasons for this change and the suppression of unrestrained imagery may lie in the aftermath of the Persian Wars when the Athenians began to reassess their moral values and see themselves as the leaders of Greece.⁷⁶⁴ Still, the sexual themes continued, but in a more subtle, ambiguous and disguised mode.

In view of that, this study of prostitutes and headdresses shows that these women were symbolically and socially central, despite their marginal status in the Greek world. Attic pottery testifies to that notion, as from the 520s on, prostitutes' images were prevailing over the maenads' and the headdresses became more frequent on Attic pottery. Accordingly, the headdresses appear almost exclusively on women entertainers and prostitutes in various stages of undress in symposiac and revelry settings.

In addition, from the early beginnings on Black-figure pottery, it appears that the turban or *mitra*, the Wrap, was more common before 520s (Ann Arbor 2599⁷⁶⁵ – Figure 6.11), and that the *sakkos*, a looser headdress with a tail or point – the Bag – became widespread afterwards (Tampa 86.34⁷⁶⁶ – Figure 6.12).⁷⁶⁷

⁷⁶⁴ Neils, 224.

⁷⁶⁵ Ann Arbor (MI), University of Michigan, Kelsey Museum: 2599; Beazley Archive Database No. 301911.

⁷⁶⁶ Tampa (FL), Museum of Art: 86.34; Beazley Archive Database No. 306630.

⁷⁶⁷ Boardman & Kurtz, 53.

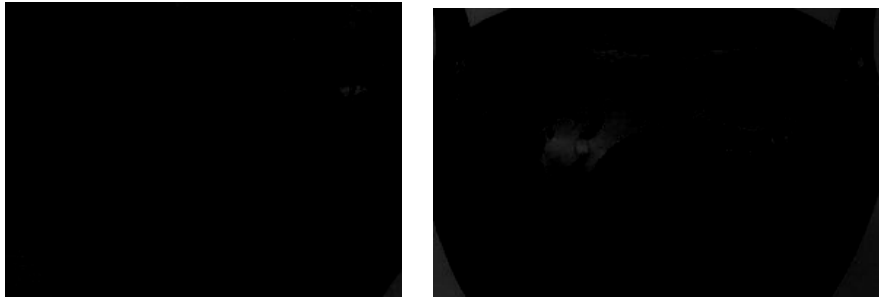


Figure 6.11. Prostitutes wearing *mitrai* with *krotala* dancing at a *komos*
Ann Arbor (MI), University of Michigan, Kelsey Museum: 2599; Beazley Archive
Database No. 301911



Figure 6.12. Prostitutes wearing *sakkoi* at the *symposion*
Tampa (FL), Museum of Art: 86.34; Beazley Archive Database No. 306630

In the period between ca. 520 – 470 BCE, the banquet themes were taken up by large numbers of painters, and wine, women, singing and dancing appear in various combinations.⁷⁶⁸ Consequently, a large number of headdress depictions occur on *kylikes* and their *tondos*, confirmed by the study's findings, based on two hundred and ten (210) examples, showing that one hundred and twenty-eight (128) images are on the *kylikes* and seventy-five (75) on the *tondos*. In addition, ten (10) scenes from this study portray the

⁷⁶⁸ Lissarrague (1992), 217-218.

act of copulation, while some forty (40) vase-paintings from this category survive on Attic pottery in general.⁷⁶⁹

Female Head-Vases with the Headdress

Prior to the full analysis of the catalogue, a brief discussion of the headdress head-vases will ensue. These vases are excluded from the catalogue as they do not contain painted illustrations, yet their existence is noteworthy. A large number of head-vases shaped in a form of a woman's head are sculpted with a headdress covering their heads. The headdress type is the Closed-Bag, but is it uncertain if they are *sakkoi* or *kekryphaloi*. The rendering is detailed and in a few cases covered in a series of diamonds of lozenges formed by the intersections of diagonal black stripes with a smaller reserved diamond placed in each intersection (e.g. Berlin F2190⁷⁷⁰). Within each diamond or lozenge are four alternately reserved and glazed smaller diamonds. The band of netting at the back is rendered as parallel lines intersecting diagonally.⁷⁷¹ Usually, a pair of knobs decorated with lines is at the back, and in the Berlin example, they are connected by three looping lines resembling chains. These knobs correspond to signature elements of the sprang technique used to create the headdresses. Besides Berlin F2190,⁷⁷² other analogous examples that depict elaborate rendering of the headdress are Les Arcs 17898,⁷⁷³ RISD

⁷⁶⁹ Lissarrague (1992), 218.

⁷⁷⁰ Berlin, Antikensammlung: F2190; Beazley Archive Database No. 231221.

⁷⁷¹ The headdress' description is based on Ellen Reeder's observations; see E. Reeder (ed.), *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece* (Baltimore (MA), Walters Art Gallery, 1995), 213-214.

⁷⁷² Berlin, Antikensammlung: F2190; Beazley Archive Database No. 231221.

⁷⁷³ Les Arcs, Marcel Elbnother: XXXX17898; Beazley Archive Database No. 17898. For illustrations, see Slater, figs.15-18.

22.213,⁷⁷⁴ London 73.8-20.280,⁷⁷⁵ St. Petersburg 686,⁷⁷⁶ Vibo Valentia C57⁷⁷⁷ and Tarquinia 6845⁷⁷⁸ (see Figures 6.13-14). Many similar vases in the form of a woman's head survive, but were painted only in black and without the detailing.

These head *kantharoi* and *oinochoai*, the wine drinking vessels, were surely a part of a *symposion* scene.⁷⁷⁹ They have been interpreted as depictions of prostitutes and low-class women, since these vessels represent marginal figures (blacks, women and satyrs), in opposition to the aristocratic citizen symposiasts.⁷⁸⁰ These readings list low status as the explanation for identifying the figures as prostitutes, ignoring all other components. However, the exquisite rendering of the headdresses and the beautiful features of the women's faces point in the opposite direction, indicating that these women indeed represent prostitutes, but the high-class ones. On the other hand, the figures could also represent a goddess due to their beauty and richness of details, and based on the previous analysis of Aphrodite's connection to the headdress, her identity as the female head seems reasonable. Such interpretation may be confirmed in the example of Tarquinia 6845⁷⁸¹ (Figure 6.14), which depicts an animal frieze on the headdress that includes winged horses, lions, boars and panthers. Fittingly, this orientalizing element would be perfectly suitable for the portrayal of the Eastern Aphrodite.

⁷⁷⁴ Providence (RI), Rhode Island School of Design: 22.213; Beazley Archive Database No. 218429.

⁷⁷⁵ London, British Museum: 73.8-20.280; Beazley Archive Database No. 218430.

⁷⁷⁶ St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum: 686; Beazley Archive Database No. 231222.

⁷⁷⁷ Vibo Valentia, Museo Statale Vito Capialbi: C57; Beazley Archive Database No. 17664.

⁷⁷⁸ Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese: 6845; Beazley Archive Database No. 260209.

⁷⁷⁹ Lewis points that they may reflect stereotyped male-female power relations; Lewis, 169.

⁷⁸⁰ See Reeder, 212-215; F. Lissarrague, "Identity and Otherness: The Case of Attic Head Vases and Plastic Vases," *Source* 15/1 (1995): 4-9.

⁷⁸¹ Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese: 6845; Beazley Archive Database No. 260209.

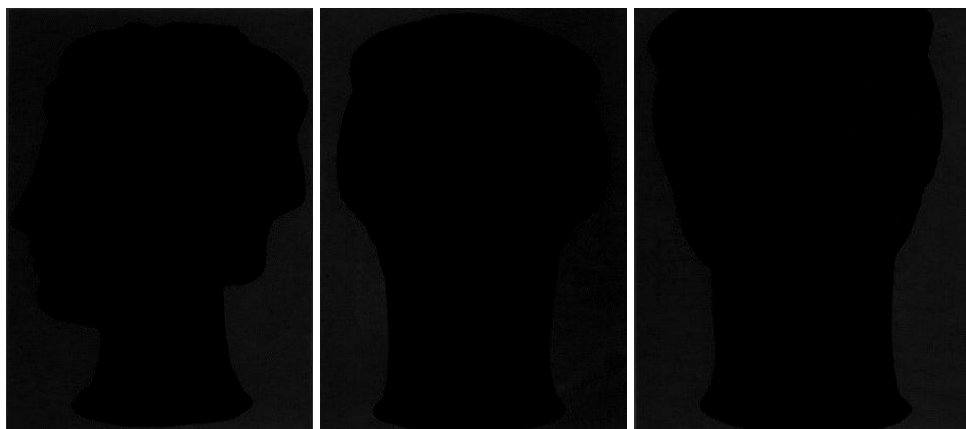


Figure 6.13. *Sakkos/Kekryphalos* Head *Oinochoe* (damaged)
Vibo Valentia, Museo Statale Vito Capialbi: C57; Beazley Archive Database No. 17664

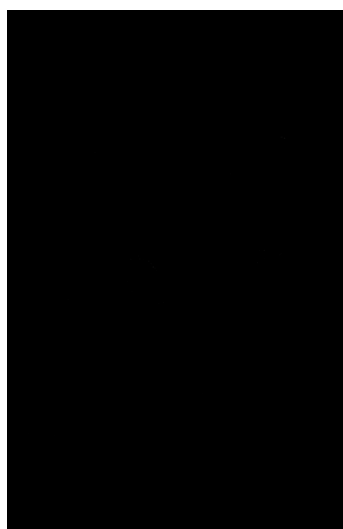


Figure 6.14. *Sakkos/Kekryphalos* Head *Kantharos*
Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese: 6845; Beazley Archive Database No. 260209

However, a head *kantharos* in the form of a black woman's head with a *sakkos* certainly does not represent Aphrodite (Washington WU3284⁷⁸² - Figure 6.15). The vessel is covered in black glaze, which was particularly suited to the rendering of this

⁷⁸² St. Louis (MO), University, Washington Museum: WU3284; Beazley Archive Database No. 218376.

subject.⁷⁸³ The white paint, now mostly faded and missing, was used for the wreath, which encircled the neck; it was made of long leaves, possibly a myrtle, tied in front.⁷⁸⁴ In addition, the lips are left in the colour of the clay and the teeth are painted white, while the tongue that shows between the teeth was also of the clay colour.⁷⁸⁵ Tongues have a strong erotic connotation, leading to a conclusion that this head-vase represented a prostitute, in fact a foreign slave.



Figure 6.15 *Sakkos Head Kantharos* (Black)
St. Louis (MO), University, Washington Museum: WU3284; Beazley Archive Database
No. 218376

In summary, I am inclined to believe that the head-vases, especially the ones with the headdresses, represent either Aphrodite or her prostitutes, taking into account all

⁷⁸³ Moon & Berge, 149 no. 86.

⁷⁸⁴ Moon & Berge, 149 no. 86.

⁷⁸⁵ G. E. Mylonas, "Greek Vases in the Collection of Washington University in St. Louis," *American Journal of Archaeology* 44/2 (1940): 206.

types - courtesans, low-class and slaves. This conclusion is based on the previously discussed evidence linking these figures with the headdresses.

Notes on the Catalogue

Having provided a detailed background and history of prostitutes, headdresses and sprang textiles, I will now present the study's finding and statistics based on the collected material documented in the catalogue (Appendix C). It consists of two hundred and ten (210) scenes portrayed on one hundred and seventy-eight (178) vases. All listed records are believed to represent prostitutes with the headdresses: the *mitra*, *sakkos* and *kekryphalos*. The vessels date between ca. 550-450 BCE and include only Attic Red-figure pottery. Unfortunately, due to the study limitations, the abundant evidence on White-ground vessels was not included.

Regarding the records, the majority of data comes from the invaluable Beazley Archive housed at the University of Oxford, and the Perseus Digital Library from the Tufts University. The dates are generally based on the information from the Beazley Archive, marked roughly in the 50-year time span, e.g. 500-450 BCE. Descriptions of the scenes are primarily taken verbatim from the Beazley Archive, since a detailed examination of these vases was not available to the author; they were corrected or adjusted if found necessary. All keywords are provided by the author.

The records are listed alphabetically, according to the Title field based on the current location of the vessel. The already examined twenty (20) frames scenes are not included in this catalogue and are enlisted in Appendix A.

Iconography and Interpretation

What follows is an analysis of two hundred and ten (210) headdress scenes, which will incorporate the topics discussed in the chapter on frame scenes: vessel shapes, gender, sexuality, doors, clothing, girdle gesture, mirrors, oil containers, musical instruments, love gifts, purses, architectural elements, animals, sport objects, wool-baskets and headdresses. The additional topics included in the discussion are religion and footwear. Due to the large number of vessels, some will be examined in more detail than the others.

Vessel Shapes

The vases on which these headdress scenes occur come in many different shapes: *alabastron* (15), *amphora* (6), *askos* (1), *hydria* (6), *lekythos* (7), *kantharos* (1), *krater* (15), *kylix* (128), *mastos* (1), *pelike* (15), *pinake* (1), *psykter* (1), *pyxis* (6), *skyphos* (4) and *stamnos* (3). These numbers include thirty-two (32) scenes from the vessels with multiple headdress depictions (Table 5). The total number of scenes is two hundred and ten (210), illustrated on one hundred and seventy-eight (178) vases.

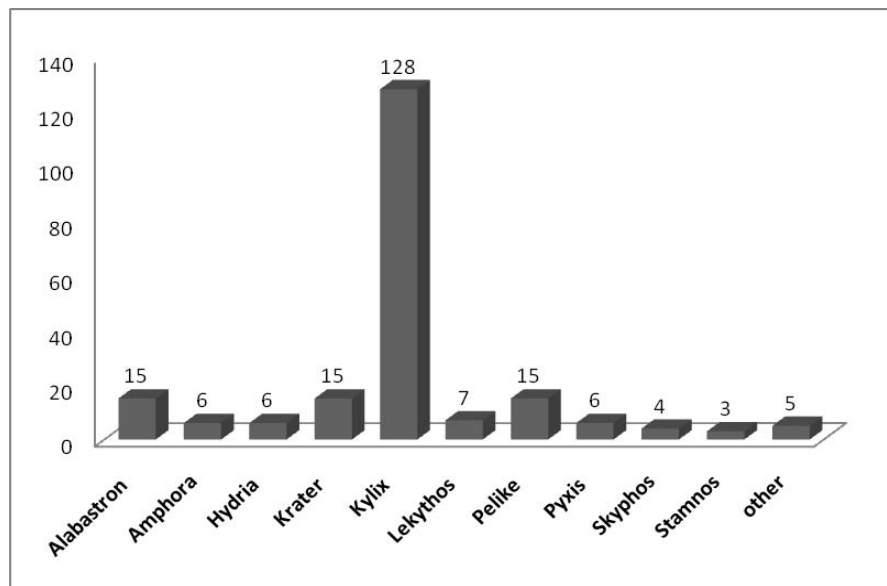


Table 5. Vessel Shapes: Attic Red-figure Headdress Vases

Based on this data, prostitutes with headdresses appear mainly on drinking cups (128), specifically in the tondos (75). The significance of the tondos is that the round bottoms of these wide cups were generally reserved for erotic imagery, whether subtle or explicit. The exterior of the cup could have been examined easily when empty, while the tondo was readily on display during drinking, due to the shallowness of the vessel and the clarity of the diluted wine.

In addition to the *kylikes*, ten other vessel types were used at the banquets and revelry: the *amphora* (6), *pelike* (15) *hydria* (6), *kantharos* (1), *krater* (15), *psykter* (1), *skyphos* (4), *mastos* (1), *stamnos* (3) and *pinake* (1). An *amphora* was two-handled vase with a narrow neck utilized for storage or transport. This vessel shape was common in both plain and decorated wares; however, the ones used for transport were largely undecorated. Although they were generally linked with olive oil, they also contained and

stored wine, as seen in Aristophanes' *Plutus*, where it is stated that “the *amphorai* are full of red and fragrant wine” (807). In Attic vase-painting, the *amphorai* were depicted at drinking events (e.g. Ferrara 2998⁷⁸⁶ and Palermo 5503⁷⁸⁷). In addition, since the catalogued examples are decorated, they were certainly intended for display. The wine for a *symposion* and revelry was possibly kept in these decorative *amphorai*. Similarly, a *pelike* was a variation of the *amphora* with a smoothly flowing neck into the body. Accordingly, it was related to the wine-drinking culture as well, just as the *amphora* served the function of a decanter, to hold the wine for a drinking party.

A *hydria* was a three-handled vessel for water carrying, as discussed earlier. The two horizontal handles on the shoulder were for lifting and carrying; the one vertical handle was for pouring.⁷⁸⁸ Like the *amphora*, this vessel was not exclusively linked with a *symposion*, but as argued, was used to provide water for the occasion, since the Greeks mixed wine with water.

On the other hand, the *kantharos*, *krater*, *psykter*, *mastos* and *stamnos* were objects used exclusively for wine drinking. First, a *kantharos* was a deep cup with two vertical handles, which often extended high above the lip of the cup, resembling ears. Ancient authors regularly associated the vessel with Dionysos and his rituals.⁷⁸⁹ Second, a *krater* was a large bowl with a wide mouth, employed for mixing wine and water. Third, a *psykter* was a vessel characterized by a bulbous body set on a high, narrow foot,

⁷⁸⁶ Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina: 2998; Beazley Archive Database No. 206674.

⁷⁸⁷ Palermo, Mus. Arch. Regionale: 5503; Beazley Archive Database No. 202414.

⁷⁸⁸ For descriptions of vases shapes and uses, see M. G. Kanowski, *Containers of Classical Greece: A Handbook of Shapes* (New York: University of Queensland Press, 1984), and the Beazley Archive website www.beazley.ox.ac.uk.

⁷⁸⁹ See the Perseus Digital Library (www.perseus.tufts.edu), s.v. *kantharos*.

used as a wine cooler. The *psykter* would be filled with wine, and then placed in a *krater* full of cold water or ice. Fourth, a *skyphos* was a deep, mug-like, stemless cup, with two small horizontal handles attached at the rim or lower. In comparison with the *kylix*, the *skyphos* was the poor man's drinking cup, and many were undecorated; however, it was also frequently used at the *komos* and by women. Next, a *mastos* was a variation on a *skyphos*, named for its breast-like shape.⁷⁹⁰ A high-shouldered *stamnos* was a wide-mouthed pot with a spreading lip on a short neck, with handles set horizontally on the shoulder. Some examples had lids, suggesting that they were used for holding, storing and serving wine.

Finally, a *pinake* was a flat disc or a plate, usually with an oblique rim and a low, sloping central depression and sometimes with two strap handles. In Attica, it was only common during the 6th century BCE. Like the *hydria*, the plate was not exclusively a male vessel, but was certainly used at the *symposion* to hold food, especially if it had erotic imagery. However, examples with holes drilled into the rim have survived, suggesting they were suspended for display, possibly at these banquets.

Besides wine-drinking vessels, there were twenty-three (23) vases listed in the headdress catalogue, which were used for holding and storing perfumed oil; the *alabastron* (15), *lekythos* (7) and *askos* (1) fall into this category. First, the *alabastra* and *lekythoi* were discussed earlier for their erotic connotations. As expected, the *alabastra* iconography was particularly interesting as it followed the image-formula consisting of prostitutes with their paraphernalia or with clients. Twenty-two (22) oil-jars do not

⁷⁹⁰ The Greek word *mastos* meant a “breast”.

necessarily represent a large number when compared to the total figure; however, many excellent and intriguing examples were portrayed on White-ground *alabastra* and *lekythoi* that were not included in this study.

The third type was an *askos*, which was a small, round vessel with a flat bottom and an over-arching handle that joined the angled neck. Its shape resembled that of a wineskin with its opening closed.⁷⁹¹ There was little room for extensive decoration, and often a pair of figures sufficed. The shape was ideal for pouring oil, for the angle of the body and spout causes the liquid to come out in a thin stream when lightly tilted. In Attic Red-figure scenes, the *askoi* are often depicted in the arms of satyrs, thus linking them automatically with erotic symbolism.

The last group of the catalogued vessels was comprised of female containers, six (6) scenes from *pyxides* in particular. As discussed earlier, a *pyxis* was a small round box, used for storing jewelry, ointments or cosmetics. In Red-figure, *pyxides* were regularly decorated with scenes of female activity, and as argued above, some certainly belonged to prostitutes and courtesans.

In summary, one hundred and eighty-one (181) vessels were associated with wine-drinking and were used at the *symposion* and *komos*, twenty-three (23) were oil-jars with explicit erotic connotations, plus six (6) feminine containers used for storing valuable ornaments and cosmetics (Table 6).

⁷⁹¹ The Greek word for wineskin was *askos*.

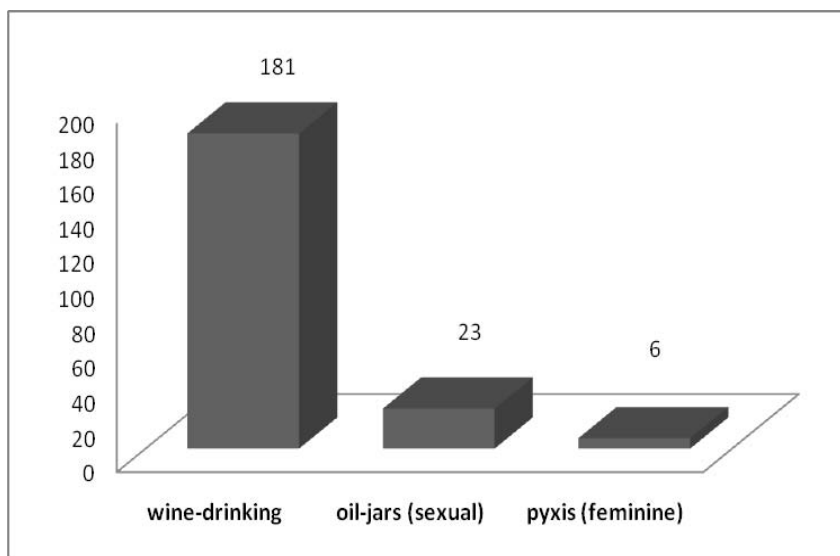


Table 6. Shape Function: Attic Red-figure Headdress Vases

Gender and Sexuality

According to the catalogue data, prostitutes wore headdresses while in the company of men as well as when alone or with other women, since one hundred and fifteen (115) images depict men and women intermingling freely. The other ninety-five (95) are illustrations of women in groups or as single figures.

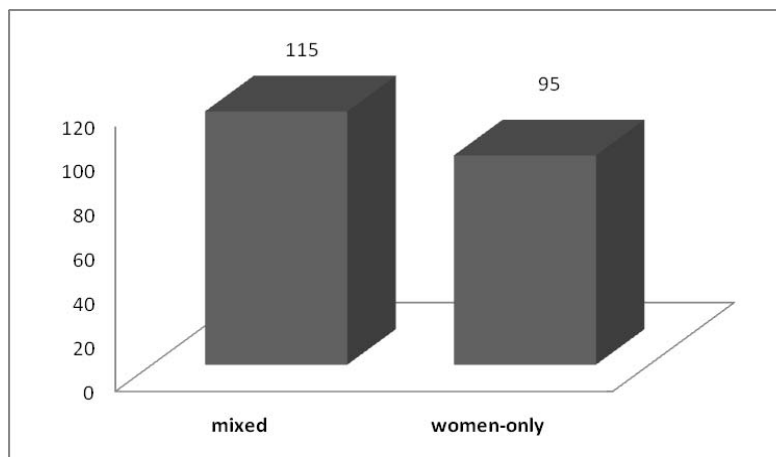


Table 7. Gender: Attic Red-figure Headdress Vases

The mixed-gender scenes can be divided into explicit erotica and subtle sexual imagery. Explicit erotica is depicted in thirty-eight (38) scenes, including a *phallos* bird on Berlin 1966.21, a passionate embrace on Kerameikos 2713, a removal of the girdle and clothes on London E44, a “genital cupping” on Malibu 86.AE.293 tondo, an aggressive gesture on Oxford 1931.12, a giant *phallos* on Rome 50404 and exposed breasts on Cambridge 2388, NY 1986.322.1 and Tübingen E22. The explicit sexual intercourse occurs ten (10) times, taking into account a rare image of cunnilingus from Berlin 3251 A. These intercourse scenes are Athens 1063, Athens A2579, Berlin 3251 A & B, Berlin Private 4290, Florence 0.3488, Malibu 83.AE.321, Munich 211241, Orvieto 275682 and Private Collection (Kilmer R824). Furthermore, a few scenes show female sexual stimulation in women-only settings, such as a nude woman with *olisboi* (dildos) (Cervetri 561 and St. Petersburg 14611), two women climbing a giant *phallos* (Rome 50404), a woman riding a large *phallos* bird (Rome 57684) and a nude woman climbing into a basket full of *phalloi* (Syracuse 20065 B).

The second group of the mixed-gender scenes is comprised of the subtle sexual imagery, which can be divided into four different categories: *symposion*, *komos*, courting and visits.⁷⁹² The *symposion* illustrations (38) are easy to detect as they generally show figures reclining on couches or surrounded by sympotic paraphernalia. Some *symposion* imagery belongs to the above category of explicit erotica, while others are more subdued and feature clothed women. Similarly, the *komos* (35) is identified without difficulty,

⁷⁹² The categories are defined by the author.

since the images contain elements of music, singing, dancing and celebration. Contrary to the symposiasts who are lounging and resting, the komasts are standing or dancing.

The third category contains thirty-one (31) images of courting. The term “courting” is an ambiguous concept, used generally to indicate respected romantic interactions between citizens, both homoerotic and heterosexual. However, in this study, the term implies an “un-respected” exchange, or “hustling,” between a man and his sexual object, either an unwilling slave or a willing prostitute.⁷⁹³ For example, Detroit 63.13 shows men ambushing and hustling women at the fountain, some of whom may have been female household slaves. Likewise, Texas 12 illustrates a similar situation at the laver, where nude women are attacked and fondled by a draped youth. Other courting scenes are more straightforward and usually comprise of the gift-giving gesture. The gift items include flowers, wreaths, fruits, mirrors and money-bags, the actual payments.

Finally, the so-called visits are images of men entering prostitutes’ space, such as brothels or their residences, and they number at eighteen at least (18). Five (5) are clearly defined by a male figure at the doorway: Florence PD55 A, St. Petersburg B1535 A, Tampa 86.70 and Warsaw 142317 A & B. Still, the distinctions among these four categories, especially courting and visits, are not always clear-cut, as they generally contain elements of both. For example, Toledo 1972.55 A & B depicts men visiting prostitutes at their premises, possibly a brothel, yet they have brought gifts of flowers and wreaths, together with payments for the services.

⁷⁹³ For the explanation of the terminology “respected” and “un-respected” see the Introduction.

Symposion, Komos and Music Entertainment

Images of celebration and entertainment occur in sixty-six (66) scenes, which take into account fifty-seven (57) scenes of female musicians depicted with various musical instruments, including a *kithara* (2), lyre (14), *krotala* (14) and flutes (38).⁷⁹⁴ Most of these images indicate a *symposion* or a *komos* – banqueting and revelry that generally required such amusement. In addition, eight (8) scenes show nude musicians placed at these two settings – Berlin 3251 A & B, Florence V491, Gotha 94, Cambridge 1960.346 A, London E38, Madrid 11267 and St. Petersburg 644. All except London E38 portray *auletrides*, while this London tondo shows a dancer with *krotala*. Flute players were the most popular entertainers, greatly outnumbering other musicians.

Nudity

As stated, the leisurely pastimes took place at the *symposion* and *komos*, the settings that appeared on thirty-nine (39) and thirty-five (35) vases respectively. Prostitutes with headdresses turn up at these events repeatedly, either entertaining or servicing the symposiasts and revelers, often undressed. As a result, sixty-one (61) nude female figures are linked with these celebrations, either directly placed there or depicted in the tondos (27) and thus indirectly associated with the events. These tondos with nude prostitutes are as following: Athens 17303, Athens P24102, Athens P24131, Basel HC59, Berkeley 8.3225, Berlin 3757, Berlin Private 4290, Berlin, lost: F3218, Cervetri 561, Heidelberg 16, Indianapolis 47.37, London 1896.6-21.1, London E18, London E34,

⁷⁹⁴ Some scenes contain a number of different musicians. The flute-cases were also counted.

London E38, Malibu 83.AE.287, Milan 265, Munich 211241, Orvieto 275682, Oxford 1927.4065, Oxford 1927.4501, Private Collection (Kilmer R824), Rome 47233, Rome, 50404, Rome 57684, St. Petersburg 14611 and Thebes R18.255.

Also, bathing scenes were favourite with men, as they showed women in various stages of undress and suggested sexual activity, since they bathed before and after intercourse. Twenty (20) scenes depict women bathing next to a laver or a basin, including twelve (12) nude ones: Athens P24131, Berkeley 8.3225, Boston 10.572, London 1896.6-21.1, London E34, St. Petersburg 14611, Syracuse 20065 A, Texas 12, Thebes R18.255, Vienna 836 and Warsaw 142313 A & B. Finally, a shallow basin *podanipter*, said to be used for the washing of the feet,⁷⁹⁵ appears to have carried erotic connotations as well.⁷⁹⁶ It figures in four (4) scenes with nude women in explicitly sexual context: Athens P24131, London E34, St. Petersburg 14611 and Thebes R18.255.

Clothing and Adornment

Some washing scenes featured the bundles of removed clothes and the footwear. These garments and clothing in general were depicted as plain and colorless, but many scenes show women wearing voluminous clothing with dark borders. These elements, as discussed earlier, pointed to prostitutes, since they dressed more luxuriously than citizen women. Almost all figures wear long sleeves, and majority are adorned in lavish tunics and cloaks, as seen in examples of Athens 1584 A & B & C, Berlin F2279, Boston

⁷⁹⁵ M. Milne, "A Greek Foot Bath," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 34/1 (1939): 23-25. The basin appears in a *symposion* scene and was used for sponge bathing.

⁷⁹⁶ It seems to have had a similar history to a French bidet, a washbasin used for washing genitalia as well as feet.

01.8022 A & B, Cambridge 37.24, Cambridge 37.39, Copenhagen 3881, London E44, Philadelphia MS 2449 tondo, etc. In addition, a rough estimate indicates thirty-seven (37) scenes with figures dressed in bordered attire. These examples include Basel 34, Basel BS442, Berlin F2286 tondo, Boston 10.572, Boston 97.369, Hannover L1.1982, London E68, Malibu 86.AE.293 A & B & tondo, NY 07.286.47 and so on.

On the other side of the concealment spectrum, the transparent clothing is also enlisted in these records, rendered on figures in Basel 0.3788, Berlin 1966.21, Berlin 31426 A, Kerameikos 2713, Paris 0.5143, Parma C63, Tübingen E22 and many others. Furthermore, there were also depictions of women in simple and plain clothing, marking them as figures of servile status, such as Adolphseck 57, Brussels R263, Cambridge 2388, Copenhagen 115, Ferrara 2998, Frankfurt B405, Liverpool 49.50.7, etc. One would expect the flute girls to be dressed in such simple clothing, since they were primarily slaves; however, this is not the case. The *auletrides* were dressed in both luxurious border garments as well as plain garb.

Regarding the previously explained erotic gestures, the skirt-lifting and girdle untying take place in four (4) scenes. Berlin F2279 and Rome 50404 show women lifting their skirts; first while she is talking to a youth and second during a climb of a giant *phallos*. Next, two scenes, London E44 and Tübingen E154, portray women untying their belts. The London tondo was analyzed earlier; it depicts a woman undressing for sex at the *symposion*. The second example comes from a *pyxis* illustrating a woman holding her blouse with her teeth while untying her girdle, in a presence of a youth.

Lastly, a brief reference to jewelry and cosmetics will be included here. Again, this topic was addressed during the discussion of the frame scenes, where it was

concluded that prostitutes were the most likely women to wear ornaments and apply make-up. The finest example comes from Athens P24102, which shows a nude woman wearing earrings and a necklace. In Copenhagen 2661, a woman with large earrings is playing *krotala*, in Copenhagen 3881, she has a necklace and holds an apple, and a similarly adorned woman in Malibu 83.AE.321 is copulating with a youth. Other comparable examples are Copenhagen 9404, London 1896.6-21.1, London E18, London E38 tondo, Madrid 11267, NY 56.171.61, Paris G477 tondo, Tübingen S101390 and Vienna 770. In addition, St. Petersburg B1535 tondo portrays a woman applying her make-up, and Boston 00.340 shows a woman styling her hair.

Footwear: Boots and Sandals

Boots and sandals were seen as erotic items, as untying the sandals or taking off the boots implied the removal of clothes and sexual activity. As a result, numerous *symposion* images show the shoes placed at the foot of the bed (e.g. Berlin F2286 tondo). In addition, women were also illustrated holding their footwear or, in the case of sandals, in a tying or untying gesture. In the catalogue, eleven (11) scenes show boots and seven (7) sandals (boots: Athens P24131, Berlin 3757, Berlin F2286 tondo, Berlin, lost: F3218, Boston 10.572, Cambridge 1959.124, Munich, Private: 788, London, Private 0.5144, Orvieto 60, Oxford 1927.4501, Syracuse 20065 A and Warsaw 142313 B; sandals: Athens 1584 C, London E18, Paris G2 A & B and St. Petersburg B1535 A & B).

Moreover, the indoor settings where the shoes are hanging on the wall are not depictions of an ordinary *oikos*.⁷⁹⁷ The women are entertaining the male visitors and the footwear reinforces the assumption that they had the freedom of leaving the house as they desired (e.g. St. Petersburg B1535 A & B). According to Xenophon, women who hung shoes on their walls, as in Athens 1584 C, were not respected (*Oeconomicus* 7.30).

Furthermore, the fact that shoes held strong erotic connotations is confirmed by the existence of the perfume-jars in the shape of feet.⁷⁹⁸ As explained, these oil vessels were used in sexual contexts and featured heavily in seduction and intercourse scenes. In addition, in *Lysistrata*, women were advised to use shoes as a part of their sexual equipment (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 414-419). Therefore, as erotic objects, shoes were naturally associated with prostitutes.⁷⁹⁹ Ancient epigrams enlist prostitutes dedicating their sandals to Aphrodite (*Greek Anthology* 6.206-208).

Four scenes - Munich, Private: 788, London E18 and Paris G2 A & B, depict a woman handling her sandal; all the figures are nude except in Munich 788. It is generally said that these women were untying their shoe; however, they could have been tying the laces as well. Stated otherwise, the women could either be putting the shoe on or removing it. If they are putting it back on, the question is, why did they remove it?⁸⁰⁰

⁷⁹⁷ Blundell, 149.

⁷⁹⁸ See for example, Reading, University: 45.IX.2 (Beazley Archive Digital Database No. 14396); Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig: Z321 (Beazley Archive Digital Database No. 1008833); Thebes, Archaeological Museum: 6150 (Beazley Archive Digital Database No. 1012707); Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco: 6343 (Beazley Archive Digital Database No. 9014968) and Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco: 8208 (Beazley Archive Digital Database No. 9015121).

⁷⁹⁹ See Blundell, 146-152. See the example of awriting on a sole of a prostitute's sandal stating "follow me", which left marks in the ground (Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus* 2.11.116).

⁸⁰⁰ Blundell, 152.

Either way, the action points to the atmosphere of sensuality and erotic encounter, recent or in the near future. Similarly, boots were sometimes worn by a nude woman in the baths (Boston 10.572) or were held by a nude figure (Athens P24131, Berlin, lost: F3218, Berlin 3757). In sum, the shoes clearly had an erotic significance, and were usually the last items removed before sexual intercourse (e.g. *Lysistrata* 950).

Mirrors

Mirrors implied leisurely time spent in self-adornment and application of cosmetics and thus carried erotic connotations. As a result, they feature prominently in twenty-eight (28) scenes: Adolphseck 57, Agrigento 59, Athens 0.5626, Athens 1584 B, Berlin F2286 A, Boston 00.340, Boston 01.8022 A, Copenhagen 3881, Florence PD55 A & B, Leiden 1957.1.1, London E51 tondo, London E 769, Malibu 86.AE.293 tondo, Mannheim 182 A & B, Oxford 1921.1214, Oxford V327, Paris G124, Philadelphia MS 2449 A, Rome 15708, St. Petersburg B1535 B, St. Petersburg B1535 tondo, Syracuse 18426, Tampa 86.70, Toledo 1972.55 B, Tübingen S101390 and Warsaw 142317 B. In Attic vase-painting, these objects were held, gazed at or hang on the wall. One scene, however, shows a mirror offered as a gift (Syracuse 18426). In addition, St. Petersburg B1535 tondo portrays a woman applying her makeup while holding a mirror, and Boston 00.340 depicts a woman looking into the mirror and styling her hair.

Money-Bags

Another object that carried subtle but undeniable erotic connotations was a money-bag. It usually appeared in less revealing sexual scenes and occurs ten (10) times

in the catalogue: Agrigento 59, Copenhagen 124, London E51 B, Munich 211241, Oxford V327, Rome 1054, Syracuse 18426, Tampa 86.70, Taranto 0.6436 and Toledo 1972.55 A. All the scenes show men offering the bags to women, in a suggestive gesture, except Munich 211241, where the purse hangs above a copulating couple. As already explained, the money-bag figured in courting and visit scenes, alluding to the payment for the services. Accordingly, six (6) illustrations depict men presenting money-bags to seated women, while in the other four (4) the women are standing.

Oil Containers

The oil-containers, specifically *alabastra*, the women's oil-jars, were associated with female sexuality and indicated anticipated intercourse, as explain in detail. In the headdress scenes, there are eleven (11) depictions of these vessels: Athens 0.5626, Athens 1584 C, Berlin 31426 A, Boston 00.340, Cambridge 1959.193, London E51 B, Mannheim 182 B and tondo, Paris G477 B, Tampa 86.70 and Vatican AST760. Mostly, the *alabastra* appear in women-only scenes (8); however, three (3) vases portray them in the mixed-gender settings. Two scenes illustrate an exchange between a man and a woman involving the jar (Berlin 31426 A and London E51 B), while Tampa 86.70 depicts an *alabastron* hanging on the wall next to a woman seated inside a structure, marking the location as a feminine space. In addition, the same jar indicated the anticipated sexual interaction between the woman and the two approaching males who are buying her services.⁸⁰¹

⁸⁰¹ See Fischer (forthcoming).

Sport Objects

Eleven (11) illustrations of oil-sets and other sport paraphernalia present in the catalogue confirm the status of male figures as aristocratic citizens and reinforce identifications of the women as prostitutes: Berlin, lost: F3218, Hannover L1.1982, St. Petersburg B1535 A & B, Syracuse 20065 A, Tampa 86.70, Toledo 1972.55 A & B, Warsaw 142313 A & B and tondo. The depicted items included strigils, *aryballoi*, sponges and gym bags. They were linked with male figures on seven (7) occasions, while on the other four (4) they were used by female figures, a rather unusual phenomenon (Syracuse 20065 A, Warsaw 142313 A & & tondo).

Since the oil-sets were exclusively male aristocratic paraphernalia, the female usage is highly surprising. It was pointed out earlier that Amazons were shown using the oil-set (Paris F203), symbolizing their “otherness”, marginality and masculinity. However, these four female scenes do not portray Amazons, since there are no indications of their identities, such as horses, armour, particular clothing or a removed breast.

In fact, Syracuse 20065 A depicts a nude woman bathing in a large *krater* with her clothes and boots placed aside; a sponge, strigil and *aryballos* hang close by. The Warsaw *kylix* shows three nude women bathing on each side of the vessel and one clothed woman by a laver in a tondo; an oil-set is hanging on the wall in every scene. The setting is clearly placed indoors, marked by three stone lavers or basins and by a column in the tondo. In addition, various items are hung on the wall, including dining baskets, a cloak and unidentified box-like items, plus one table. The women’s clothing is shown as

well, comprised of large bundles with visible borders, and one woman is wearing boots.

Also, the woman in the tondo is fully dressed in voluminous garments with borders.

In my opinion, these images represent prostitutes, since these women were known to adopt male behaviour and lifestyle. A previous example of prostitutes' practice of aggressive erotic magic that was reserved for men illustrates this case clearly. Therefore, it would not be surprising if prostitutes used the oil-set during bathing, as another illustration of their "maleness".

Architecture

As stated, the oil-sets were directly linked with athletics practiced in the *gymnasion* and *palaistra*. Possibly, these locations were in close proximity to brothels, which were hinted at in the scenes with architectural elements. Fourteen (14) catalogued scenes show architectural elements, primarily columns: Boston 10.572, Copenhagen 3881, Florence PD55 A & tondo, London E68 , London E 769, Oxford 1916.6, Paris G477 A & B, St. Petersburg B1535 A, Tampa 86.70, Warsaw 142313 tondo and Warsaw 142317 A & B.

As stated, some columns alluded to the brothels as locations, possibly the ones adjacent to the sport complexes (Florence PD55 A, Copenhagen 3881, Oxford 1916.6, Paris G477 A & B, St. Petersburg B1535 A, Tampa 86.70 Warsaw 142313 tondo and Warsaw 142317 A & B). Among these examples, three (3) include depictions of oil-sets as well (St. Petersburg B1535 A and Tampa 86.70 and Warsaw 142313 tondo). On the other hand, Boston 10.572 may illustrate the baths, and London E68 a *symposium*. In

addition, Florence PD55 tondo portrays a woman holding a dining basket next to a column, which may also indicate a banquet.

Wool-working: the Kalathos

Nine (9) wool-working scenes occur in this collection, plus eighteen (18) images with a *kalathos*. The nine (9) scenes depict spinning: Athens 1584 A & B, Berlin 31426 A, Berlin F2289, Cambridge 37.24, Hannover L1.1982, Kerameikos 2713, Oxford V327 and Tübingen E154. Out of these nine scenes, six (6) show women working while in the company of men. Some of these illustrations have already been discussed in the study, including Berlin 31426 A, Hannover L1.1982 and Kerameikos 2713. What they all have in common is an image of a spinning woman approached by a male figure in a courting or gift-offering gesture. The possible exception is an older woman in Berlin 31426 A identified as the madame of a brothel.

In the other three (3) scenes, there are no men, and women are shown carding wool with exposed legs (Berlin F2289), or surrounded by erotically charged objects, such as a mirror, a *kalathos* and an *alabastron* (Athens 1584). In addition, six (6) wool-baskets are showing overflowing wool: Athens 0.5626, Athens 1584 A, Cambridge 1972.45, Leiden 1957.1.1, Mannheim 182 B and Paris G477 A. As pointed out, these *kalathoi* may allude to female unruly sexuality.

Religion and Altars

A curious and unexpected feature in the catalogued scenes with prostitutes was an altar, depicted in seven (7) examples: Athens P24102, Berkeley 8.923, Cambridge

1927.155, Paris G477 tondo, Princeton 33.34, Rome 15708 and Tübingen S101390.

Athens P24102 portrays a nude prostitute with jewelry and a headdress crouching in front of an altar about to cast a wreath into the fire. In other scenes, women are dressed, yet the prostitute's attributes are present: a flower (Berkeley 8.923 and Rome 15708), a box or chest (Paris G477), a mirror (Rome 15708), a libation⁸⁰² (Cambridge 1927.155 and Tübingen S101390) and finally *krotala* (Princeton 33.34).

In fact, it seems that the women are making their offerings at the altars of Aphrodite.⁸⁰³ Three (3) scenes include depictions of doors, which could either indicate the temple or symbolically refer to women's sexuality, as previously discussed (Cambridge 1927.155, Paris G477 and Princeton 33.34). In any case, these depictions testify to the religious life of prostitutes in Athens, who prayed and made offerings to their goddess, just as citizen women worshipped Athena and Artemis.⁸⁰⁴

Animals: Dogs and Birds

As argued, animals were important symbols and carried erotic connotations, so it is no surprise that nine (9) scenes incorporate images of dogs and birds. There are four (4) depictions of dogs: Berlin F2279, Munich, Private: 788, Oxford 1919.36 and Rome

⁸⁰² Libation is not a prostitute's activity per se; however, in the two listed scenes, the author believes the figures are prostitutes based on other identifiers. In addition, Aphrodite was depicted pouring a libation, as for example on a coin from Arthur S. Dewing Collection 2488 showing the goddess holding a *phiale* (see Perseus Digital Library).

⁸⁰³ See N. Robertson, "Athenian Shrines of Aphrodite and the Early Development of the City," in E. Greco (ed.), *Teseo e Romolo. Le origini di Atene e Roma a confronto* (Athens: Scuola Archeologica di Atene, 2005), 43-112.

⁸⁰⁴ See Neils for additional information on prostitutes and their religion (p. 216).

1054. These animals symbolized sexual desire and *phallos* and were shown in mixed gender scenes of courting and visits.

There were six (6) scenes with birds: Berlin 1966.21, Berlin F2306, NY 07.286.47, Oxford 1919.36, Rome 57684 and Syracuse 18426. First, Berlin 1966.21 and Rome 57684 depict phallic birds. Second, Oxford 1919.36 portrays a bird as a love gift or as a symbol of female sexuality. Third, Syracuse 18426 depicts a heron in a prostitute/client exchange. Next, Berlin F2306 illustrates a prostitute with a headdress feeding the geese, Aphrodite's birds. Lastly, NY 07.286.47 shows two women at the *symposion* seated on swan chairs, which were also Aphrodite's bird.

Headdresses: the Mitra, Sakkos and Kekryphalos

Finally, the headdresses in these two hundred and ten (210) scenes are worn by two hundred and forty-two (242) female figures, plus eleven (11) hung on the wall, numbering two hundred and fifty-three (253) in total. This number is not absolute, as some vessels are broken, causing a few damaged and missing figures.

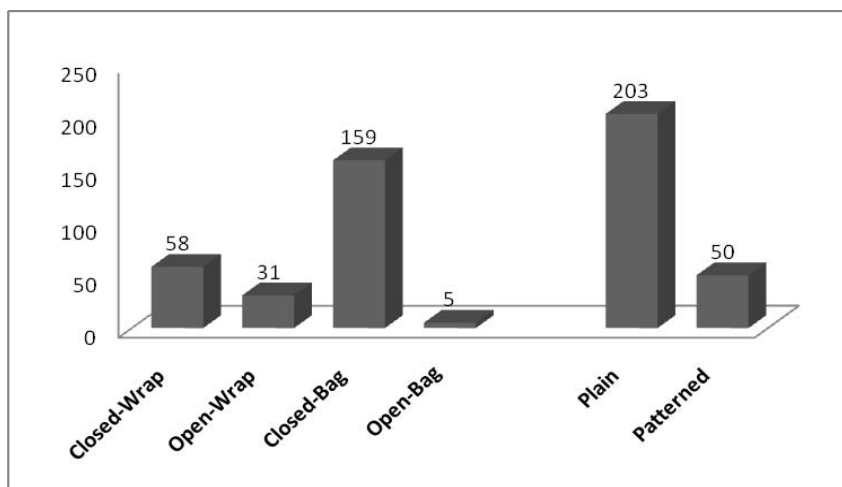


Table 8. Types: Attic Red-figure Headdress Vases

The headdresses are categorized according to the four types defined in Chapter Two. The data is as follows: Closed-Wrap (54), Open-Wrap (35), Closed-Bag (159), Open-Bag (5) or Bags (137) and Wraps (72) (for clear results see Table 8). Furthermore, the headdresses were illustrated as both plain (203) and patterned (50), including the four (4) plain and seven (7) patterned Closed-Bag ones hanging on the wall.

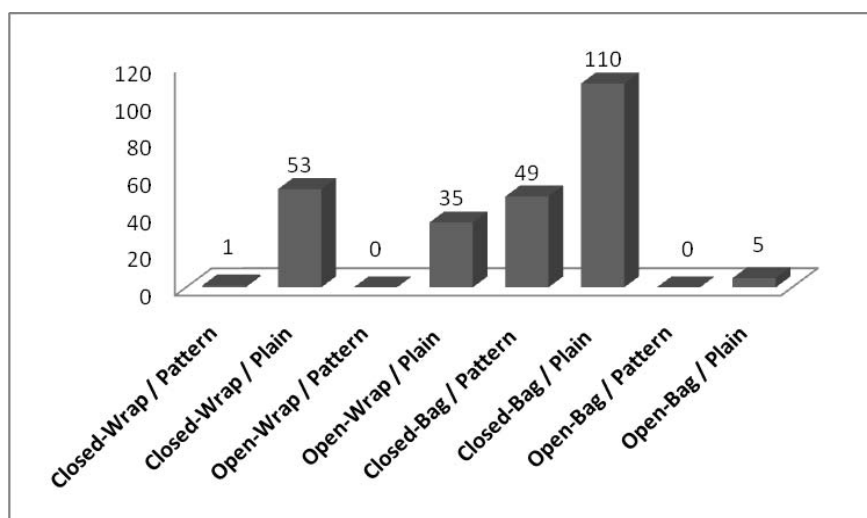


Table 9. Types and Styles: Attic Red-figure Headdress Vases

Regarding the style, the statistics for this division are as follows: Closed-Wrap/Pattern (1), Closed-Wrap/Plain (53), Open-Wrap/Pattern (0), Open-Wrap/Plain (35), Closed-Bag/Pattern (49), Closed-Bag/Plain (110), Open-Bag/Pattern (0) and Open-Bag/Plain (5); for better understanding, see Table 9. Curiously, the Bag types were the only patterned ones, while the Wraps were consistently plain, apart from only one exception seen on Berlin F4221 (Figure 7.16). Regarding the Wrap shape, they tend to be more beehive-like on earlier examples, and in later depictions they are portrayed closer to

the head. Also, chronologically, the *mitra* or the Closed-Wraps emerged before the *sakkoi* or the Bag types.



Figure 7.16. Patterned *mitra*
Berlin, Antikensammlung: F4221; Beazley Archive Database No. 200509

According to the definitions, the recognizable headdresses were comprised of the Bags type identified as *sakkoi* and the plain Wraps recognized as *mitrai*. *Kekryphaloi* belonged to both shape categories yet they were made of net-like fabric and thus difficult to distinguish in vase-painting. Pertaining to these two hundred and ten (210) records, hair-nets do not seem to appear on Red-figure pottery on prostitutes or in general. In the listed scenes, only two (2) representations were identifiable and they occur on the same *pyxis* (Athens 1584 A & C). Two figures are wearing these head coverings – one woman is working wool while the other is sleeping. Still, it is likely that some depictions of patterned Closed-Bag headdresses identified as *sakkoi* were in fact intended as *kekryphaloi*. Unfortunately, this question remains unanswered.

In summary, the four types of headdresses cannot be linked to specific settings or representations and they seem to appear at random. Clearly, the headdress scenes offer a plethora of subtle, obscure symbols and hidden meanings. The strong connection between the prostitute and the headdress is apparent, and the repetitive items depicted in these scenes represent the recurring elements within the genre of prostitution. Including the headdresses, they are all connected to prostitutes and/or Aphrodite, creating a pattern that contributes to the subtle and skilful network of symbols.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

This study documents the problematic headdress iconography of Attic Red-figure vase-painting ca. 550-450 BCE. The findings demonstrate that more prostitutes than wives are illustrated with the *mitra*, *sakkos* and *kekryphalos*, based on the vast variety of imagery from feminine hygiene, adornment, leisurely pastime to erotic and sexually explicit scenes of *symposia* and *komoi*. Prostitutes were easily recognizable because of their nudity, which was not the norm and usually implied sexual activity. Besides their standard paraphernalia comprised of mirrors, musical instruments, oil-jars, money-bags, wool-baskets and other listed objects, the headdresses were prostitutes' frequent apparel, and their attributes and social markers.

The study also showed that prostitutes were involved in manufacturing of textiles, producing the headdresses on the small sprang hand frames chosen for their practicality, convenience and low cost. In this enquiry, two hundred and thirty (230) fully catalogued and thoroughly analyzed images include twenty (20) such scenes, in addition to two hundred and ten (210) depicting prostitutes wearing the headdresses. This iconography is the primary evidence on which the study's conclusions were based.

In scholarship, wool-working was an activity generally denied to women in the profession and reserved primarily for Athenian wives. For that reason, this examination of the headdresses will contribute to the future research on prostitutes and help with proper identification of these mislabelled women. Finally, I will end with the words of Laura McClure declaring that "while prostitutes in the ancient world may have been socially marginal, they were symbolically and even socially central, intersecting with

almost every aspect of daily life”.⁸⁰⁵ I believe with confidence that this study will play an important role in the scholarship and lead to further understanding of the history of prostitution.

⁸⁰⁵ C. Faraone & L. McClure (eds.), *Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Ancient World* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 6.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BMC = *Catalogue of the Greek Coins*. London: British Museum, 1873-1929.

Brill's New Pauly = *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*. Cancik, H., H. Schneider & M. Landfester & C. F. Salazar (eds.), Leiden: Brill, 2002-.

Neue Pauly = *Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike. Das Klassische Altertum und Seine Rezeptionsgeschichte*. Cancik, H. & H. Schneider (eds.), Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1996-2003.

Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon = *Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon, Founded upon the Seventh Edition of Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000.

LIMC = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Zurich: Atremis, 1981-1997.

LSJ = *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Liddell, H. G. & R. Scott (eds.), Oxford University Press, 1996.

OCD = *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Hornblower, S & A. Spawforth (eds.), 3rd edition, 1996.

RE = *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Pauly, A. F, G. Wissowa, & W. Kroll (eds.), Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1890-1978.

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DIGITAL RESOURCES

Beazley Archive Digital Database: www.beazley.ox.ac.uk

Egyptian Papirii: www.biblicalarchaeology.org

International Meteorite Collectors Association: www.imca.cc

Perseus Digital Library: www.perseus.tufts.edu

Numismatic Digital Catalogues and Websites:
www.coinarchives.com; www.numismatics.org; www.wildwinds.com

APPENDIX A: CATALOGUE OF FRAME VASES

A) USED

Catalogue Record A.1.

Title:

Athens Vlasto 215607

Date:

ca. 450-400 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF unknown object (bell-shape)

Attributed To:

N/A

Current Location:

Athens, National Museum, M. Vlasto 215607

Description:

There are nine women depicted, three are seated: one is spinning, the second is holding a sprang frame, and the third one is holding something in her hands (wool or a necklace). The remaining women are shown 1) holding a sash, 2) a box and an *alabastron*, 3) a mirror and an *alabastron* in front of a door, 4) an unidentified object resembling a spindle or a flute, 5) carrying something on her chest wrapped in her *himation*, and 6) pointing at the vessels on the floor. A suspended mirror, a heron, and a wool-basket are also illustrated. A woman with a sash and the one with the frame are wearing headdresses. The women are wearing jewelry, including the one with the frame who has a necklace and earrings.

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 215607



Source: Beazley Archive Digital Database

Catalogue Record A.2.

Title:

Durham 3

Date:

ca. 440 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kalathos*

Attributed To:

N/A

Current Location:

University of Durham, Dept. of Classics, Greek Museum no.3

Description:

The first group consist of a seated woman working the sprang frame, and a draped (older?) woman standing in front watching. Behind is a woman holding an empty *kalathos*; a sash is hanging on the wall. The second group consists of a seated woman looking into a mirror, while another (servant?) holds *plemochoe* and offers an *alabastron*. A third woman is watching; she is wearing a *sakkos* and is loosening her belt. Another sash and a set of *krotala* are on the wall. The women are lavishly dressed with jewelry.

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 9115



Source: R. Williams, "An Attic Red-Figure Kalathos," *Antike Kunst* 4 (1961): fig.1.

Catalogue Record A.3.**Title:**

London 1905.11-2.3

Date:

ca.550-500 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *lekythos*

Attributed To:

N/A

Current Location:

London, British Museum: 1905.11-2.3

Description:

A seated woman is working the sprang frame, and a *kalathos*, a wool-basket, is in front of her.

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 16212



Source: L. Clark, "Notes on Small Textile Frames Pictures on Greek Vases," *American Journal of Archaeology* 87/1 (1983): fig.4.

Catalogue Record A.4.

Title:

Once Paris, private collection of the Count Pourtalès-Gorgier

Date:

ca. 440-430 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *hydria*

Attributed To:

N/A

Current Location:

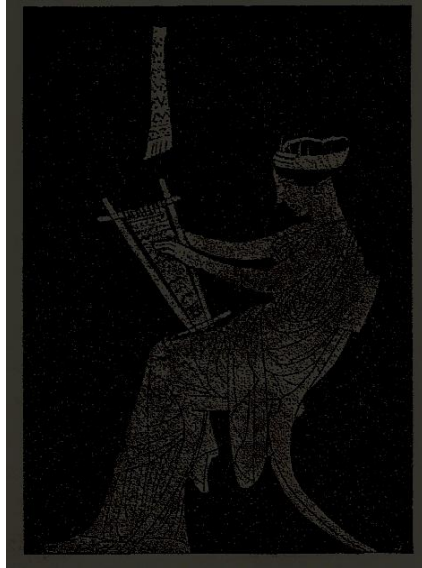
lost

Description:

A seated woman is working the sprang frame placed in her lap. Above her hangs a piece of fabric apparently made in the same technique. To the left, a woman is standing offering unidentified objects to the working woman.

Reference:

The only available illustrations come from the original publication from 1834 and Jan Six's article from 1919; the current location of the *hydria* is unknown.



Source: A) J. Six, "Altgriechische "Durchbrochene Arbeit", " *Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Institutes in Wien* 19-20 (1919): fig.107.

B) J. A. Pourtalès-Gorgier (comte de), *Antiques du cabinet du comte de Pourtalès-Gorgier, décrites par Théodore Panofka* (Paris, 1834), pl.34.

Catalogue Record A.5.

Title:

Stanford 17.412

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *hydria*

Attributed To:

Early Mannerist Painter

Current Location:

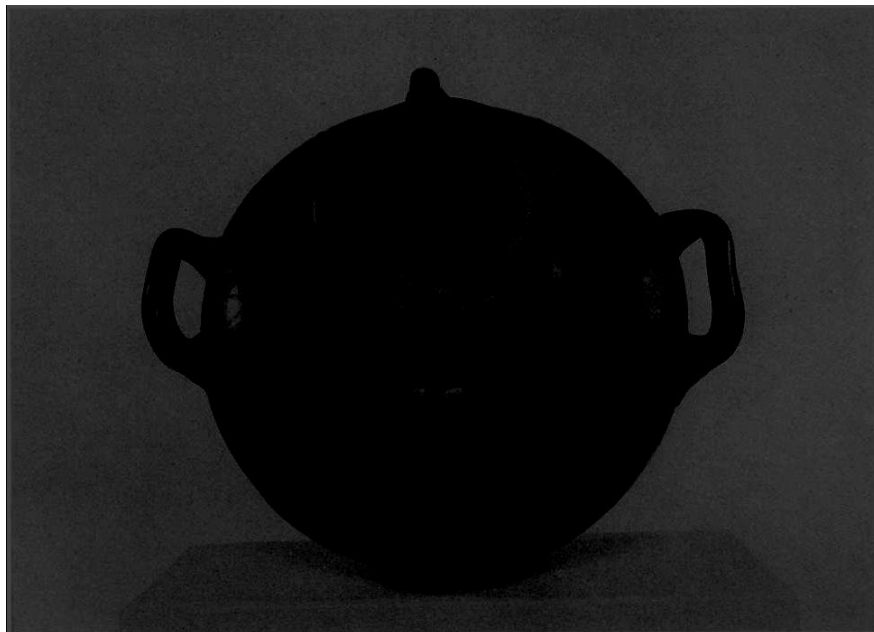
Stanford (CA), Stanford University: 17.412

Description:

There are three seated women: first from the left is working a sprang frame, and the other two are spinning. The woman in centre is holding a circular hank of red wool, while the third woman's spindle is red. There are also two young girls playing. A rooster (on far left) and a dog are present, and a mirror is hanging on the wall. The three seated women are wearing headdresses, while the two girls' heads are uncovered.

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 275754



Source: T. B. L. Webster, "Greek Vases in the Stanford Museum," *American Journal of Archeology* 69/1 (1965): pl.19 fig.6.

B) HELD**Catalogue Record B.1.****Title:**

Agrigento AG22276

Date:

ca. 475-425 BCE

Technique and Shape:Attic RF *hydria***Attributed To:**

N/A

Current Location:

Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale: AG22276

Description:

A woman with a headdress is seated on a chair, holding a frame. A *sakkos* hangs on the wall behind her. In front, on the floor is a wool-basket, and the woman faces a youth leaning on the staff. To the left, three men are present; one is holding a purse. Fruits(?) are hanging on the wall.

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 31412



Source: L. Braccesi et al., *Veder Greco, le necropoli di Agrigento, mostra internazionale, Agrigento, 2. maggio - 31. luglio 1988* (Rome, 1988), 379, 1.2.1

Catalogue Record B.2.

Title:

Centre Island (New York), private, Side B

Date:

ca. 470 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

Penthesilea Painter

Current Location:

Centre Island (New York), private

Description:

Side B shows a seated woman with a *sakkos* holding a sprang frame in her arm, extended towards the man leaning on his staff in front. Behind her is another man holding a staff. A sash and a *lekythos* hang on the wall.

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 22755

Note: Two sprang frames appear on this *kylix*, one on each side: side A hung up, side B held by a seated woman.



Source: I. Jenkins & D. Williams, "Sprang Hair Nets: Their Manufacture and Use in Ancient Greece," *American Journal of Archaeology* 89/3 (1985): fig.2.

Catalogue Record B.3.

Title:

Chicago 1911.456

Date:

ca. 460-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *hydria*

Attributed To:

Leningrad Painter

Current Location:

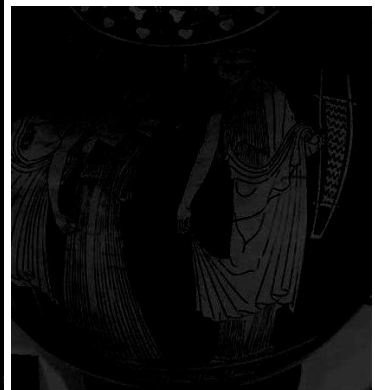
Chicago (IL), Art Institute: 1911.456

Description:

Three women and two men are intermingling. In the centre of the scene is a couple kissing; the youth's hand is cupped over her genitals. The other three figures are turned towards them watching. A woman on the right is holding a sprang frame while lifting up the skirt of her *himation*; her breast are fully drawn. The woman on the far left is wearing a headdress. The kissing couple is framed by a *sakkos*(?) and a *lekythos*.

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 206580



Source: A) Beazley Archive Digital Database; B) L. Clark, "Notes on Small Textile Frames Pictures on Greek Vases," *American Journal of Archaeology* 87/1 (1983): fig.7.

Catalogue Record B.4.**Title:**

London 1907.5-19.1

Date:

ca. 470 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *pyxis* lid

Attributed To:

N/A

Current Location:

London, British Museum: 1907.5-19.1

Description:

The image on the lid depicts the rectangular frame held by a running woman. There are four women involved, two are seated –one is wearing a headdress. The other two are running, and one figure is lifting her skirt. There is a bird cage, a *kalathos* and a large chest on the floor, and a stork or heron walks freely. The *pyxis* body is illustrated with floral designs and laurel wreaths.

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 2089



Source: H. B. Walters, "Red-Figured Vases Recently Acquired by the British Museum,"
Journal of Hellenic Studies 41/1 (1921): pl.III-V.16.

Catalogue Record B.5.**Title:**

London R330.1936

Date:

ca. 475-425 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *hydria*

Attributed To:

Hephaistos Painter

Current Location:

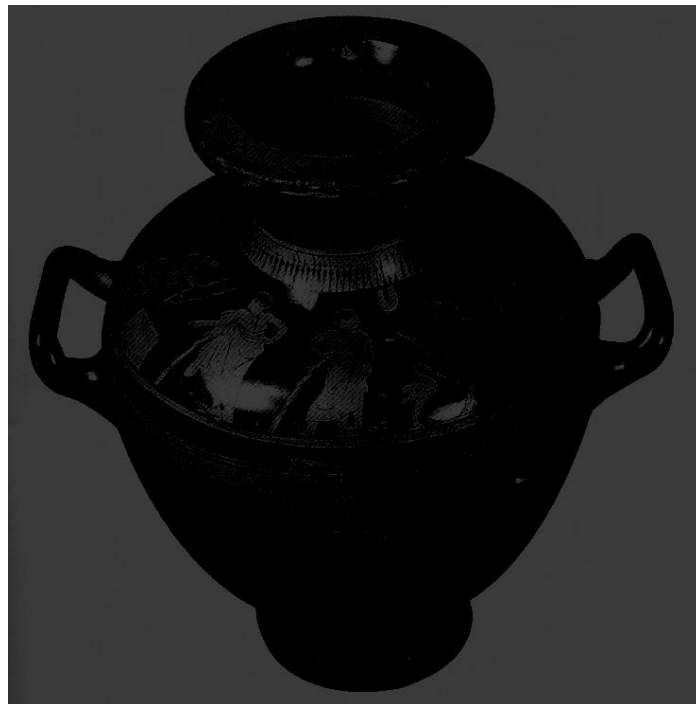
London, Wellcome Museum: R330.1936

Description:

A woman is conversing with a youth, while holding a sprang frame; a large box is in front. The second woman with the headdress is seated, holding a mirror, and conversing with two men; a heron is present.

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 214771



Source: T. Mannack, *The Late Mannerists in Athenian Vase-Painting* (Oxford University Press, 2001), pl. 61, H.45.

Catalogue Record B.6.

Title:

Paris CA587

Date:

ca. 460-440 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *pyxis*

Attributed To:

Painter of the Louvre Centauromachy

Current Location:

Paris, Musée du Louvre: CA587

Description:

There are seven women present. The first seated figure is holding a mirror; behind her is the open door revealing a bed inside, next to a column. Facing a seated woman is a figure holding a sprang frame. Another woman stands in profile offering an *alabastron* to a woman wearing a headdress. Of the remaining three women, one is seated, second is folding a sheet and third is bringing a box. A small bird, a wool-working device and a vessel (*lekythos* or *oinochoe* ?) are present.

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 216046



Source: A) L. Clark, "Notes on Small Textile Frames Pictures on Greek Vases," *American Journal of Archaeology* 87/1 (1983): fig.8.

B) C. Bérard (ed.) et al., *City of Images: Iconography and Society in Ancient Greece* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), fig.140.

Catalogue Record B.7.**Title:**

Stettin 214773

Date:

ca. 475-425 BCE

Technique and Shape:Attic RF *hydria***Attributed To:**

Hephaistos Painter

Current Location:

Stettin, A. Vogell: XXXX214773

Description:

A seated woman with a headdress is holding a *kalathos* and a cup; in front is a chest. Eros is flying towards her holding a sprang frame and a flute-case. Behind Eros is a man leaning on his staff and holding a purse.

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 214773



Source: A. Vogell, *Griechische Altertümer südrussischen Fundorts aus dem Besitze des Herrn A. Vogell* (Karlsruhe: Cassel, 1908), pl. 3.28.

Catalogue Record B.8.**Title:**

Vienna 3719

Date:

ca. 430-420 BCE

Technique and Shape:Attic RF *pyxis***Attributed To:**

Phiale Painter

Current Location:

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum: 3719

Description:

The scene is similar to the Paris *pyxis* (CA 587). Seven women are present of which two are seated. Two women are wearing *sakkoi* and one is hanging on the wall. The first seated woman is holding a mirror, the others are holding boxes and oil jars, while one is also holding a sprang frame. The wool-basket is on the floor, and an *alabastron* is hanging on the wall, together with *krotala*. There is an open door with a bed and pillows showing inside.

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 31334



Source: Beazley Archive Digital Database

C) HUNG

Catalogue Record C.1.

Title:

Aleria 1893

Date:

ca. 470 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

Penthesilea Painter

Current Location:

Aleria, Musée Archeologique: 1893

Description:

A woman and two men are depicted. She is seated on a stool turning backwards handing a *lekythos* to a standing man behind her. She is wearing a *sakkos*. Behind her is a wool-basket with the spindle and distaff inside. In front of her is a sprang frame hanging on the wall. In addition, a draped man approaches while extending his hand towards the woman. A sash is hanging on the wall and an oil container is on the shelf.

Reference:

J. & L. Jehasse, *La Nécropole Préromaine d'Aléria (1969-1968)* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1973).



Source: J. & L. Jehasse, *La Nécropole Préromaine d'Aléria (1969-1968)* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1973), pl.49.

Catalogue Record C.2.**Title:**

Aleria 2095

Date:

ca. 470 BCE

Technique and Shape:Attic RF *kylix***Attributed To:**

Penthesilea Painter

Current Location:

Aleria, Musée Archeologique: 2095

Description:

There are three figures present – a woman and two men. A woman is seated, wearing a *sakkos*, and bending towards the floor. She is holding a purple yarn of wool in her hands, looking intensely at it. The youth in front is also bending towards the floor leaning on his staff and looking at the wool. Behind the woman is a sprang frame on the wall and the second man turns backwards to watch the couple; a pouch is hanging next to him. There are *kalos* inscriptions of both sides.

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 9449



Source: J. & L. Jehasse, *La Nécropole Préromaine d'Aléria (1969-1968)* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1973), pl.51.

Catalogue Record C.3.**Title:**

Centre Island (New York), private, Side A

Date:

ca. 470 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

Penthesilea Painter

Current Location:

Centre Island (New York), private

Description:

Side A portrays a seated woman; she is wearing a *sakkos*. She is offering an *alabastron* to an approaching draped female figure. A man follows carrying his staff. Behind the seated woman is a wool-basket, while a sprang frame hangs on the wall.

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 22755

Note: Two sprang frames appear on this *kylix*, one on each side: side A hung up, side B held by a seated woman.



Source: I. Jenkins & D. Williams, "Sprang Hair Nets: Their Manufacture and Use in Ancient Greece," *American Journal of Archaeology* 89/3 (1985): fig.3.

Catalogue Record C.4.

Title:

Chicago 1889.27

Date:

ca. 470-460 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

Penthesilea Painter

Current Location:

Chicago (IL), Art Institute: 1889.27

Description:

There are five figures depicted – three women and two men intermingling. To the far left is the first couple conversing; a gym bag hangs on the wall. In the centre is a draped woman, surrounded by hanging weights and/or a strigil, and a pouch. To the right is the second couple, also in conversation. The woman is wearing a headdress and is pointing with her right hand towards the man's genitals; a sprang frame hangs nearby.

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 211642



Source: L. Clark, "Notes on Small Textile Frames Pictures on Greek Vases," *American Journal of Archaeology* 87/1 (1983): fig.6.

Catalogue Record C.5.

Title:

Havana, Lagunillas 211643, Sides A and B

Date:

ca. 470 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

Penthesilea Painter

Current Location:

Havana, Lagunillas: XXXX211643

Description:

Side A shows two couples and a woman with a flower in the centre. The couple to the left consists of a man offering a fruit to a woman seated on a stool; a sprang frame hangs behind him. An unidentified object is placed next to the woman's head. The couple to the right is exchanging cord bracelets; the woman with the *sakkos* is placing the second cord on the man's right arm. A *lekythos* and a sash hang nearby. Two *ho pais kalos* inscriptions are placed close to the couples.

Side B depicts two couples with a woman wearing a cord bracelet placed in the centre. The first couple consists of a seated woman while the youth appears to be pleading with her; between them is an *alabastron* and a sprang frame is to the left. The second couple is in conversation, and a youth is offering a pouch to the woman. A *plemochoe* is on a shelf and a sash hangs close by. Again, two *ho pais kalos* inscriptions are placed close to the couples.

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 211643

Note: Two hung up sprang frames appear on this *kylix*, one on each side.



Source: Beazley Archive Digital Database

Catalogue Record C.6.**Title:**

Heidelberg inv. 64.5

Date:

ca. 470 BCE

Technique and Shape:Attic RF *hydria***Attributed To:**

Nausikaa Painter

Current Location:

Heidelberg, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität: 64.5

Description:

A woman is seated on a chair spinning yarn from a hank of wool on a distaff, while she her feet are on a footrest. Above her possibly hangs a *sakkos*. In front is a woman wearing a *sakkos* and holding a fillet or yarn of wool; behind her is a sprang frame. To the left, a man with a pouch leans on his staff gazing at the standing woman. Behind the man is a servant girl balancing a *hydria* on her head.

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 214832



Source: A) I. Jenkins & D. Williams, "Sprang Hair Nets: Their Manufacture and Use in Ancient Greece," *American Journal of Archaeology* 89/3 (1985): fig.4.

B) Source: Beazley Archive Digital Database

APPENDIX B: LIST OF KOMAST, MAENAD AND APHRODITE VASES

A: Attic Red-figure, ca. 550-450 BCE: Anakreontic Komasts with Headdresses⁸⁰⁶

1. Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie: 56
Beazley Archive Database No. 11533
2. Adria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: 22120
Beazley Archive Database No. 10140
3. Adria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: 43552
Beazley Archive Database No. 9019717
4. Adria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: B248
Beazley Archive Database No. 206562
5. Basel, H. Cahn: HC60
Beazley Archive Database No. 204512
6. Basel, H. Cahn: HC776
Beazley Archive Database No. 29688
7. Berlin, Antikensammlung: F2351
Beazley Archive Database No. 21599
8. Berlin, Antikensammlung: F4221
Beazley Archive Database No. 200509
9. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico: 234
Beazley Archive Database No. 205900
10. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico: 239
Beazley Archive Database No. 206028
11. Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 10.176
Beazley Archive Database No. 204070

⁸⁰⁶ The list is by no means conclusive.

12. Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 10.185
Beazley Archive Database No. 206804
13. Boulogne, Musee Communale: 157
Beazley Archive Database No. 205291
14. Brussels, Musees Royaux: R332
Beazley Archive Database No. 204066
15. Cleveland (OH), Museum of Art: 26.549
Beazley Archive Database No. 206434
16. Corinth, Archaeological Museum: C72.73
Beazley Archive Database No. 6670
17. Corinth, Archaeological Museum: CP998
Beazley Archive Database No. 206599
18. Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco: 3987
Beazley Archive Database No. 14506
19. Jerusalem, Bible Lands Museum: 4642
Beazley Archive Database No. 22889
20. Kassel, Staatliche Museen Kassel, Antikensammlung: ALG57
Beazley Archive Database No. 9426
21. London, British Museum: E308
Beazley Archive Database No. 207891
22. London, Market, Sotheby's: XXXX7238
Beazley Archive Database No. 7238
23. Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional: 11009
Beazley Archive Database No. 9514
24. Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum: 76.AE.102.29-30
Beazley Archive Database No. 28113
25. Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum: 86.AE.293
Beazley Archive Database No. 275963
26. Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum: 86.AE.386
Beazley Archive Database No. 30358

127. Munich, Antikensammlungen: J2
Beazley Archive Database No. 202222
28. Munich, Antikensammlungen: J253
Beazley Archive Database No. 202850
29. Munich, Antikensammlungen: J793
Beazley Archive Database No. 205178
30. Mykonos, Archaeological Museum: XXXX0.5712
Beazley Archive Database No. 205712
31. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: 81632
Beazley Archive Database No. 207400
32. Oxford (MS), Robinson Collection: 1959.125
Beazley Archive Database No. 206479
33. Palazzolo Acreid, Iudica: XXXX21600
Beazley Archive Database No. 21600
34. Palermo, Mormino Collection: 392
Beazley Archive Database No. 43536
35. Paris, Musee du Petit Palais: 336
Beazley Archive Database No. 203122
36. Paris, Musee du Louvre: G220
Beazley Archive Database No. 202714
37. Paris, Musee du Louvre: CP10813
Beazley Archive Database No. 202433
38. Paris, Musee du Louvre: G285
Beazley Archive Database No. 204067
39. Paris, Musee du Louvre: G286
Beazley Archive Database No. 205275
40. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum: 13129
Beazley Archive Database No. 206457
41. Rome, Private: XXXX0.2999
Beazley Archive Database No. 202999

42. Rome, Musei Capitolini: 176
Beazley Archive Database No. 202565
43. Switzerland, Private: XXXX0.1679
Beazley Archive Database No. 201679
44. Tampa (FL), Museum of Art: 93.29
Beazley Archive Database No. 25604
45. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese: 682
Beazley Archive Database No. 206727
46. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum: 770
Beazley Archive Database No. 206634

B: Attic Red-figure, ca. 550-450 BCE: Maenads with Headdresses

1. Berlin, Antikensammlung: 3232
Beazley Archive Database No. 200980
2. Berlin, Antikensammlung: F2290
Beazley Archive Database No. 204730
3. Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 01.8032
Beazley Archive Database No. 211718
4. Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 13.84
Beazley Archive Database No. 211626
5. Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 91.223
Beazley Archive Database No. 209709
6. Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 95.30
Beazley Archive Database No. 210144
7. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum: 37.17
Beazley Archive Database No. 201096
8. Catania, Museo Civico Castello Ursino: 714
Beazley Archive Database No. 202439

9. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek: 2754
Beazley Archive Database No. 205810
10. Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina: 2668
Beazley Archive Database No. 202400
11. Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco: 151616
Beazley Archive Database No. 203724
12. Geneva, Musee d'Art et d'Histoire: 239
Beazley Archive Database No. 201099
13. Cambridge (MA), Harvard Univ., Arthur M. Sackler Museum: 1925.30.40
Beazley Archive Database No. 213538
14. Cambridge (MA), Harvard Univ., Arthur M. Sackler Museum: 1925.30.129
Beazley Archive Database No. 205158
15. Cambridge (MA), Harvard Univ., Arthur M. Sackler Museum: 1925.30.130
Beazley Archive Database No. 211593
16. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum: 63.104
Beazley Archive Database No. 275635
17. London, British Museum: E55
Beazley Archive Database No. 205337
18. London, British Museum: E319
Beazley Archive Database No. 204448
19. Paris, Cabinet des Medailles: 820
Beazley Archive Database No. 211709
20. Paris, Musee du Louvre: CP10472
Beazley Archive Database No. 200467
21. Paris, Musee du Louvre: G94TER
Beazley Archive Database No. 200651
22. Paris, Musee du Louvre: G6
Beazley Archive Database No. 200465
23. Paris, Musee du Louvre: G135
Beazley Archive Database No. 203728

24. Paris, Musee du Louvre: G250
Beazley Archive Database No. 203850
25. Paris, Musee du Louvre: G448
Beazley Archive Database No. 211569
26. Paris, Musee du Louvre: S1298
Beazley Archive Database No. 200103
27. Milan, Civico Museo Archeologico: 265
Beazley Archive Database No. 13120
28. Munich, Antikensammlungen 2589
Beazley Archive Database No. 200957
29. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: H1
Beazley Archive Database No. 200612
30. New York (NY), Market: XXXX0.4403
Beazley Archive Database No. 204403
31. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum: 06.1021.114
Beazley Archive Database No. 207386
32. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: 1944.87
Beazley Archive Database No. 204402
33. Princeton (NJ), University Art Museum: 33.41
Beazley Archive Database No. 200483
34. Providence (RI), Rhode Island School of Design: 25.077
Beazley Archive Database No. 200478
35. St. Louis (MO), City Art Museum: 15.1951
Beazley Archive Database No. 207290
36. Tampa (FL), Museum of Art: 86.67
Perseus Digital Library

C: Attic Red-figure, ca. 550-450 BCE: Aphrodite with the Headdress

1. Berlin, Antikensammlung: F2278
Beazley Archive Database No. 200108

2. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico: 17358
Beazley Archive Database No. 213717

3. Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 01.8032
Beazley Archive Database No. 211718

4. Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 13.186
Beazley Archive Database No. 204681

5. Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina: 2688
Beazley Archive Database No. 205561

6. Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco: 1B24
Beazley Archive Database No. 200503

7. Leipzig, Antikenmuseum d. Universität Leipzig: T634
Beazley Archive Database No. 216295

8. Les Arcs, Marcel Elbnother: XXXX17898
Beazley Archive Database No. 17898

9. London, British Museum: D2
Beazley Archive Database No. 211350

10. London, British Museum: E73
Beazley Archive Database No. 201754

11. London, British Museum E178
Beazley Archive Database No. 205649

12. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum: 1981.11.9
Beazley Archive Database No. 9988

13. Paris, Musee du Louvre: G115
Beazley Archive Database No. 205119

14. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: 1973.1
Beazley Archive Database No. 802

15. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese: RC5291
Beazley Archive Database No. 204395

16. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese: RC6848
Beazley Archive Database No. 200502

17. Vibo Valentia, Museo Statale Vito Capialbi: C57
Beazley Archive Database No. 17664

APPENDIX C: CATALOGUE OF PROSTITUTE VASES

Notes on the Catalogue

The catalogue consists of two hundred and ten (210) scenes portrayed on one hundred and seventy-eight (178) vases. All listed records are believed to represent prostitutes with the headdresses - the *mitra*, *sakkos* and *kekryphalos*. The vessels date between ca. 550-450 BCE and include only Attic Red-figure pottery.

The majority of data comes from the invaluable digital version of the Beazley Archive housed at the University of Oxford, and the Perseus Digital Library from the Tufts University, to which I am greatly indebted for making this study possible. The dates are mostly based on the Beazley Archive information, marked roughly in the 50-year time span, e.g. 500-450 BCE. Descriptions of the scenes are primarily taken verbatim from the Beazley Archive, since a detailed examination of these vases was not accessible to the author. All available information was including for a better understanding of the vases, and the descriptions were corrected or adjusted if found necessary. All keywords are provided by the author.

The records are listed alphabetically, according to the Title field based on the current location of the vase. The already examined twenty (20) frames scenes are not included in this catalogue and are enlisted in Appendix A.

Catalogue Record 1**Title:**

Adolphseck 57

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *alabastron*

Attributed To:

AISCHINES P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie: 57

Description:

A: WOMAN WITH A MIRROR, *KALATHOS*

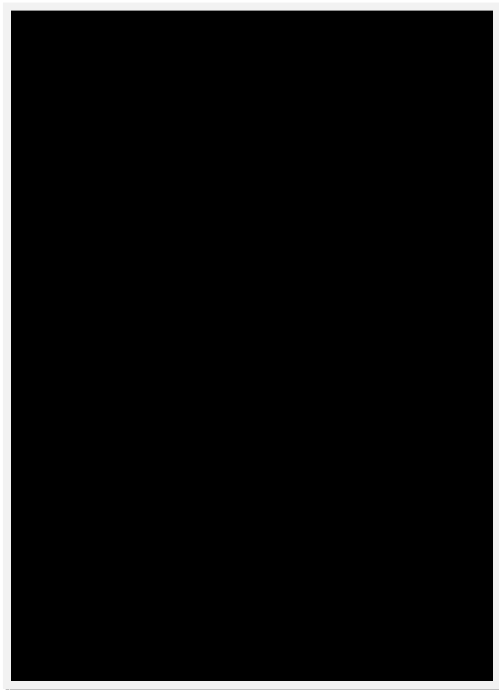
B: DRAPED YOUTH LEANING ON A STAFF

Keywords:

prostitute, mixed gender, mirror, *kalathos*, courting, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 208806



Catalogue Record 2**Title:**

Adria B248

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *amphora*

Attributed To:

LENINGRAD P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Adria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: B248

Description:

A: *KOMOS*, ANAKREONTIC, DRAPED MEN, ONE PLAYING LYRE

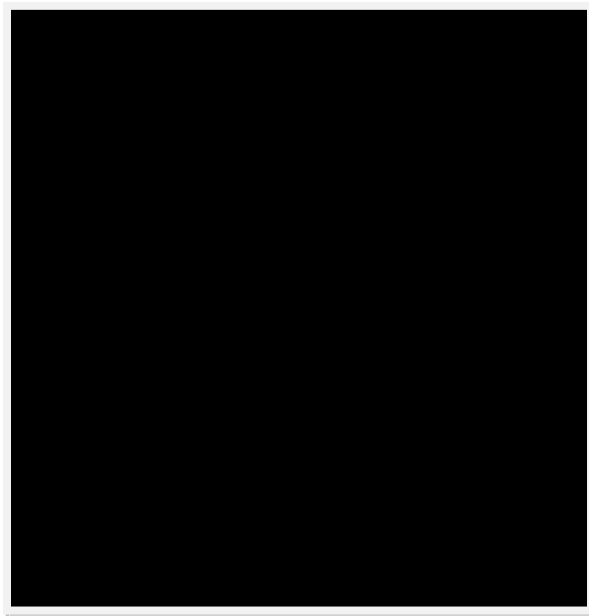
B: *KOMOS*, WOMAN PLAYING PIPES, YOUTHS, ONE DRAPED, ONE WITH POINTED *AMPHORA*

Keywords:

prostitute, flute, entertainer, *komos*, mixed gender, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 206562



Catalogue Record 3**Title:**

Adria B328

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

DOURIS

Current Location:

Adria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: B328

Description:

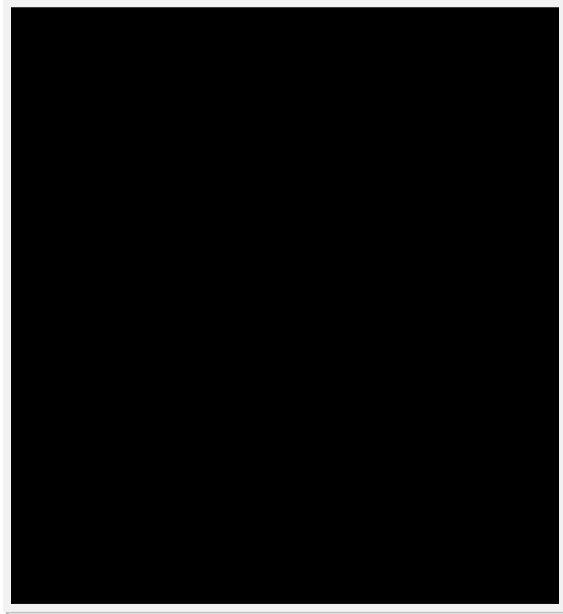
I: WOMAN WITH A BASKET

Keywords:

kalathos, prostitute, wool working, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 205365



Catalogue Record 4**Title:**

Agrigento 59

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *lekythos*

Attributed To:

N/A

Current Location:

Agrigento, Giudice: 59

Description:

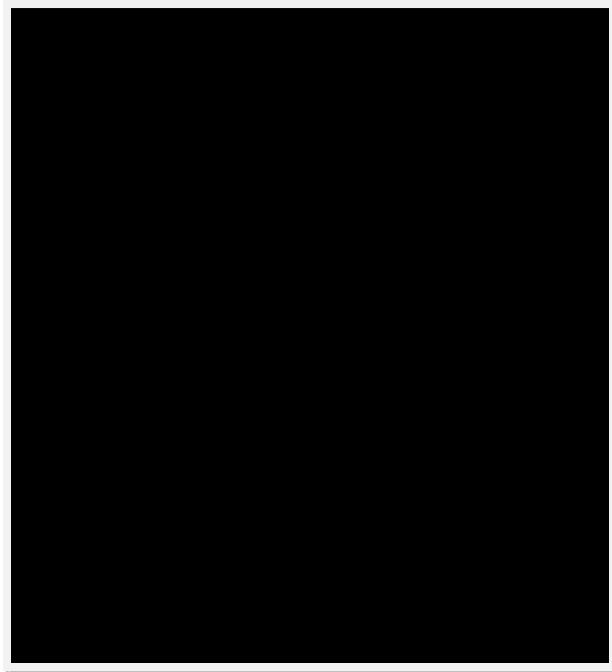
WOMAN SEATED WITH FRUIT, DRAPED MAN WITH STAFF AND PURSE,
MIRROR SUSPENDED

Keywords:

mixed gender, purse, mirror, fruit, courting, prostitute, gift, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 204461



Catalogue Record 5**Title:**

Athens 0.5626

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *alabastron*

Attributed To:

DEEPDENE P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Athens, M. Vlasto: XXXX0.5626

Description:

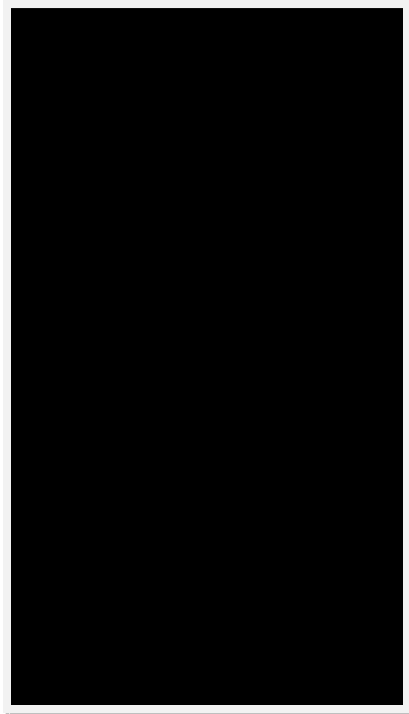
A,B: WOMAN WITH MIRROR, WOMAN WITH *ALABASTRON*, *KALATHOS*
(PLANT ?)

Keywords:

prostitute, mirror, *alabastron*, *kalathos*, oil container, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 205626



Catalogue Record 6

Title:

Athens 1063

Date:

ca. 520-480 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *askos*

Attributed To:

N/A

Current Location:

Athens, Ceramicus: 1063

Description:

A,B: EROTIC, YOUTH AND WOMAN

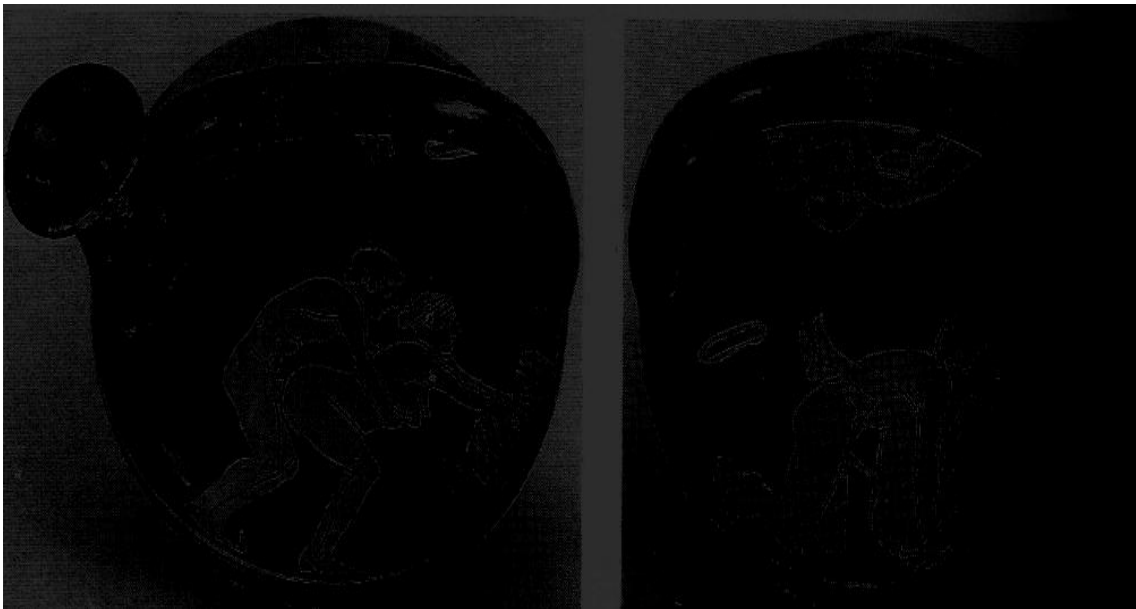
Keywords:

sexual, mixed gender, prostitute, pillow, nude, 2 Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 6022;

M. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases* (London, 1993), R1184.



Catalogue Record 7**Title:**

Athens 1584 A

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *pyxis*

Attributed To:

N/A

Current Location:

Athens, National Museum: 1584

Description:

C: WOMAN ON BED, *ALABASTRON* SUSPENDED

B: WOMAN, SEATED, SPINNING, MIRROR SUSPENDED

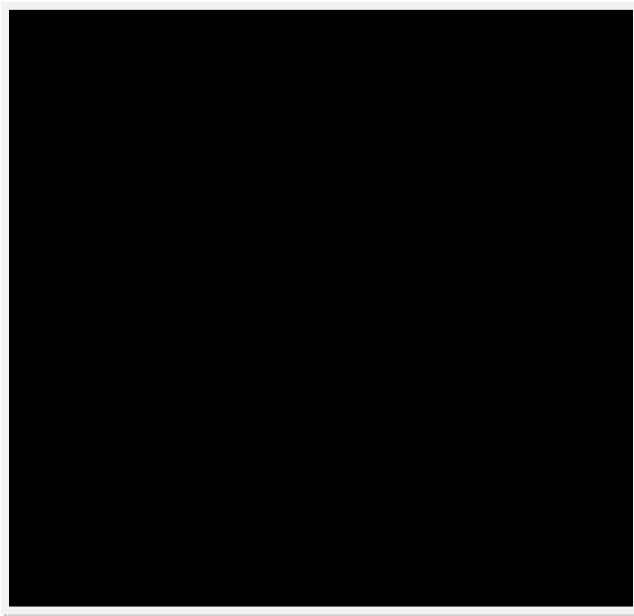
A: WOMAN WORKING WOOL, *KALATHOS*

Keywords:

prostitute, wool-working, *kalathos*, Closed-Bag, hair-net, *kekryphalos*, colour, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 7898



Catalogue Record 8**Title:**

Athens 1584 B

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *pyxis*

Attributed To:

N/A

Current Location:

Athens, National Museum: 1584

Description:

C: WOMAN ON BED, *ALABASTRON* SUSPENDED

B: WOMAN, SEATED, SPINNING, MIRROR SUSPENDED

A: WOMAN WORKING WOOL, *KALATHOS*

Keywords:

prostitute, spinning, wool-working, mirror, Open-Bag, plain, colour

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 7898



Catalogue Record 9**Title:**

Athens 1584 C

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *pyxis*

Attributed To:

N/A

Current Location:

Athens, National Museum: 1584

Description:

C: WOMAN ON BED, *ALABASTRON* SUSPENDED

B: WOMAN, SEATED, SPINNING, MIRROR SUSPENDED

A: WOMAN WORKING WOOL, *KALATHOS*

Keywords:

prostitute, bed, *alabastron*, oil container, sandals, sleeping, hair-net, *kekryphalos*, Closed-Bag?, colour, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 7898



Catalogue Record 10**Title:**

Athens 17303

Date:

ca. 520-490 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

EPIKTETOS

Current Location:

Athens, National Museum: 17303

Description:

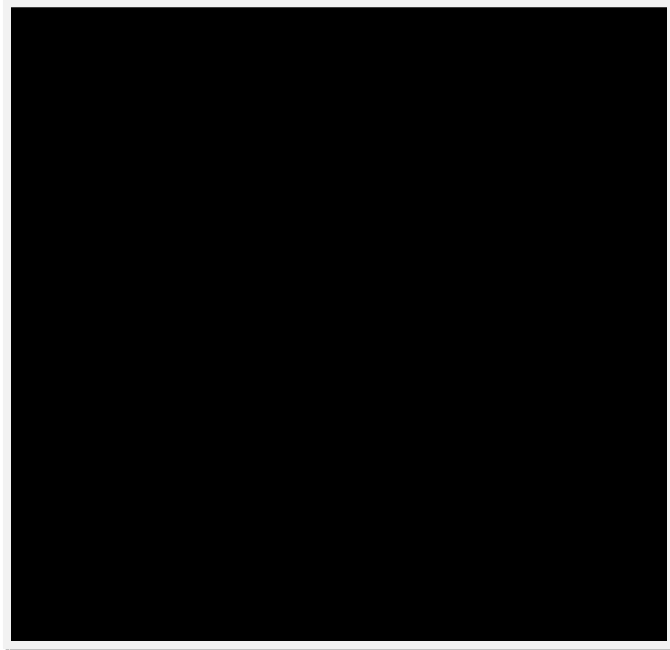
I: EROTIC, MAN AND WOMAN

Keywords:

mixed gender, nude, prostitute, sexual, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200647



Catalogue Record 11**Title:**

Athens 2.71

Date:

ca. 520-490 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

EPIKTETOS

Current Location:

Athens, National Museum, Acropolis Coll.: 2.71

Description:

I: WOMAN WITH *KROTALA*

Keywords:

krotala, prostitute, entertainer, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200645



Catalogue Record 12**Title:**

Athens A2579

Date:

ca. 520-480 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *stamnos*

Attributed To:

N/A

Current Location:

Athens, National Museum: A2579

Description:

A: EROTIC, THREE MEN AND A WOMAN

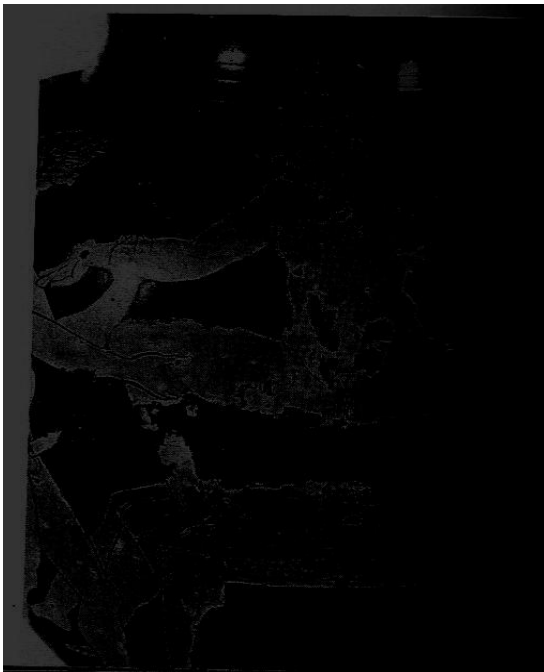
Keywords:

sexual, mixed gender, prostitute, nude, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 15807;

M. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases* (London, 1993), R1151.



Catalogue Record 13**Title:**

Athens P10271

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

N/A

Current Location:

Athens, Agora Museum: P10271

Description:

A,B: UNDECORATED

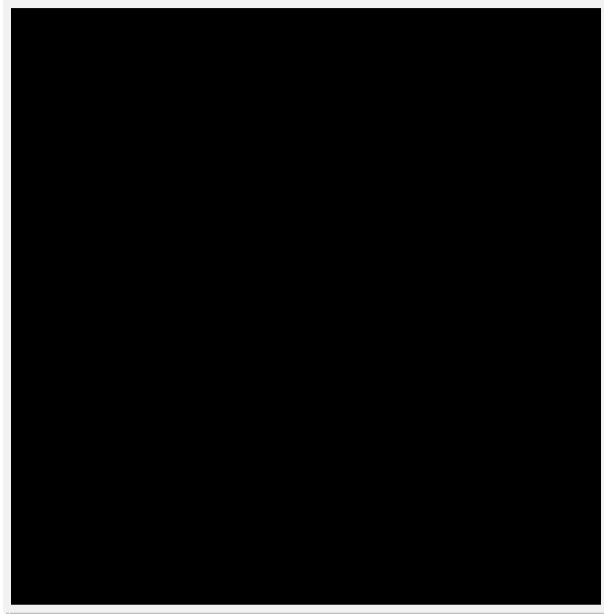
I: *KOMOS*, MAN SINGING, WOMAN PLAYING PIPES, PIPES CASE SUSPENDED

Keywords:

prostitute, *komos*, entertainer, flute, mixed gender, Open-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 205258



Catalogue Record 14**Title:**

Athens P24102

Date:

ca. 500 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

AGORA CHAIRIAS GROUP by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Athens, Agora Museum: P24102

Description:

I: NAKED WOMAN WITH A WREATH AT THE ALTAR

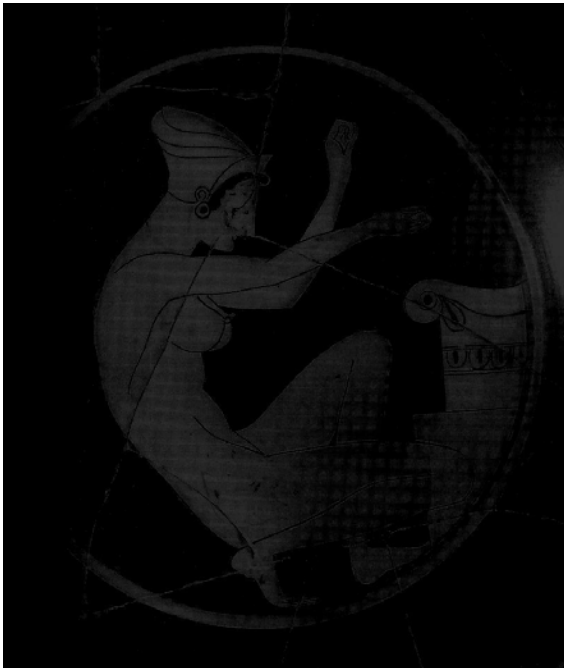
Keywords:

prostitute, nude, altar, jewelry, wreath, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 201609;

S. Lewis, *Athenian Woman* (NY: Routledge, 2002), fig. 3.9.



Catalogue Record 15**Title:**

Athens P24131

Date:

ca. 520-490 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

EPIKTETOS

Current Location:

Athens, Agora Museum: P24131

Description:

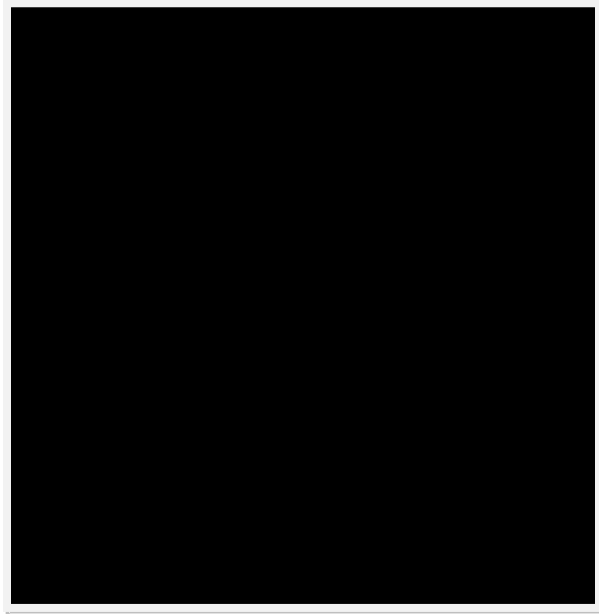
I: NAKED WOMAN WITH BOOTS

Keywords:

nude, boots, *podanipter*, prostitute, laver, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200608



Catalogue Record 16**Title:**

Basel 0.3788

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

LOUVRE KOMOS, P OF by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Basel, Market, Munzen und Medaillen A.G.: XXXX0.3788

Description:

A,B: UNDECORATED

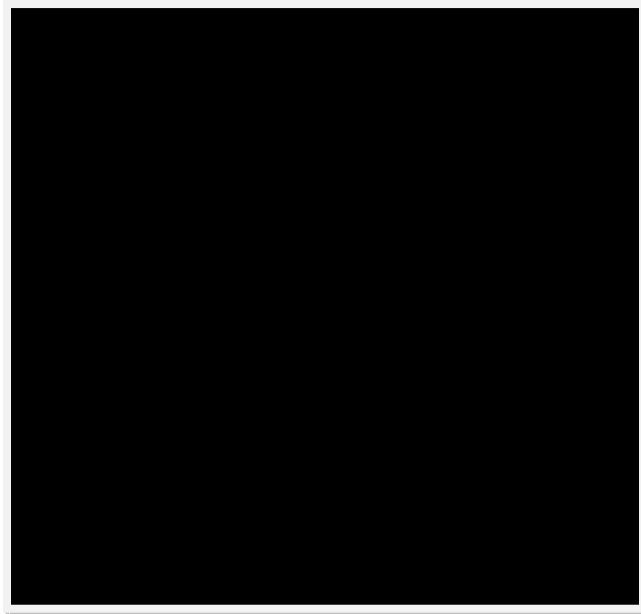
I: WOMAN WITH CUP AND *OINOCHOE*, AT COLUMN KRATER

Keywords:

prostitute, *kylix*, *oinochoe*, *symposion*, wine, *krater*, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 203788



Catalogue Record 17**Title:**

Basel 116, private A

Date:

ca. 525-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

N/A

Current Location:

Basel, Private Besitz Cahn 116

Description:

SYMPOSION, MEN AND WOMEN, NUDE, PLAYING *KOTTABOS*

Keywords:

symposion, nude, sexual, mixed gender, prostitute, *kottabos*, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

I. Peschel, *Die Hetare bei Symposium und Komos in der attisch-rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei des 6-4 Jahrh. v. Chr.* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1987), fig.28.



Catalogue Record 18**Title:**

Basel 116, private B

Date:

ca. 525-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

N/A

Current Location:

Basel, Private Besitz Cahn 116

Description:

SYMPOSION, MEN AND WOMEN, NUDE, PLAYING *KOTTABOS*

Keywords:

symposion, nude, sexual, mixed gender, prostitute, *kottabos*, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

I. Peschel, *Die Hetare bei Symposium und Komos in der attisch-rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei des 6-4 Jahrh. v. Chr.* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1987), fig.28.



Catalogue Record 19**Title:**

Basel 34

Date:

ca. 525-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:Attic RF *kylix* tondo**Attributed To:**

n/a

Current Location:

Basel, Munzen und Medaillen AG, MuM 34, no. 34

Description:I: WOMAN PLAYING FLUTE MAN SINGING AT THE *SYMPOSION***Keywords:**prostitute, *symposion*, entertainer, flute, mixed gender, singing, Closed-Wrap, plain**Reference:**I. Peschel, *Die Hetare bei Symposium und Komos in der attisch-rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei des 6-4 Jahrh. v. Chr* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1987), fig.50.

Catalogue Record 20**Title:**

Basel BS442

Date:

ca. 485-465 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

FOUNDRY P

Current Location:

Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig: BS442

Description:

A: DRAPED YOUTHS, ONE SEATED ON CHAIR, WOMEN, ONE WITH WREATH, SPINDLE, (MIRROR ?) SUSPENDED

I: WOMAN WITH WREATH, DRAPED YOUTH

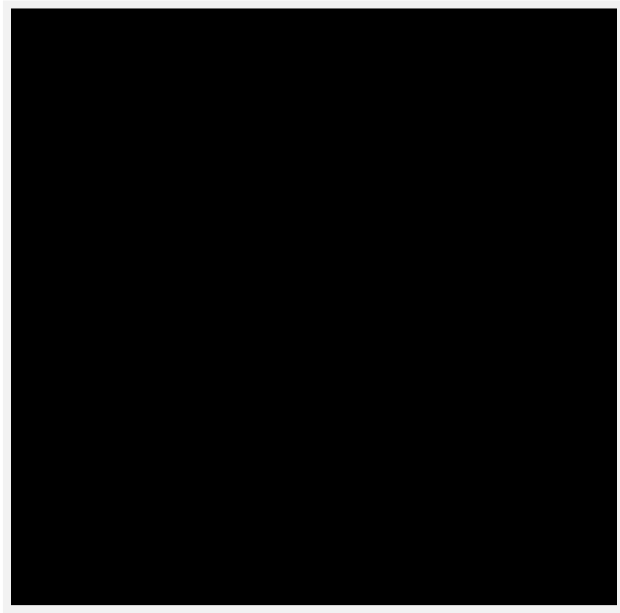
B: DRAPED MEN (?) WITH STAFFS, ONE WITH WREATH, WOMEN, ONE WITH SPINDLE (?) AT *KALATHOS*

Keywords:

slave, bed?, prostitute, wreath, gift?, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 275964



Catalogue Record 21**Title:**

Basel HC59

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

BRISEIS P

Current Location:

Basel, H. Cahn: HC59

Description:

NAKED WOMAN, TREE (SPRIG ?)

Keywords:

nude, prostitute, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 204432



Catalogue Record 22**Title:**

Berkeley 8.3225

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

BOOT P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Berkeley (CA), Phoebe Apperson Hearst Mus. of Anthropology: 8.3225

Description:

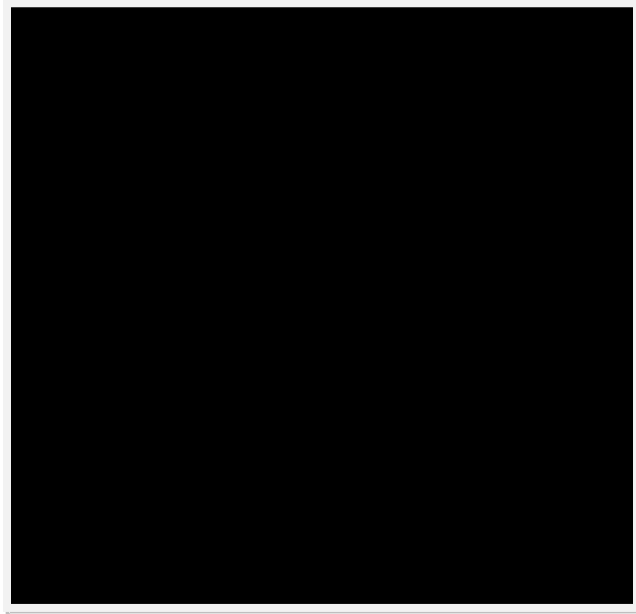
I: NAKED WOMAN AT LAVER, CAULDRON (?)

Keywords:

prostitute, laver, nude, bathing, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 210184



Catalogue Record 23

Title:

Berkeley 8.923

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

MAKRON

Current Location:

Berkeley (CA), Phoebe Apperson Hearst Mus. of Anthropology: 8.923

Description:

A: COURTING (?), WOMAN WITH *ALABASTRON* BETWEEN DRAPED YOUTHS
LEANING ON STAFFS

B: WOMAN WITH MIRROR, BETWEEN DRAPED YOUTHS WITH STAFFS

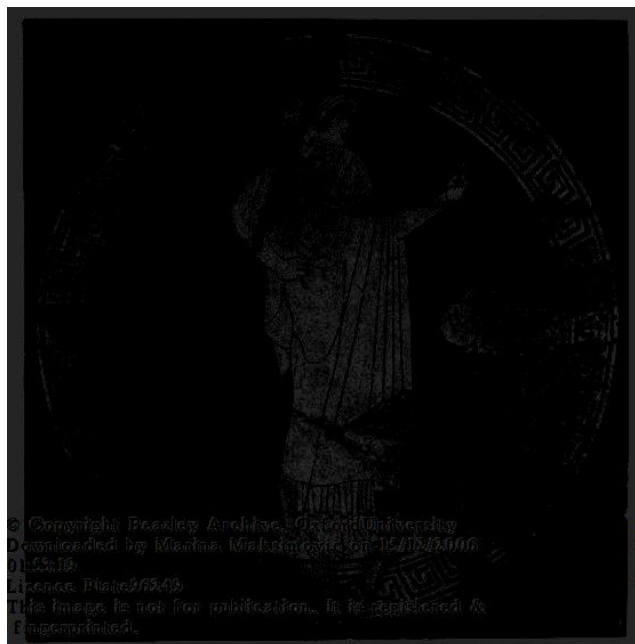
I: WOMAN WITH FLOWER AT ALTAR

Keywords:

altar, flower, prostitute, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 210002



Catalogue Record 24

Title:

Berlin, lost: F3218

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

Manner of: BRYGOS P by FURTWANGLER

Current Location:

Berlin, lost: F3218

Description:

I: NAKED WOMAN WITH BOOTS AND CLOTH, STOOL, STAFF, STRIGIL AND
ARYBALLOS SUSPENDED

A,B: UNDECORATED

Keywords:

prostitute, oil-set, nude, boots, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 204190



Catalogue Record 25**Title:**

Berlin 1966.21

Date:

ca. 500 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

N/A

Current Location:

Berlin, Antikensammlung: 1966.21

Description:

WOMEN, KNEADING BREAD (?), *PHALLOS* BIRD

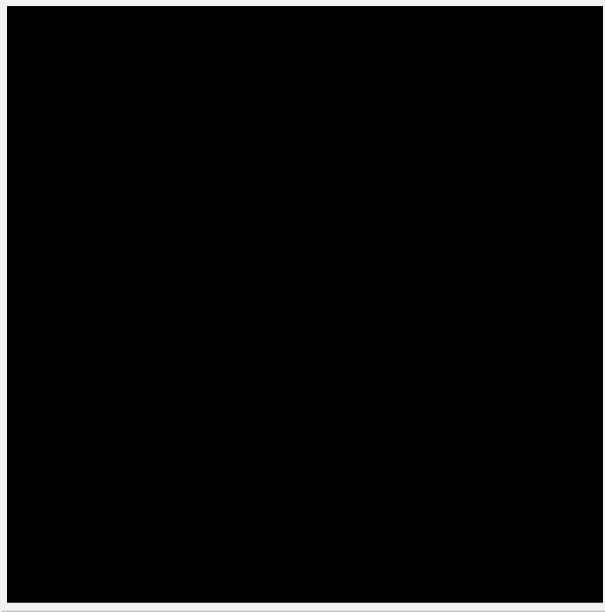
Keywords:

sexual, prostitute, *phallos* bird, 2 Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 5119;

M. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases* (London, 1993), R1192.



Catalogue Record 26**Title:**

Berlin 31426 A

Date:

ca. 450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

EUAION P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Berlin, Antikensammlung: 31426

Description:

I: DRAPED YOUTH WITH STAFF, WOMAN, STOOL

A,B: WOMEN, ONE WITH BOX, ONE WITH *ALABASTRON*, ONE WITH *OINOCHOE* AND *PHIALE*, ONE WITH FRUIT, ONE SEATED SPINNING, DRAPED YOUTHS AND MAN WITH STAFF

Keywords:

mixed gender, prostitute, spinning, wool-working, courting, chest, *alabastron*, oil container, Closed-Wrap, plain, Closed-Bag?, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 209808;

Perseus Digital Library



Catalogue Record 27**Title:**

Berlin 31426 B

Date:

ca. 450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

EUAION P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Berlin, Antikensammlung: 31426

Description:

I: DRAPED YOUTH WITH STAFF, WOMAN, STOOL

A,B: WOMEN, ONE WITH BOX, ONE WITH *ALABASTRON*, ONE WITH *OINOCHOE* AND *PHIALE*, ONE WITH FRUIT, ONE SEATED SPINNING, DRAPED YOUTHS AND MAN WITH STAFF

Keywords:

prostitute, mixed gender, fruit, gift, *oinochoe*, *phiale*, wine, courting, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 209808



Catalogue Record 28**Title:**

Berlin 3251 A

Date:

ca. 520-500 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

THALIA P

Current Location:

Berlin, Antikensammlung: 3251

Description:

I: EROTIC, MEN AND NAKED WOMEN, ONE WITH SANDAL, *KLINE*, LAMP
STAND WITH LAMP, FOOTSTOOL

A,B: EROTIC, MEN AND NAKED WOMEN, LAMP STANDS WITH LAMPS AND
LADLES

Keywords:

nude, mixed gender, flute, lamp, *komos*, ladle, prostitute, sexual, entertainer, 4 Open-
Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200964



Catalogue Record 29**Title:**

Berlin 3251 B

Date:

ca. 520-500 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

THALIA P

Current Location:

Berlin, Antikensammlung: 3251

Description:

I: EROTIC, MEN AND NAKED WOMEN, ONE WITH SANDAL, *KLINE*, LAMP
STAND WITH LAMP, FOOTSTOOL

A,B: EROTIC, MEN AND NAKED WOMEN, LAMP STANDS WITH LAMPS AND
LADLES

Keywords:

nude, mixed gender, lamp, *komos*, wine cooler, prostitute, *krotala*, sexual, entertainer, 3
Open-Wrap, plain, 2 Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200964



Catalogue Record 30**Title:**

Berlin 3757

Date:

ca. 485-465 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

FOUNDRY P

Current Location:

Berlin, Antikensammlung: 3757

Description:

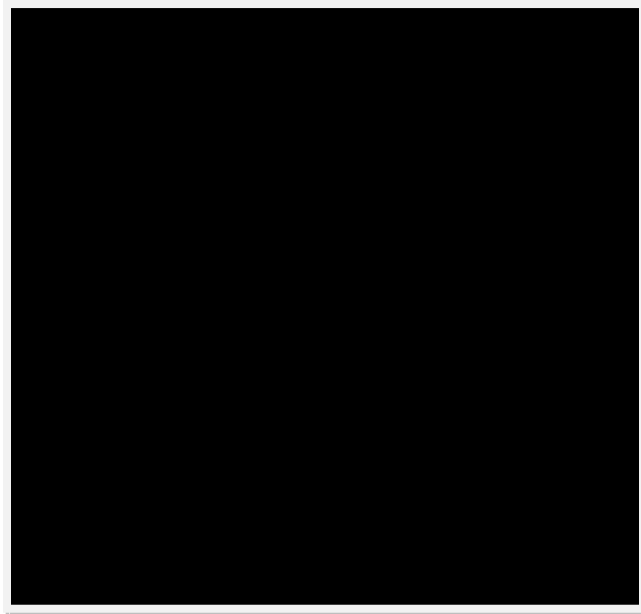
I: NAKED WOMAN DEFECATING IN *KRATER*, *SAKKOS* AND BOOTS
SUSPENDED

Keywords:

boots, nude, prostitute, sexual, *krater*, wall, 2 Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 204391



Catalogue Record 31**Title:**

Berlin F2270

Date:

ca. 525-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

THORVALDSEN GROUP

Current Location:

Berlin, Antikensammlung: F2270

Description:

I: SATYR WITH WINESKIN AND DRINKING HORN

A,B: *SYMPOSION*, MEN, ONE WITH SCYTHIAN CAP AND *SKYPHOS*, AND NAKED WOMEN RECLINING, SOME PLAYING *KOTTABOS* WITH CUPS, BASKET, PIPES CASE AND FILLETS SUSPENDED

Keywords:

symposion, nude, mixed gender, prostitute, basket, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 212304



Catalogue Record 32**Title:**

Berlin F2279

Date:

ca. 500 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

PEITHINOS

Current Location:

Berlin, Antikensammlung: F2279

Description:

A: EROTIC (COURTING), YOUTHS

B: DRAPED YOUTHS AND WOMEN

UH: DOG AND LION SKIN

I: PELEUS AND THETIS

Keywords:

mixed gender, fruit, prostitute, courting, skirt-lifting, dog, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200977;

Perseus Digital Library



Catalogue Record 33**Title:**

Berlin F2286 A

Date:

ca. 485-470 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

TRIPTOLEMOS

Current Location:

Berlin, Antikensammlung: F2286

Description:

I: *SYMPOSITION*, MAN PLAYING PIPES AND WOMAN WITH *KROTALA*
RECLINING, TABLE, SHOES, STAFF

A,B: DRAPED MEN AND YOUTHS, SOME WITH STAFFS, WOMAN WITH
MIRROR

Keywords:

mixed gender, prostitute, mirror, courting, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 203851



Catalogue Record 34**Title:**

Berlin F2286 tondo

Date:

ca. 485-470 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

TRIPTOLEMOS

Current Location:

Berlin, Antikensammlung: F2286

Description:

I: *SYMPOSION*, MAN PLAYING PIPES AND WOMAN WITH *KROTALA*
RECLINING, TABLE, SHOES, STAFF

A,B: DRAPED MEN AND YOUTHS, SOME WITH STAFFS, WOMAN WITH
MIRROR

Keywords:

krotala, boots, *symposion*, entertainer, mixed gender, flute, bed, prostitute, Closed-Bag,
pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 203851



Catalogue Record 35**Title:**

Berlin F2289

Date:

ca. 480 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

DOURIS

Current Location:

Berlin, Antikensammlung: F2289

Description:

I: WOOL WORKING, WOMEN, ONE SEATED, *KALATHOI*, ONE ON STOOL
(FOOT STOOL ?)

A,B: *KOMOS*, MEN WITH *SKYPHOI*, CUPS AND PIPES

Keywords:

kalathos, wool-working, prostitute, 2 Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 205141; Perseus Digital Library



Catalogue Record 36**Title:**

Berlin F2306

Date:

ca. 480 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

DOURIS

Current Location:

Berlin, Antikensammlung: F2306

Description:

I: WOMAN SEATED ON STOOL FEEDING GEESE

Keywords:

geese, birds, prostitute, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 41548



Catalogue Record 37**Title:**

Berlin F4221

Date:

ca. 525-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

OLTOS by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Berlin, Antikensammlung: F4221

Description:

A: WARRIORS QUARRELLING, DRAPED YOUTH INTERVENING BETWEEN WARRIOR (ARCHER ?) AND WOMAN, SHIELD DEVICE, LEAF

B: *SYMPOSION*, YOUTHS AND MAN WITH CUPS, WOMAN WITH LYRE AND *KROTALA*

I: VICTOR (YOUTH)

Keywords:

symposion, mixed gender, lyre, *krotala*, entertainer, prostitute, Closed-Wrap, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200509



Catalogue Record 38**Title:**

Berlin Private 4290

Date:

ca. 520-480 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

Manner of: OLTOS by GREIFENHAGEN

Current Location:

Berlin, Private (Schiller): XXXX4290

Description:

I: EROTIC, MAN AND WOMAN

Keywords:

nude, mixed gender, pillow, *symposion*, prostitute, sexual, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 4290;

M. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases* (London, 1993), R117.



Catalogue Record 39**Title:**

Bologna 206

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *krater*

Attributed To:

BOREAS P

Current Location:

Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico: 206

Description:

B: TWO DRAPED YOUTHS WITH STAFFS, WOMAN

A: WOMAN AND OLD MAN WITH STAFF, AT HERMS, TREE

Keywords:

prostitute, mixed gender, courting?, tree, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 206078



Catalogue Record 40

Title:

Bologna 492

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *skyphos*

Attributed To:

EUAICHME P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico: 492

Description:

B: WOMAN WITH LYRE

A: *KOMOS*, MAN WITH *SKYPHOS*

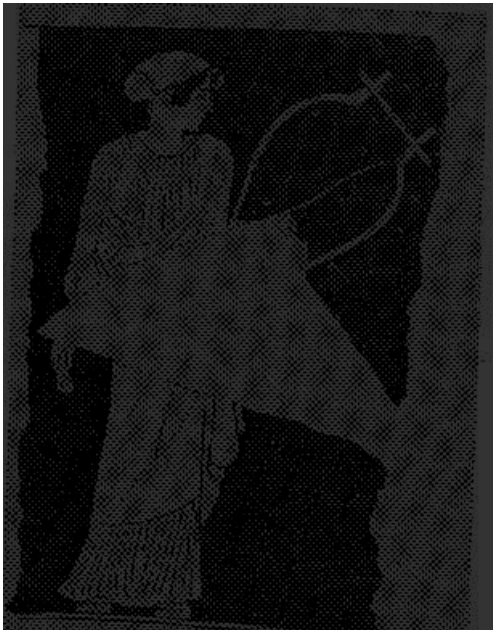
Keywords:

prostitute, *komos*, entertainer, lyre, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 209670;

I. Peschel, *Die Hetare bei Symposium und Komos in der attisch rotfigurigen Malerei des 6.-4. Jhs. v.Chr.* (Frankfurt, 1987), fig.203.



Catalogue Record 41**Title:**

Bonn 73

Date:

ca. 525-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:Attic RF *kylix* tondo**Attributed To:**

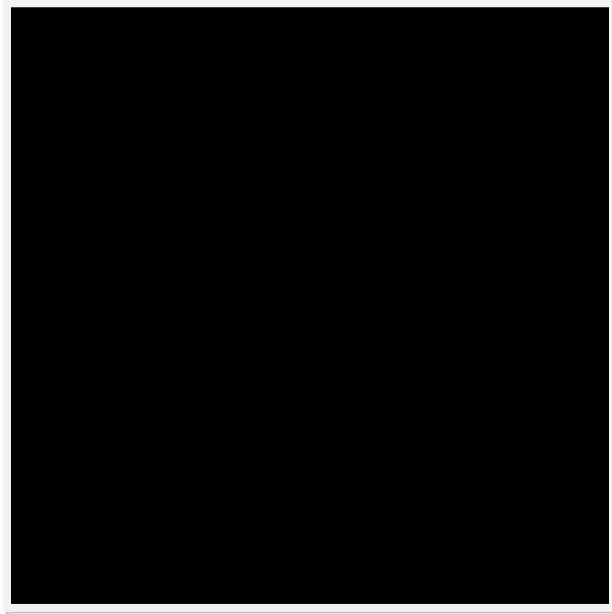
GALES P by RUMPF

Current Location:

Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum: 73

Description:I: WOMAN DANCING WITH WINESKIN AND *OINOCHOE***Keywords:**prostitute, dancing, wineskin, *oinochoe*, *komos*, Closed-Wrap, plain**Reference:**

Beazley Archive Database No. 260211



Catalogue Record 42**Title:**

Boston 00.340

Date:

ca. 480 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *lekythos*

Attributed To:

TITHONOS P

Current Location:

Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 00.340

Description:

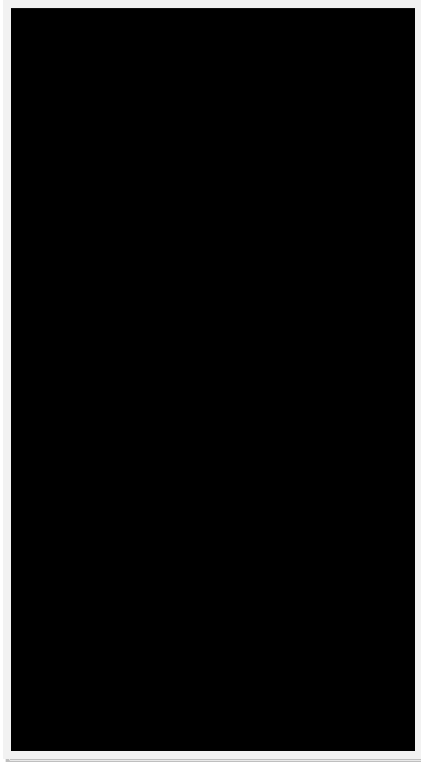
WOMAN WITH MIRROR, *PLEMOCHOE*, *ALABASTRON* SUSPENDED

Keywords:

prostitute, mirror, jewelry, bracelet, *alabastron*, *plemochoe*, oil container, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 203180



Catalogue Record 43**Title:**

Boston 01.8022 A

Date:

ca. 490-480 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

MAKRON by HARTWIG

Current Location:

Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 01.8022

Description:

A,B: COURTING, DRAPED MEN AND DRAPED YOUTHS, WITH SPRIGS AND STAFFS, ONE SEATED, WOMEN WITH SPRIGS, ONE SEATED WITH SPRIG AND MIRROR, PIPES CASE SUSPENDED

UH: STOOL

I: *SYMPOSITION*, MAN RECLINING WITH CUP, WOMAN

Keywords:

prostitute, mirror, mixed gender, flower, wreath, gift, courting, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 204831;

Perseus Digital Library



Catalogue Record 44**Title:**

Boston 01.8022 B

Date:

ca. 490-480 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

MAKRON by HARTWIG

Current Location:

Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 01.8022

Description:

A,B: COURTING, DRAPED MEN AND DRAPED YOUTHS, WITH SPRIGS AND STAFFS, ONE SEATED, WOMEN WITH SPRIGS, ONE SEATED WITH SPRIG AND MIRROR, PIPES CASE AND NET BAG WITH ROUND OBJECTS
SUSPENDED

UH: STOOL

I: *SYMPOSITION*, MAN RECLINING WITH CUP, WOMAN

Keywords:

prostitute, mixed gender, flute, net-bag, courting, flower, entertainer, gift, Open-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 204831;

Perseus Digital Library



Catalogue Record 45**Title:**

Boston 10.572

Date:

ca. 470-460 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

BOOT P

Current Location:

Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 10.572

Description:

A, B: WOMEN WASHING, SOME NAKED, SOME WITH BOOTS, HOLDING
CHITONS, COLUMN, TREE

I: SATYR WITH DRINKING HORN AND WINESKIN

Keywords:

bathing, column, boots, clothes, prostitute, nude, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 210165



Catalogue Record 46**Title:**

Boston 97.369

Date:

ca. 470 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

DOURIS by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 97.369

Description:

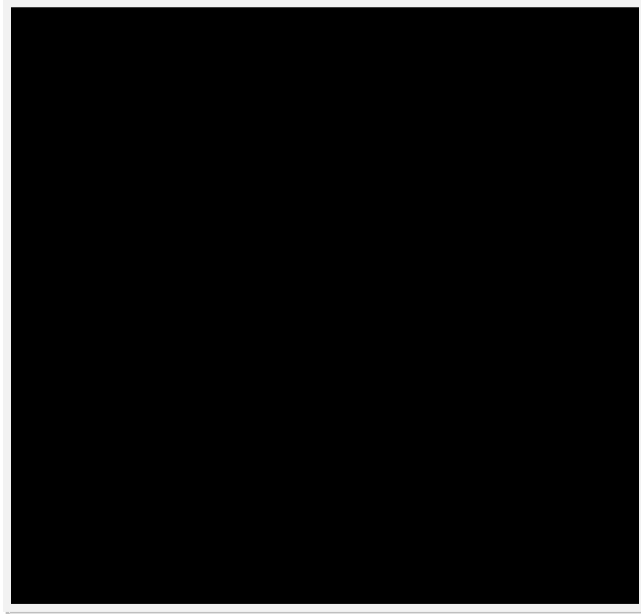
I: WOMAN AT LAVER, *KRATER*, STOOL, *SAKKOS* SUSPENDED

Keywords:

laver, prostitute, bed?, wall, 2 Closed-Bag, pattern, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 205295



Catalogue Record 47**Title:**

Braunschweig 269

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *pelike*

Attributed To:

LENINGRAD P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum: 269

Description:

B: *KOMOS*, MAN PLAYING LYRE, YOUTHS, ONE DRAPED, WITH CUP AND WINESKIN

A: *KOMOS*, YOUTHS WITH CUPS, WOMAN PLAYING PIPES

Keywords:

prostitute, flute, entertainer, mixed gender, *komos*, Open-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 206541



Catalogue Record 48**Title:**

Brussels R263

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

BRYGOS P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Brussels, Musees Royaux: R263

Description:

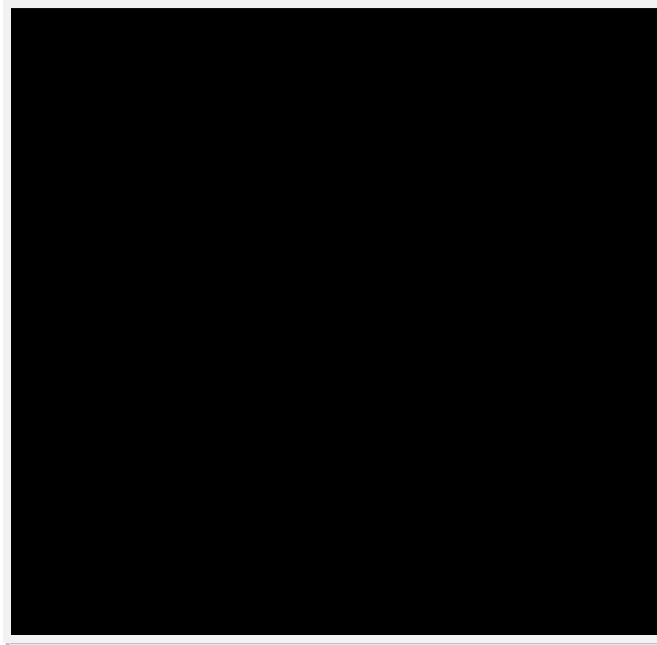
I: WOMAN WITH *SKYPHOS* AND LADLE AT CAULDRON (?), PIPES CASE
SUSPENDED

Keywords:

prostitute, flute, ladle, entertainer, *symposion*, *skyphos*, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 204013



Catalogue Record 49**Title:**

Brussels R264

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

MAKRON

Current Location:

Brussels, Musees Royaux: R264

Description:

A: *KOMOS*, MEN AND YOUTH, WITH *SKYPHOS* AND WALKING STICKS,
WOMAN WITH LADLE AND CUP AT *KRATER*, PIPES CASE SUSPENDED

B: *KOMOS*, MEN AND YOUTH (?), WITH *SKYPHOS* AND WALKING STICK,
WOMAN PLAYING PIPES

I: YOUTH WITH STAFF, STOOL

Keywords:

komos, prostitute, mixed gender, entertainer, flute, *skyphos*, Open-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 204762



Catalogue Record 50**Title:**

Cambridge 1927.155

Date:

ca. 460 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

Follower of: DOURIS by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Cambridge (MA), Harvard Univ., Arthur M. Sackler Mus: 1927.155

Description:

BUILDING, WOMAN WITH *PHIALE*, ALTAR

Keywords:

prostitute, altar, door, *phiale*, libation, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 209939



Catalogue Record 51**Title:**

Cambridge 1959.124

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

DOURIS

Current Location:

Cambridge (MA), Harvard Univ., Arthur M. Sackler Mus: 1959.124

Description:

I: *SYMPOSION*, MAN WITH PIPES AND WOMAN RECLINING, PIPES CASE AND BASKET SUSPENDED, TABLE, BOOTS

A: *SYMPOSION*, MEN AND WOMEN RECLINING ON *KLINAI*, YOUTHS, ONE DRAPED, PLAYING PIPES, BASKETS AND CUPS SUSPENDED, TABLES, BOOTS

B: *SYMPOSION*

Keywords:

prostitute, *symposion*, flute, mixed gender, basket, boots, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 205186



Catalogue Record 52**Title:**

Cambridge 1959.188

Date:

ca. 470 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *pelike*

Attributed To:

Manner of: PIG P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Cambridge (MA), Harvard Univ., Arthur M. Sackler Mus: 1959.188

Description:

A,B: *KOMOS*, YOUTHS, ONE WITH STAFF, ONE WITH COLUMN *KRATER*, ONE WITH *OINOCHOE*, ONE PLAYING PIPES, MAN WITH POINTED *AMPHORA*, WOMAN PLAYING *KITHARA*, STOOL

Keywords:

kithara, *komos*, mixed gender, prostitute, entertainer, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 206484



Catalogue Record 53**Title:**

Cambridge 1959.193

Date:

ca. 480-470 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *lekythos*

Attributed To:

Douris

Current Location:

Cambridge (MA), Harvard Univ., Arthur M. Sackler Mus: 1959.193

Description:

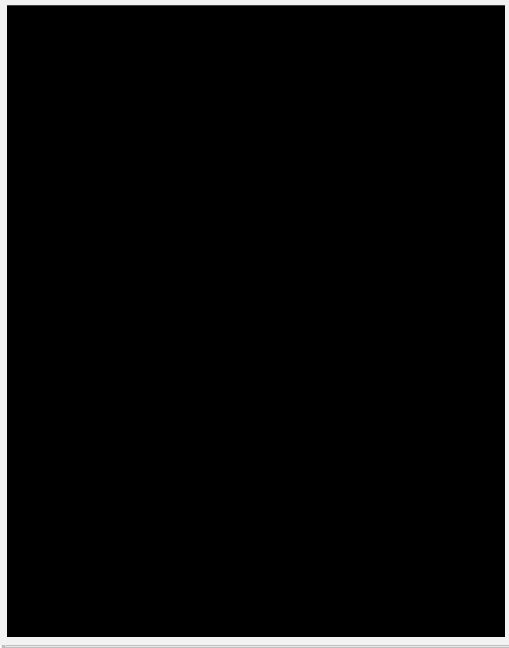
WOMAN WITH *ALABASTRON*, BOX

Keywords:

alabastron, oil container, chest, prostitute, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 205369



Catalogue Record 54**Title:**

Cambridge 1960.346 A

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *krater*

Attributed To:

PIG P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Cambridge (MA), Harvard Univ., Arthur M. Sackler Mus: 60.346

Description:

A: *KOMOS*, MAN AND YOUTH, IN BOOTS, NAKED WOMEN, ONE WITH *SKYPHOS* AND PIPES CASE, ONE WITH CUP

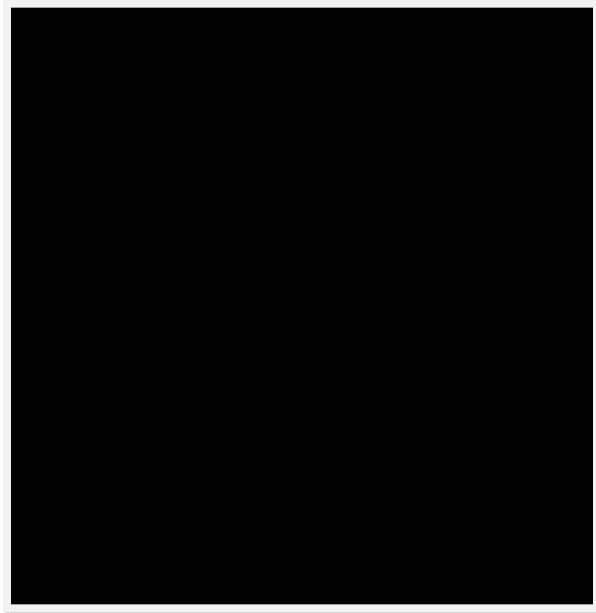
B: MAN WITH STAFF, NAKED WOMAN, YOUTH WITH WINESKIN

Keywords:

komos, prostitute, nude, flute, mixed gender, entertainer, sexual, *skyphos*, 2 Open-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 206433



Catalogue Record 55**Title:**

Cambridge 1960.346 B

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *krater*

Attributed To:

PIG P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Cambridge (MA), Harvard Univ., Arthur M. Sackler Mus: 60.346

Description:

A: *KOMOS*, MAN AND YOUTH, IN BOOTS, NAKED WOMEN, ONE WITH *SKYPHOS* AND PIPES CASE, ONE WITH CUP

B: MAN WITH STAFF, NAKED WOMAN, YOUTH WITH WINESKIN

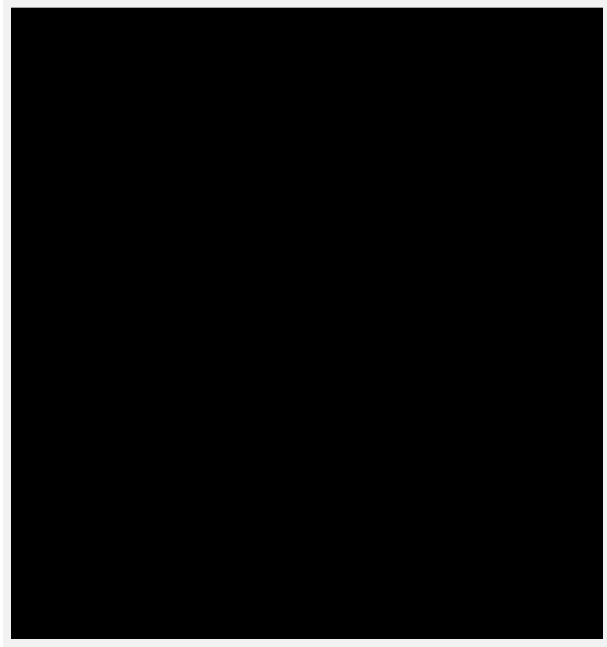
Keywords:

komos, prostitute, nude, mixed gender, sexual, wineskin, *skyphos*, Open-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 206433;

Perseus Digital Library



Catalogue Record 56**Title:**

Cambridge 1960.350

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *pinake*

Attributed To:

BRYN MAWR P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Cambridge (MA), Harvard Univ., Arthur M. Sackler Mus: 1960.350

Description:

I: *SYMPOSITION*, WOMAN RECLINING ON *KLINE* WITH CUPS PLAYING *KOTTABOS*, PIPES CASE SUSPENDED

Keywords:

prostitute, *kottabos*, *symposion*, bed, flute, entertainer, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 213353



Catalogue Record 57**Title:**

Cambridge 1972.45

Date:

ca. 485-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *amphora*

Attributed To:

PROVIDENCE P by BOTHMER

Current Location:

Cambridge (MA), Harvard Univ., Arthur M. Sackler Mus: 1972.45

Description:

A: WOMAN SEATED ON CHAIR WITH WREATH, WOOL BASKET, DRAPED
MAN LEANING ON STAFF

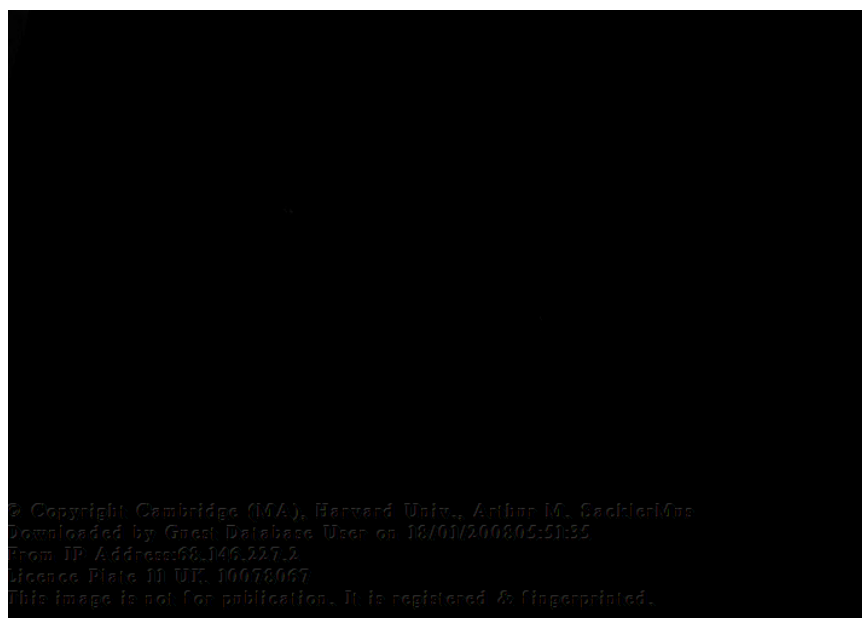
B: DRAPED MAN WITH STAFF

Keywords:

mixed gender, *kalathos*, gift, prostitute, courting, wreath, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 207394



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Catalogue Record 58**Title:**

Cambridge 1972.46

Date:

ca. 460-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *hydria*

Attributed To:

VILLA GIULIA P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Cambridge (MA), Harvard Univ., Arthur M. Sackler Mus: 1972.46

Description:

YOUTH WITH STAFF, BETWEEN WOMEN, ONE LEAVING (?)

Keywords:

prostitute, mixed gender, courting, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 207216;

Perseus Digital Library



Catalogue Record 59**Title:**

Cambridge 2388

Date:

ca. 525-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

EUERGIDES P

Current Location:

Cambridge (MA), Harvard Univ., Arthur M. Sackler Mus: 2388

Description:

WOMAN (WITH EXPOSED BREASTS) DANCING WITH *KROTALA*

Keywords:

krotala, dancing, prostitute, entertainer, sexual, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 9004964



Catalogue Record 60**Title:**

Cambridge 37.24

Date:

ca. 485-470 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *amphora*

Attributed To:

TRIPTOLEMOS P

Current Location:

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum: 37.24

Description:

A: WOMAN WITH SPINDLE

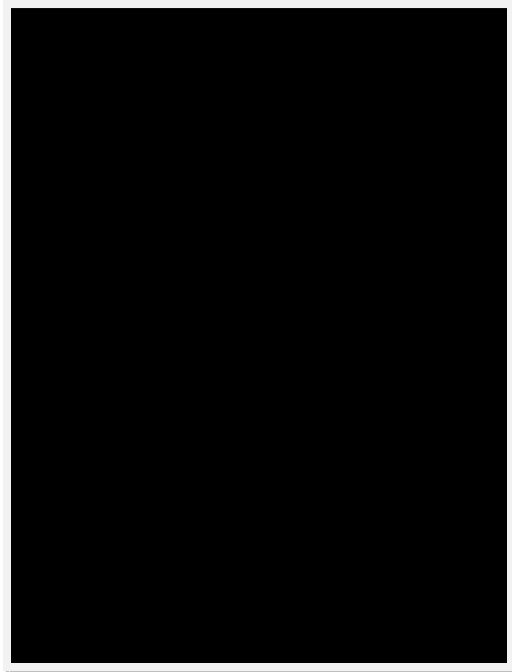
B: DRAPED YOUTH WITH STAFF

Keywords:

prostitute, spinning, wool-working, mixed gender, visit, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 203806



Catalogue Record 61**Title:**

Cambridge 37.39

Date:

ca. 525-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *alabastron*

Attributed To:

PAIDIKOS ALABASTRA, GROUP OF THE by BEAZLEY EUERGIDES P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum: 37.39

Description:

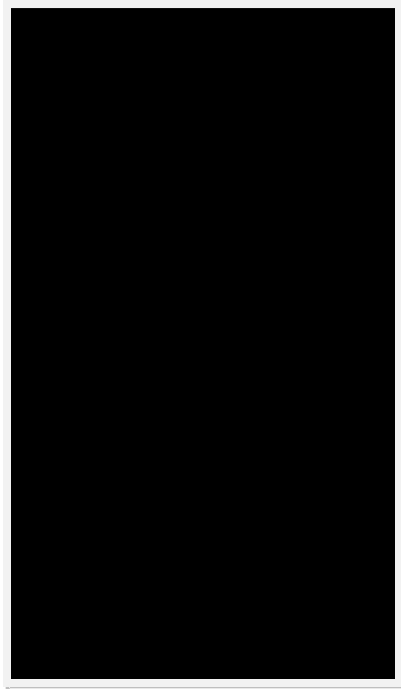
TWO DRAPED YOUTHS WITH STAFF AND A WOMAN

Keywords:

flower, gift, prostitute, mixed gender, courting, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200873



Catalogue Record 62**Title:**

Cambridge GR1.1958 A

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *pelike*

Attributed To:

LENINGRAD P by NICHOLLS

Current Location:

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum: GR1.1958

Description:

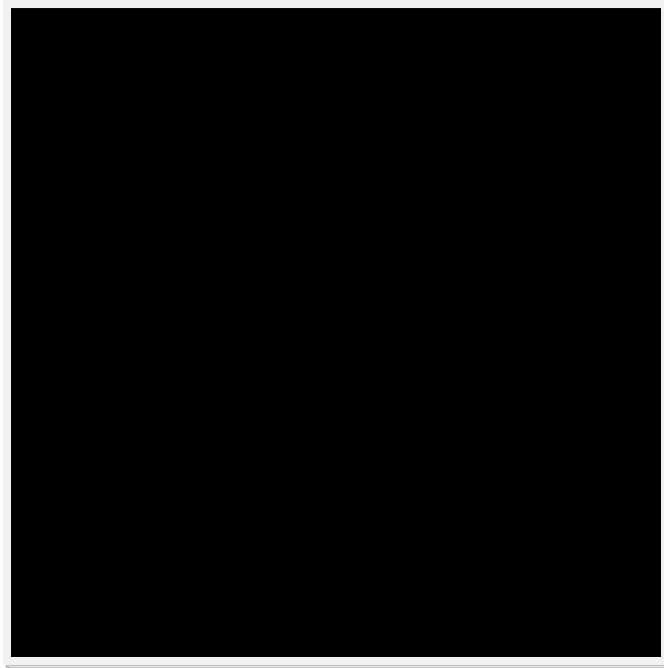
A, B: *KOMOS*, WOMAN PLAYING PIPES, YOUTHS, ONE DRAPED, ONE WITH POINTED *AMPHORA*, ONE WITH STAFF, ONE WITH CUP, *SKYPHOS*

Keywords:

prostitute, flute, mixed gender, *komos*, entertainer, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 206560



Catalogue Record 63**Title:**

Cambridge GR1.1958 B

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *pelike*

Attributed To:

LENINGRAD P by NICHOLLS

Current Location:

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum: GR1.1958

Description:

A, B: *KOMOS*, WOMAN PLAYING PIPES, YOUTHS, ONE DRAPED, ONE WITH POINTED *AMPHORA*, ONE WITH STAFF, ONE WITH CUP, *SKYPHOS*

Keywords:

prostitute, flute, mixed gender, *komos*, entertainer, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 206560



Catalogue Record 64**Title:**

Cervetri 561

Date:

ca. 520-480 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

PROTO PANAETIAN GROUP by WILLIAMS

Current Location:

Cervetri, Museo Nazionale Cerite: 561

Description:

I: EROTIC, NAKED WOMAN WITH *PHALLOI*

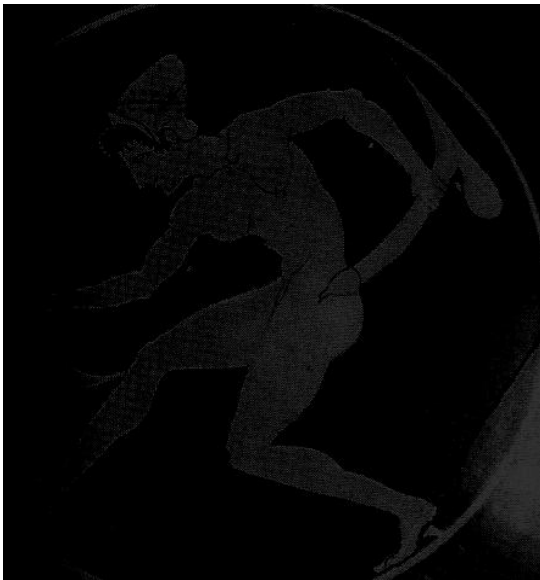
Keywords:

prostitute, *olisbos*, sexual, nude, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 43888;

M. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases* (London, 1993), R443.



Catalogue Record 65**Title:**

Chicago 0.631

Date:

ca. 520-490 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

EPIKTETOS

Current Location:

Chicago (IL), Univ. of Chicago, D.& A. Smart Gall.: XXXX0.631

Description:

A: NAKED WOMAN, LAMP STAND

Keywords:

nude, lamp, prostitute, *symposion*, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200631



Catalogue Record 66**Title:**

Copenhagen 115

Date:

ca. 525-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

THORVALDSEN GROUP by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum: 115

Description:

A,B: *KOMOS*, YOUTHS DANCING WITH CUP, DRINKING HORN, *SKYPHOS*,
WINESKIN, BASKET AND *OINOCHOE*

I: WOMAN AT LAVER, *OINOCHOE*

Keywords:

prostitute, laver, *oinochoe*, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 212126



Catalogue Record 67**Title:**

Copenhagen 116

Date:

ca. 490 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

MUNICH 2676, P OF by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum: 116

Description:

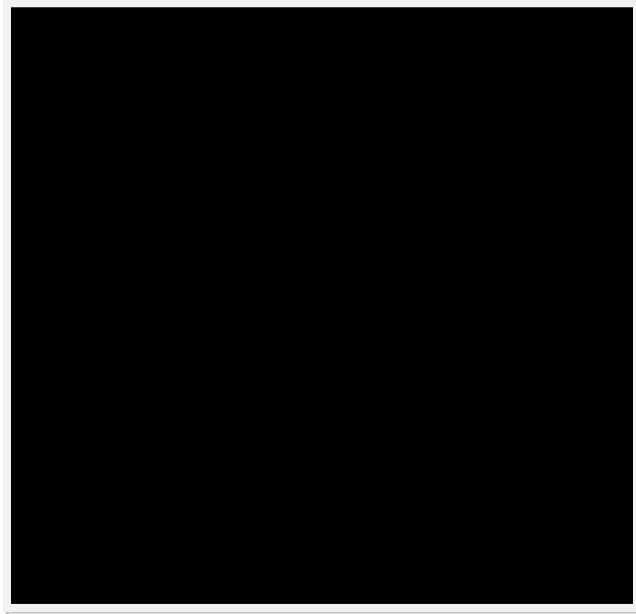
I: *SYMPOSITION*, WOMAN RECLINING

Keywords:

prostitute, *symposion*, *skyphos*, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 204234



Catalogue Record 68**Title:**

Copenhagen 124

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *stamnos*

Attributed To:

EUCHARIDES P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Copenhagen, National Museum: 124

Description:

OH: EROS

A: WOMAN WITH MIRROR, DOG, SEATED DRAPED YOUTH WITH STAFF AND PURSE (?), WOMAN, PIPES CASE SUSPENDED

B: TWO WOMEN SEATED, HOLDING WREATHS(?), YOUTH STANDING WITH STAFF AND PURSE, DINING BASKET ON THE WALL

Keywords:

basket, purse, gift, wreath, Eros, prostitute, mixed gender, courting, Open-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 202230



Catalogue Record 69**Title:**

Copenhagen 2661

Date:

ca. 525-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *alabastron*

Attributed To:

EUERGIDES P

Current Location:

Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek: 2661

Description:

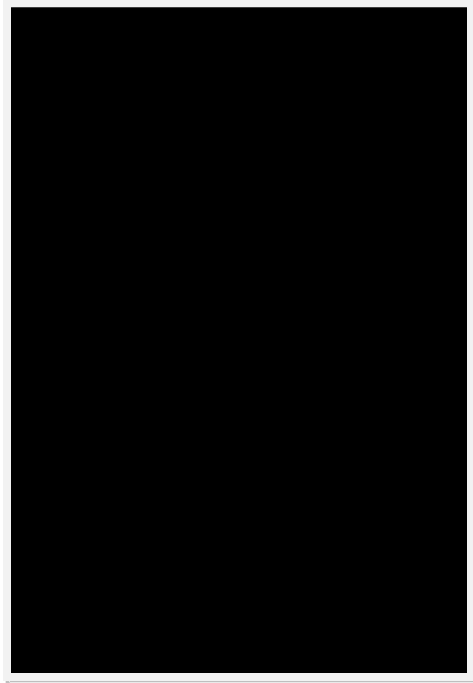
YOUTH SEATED, WOMAN WITH *KROTALA*

Keywords:

mixed gender, *krotala*, jewelry, earrings, prostitute, entertainer, visit, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200872



Catalogue Record 70**Title:**

Copenhagen 2701

Date:

ca. 505-465 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *lekythos*

Attributed To:

BERLIN P

Current Location:

Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek: 2701

Description:

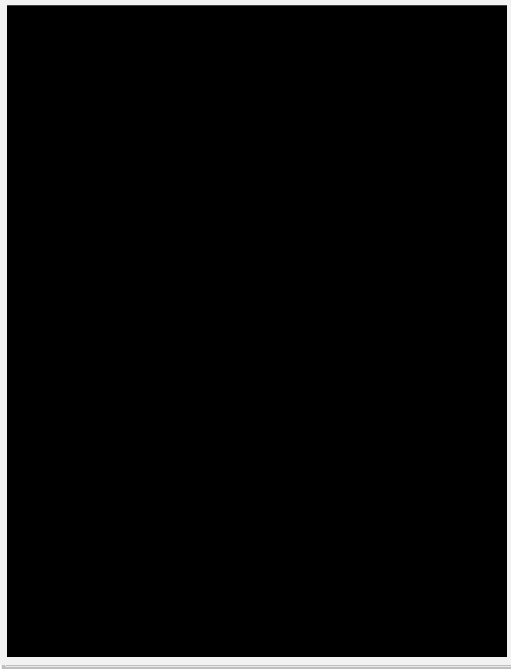
WOMAN PLAYING LYRE

Keywords:

lyre, flute, entertainer, prostitute, Open-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 202015



Catalogue Record 71**Title:**

Copenhagen 3881

Date:

ca. 525-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *alabastron*

Attributed To:

EUERGIDES P

Current Location:

Copenhagen, National Museum: 3881

Description:

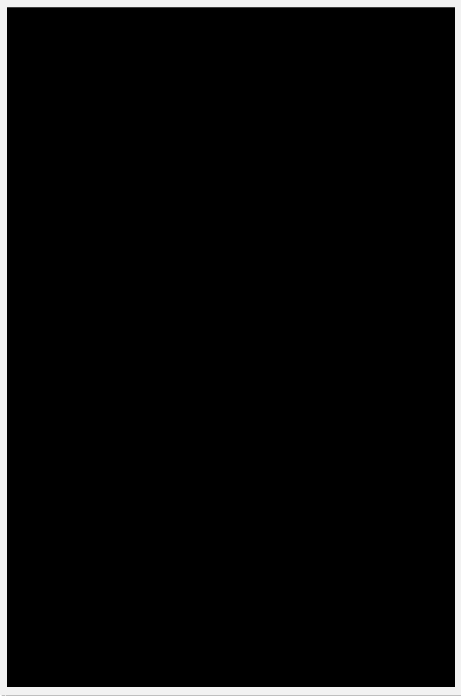
TWO WOMEN WITH MIRROR AND FRUIT, DORIC COLUMNS

Keywords:

mirror, fruit, prostitute, jewelry, necklace, column, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200880



Catalogue Record 72**Title:**

Copenhagen 9404

Date:

ca. 525-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *alabastron*

Attributed To:

PAIDIKOS ALABASTRA, GROUP OF THE by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Copenhagen, National Museum: 9404

Description:

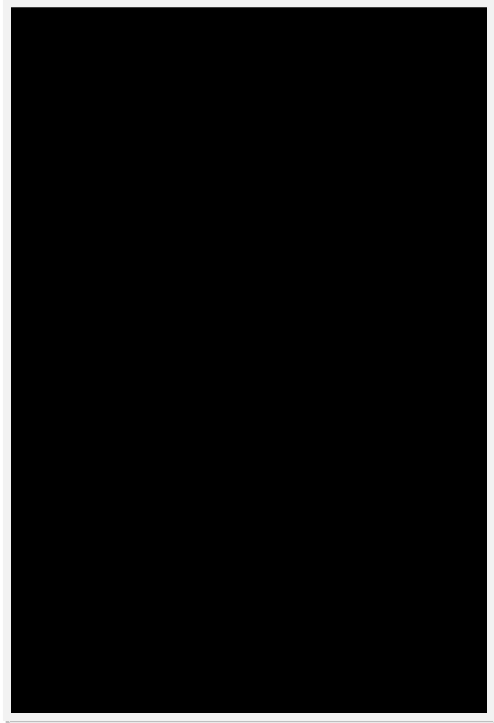
TWO DRAPED YOUTHS AND A WOMAN

Keywords:

prostitute, mixed gender, jewelry, visit, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 352431



Catalogue Record 73

Title:

Detroit 63.13

Date:

ca. 480 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *hydria*

Attributed To:

PIG P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Detroit (MI), Institute of Arts: 63.13

Description:

S: DRAPED MEN WITH STAFF AND WOMEN WITH *HYDRIA*, ONE HOLDING LID, AT FOUNTAIN (LION HEAD SPOUT), BLOCK

Keywords:

prostitute, fountain, slave?, mixed gender, *hydria*, courting, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 206470



Catalogue Record 74**Title:**

Essen 0.871

Date:

ca. 525-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *alabastron*

Attributed To:

PAIDIKOS ALABASTRA, GROUP OF THE by BEAZLEY EUERGIDES P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Essen, Folkwang Museum: XXXX0.871

Description:

B: DRAPED YOUTH WITH STAFF

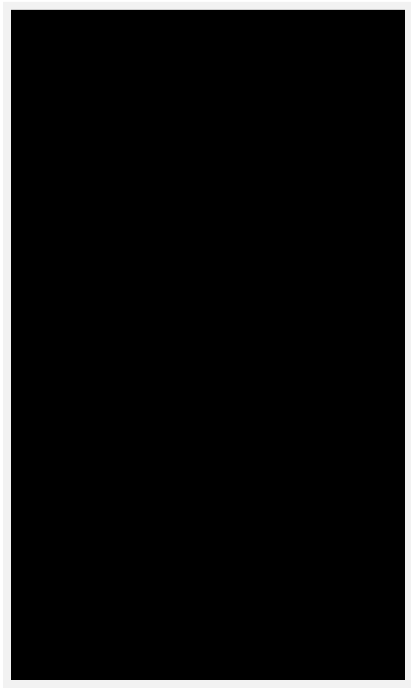
A: WOMAN (WITH FRUIT ?)

Keywords:

mixed gender, fruit, prostitute, courting, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200871



Catalogue Record 75

Title:

Ferrara 2998

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *pelike*

Attributed To:

AGRIGENTO P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina: 2998

Description:

A: *KOMOS*, WOMAN WITH LYRE BETWEEN YOUTHS, ONE WITH WALKING STICK AND POINTED *AMPHORA*

B: YOUTHS

Keywords:

prostitute, *komos*, lyre, entertainer, mixed gender, *amphora*, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 206674;

I. Peschel, *Die Hetare bei Symposium und Komos in der attisch rotfigurigen Malerei des 6.-4. Jhs. v.Chr.* (Frankfurt, 1987), PL.196.



Catalogue Record 76**Title:**

Ferrara T694

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *krater*

Attributed To:

N/A

Current Location:

Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina: T694

Description:

B: YOUTHS

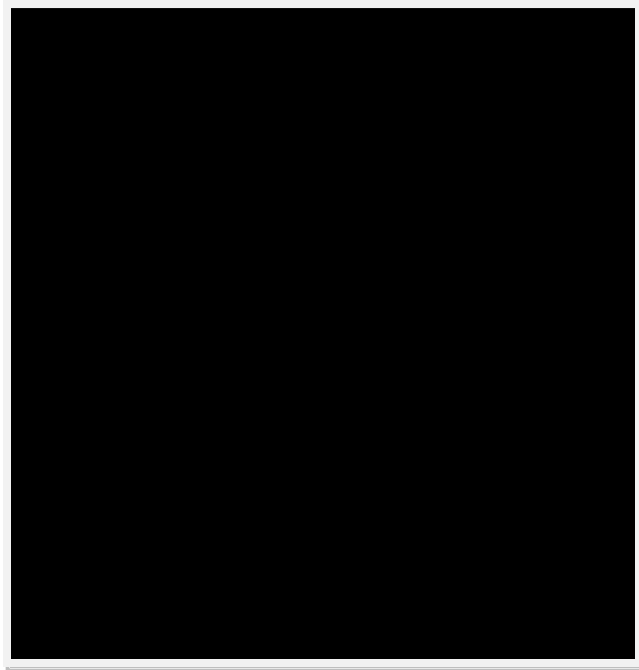
A: *SYMPOSION*

Keywords:

prostitute, entertainer, *symposion*, mixed gender, flute, lyre, Open-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 202241



Catalogue Record 77**Title:**

Florence 0.3488

Date:

ca. 520-480 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

ANTIPHON P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco: XXXX0.3488

Description:

I: *KOMOS*, MAN OR YOUTH

A: EROTIC, NAKED WOMAN BETWEEN YOUTH PLAYING PIPES AND MAN

B: EROTIC, NAKED WOMAN BETWEEN YOUTHS WITH WALKING STICKS

Keywords:

symposion, prostitute, sexual, nude, mixed gender, flute, basket, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 203488



Catalogue Record 78**Title:**

Florence 19B43

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *pelike*

Attributed To:

FLORENCE P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco: 19B43

Description:

B: DRAPED YOUTHS WITH STAFFS

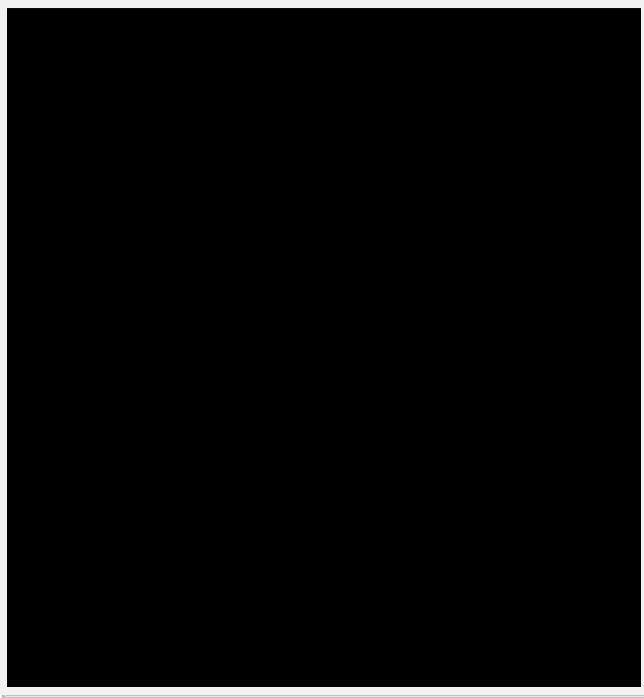
A: *KOMOS*, DRAPED YOUTH WITH STAFF, WOMAN PLAYING PIPES

Keywords:

prostitute, flute, entertainer, mixed gender, *komos*, dancing, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 206197



Catalogue Record 79**Title:**

Florence 3960

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

DOURIS

Current Location:

Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco: 3960

Description:

A,B: WARRIORS DEPARTING, DRAPED MEN AND YOUTHS, SOME WITH
SPEARS, SHIELD DEVICES, DOG HEAD, SNAKE

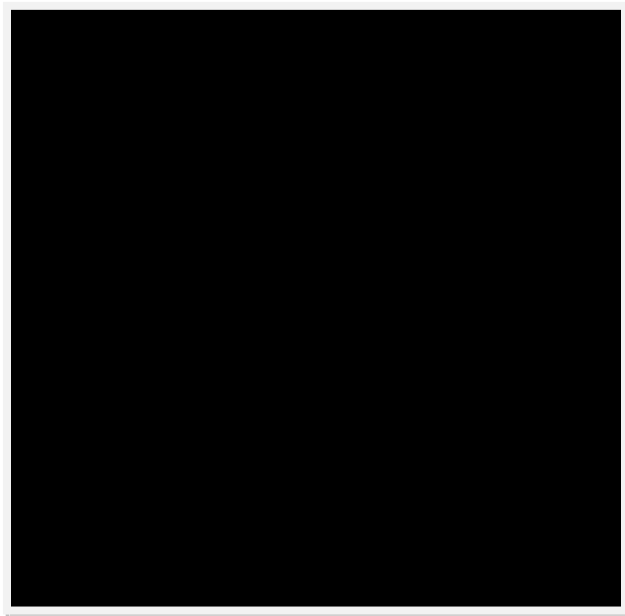
I: WOMAN AND DRAPED YOUTH LEANING ON STAFF, *SAKKOS* SUSPENDED

Keywords:

prostitute, mixed gender, wall, 2 Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 205229



Catalogue Record 80**Title:**

Florence 76103

Date:

ca. 490 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

BRYGOS P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco: 76103

Description:

I: WOMAN AT WELL, TREE, WALL (?)

A,B: UNDECORATED

Keywords:

well, fruit, prostitute, tree, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 204039



Catalogue Record 81**Title:**

Florence PD293

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

COLMAR P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco: PD293

Description:

I: WOMAN

A: *KOMOS*, YOUTH WITH LYRE, YOUTHS OR MEN

Keywords:

prostitute, Open-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 203732



Catalogue Record 82**Title:**

Florence PD55 A

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

BOOT P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco: PD55

Description:

I: WOMAN WITH *SAKKOS*, BASKET SUSPENDED, COLUMN

A,B: WOMAN SEATED WITH MIRROR, BETWEEN DRAPED YOUTHS WITH STAFFS, COLUMN, SASH SUSPENDED

Keywords:

prostitute, mirror, column, mixed gender, visit, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 210168



Catalogue Record 83**Title:**

Florence PD55 B

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

BOOT P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco: PD55

Description:

I: WOMAN WITH *SAKKOS*, BASKET SUSPENDED, COLUMN

A,B: WOMAN SEATED WITH MIRROR, BETWEEN DRAPED YOUTHS WITH STAFFS, COLUMN, SASH SUSPENDED

Keywords:

prostitute, mirror, mixed gender, wall, visit, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 210168



Catalogue Record 84**Title:**

Florence PD55 tondo

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

BOOT P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco: PD55

Description:

I: WOMAN WITH *SAKKOS*, BASKET SUSPENDED, COLUMN

A,B: WOMAN SEATED WITH MIRROR, BETWEEN DRAPED YOUTHS WITH STAFFS, COLUMN, SASH SUSPENDED

Keywords:

prostitute, basket, column, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 210168



Catalogue Record 85**Title:**

Florence V491

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

ONESIMOS by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco: V491

Description:

I: *KOMOS*, MAN

A,B: NAKED WOMAN BETWEEN YOUTH AND MAN

Keywords:

prostitute, mixed gender, nude, flute, entertainer, *komos*, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 203331;

I. Peschel, *Die Hetare bei Symposium und Komos in der attisch rotfigurigen Malerei des 6.-4. Jhs. v.Chr.* (Frankfurt, 1987), PL.106.



Catalogue Record 86**Title:**

Frankfurt B405

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

YALE CUP, P OF THE by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Frankfurt, Museum fur Vor- und Fruhgeschichte: B405

Description:

I: WOMAN AT LAVER

Keywords:

prostitute, laver, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 204279



Catalogue Record 87**Title:**

Germany, Private

Date:

ca. 490-480 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

ONESIMOS

Current Location:

Germany, Private Collection

Description:

A: NUDE WOMAN AND SATYR RECLINING

B: NUDE MAENAD AND SATYR RECLINING

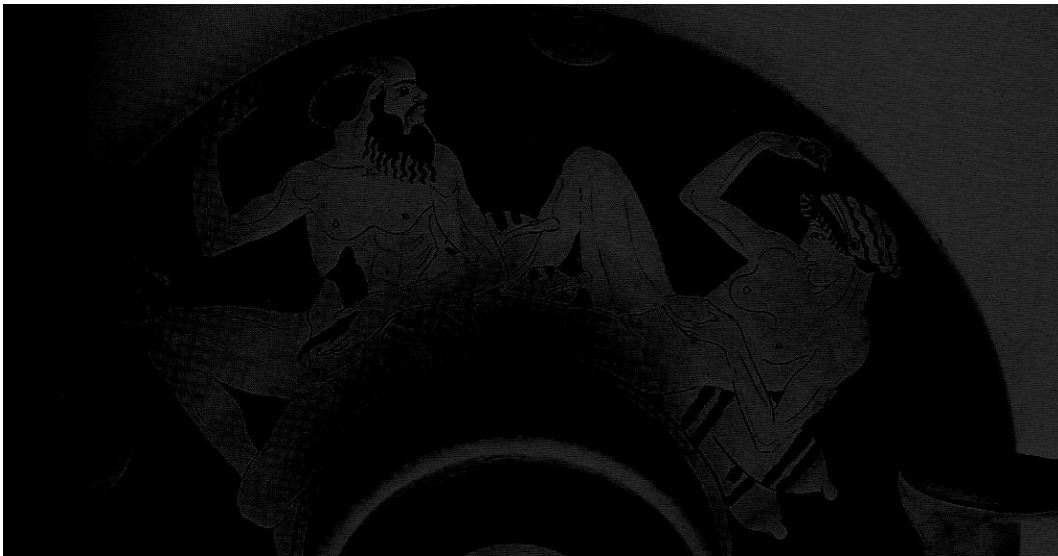
I: SHEPHERD

Keywords:

prostitute, satyr, nude, sexual, wineskin, *symposion*, shell, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

W. Hornbostel (ed.), *Kunst der Antike : Schatze aus norddt. Privatbesitz* (Mainz, 1977), no.263.



Catalogue Record 88**Title:**

Gotha 94

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:Attic RF *kylix***Attributed To:**

MAKRON

Current Location:

Gotha, Schlossmuseum: 94

Description:

I: *SYMPOSION*, MAN RECLINING, WITH CUP, WOMAN SEATED, TABLE
A,B: *SYMPOSION*, MEN AND YOUTH RECLINING, WITH WOMEN, SOME
NAKED, ONE PLAYING PIPES, AND WITH DRINKING HORN, *SKYPHOS*, CUP,
WOMAN PLAYING *KOTTABOS*, TABLES, PIPES CASE AND BASKET
SUSPENDED

Keywords:*symposion*, prostitute, *kottabos*, flute, mixed gender, nude, entertainer, Closed-Bag, plain**Reference:**

Beazley Archive Database No. 204801



Catalogue Record 89**Title:**

Hannover L1.1982

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

DOURIS

Current Location:

Hannover, Kestner Museum: L1.1982

Description:

I: DRAPED MAN WITH STAFF, WOMAN WITH DISTAFF, BETWEEN STOOLS,
KALATHOS

A,B: COURTING, DRAPED MEN AND YOUTHS, SOME WITH STAFFS

Keywords:

wool-working, *kalathos*, prostitute, mixed gender, gym-bag, oil-set, spinning, courting,
Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 205161



Catalogue Record 90**Title:**

Haverford 6359

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *lekythos*

Attributed To:

Pan Painter

Current Location:

Haverford (PA), College: XXXX0.6359

Description:

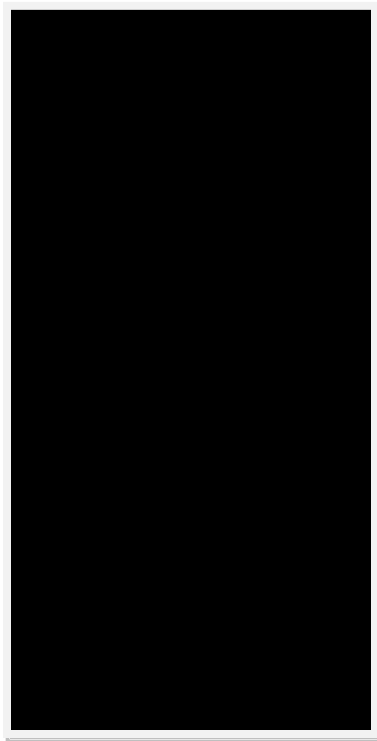
WOMAN SEATED ON STOOL HOLDING *SKYPHOS*, WOMAN (ATTENDANT) WITH LADLE AND *PHIALE*, *PSYKTER* OR *PLEMOCHOE*, CUP SUSPENDED

Keywords:

prostitute, servant, ladle, *phiale*, oil container?, *kylix*, *psykter*?, *plemochoe*?, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 206359



Catalogue Record 91**Title:**

Heidelberg 16

Date:

ca. 520-490 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

EPIKTETOS

Current Location:

Heidelberg, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität: 16

Description:

I: NAKED WOMAN SQUATTING

Keywords:

nude, prostitute, sexual, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200491



Catalogue Record 92**Title:**

Indianapolis 47.37

Date:

ca. 500 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

CHAIRE P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Indianapolis (In), Museum of Art: 47.37

Description:

I: NAKED WOMAN AT *PITHOS*

Keywords:

nude, prostitute, sexual, *pithos*, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 201277



Catalogue Record 93**Title:**

Karlsruhe 63.104

Date:

ca. 525-510 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

PHINTIAS

Current Location:

Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum: 63.104

Description:

A: DRAPED YOUTH RECLINING WITH LYRE, SATYR RUNNING

B: NAKED WOMAN ATTACKING SATYR RECLINING

I: CENTAUR WITH ROCK AND TREE

Keywords:

satyr, prostitute, nude, sexual, mixed gender, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 275635



Catalogue Record 94

Title:

Kerameikos 2713

Date:

ca. 525-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *alabastron*

Attributed To:

N/A

Current Location:

Athens, Acropolis Museum: 2713

Description:

A: WOMAN SPINNING, DRAPED YOUTH WITH HARE (COURTING ?), *HE PAIS KALE* INSCRIPTION

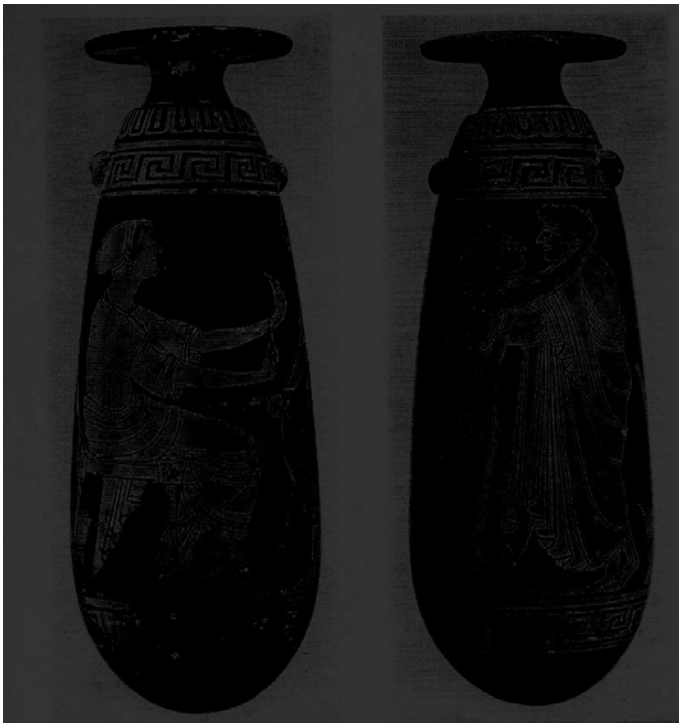
B: WOMAN AND DRAPED YOUTH EMBRACING

Keywords:

prostitute, mixed gender, sexual, spinning, wool-working, *kalathos*, hare, courting, gift, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

U. Knigge, "Ein rotfiguriges Alabastron aus dem Kerameikos," *Mitteilungen aus des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 79 (1964): pl. 59.



Catalogue Record 95**Title:**

Leiden 1957.1.1

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *alabastron*

Attributed To:

LEYDEN 1957, GROUP OF by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden: 1957.1.1

Description:

A: WOMAN WITH MIRROR, *KALATHOS*

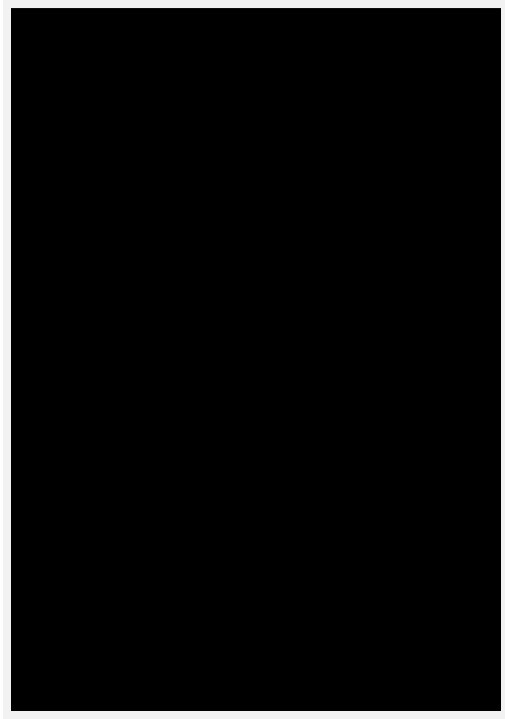
B: DRAPED YOUTH LEANING ON STAFF

Keywords:

prostitute, mixed gender, mirror, *kalathos*, visit, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 208907



Catalogue Record 96**Title:**

Les Arcs 17898 NK & BD

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kantharos*

Attributed To:

Manner of: DOURIS

Current Location:

Les Arcs, Marcel Elbnother: XXXX17898

Description:

FIGURE VASE WOMAN WITH *SAKKOS*, ALSO BODY WOMAN WEARING *SAKKOS* NAB: *SYMPOSION*, WOMEN, WITH CUPS, ONE PLAYING *KOTTABOS*, MEN AND YOUTHS, ONE WITH SCYTHIAN CAP, RECLINING, BASKET, *OINOCHOE* AND *ARYBALLOI* SUSPENDED

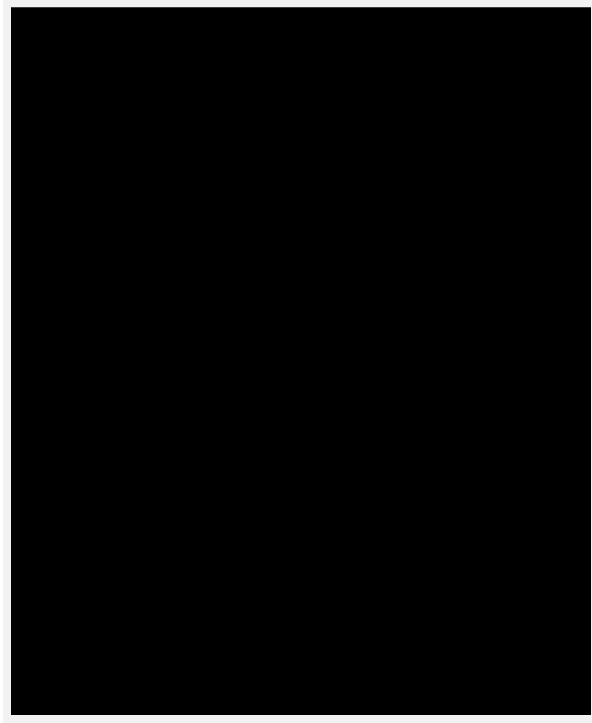
Keywords:

mixed gender, *symposion*, *kottabos*, prostitute, basket, *oinochoe*, *aryballos*, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 17898;

W. J. Slater (ed.), *Dining in a Classical Context* (Ann Arbor, 1991), figs.15-18.



Catalogue Record 97**Title:**

Liverpool 49.50.7

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *pyxis*

Attributed To:

Related to: ANTIPHON P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Liverpool, Public Museums: 49.50.7

Description:

WOMAN AT LAVER, YOUTH SEATED WITH STAFF, AT TABLE

Keywords:

prostitute, laver, mixed gender, visit, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 203648



Catalogue Record 98**Title:**

London, Private 0.5144

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

DOURIS by ROBERTSON

Current Location:

London, Private: XXXX0.5144

Description:

I: *SYMPOSION*, MAN WITH CUP, WOMAN SLEEPING, RECLINING, TABLE, BOOTS, WALKING STICK, CUP SUSPENDED

Keywords:

prostitute, *symposion*, mixed gender, boots, bed, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 205144;

M. Robertson, "A Lost Cup by Douris with an Unusual Scene," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 66 (1946): fig.1.



Catalogue Record 99**Title:**

London 1896.6-21.1

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

BRISEIS P

Current Location:

London, British Museum: 1896.6-21.1

Description:

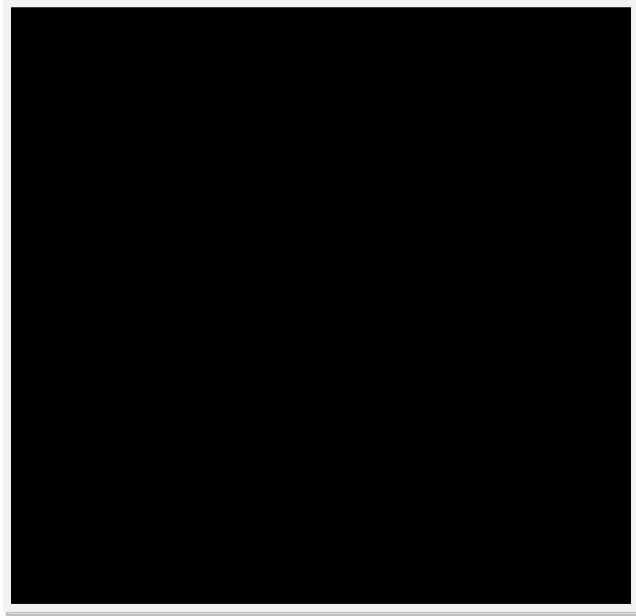
I: NAKED WOMAN AT LAVER

Keywords:

nude, laver, jewelry, prostitute, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 204440



Catalogue Record 100**Title:**

London 1902.12-18.2

Date:

ca. 525-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *alabastron*

Attributed To:

PASIADES by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

London, British Museum: 1902.12-18.2

Description:

A: WOMAN

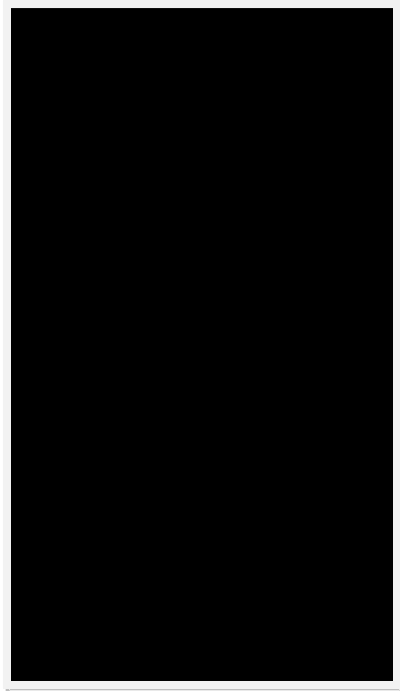
B: WOMAN (ATTENDANT ?)

Keywords:

prostitute, servant, slave?, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200867



Catalogue Record 101**Title:**

London 275.64

Date:

ca. 550-500 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *mastos*

Attributed To:

PSIAX by LANGLOTZ

Current Location:

London, Victoria and Albert Museum: 275.64

Description:

KOMOS, WOMAN PLAYING PIPES, YOUTH WITH FLOWER, MAN WITH FLOWERS

Keywords:

prostitute, flute, entertainer, mixed gender, *komos*, flower, gift, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200037



Catalogue Record 102**Title:**

London E18

Date:

ca. 525-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

OLTOS by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

London, British Museum: E18

Description:

B: *KOMOS*, DRAPED MAN WITH LYRE, YOUTH (YOUTHS ?), (ANAKREON)

A: AMAZONOMACHY, HERAKLES AND AMAZONS, SHIELD DEVICE, BIRD

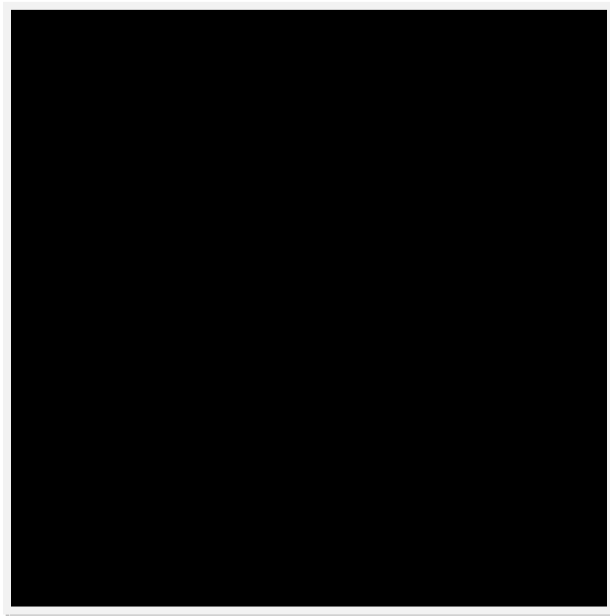
I: NAKED WOMAN TYING SANDAL

Keywords:

prostitute, jewelry, sandals, nude, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200522



Catalogue Record 103**Title:**

London E34

Date:

ca. 510 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

HERMAIOS P

Current Location:

London, British Museum: E34

Description:

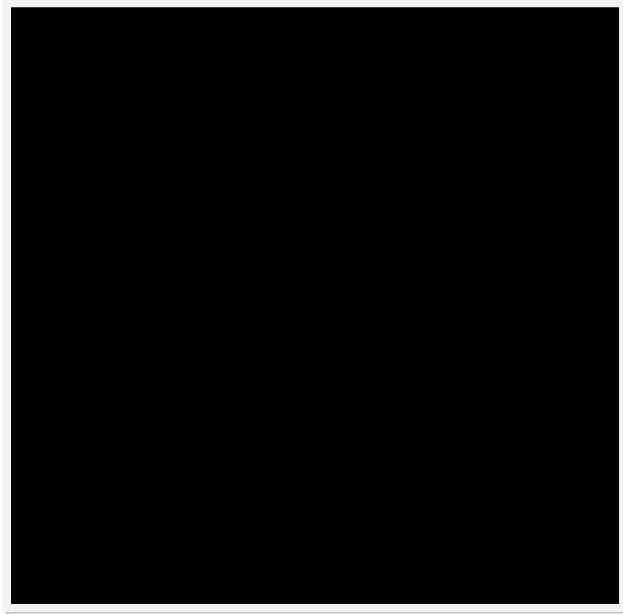
NAKED WOMAN LIFTING LAVER

Keywords:

prostitute, bathing, nude, *podanipter*, laver, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200943



Catalogue Record 104**Title:**

London E38 B

Date:

ca. 520-490 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

EPIKTETOS by SIGNATURE

Current Location:

London, British Museum: E38

Description:

B: *SYMPOSION*, MEN, YOUTH WITH *OINOCHOE*, WOMAN PLAYING PIPES

I: *KOMOS*, YOUTH PLAYING PIPES, WOMAN IN DEER SKIN WITH *KROTALA*

A: HERAKLES AND BUSIRIS

Keywords:

prostitute, flute, mixed gender, *symposion*, entertainer, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200460;

Perseus Digital Library



Catalogue Record 105**Title:**

London E38 tondo

Date:

ca. 520-490 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

EPIKTETOS by SIGNATURE

Current Location:

London, British Museum: E38

Description:

B: *SYMPOSITION*, MEN, YOUTH WITH *OINOCHOE*, WOMAN PLAYING PIPES

I: *KOMOS*, YOUTH PLAYING PIPES, WOMAN IN DEER SKIN WITH *KROTALA*

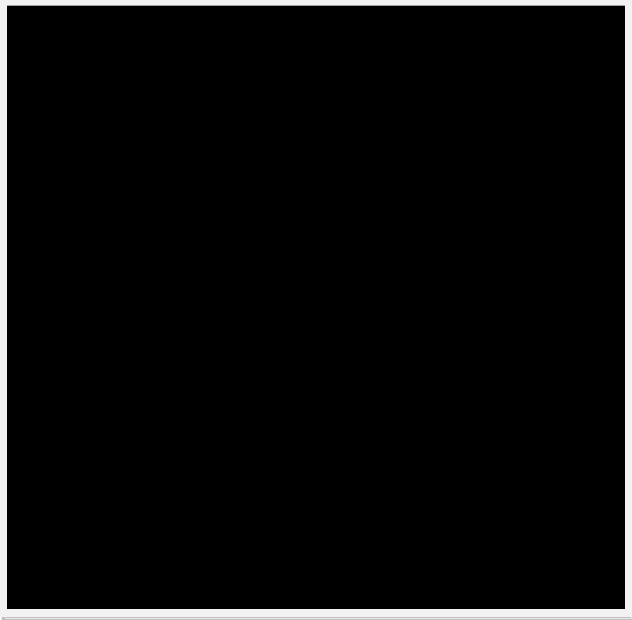
A: HERAKLES AND BUSIRIS

Keywords:

prostitute, nude, *krotala*, flute, dancing, mixed gender, *komos*, entertainer, jewelry,
Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200460



Catalogue Record 106**Title:**

London E44

Date:

ca. 505-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

ONEMOSIS

Current Location:

London, British Museum: E44

Description:

A: HERAKLES WITH BOAR AND EURYSTHEUS (NAMED) IN *PITHOS*, WOMAN, DRAPED OLD MAN WITH STAFF, TREES, QUIVER AND BOW SUSPENDED

B: CHARIOT WITH CHARIOTEER (ODYSSEUS ?) AND HERMES

I: MAN SEATED, WOMAN UNDRESSING, LYRE, BASKET SUSPENDED

Keywords:

symposion, lyre, bed, basket, prostitute, sexual, mixed gender, girdle, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 203219



Catalogue Record 107**Title:**

London E51 B

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

DOURIS

Current Location:

London, British Museum: E51

Description:

B: COURTING, DRAPED MEN WITH STAFFS, SOME WITH PURSE, WOMEN, ONE WITH *ALABASTRON*

A: COURTING, DRAPED YOUTHS WITH STAFFS, WOMEN, ONE WITH *ALABASTRON* I: WOMAN WITH FLOWER, BED, BASKET, MIRROR SUSPENDED

Keywords:

prostitute, purse, *alabastron*, oil container, mixed gender, courting, gift, 2 Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 205338



Catalogue Record 108**Title:**

London E51 tondo

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

DOURIS

Current Location:

London, British Museum: E51

Description:

B: COURTING, DRAPED MEN WITH STAFFS, SOME WITH PURSE, WOMEN, ONE WITH *ALABASTRON*

A: COURTING, DRAPED YOUTHS WITH STAFFS, WOMEN, ONE WITH *ALABASTRON*

I: WOMAN WITH FLOWER, BED, BASKET, MIRROR SUSPENDED

Keywords:

kalathos, mirror, bed, flower, prostitute, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 205338



Catalogue Record 109**Title:**

London E68

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

BRYGOS P

Current Location:

London, British Museum: E68

Description:

I: *SYMPOSION*, YOUTH WITH PIPES, WOMAN DANCING, PIPES CASE
SUSPENDED, *SKYPHOS* ON TABLE

A,B: *SYMPOSION*, YOUTH AND MAN RECLINING, WOMEN, SOME SEATED,
WITH CUP, PLAYING PIPES, YOUTH WITH LADLE, LYRE, BASKETS AND
LYRE SUSPENDED, COLUMN

Keywords:

symposion, prostitute, mixed gender, flute, entertainer, lyre, basket, column, 2 Closed-
Bag, plain, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 203923



Catalogue Record 110**Title:**

London E71

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

BRYGOS P by HARTWIG

Current Location:

London, British Museum: E71

Description:

I: *KOMOS*, YOUTH PLAYING PIPES, WALKING STICK, BASKET (?)

A,B: *SYMPOSION*, YOUTHS, ONE KNEELING ON *KLINE*, WITH WINESKIN,
DRAPED YOUTH AND WOMAN PLAYING PIPES, BASKET AND PIPES CASE
SUSPENDED, CAULDRON

Keywords:

prostitute, entertainer, flute, *symposion*, basket, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 203927



Catalogue Record 111**Title:**

London E 769

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *pyxis*

Attributed To:

N/A

Current Location:

London, British Museum: E769

Description:

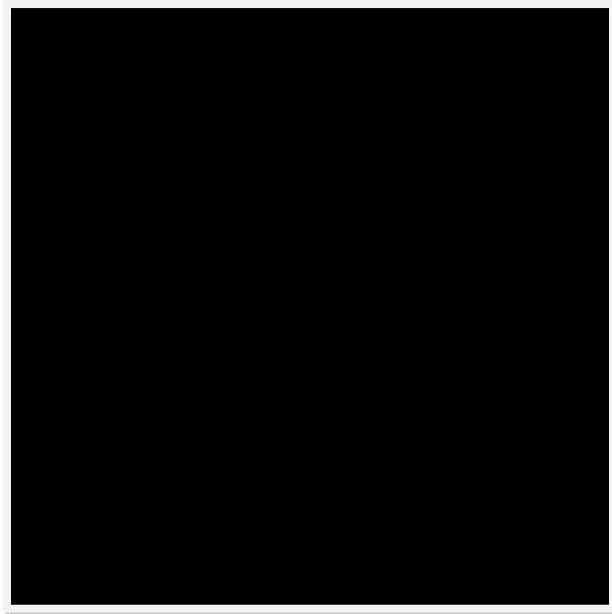
WOMEN, ONE SEATED AT TABLE, ONE WITH *OINOCHOE* (?), COLUMN, MIRROR SUSPENDED

Keywords:

prostitute, mirror, column, table, *skyphos*, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 204463



Catalogue Record 112**Title:**

Los Angeles 50.8.35

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *pelike*

Attributed To:

HERMONAX

Current Location:

Los Angeles (CA), County Museum: 50.8.35

Description:

B: DRAPED MAN WITH STAFF BETWEEN WOMEN

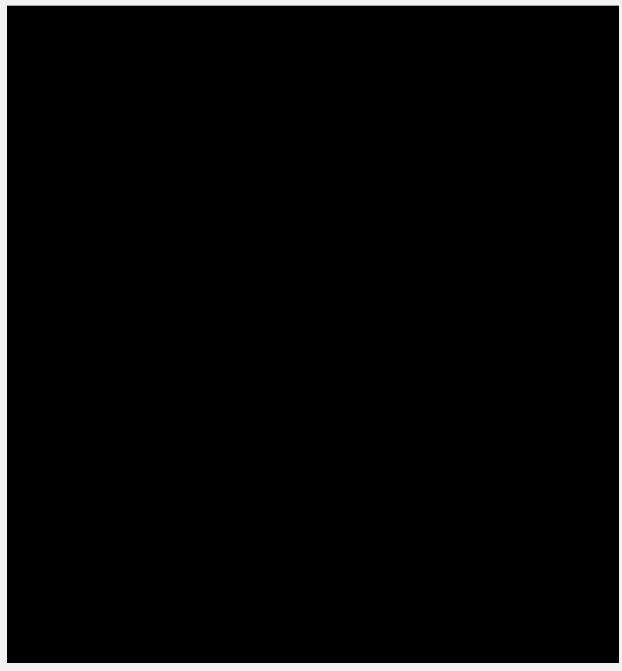
A: YOUTH WITH SPEARS, SWORD AND *PHIALE*, WEARING *CHLAMYS* AND *PETASOS*, DEPARTING, WOMAN WITH *OINOCHOE*, DRAPED MAN WITH STAFF

Keywords:

prostitute, mixed gender, courting, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 205414



Catalogue Record 113**Title:**

Madrid 11267

Date:

ca. 510 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

OLTOS by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional: 11267

Description:

B: *SYMPOSITION*, NAKED WOMEN, ONE PLAYING PIPES, WITH *SKYPHOS* AND CUP

A: YOUTH PURSUING BULL

I: PALMETTES

Keywords:

prostitute, flute, *symposion*, nude, entertainer, jewelry, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200443



Catalogue Record 114

Title:

Malibu 80.AE.31

Date:

ca. 525-510 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

PHINTIAS

Current Location:

Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum: 80.AE.31

Description:

A: EROTIC, YOUTHS, ONE KNEELING *DEPHOMENOS*, NAKED WOMEN, ONE WITH HEADRESS RECLINING WITH *CALYX KRATER*

I: SATYR WITH *KANTHAROI*

B: EROTIC, YOUTHS, ONE KNEELING, MASTURBATING, NAKED WOMEN, ONE WITH HEADRESS RECLINING WITH *CALYX KRATER*

Keywords:

prostitute, nude, sexual, mixed gender, *symposion*, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 275008



Catalogue Record 115

Title:

Malibu 83.AE.287

Date:

ca. 520-490 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

EPIKTETOS

Current Location:

Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum: 83.AE.287

Description:

I: *SYMPOSION*, NAKED WOMAN, PALMETTES

A,B: UNDECORATED

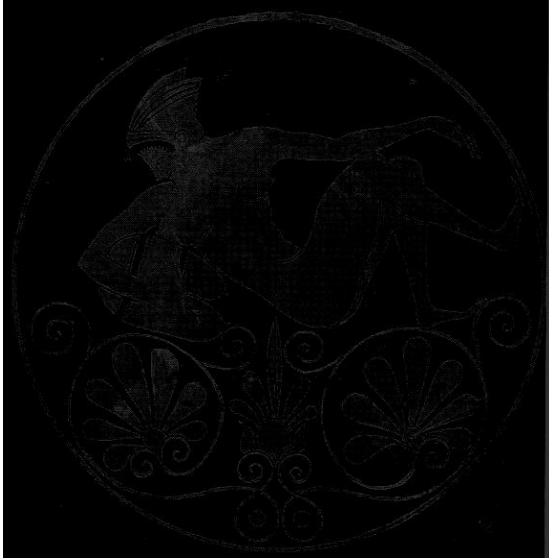
Keywords:

nude, pillow, prostitute, *symposion*, Open-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 13366;

M. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases* (London, 1993), R140.1.



Catalogue Record 116**Title:**

Malibu 83.AE.321

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

TARQUINIA P by BOTHMER

Current Location:

Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum: 83.AE.321

Description:

I: EROTIC, YOUTH SEATED ON CHAIR WITH NAKED WOMAN, STAFF

Keywords:

prostitute, sexual, mixed gender, jewelry, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 44984;

M. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases* (London, 1993), R814.



Catalogue Record 117**Title:**

Malibu 86.AE.293 A

Date:

ca. 480-470 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

BRISEIS P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum: 86.AE.293

Description:

I: COURTING, DRAPED YOUTH WITH STAFF AND FLOWER, WOMAN WITH MIRROR (?), STOOL

A,B: *KOMOS*, ANAKREONTIC, MEN IN HEADDRESSES AND *CHITONS*, WITH *KROTALA*, *SKYPHOS* AND STAFF, WOMEN, SOME WITH *KROTALA* AND PARASOL, ONE PLAYING PIPES, CHILD WITH PARASOL, COLUMN *KRATER*

Keywords:

komos, flute, entertainer, parasol, prostitute, *krotala*, mixed gender, 3 Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 275963



Catalogue Record 118**Title:**

Malibu 86.AE.293 B

Date:

ca. 480-470 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

BRISEIS P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum: 86.AE.293

Description:

I: COURTING, DRAPED YOUTH WITH STAFF AND FLOWER, WOMAN WITH MIRROR (?), STOOL

A,B: *KOMOS*, ANAKREONTIC, MEN IN HEADDRESSES AND *CHITONS*, WITH *KROTALA*, *SKYPHOS* AND STAFF, WOMEN, SOME WITH *KROTALA* AND PARASOL, ONE PLAYING PIPES, CHILD WITH PARASOL, COLUMN *KRATER*

Keywords:

prostitute, entertainer, flute, *komos*, mixed gender, parasol, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 275963



Catalogue Record 119**Title:**

Malibu 86.AE.293 tondo

Date:

ca. 480-470 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

BRISEIS P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum: 86.AE.293

Description:

I: COURTING, DRAPED YOUTH WITH STAFF AND FLOWER, WOMAN WITH MIRROR (?), STOOL

A,B: *KOMOS*, ANAKREONTIC, MEN IN HEADDRESSES AND *CHITONS*, WITH *KROTALA*, *SKYPHOS* AND STAFF, WOMEN, SOME WITH *KROTALA* AND PARASOL, ONE PLAYING PIPES, CHILD WITH PARASOL, COLUMN *KRATER*

Keywords:

symposion, mixed gender, prostitute, sexual, flower, gift, mirror, bed, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 275963



Catalogue Record 120**Title:**

Malibu 86.AE.386

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

DOURIS

Current Location:

Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum: 86.AE.386

Description:

A: *KOMOS*, ANAKREONTIC, MAN, WOMAN PLAYING LYRE

Keywords:

lyre, *komos*, prostitute, mixed gender, entertainer, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 30358



Catalogue Record 121**Title:**

Mannheim 182 A

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

SABOUROFF P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Mannheim, Reiss-Museum: 182

Description:

A,B: WOMEN, WITH FILLET, BOX, WREATH, SPRIG AND MIRRORS, ONE SEATED, *KALATHOS*, *SAKKOS* SUSPENDED

I: WOMAN WITH *ALABASTRON* AND *SAKKOS*, *KALATHOS*, CHAIR

Keywords:

prostitute, mirror, *kalathos*, chest, sash, wall, 3 Closed-Bag, plain, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 212197



Catalogue Record 122**Title:**

Mannheim 182 B

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

SABOUROFF P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Mannheim, Reiss-Museum: 182

Description:

A,B: WOMEN, WITH FILLET, BOX, WREATH, SPRIG AND MIRRORS, ONE SEATED, *KALATHOS*, *SAKKOS* SUSPENDED

I: WOMAN WITH *ALABASTRON* AND *SAKKOS*, *KALATHOS*, CHAIR

Keywords:

prostitute, *kalathos*, *alabastron*, oil container, mirror, sprig, flower, 2 Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 212197



Catalogue Record 123**Title:**

Mannheim 182 tondo

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

SABOUROFF P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Mannheim, Reiss-Museum: 182

Description:

A,B: WOMEN, WITH FILLET, BOX, WREATH, SPRIG AND MIRRORS, ONE SEATED, *KALATHOS*, *SAKKOS* SUSPENDED

I: WOMAN WITH ALABASTRON AND *SAKKOS*, *KALATHOS*, CHAIR

Keywords:

prostitute, *kalathos*, *alabastron*, oil container, 2 Closed-Bag, plain, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 212197



Catalogue Record 124**Title:**

Milan 265

Date:

ca. 520-490 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

EPIKTETOS

Current Location:

Milan, Civico Museo Archeologico: 265

Description:

A,B: UNDECORATED

I: EROTIC, SATYR AND A WOMAN

Keywords:

nude, satyr, prostitute, mixed gender, sexual, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 13120



Catalogue Record 125

Title:

Munich, Private: 788

Date:

ca. 510 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

AMBROSIOS P by BOTHMER

Current Location:

Munich, Private: XXXX788

Description:

I: YOUTH TYING SANDAL, STAFF, SPONGE AND *ARYBALLOS* SUSPENDED

A: WOMEN, SEATED, MEN WITH STAFFS, ONE SEATED, DOGS, PIPES CASE SUSPENDED

B: WOMEN WORKING WOOL, WOMAN SEATED PLAYING PIPES, DRAPED MEN, STOOL, PIPES CASE SUSPENDED

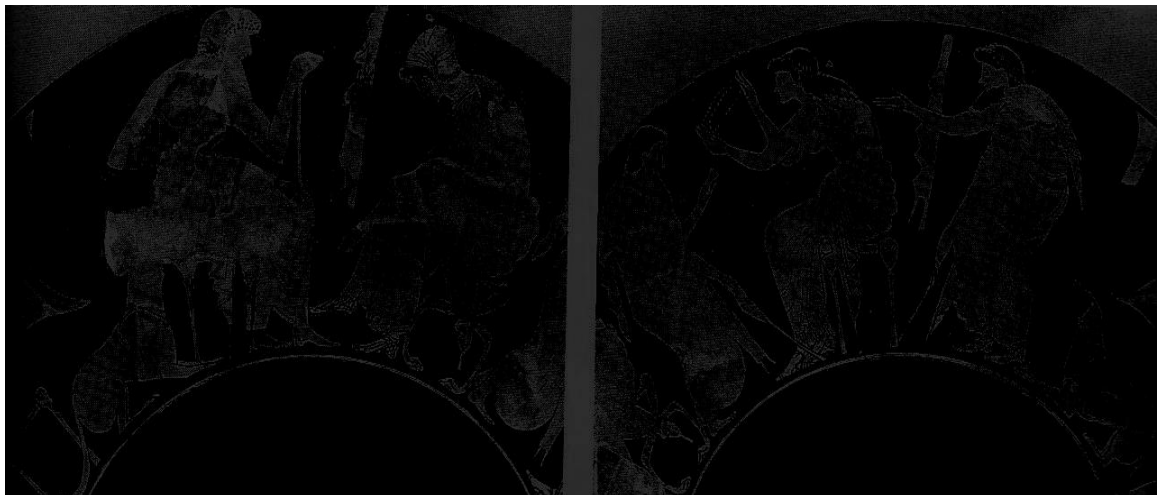
Keywords:

prostitute, flute, entertainer, mixed gender, sandals, wreath, visit, dog, gift, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 788;

R. F. Sutton Jr., "Family Portraits: Recognizing the *Oikos* on Attic Red-figure Pottery," in A. P. Chapin (ed.), *Charis: Essays in Honor of Sara A. Immerwahr. Hesperia Supplement 33* (2004), fig.17.6.



Catalogue Record 126**Title:**

Munich 211241

Date:

ca. 520-480 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

WEDDING P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Munich, Arndt: XXXX211241

Description:

I: EROTIC, YOUTH AND WOMAN, BAG SUSPENDED

Keywords:

sexual, mixed gender, prostitute, purse, nude, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 211241



Catalogue Record 127**Title:**

Munich 2421

Date:

ca. 525-510 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *hydria*

Attributed To:

PHINTIAS

Current Location:

Munich, Antikensammlungen: 2421

Description:

S: *SYMPOSION*, WOMEN WITH *SKYPHOI*

BD: EDUCATION, YOUTH (EUTYMIDES) AND MAN BOTH SEATED PLAYING LYRES, DRAPED MAN LEANING ON STAFF, DRAPED YOUTH

Keywords:

prostitute, *symposion*, nude, *kottabos*, *skyphos*, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200126;

Perseus Digital Library



Catalogue Record 128**Title:**

Munich 2679

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

EUCHARIDES P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Munich, Antikensammlungen: 2679

Description:

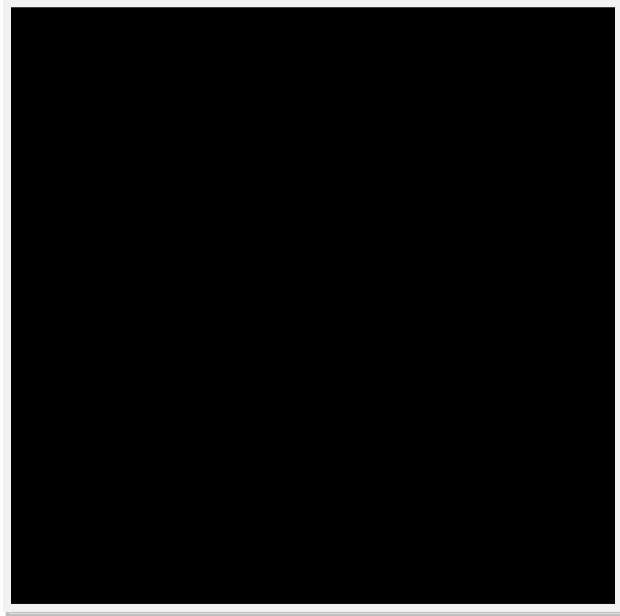
I: WOMAN WITH *SKYPHOS* POURING WATER INTO LAVER, BED

Keywords:

prostitute, laver, bed, *skyphos*, wall, Closed-Wrap, plain, Closed-Bag

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 202271



Catalogue Record 129**Title:**

Naples H1

Date:

ca. 520-490 BCE

Technique and Shape:Attic RF *skyphos***Attributed To:**

EPIKTETOS

Current Location:

Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: H1

Description:

A: WOMAN AND SATYR

B: MAENAD RECLINING AND MULE

Keywords:prostitute, satyr, nude, mixed gender, sexual, *skyphos*, Open-Wrap, plain**Reference:**

Beazley Archive Database No. 200612



Catalogue Record 130**Title:**

Naples M1411

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *lekythos*

Attributed To:

PAN P

Current Location:

Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: M1411

Description:

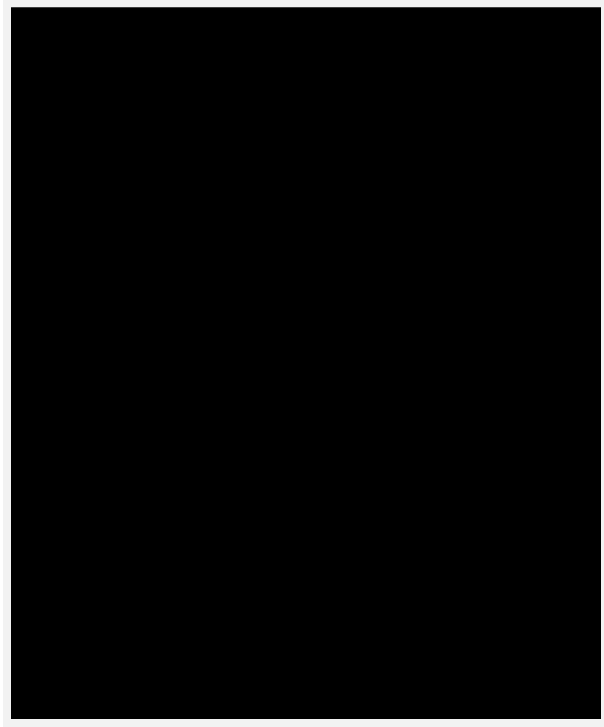
WOMAN PLAYING LYRE

Keywords:

entertainer, lyre, prostitute, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 206358



Catalogue Record 131

Title:

NY 07.286.47

Date:

ca. 525-510 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

HEGESIBOULOS POTTER by SIGNATURE

Current Location:

New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum: 07.286.47

Description:

A: *SYMPOSITION*, MAN AND YOUTHS, WITH LYRES, *OINOCHOE*, WOMEN SEATED, WITH FLOWER AND IVY WREATH

I: OLD MAN WITH STAFF, DOG

B: *KOMOS*, YOUTHS, WITH LYRES, *KROTALA*

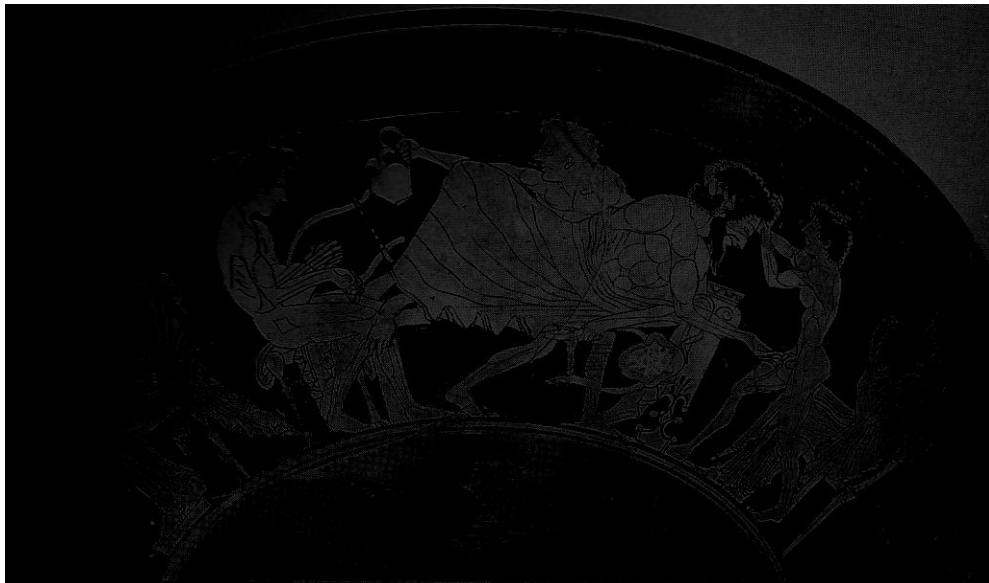
Keywords:

symposion, lyre, mixed gender, swan chairs, prostitute, wreath, 2 Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 201603;

M. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases* (London, 1993), R295.



Catalogue Record 132

Title:

NY 1986.322.1

Date:

ca. 480 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

DOURIS by BOTHMER

Current Location:

New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum: 1986.322.1

Description:

I: WOMAN (WITH EXPOSED BREAST) AT LAVER, *SAKKOS* AND *SKYPHOS*
SUSPENDED, BUCKET

A,B: ATHLETES WITH *HALTERES*, *DISKOS*, *ACONTISTS*, COLUMN, *ARYBALLOI*,
STRIGILS, SPONGES SUSPENDED, PICKS

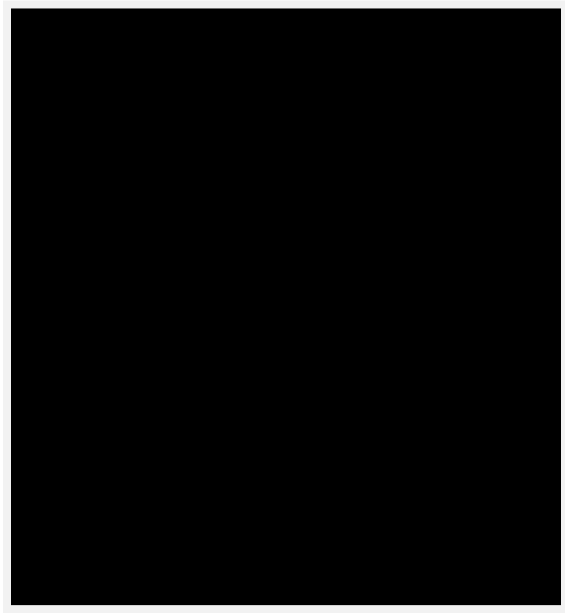
Keywords:

prostitute, sexual, laver, *skyphos*, wall, 2 Closed-Bag, pattern, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 1142;

S. Lewis, *Athenian Woman* (NY: Routledge, 2002), 2.11.



Catalogue Record 133**Title:**

NY 41.162.7

Date:

ca. 505-465 BCE

Technique and Shape:Attic RF *lekythos***Attributed To:**

BERLIN P

Current Location:

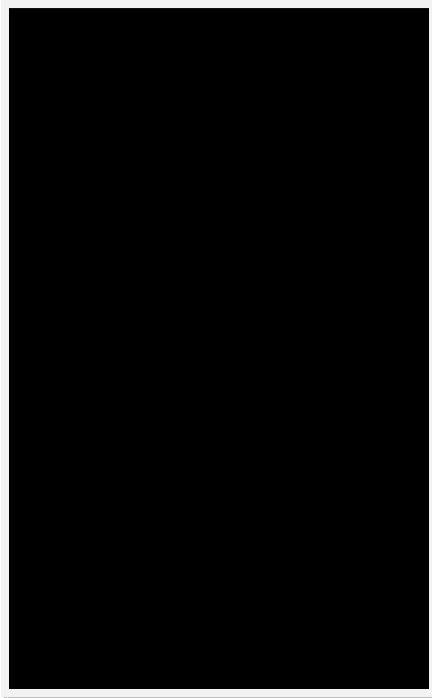
New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum: 41.162.7

Description:BD: WOMAN WEARING *SAKKOS* WITH LYRES: NIKE WITH *OINOCHOE* AND *PHIALE***Keywords:**

prostitute, lyre, entertainer, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 13463



Catalogue Record 134

Title:

NY 56.171.61

Date:

ca. 525-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

PALMETTE- EYE CUPS, CLASS OF

Current Location:

New York Metropolitan Museum: 56.171.61

Description:

A: *SYMPOSION*, WOMAN WITH CUP, BETWEEN PALMETTES BETWEEN EYES

B: *SYMPOSION*, WOMAN WITH POINTED *AMPHORA* AND PIPES CASE

BETWEEN PALMETTES BETWEEN EYES

I: YOUTH SEATED WITH FRUIT (?)

Keywords:

prostitute, nude, *phallos* cup, jewelry, *symposion*, sexual, Open-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200402;

M. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases* (London, 1993), R8.



Catalogue Record 135**Title:**

NY 96.18.131

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:Attic RF *kylix* tondo**Attributed To:**

BOLOGNA 417, P OF by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum: 96.18.131

Description:I: *SYMPOSION*, MAN (YOUTH ?) RECLINING, WOMAN

A,B: DRAPED YOUTHS, WITH STAFFS, ONE WITH FILLET, WOMEN

Keywords:prostitute, *symposion*, mixed gender, bed, sash, Closed-Bag, plain**Reference:**

Beazley Archive Database No. 211007;

I. Peschel, *Die Hetare bei Symposium und Komos in der attisch rotfigurigen Malerei des 6.-4. Jhs. v.Chr.* (Frankfurt, 1987), PL.176.

Catalogue Record 136**Title:**

Orvieto 275682

Date:

ca. 520-490 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

EPIKTETOS by BIZZARRI

Current Location:

Orvieto, Museo Civico: XXXX275682

Description:

I: EROTIC, YOUTH AND WOMAN WITH HEADDRESS

Keywords:

nude, prostitute, sexual, mixed gender, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 275682;

M. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases* (London, 1993), R134.



Catalogue Record 137**Title:**

Orvieto 491 A

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

BOLOGNA 417, P OF by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Orvieto, Museo Civico: 491

Description:

I: *SYMPOSITION*, DRAPED YOUTH RECLINING, WOMAN

A,B: WOMAN BETWEEN DRAPED YOUTHS

Keywords:

prostitute, mixed gender, gift, wreath, courting, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 211001



Catalogue Record 138**Title:**

Orvieto 491 B

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

BOLOGNA 417, P OF by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Orvieto, Museo Civico: 491

Description:

I: *SYMPOSITION*, DRAPED YOUTH RECLINING, WOMAN

A,B: WOMAN BETWEEN DRAPED YOUTHS

Keywords:

prostitute, mixed gender, wreath, gift, courting, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 211001



Catalogue Record 139**Title:**

Orvieto 491 tondo

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

BOLOGNA 417, P OF by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Orvieto, Museo Civico: 491

Description:

I: *SYMPOSION*, DRAPED YOUTH RECLINING, WOMAN

A,B: WOMAN BETWEEN DRAPED YOUTHS

Keywords:

prostitute, *symposion*, mixed gender, bed, gift, flower?, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 211001



Catalogue Record 140**Title:**

Orvieto 60

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

DOURIS

Current Location:

Orvieto, Museo Civico, Coll. Faina: 60

Description:

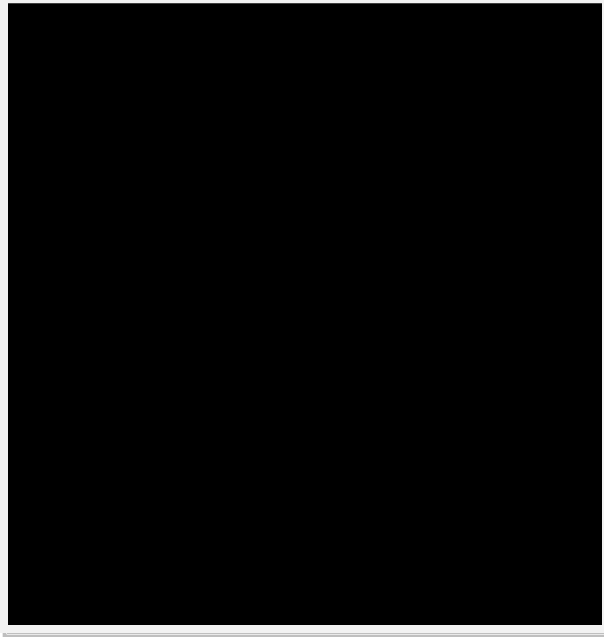
I: *SYMPOSION*, MAN AND WOMAN WITH CUPS, RECLINING, TABLE, BOOTS

Keywords:

symposion, prostitute, mixed gender, boots, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 205289



Catalogue Record 141**Title:**

Oxford 1916.6

Date:

ca. 525-500 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *alabastron*

Attributed To:

PAIDIKOS ALABASTRA, GROUP OF THE by BEAZLEY EUERGIDES P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: 1916.6

Description:

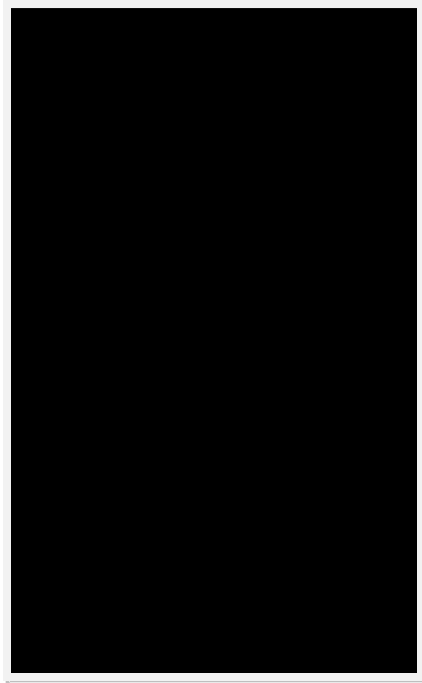
YOUTH AND WOMAN (WITH FRUIT ?), DORIC COLUMNS

Keywords:

fruit, column, prostitute, mixed gender, courting, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200881



Catalogue Record 142**Title:**

Oxford 1919.36

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *alabastron*

Attributed To:

COPENHAGEN 3830, P OF by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: 1919.36

Description:

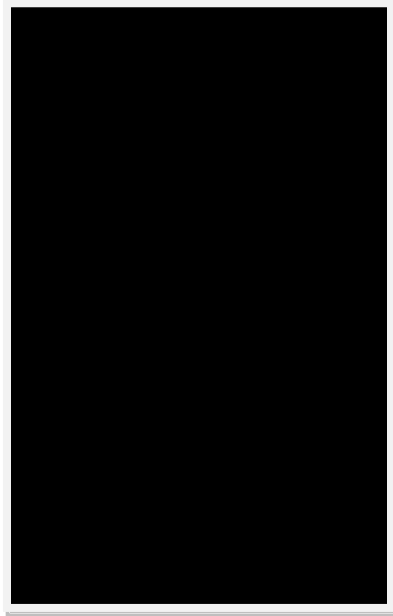
WOMAN WITH BIRD AND DOG, DRAPED YOUTH WITH STAFF

Keywords:

prostitute, mixed gender, bird, dog, gift, visit, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 208901



Catalogue Record 143**Title:**

Oxford 1921.1214

Date:

ca. 525-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *alabastron*

Attributed To:

EUERGIDES P by BEAZLEY PAIDIKOS ALABASTRA, GROUP OF THE by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: 1921.1214

Description:

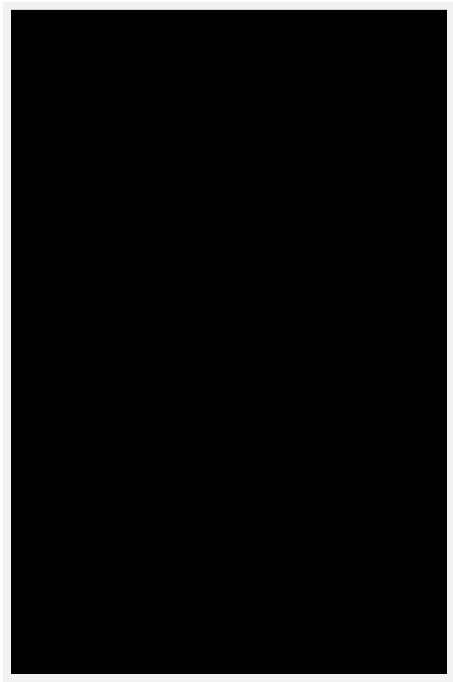
WOMEN (ONE SEATED), WITH MIRROR, FLOWER, *OINOCHOE* (POURING LIBATION?)

Keywords:

libation, prostitute, mirror, flower, *oinochoe*, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200874



Catalogue Record 144**Title:**

Oxford 1927.4065

Date:

ca. 525-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

OLTOS by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: 1927.4065

Description:

A,B: THESEUS AND ANTIOPE, WARRIORS, AMAZONS, CHARIOT, SHIELD
DEVICES, DOLPHINS, BULL, *TRISKELES*

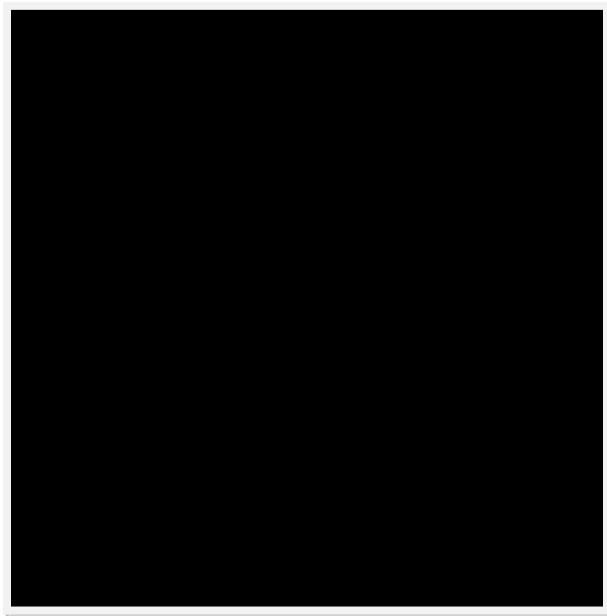
I: NAKED WOMAN WITH CUP AND LADLE

Keywords:

prostitute, nude, ladle, *kylix*, *symposion*, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200513



Catalogue Record 145**Title:**

Oxford 1927.4501

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

BOOT P

Current Location:

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: 1927.4501

Description:

I: NAKED WOMAN WITH BOOTS AND CLOTH, STOOL OR BED

A,B: DRAPED YOUTHS WITH STAFFS, ONE SEATED, WRITING CASE
SUSPENDED

Keywords:

boots, nude, prostitute, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 210169



Catalogue Record 146**Title:**

Oxford 1931.12

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

PENTHESILEA P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: 1931.12

Description:

A,B: *KOMOS*, YOUTHS AND MEN, ONE DRAPED, WITH STAFFS, WALKING STICK AND *SKYPHOS*, WOMAN PLAYING PIPES, SPRIG

I: WINGED WOMAN (NIKE ?) WITH FILLET, BULL, ROCK (?)

Keywords:

prostitute, *komos*, entertainer, flute, sexual, mixed gender, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 211638



Catalogue Record 147**Title:**

Oxford V327

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *alabastron*

Attributed To:

AISCHINES P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: V327

Description:

B: DRAPED YOUTH LEANING ON STAFF, WITH FLOWER, PURSE HANGING

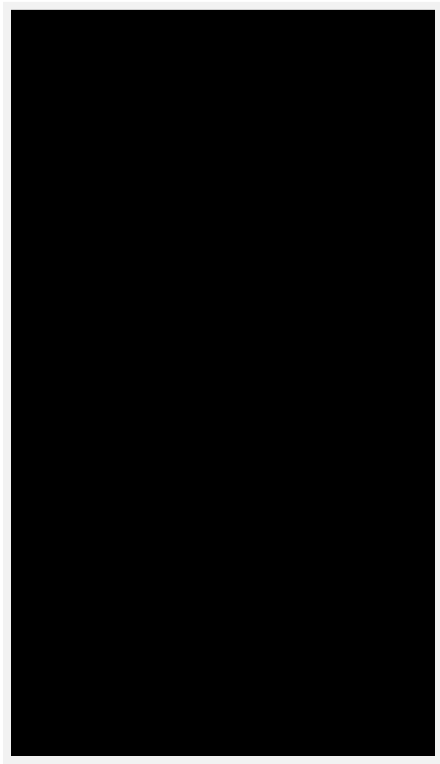
A: WOMAN WITH SPINDLE (SPINNING), *KALATHOS*

Keywords:

prostitute, mixed gender, flower, *kalathos*, wool-working, purse, spinning, mirror, courting, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 208804



Catalogue Record 148**Title:**

Paestum 0.152

Date:

ca. 550-500 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *amphora*

Attributed To:

EUTHYMIDES by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Paestum, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: XXXX0.152

Description:

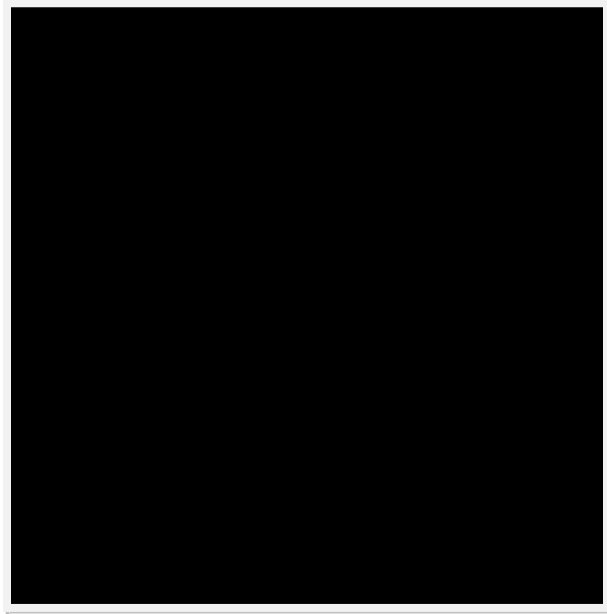
KOMOS, WOMAN PLAYING PIPES, MAN WITH *KROTALA*

Keywords:

prostitute, flute, entertainer, mixed gender, *komos*, *krotala*, Open-Wrap?, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200152



Catalogue Record 149**Title:**

Palermo 5503

Date:

ca. 500-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *krater*

Attributed To:

MYSON by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Palermo, Mus. Arch. Regionale: 5503

Description:

B: *KOMOS*

A: NAKED WOMAN WITH *SKYPHOS* AND LADLE AT POINTED *AMPHORA*

Keywords:

prostitute, nude, *komos*, ladle, *skyphos*, *amphora*, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 202414



Catalogue Record 150**Title:**

Paris 0.5143

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

DOURIS LONDON E 55, P OF

Current Location:

Paris, Private: XXXX0.5143

Description:

I: *SYMPOSION*, MAN WITH *SKYPHOS*, WOMAN RECLINING, BASKET
SUSPENDED

A,B: MEN, WOMAN

Keywords:

prostitute, *symposion*, mixed gender, basket, binding, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 205143



Catalogue Record 151**Title:**

Paris CP10813

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *skyphos*

Attributed To:

BRYGOS P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Paris, Musée du Louvre: CP10813

Description:

B: *KOMOS*, ANAKREONTIC, OLD MAN WITH LYRE, WOMAN, BASKET
SUSPENDED A: *KOMOS*, WOMAN PLAYING PIPES

Keywords:

komos, prostitute, basket, mixed gender, lyre, Open-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 202433



Catalogue Record 152**Title:**

Paris G124

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

DOURIS

Current Location:

Paris, Musée du Louvre: G124

Description:

A,B: WARRIORS DEPARTING, BOEOTIAN SHIELD, DEVICE, HEADLESS
FIGURE

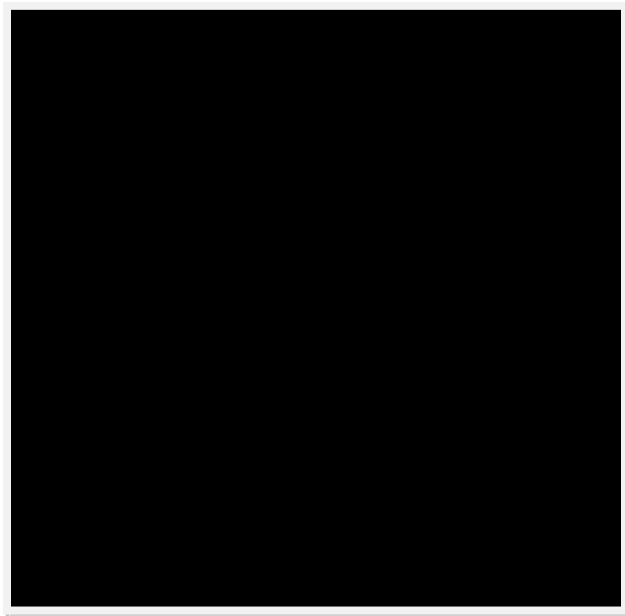
I: DRAPED MAN WITH STAFF, WOMAN WITH MIRROR

Keywords:

mirror, prostitute, mixed gender, courting, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 205156



Catalogue Record 153**Title:**

Paris G156

Date:

ca. 490-480 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *skyphos*

Attributed To:

BRYGOS P by HARTWIG

Current Location:

Paris, Musée du Louvre: G156

Description:

A,B: *KOMOS*, YOUTHS AND MEN, ONE PLAYING LYRE, WOMEN, TREE, DRAPED YOUTH WITH CUP AND WALKING STICK

Keywords:

lyre, mixed gender, *komos*, prostitute, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 204069;

Perseus Digital Library



Catalogue Record 154**Title:**

Paris G2 A

Date:

ca. 520 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *amphora*

Attributed To:

OLTOS by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Paris, Musée du Louvre: G2

Description:

OH: YOUTH

A,B: SATYR ATTACKING MAENAD

NAB: NAKED WOMAN SEATED, TYING SANDAL

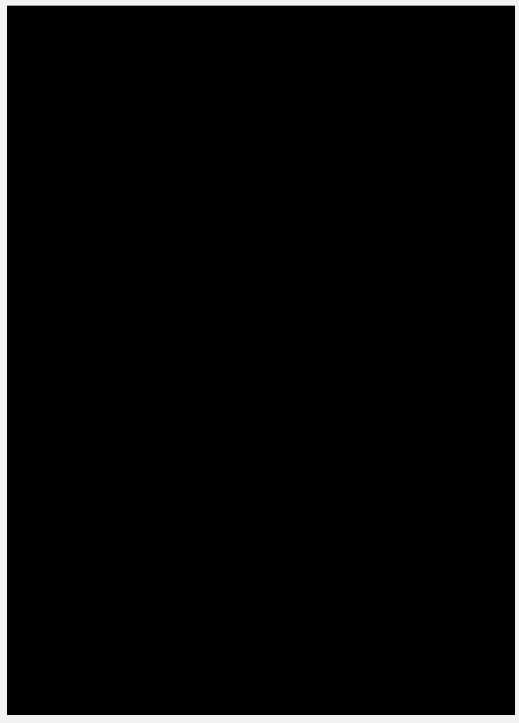
Keywords:

prostitute, nude, sandals, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200434;

Perseus Digital Library



Catalogue Record 155**Title:**

Paris G2 B

Date:

ca. 520 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *amphora*

Attributed To:

OLTOS by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Paris, Musée du Louvre: G2

Description:

OH: YOUTH

A,B: SATYR ATTACKING MAENAD

NAB: NAKED WOMAN SEATED, TYING SANDAL

Keywords:

prostitute, nude, sandals, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200434



Catalogue Record 156**Title:**

Paris G369

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *krater*

Attributed To:

AGRIGENTO P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Paris, Musée du Louvre: G369

Description:

B: *KOMOS*, DRAPED YOUTHS, ONE PLAYING PIPES, ONE WITH CUP AND STAFF

A: *KOMOS*, YOUTHS, ONE PLAYING LYRE, ONE WITH STAFF, WOMAN PLAYING PIPES

Keywords:

prostitute, entertainer, mixed gender, flute, *komos*, lyre, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 206662



Catalogue Record 157**Title:**

Paris G477 A

Date:

ca. 500-480 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

P OF LONDON E80

Current Location:

Paris, Musée du Louvre: G477

Description:

I: WOMAN WITH BASKET AT ALTAR, DOOR

A,B: WOMEN

Keywords:

column, flower, hoop, *kalathos*, prostitute, wall, gift, 2 Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 210092;

Perseus Digital Library



Catalogue Record 158**Title:**

Paris G477 B

Date:

ca. 500-480 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

P OF LONDON E80

Current Location:

Paris, Musée du Louvre: G477

Description:

I: WOMAN WITH BASKET AT ALTAR, DOOR

A,B: WOMEN

Keywords:

prostitute, column, *alabastron?*, oil container, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 210092;

Perseus Digital Library



Catalogue Record 159**Title:**

Paris G477 tondo

Date:

ca. 500-480 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

P OF LONDON E80

Current Location:

Paris, Musée du Louvre: G477

Description:

I: WOMAN WITH BASKET AT ALTAR, DOOR

A,B: WOMEN

Keywords:

prostitute, altar, door, box, chest, jewelry, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 210092;

Perseus Digital Library



Catalogue Record 160**Title:**

Paris G 49

Date:

ca. 525-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *hydria*

Attributed To:

PIONEER GROUP by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Paris, Musée du Louvre: G49

Description:

KOMOS, WOMAN PLAYING PIPES, MAN WITH *KROTALA* AND YOUTH DANCING

Keywords:

prostitute, *krotala*, flute, dancing, entertainer, mixed gender, *komos*, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200197



Catalogue Record 161**Title:**

Paris G546

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *pelike*

Attributed To:

HERMONAX

Current Location:

Paris, Musée du Louvre: G546

Description:

A: DRAPED YOUTH, LEANING ON STAFF, WOMAN WITH FRUIT

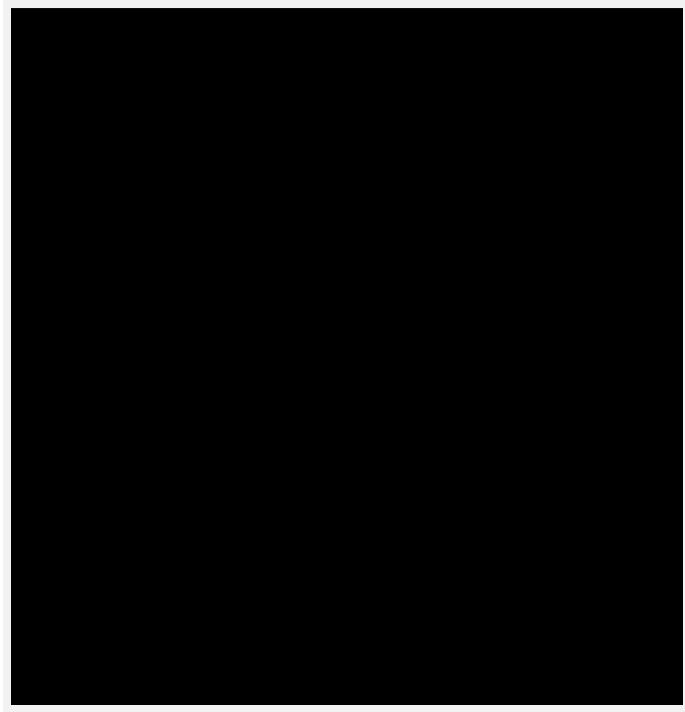
B: WOMAN

Keywords:

fruit, prostitute, mixed gender, gift, courting, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 205433



Catalogue Record 162**Title:**

Parma C63

Date:

ca. 525-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:Attic RF *kylix* tondo**Attributed To:**

N/A

Current Location:

Parma, Museo Nazionale di Antichita: C63

Description:I: WOMAN IN SEE-THROUGH CLOTHING WITH *KROTALA***Keywords:**prostitute, *krotala*, entertainer, Closed-Wrap, plain**Reference:**

Beazley Archive Database No. 1256



Catalogue Record 163**Title:**

Philadelphia MS 2449 A

Date:

ca. 480-470 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

PHILADELPHIA 2449, P OF by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Philadelphia (PA), University of Pennsylvania: MS2449

Description:

A,B: WOMEN, SOME SEATED, ONE PLAYING PIPES, SOME WITH MIRROR,
KROTALA, SPRIG, PIPES CASE SUSPENDED

I: WOMAN OPENING CHEST

Keywords:

prostitute, *krotala*, mirror, flute, entertainer, wreath, 2 Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 210086;

Perseus Digital Library



Catalogue Record 164**Title:**

Philadelphia MS 2449 B

Date:

ca. 480-470 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

PHILADELPHIA 2449, P OF by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Philadelphia (PA), University of Pennsylvania: MS 2449

Description:

A,B: WOMEN, SOME SEATED, ONE PLAYING PIPES, SOME WITH MIRROR,
KROTALA, SPRIG, PIPES CASE SUSPENDED

I: WOMAN OPENING CHEST

Keywords:

prostitute, *krotala*, wreath, 2 Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 210086;

Perseus Digital Library



Catalogue Record 165**Title:**

Philadelphia MS 2449 tondo

Date:

ca. 480-470 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

PHILADELPHIA 2449, P OF by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Philadelphia (PA), University of Pennsylvania: MS 2449

Description:

A,B: WOMEN, SOME SEATED, ONE PLAYING PIPES, SOME WITH MIRROR,
KROTALA, SPRIG, PIPES CASE SUSPENDED

I: WOMAN OPENING CHEST

Keywords:

prostitute, chest, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 210086;

Perseus Digital Library



Catalogue Record 166**Title:**

Princeton 33.34

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

DOURIS

Current Location:

Princeton (NJ), University Art Museum: 33.34

Description:

I: WOMAN WITH *KROTALA*, ALTAR, BUILDING

Keywords:

krotala, altar, door, prostitute, entertainer, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 205279



Catalogue Record 167**Title:**

Princeton 33.41

Date:

ca. 525-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

EPIKTETOS by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Princeton (NJ), University Art Museum: 33.41

Description:

B: FIGHT, WARRIORS AND HORSEMEN

A: *KOMOS* (EROTIC), MEN AND YOUTHS, NAKED WOMEN WITH CUPS

I: SATYR AND MAENAD

Keywords:

prostitute, *komos*, nude, mixed gender, sexual, 3 Open-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200483



Catalogue Record 168**Title:**

Private Collection (Kilmer R824)

Date:

ca. 520-480 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

N/A

Current Location:

Private Collection

Description:

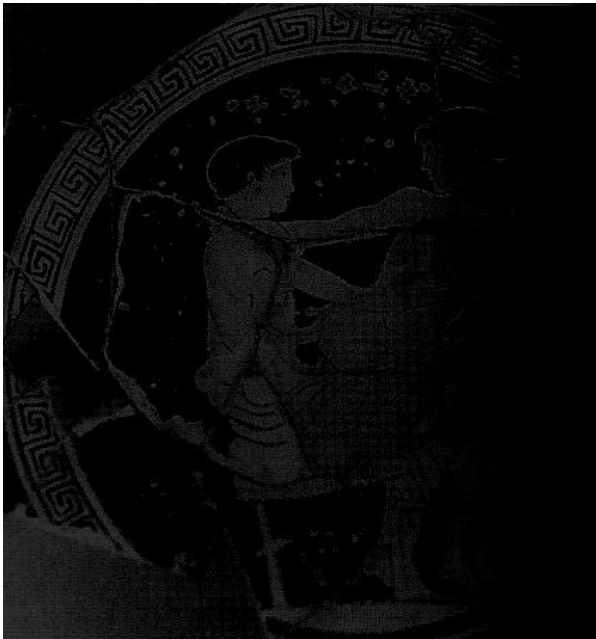
I: MAN AND WOMAN INTERCOURSE, *SAKKOS* ON THE WALL

Keywords:

sexual, mixed gender, prostitute, nude, wall, 2 Closed-Bag, plain, pattern

Reference:

M. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases* (London, 1993), R824.



Catalogue Record 169**Title:**

Rome 1054

Date:

ca. 480 BCE

Technique and Shape:Attic RF *krater***Attributed To:**

HARROW P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia: 1054

Description:A: COURTING, YOUTH LEANING ON STAFF, WITH PURSE AND WOMAN
WITH PETALS BETWEEN FLYING EROTES, DOG, *KALATHOS*B: *KOMOS***Keywords:**prostitute, mixed gender, dog, flower, *kalathos*, Eros, purse, gift, courting, Closed-Bag,
plain, colour**Reference:**

Beazley Archive Database No. 202886



Catalogue Record 170**Title:**

Rome 15708

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

SABOUROFF P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia: 15708

Description:

A,B: WOMEN, SOME SEATED ON CHAIRS, SOME WITH WREATHS, SOME WITH MIRRORS, DRAPED YOUTHS LEANING ON STAFFS, BAG AND FILLETS SUSPENDED I: ONE SEATED ON CHAIR WITH MIRROR, CLOTH SUSPENDED, ALTAR (?)

Keywords:

prostitute, mirror, flower, wall, altar, 3 Closed-Bag, plain, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 212214



Catalogue Record 171**Title:**

Rome 176

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *pelike*

Attributed To:

LOUVRE G 238, P OF by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Rome, Musei Capitolini: 176

Description:

A: *KOMOS*, DRAPED MAN (ANAKREONTIC) WITH LYRE AND WOMAN WITH *KROTALA*

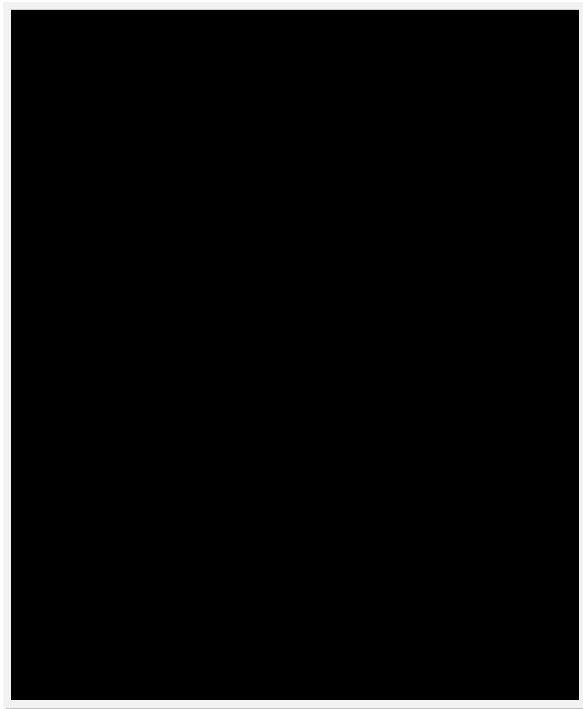
B: YOUTHS AND MAN, SOME LEANING ON STAFFS, ALL DRAPED

Keywords:

prostitute, *komos*, *krotala*, entertainer, mixed gender, lyre, 2 Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 202565



Catalogue Record 172**Title:**

Rome 3583

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *krater*

Attributed To:

NAUSICAA P

Current Location:

Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia: 3583

Description:

A: *SYMPOSITION*, YOUTH WITH MEAT, MAN IN SCYTHIAN CAP WITH CUP, PLAYING *KOTTABOS* AND RECLINING, WOMAN PLAYING PIPES, *OINOCHOE* SUSPENDED, TABLE, FOOT STOOL

B: *KOMOS*, MAN WITH STAFF, YOUTHS, ONE WITH *OINOCHOE*, ALL DRAPED

Keywords:

symposion, flute, *kottabos*, prostitute, mixed gender, entertainer, *oinochoe*, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 214666



Catalogue Record 173**Title:**

Rome 47233

Date:

ca. 520-490 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

EPIKTETOS

Current Location:

Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia: 47233

Description:

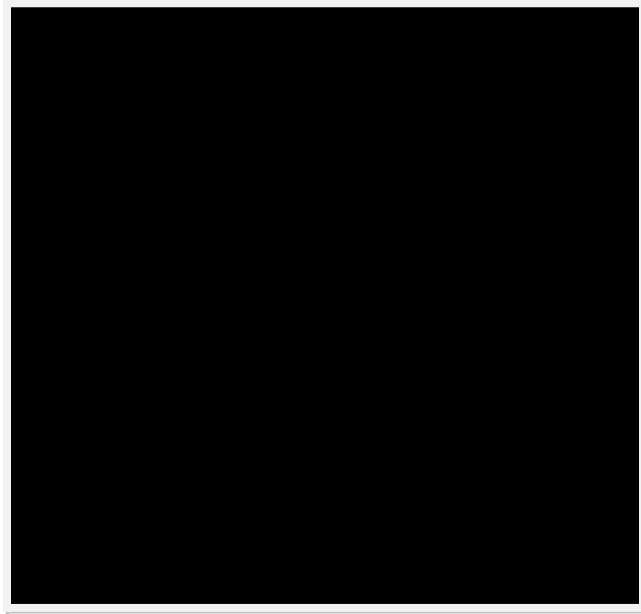
I: WOMAN

Keywords:

nude?, prostitute, Open-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200648



Catalogue Record 174

Title:

Rome 50404

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

DOURIS

Current Location:

Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia: 50404

Description:

A,B: *KOMOS*

I: WOMEN, ONE NAKED, ERECTING *PHALLOS* (*KALE*)

Keywords:

prostitute, sexual, *phallos*, nude, skirt-lifting, 2 Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 9017718;

M. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases* (London, 1993), R607.



Catalogue Record 175**Title:**

Rome 50532

Date:

ca. 485-470 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *krater*

Attributed To:

TRIPTOLEMOS P

Current Location:

Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia: 50532

Description:

A: *KOMOS*, NAKED WOMAN BETWEEN MEN

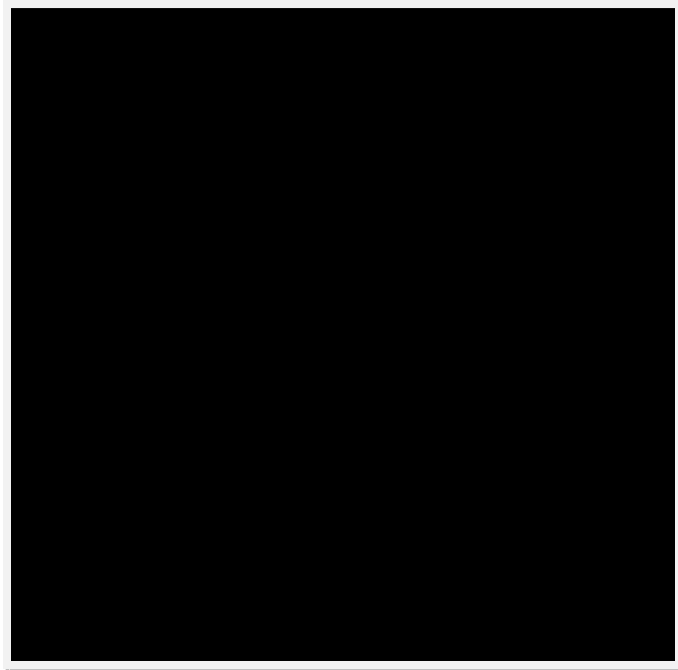
B: *KOMOS*, YOUTHS DANCING

Keywords:

nude, dancing, mixed gender, *komos*, prostitute, Open-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 203802



Catalogue Record 176**Title:**

Rome 57.780-57.781

Date:

ca. 470 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *pelike*

Attributed To:

N/A

Current Location:

Rome, Deutschen Arcaologischen Institut 57.780-57.781

Description:

A: WOMAN HOLDING A FLOWER IN EACH HAND

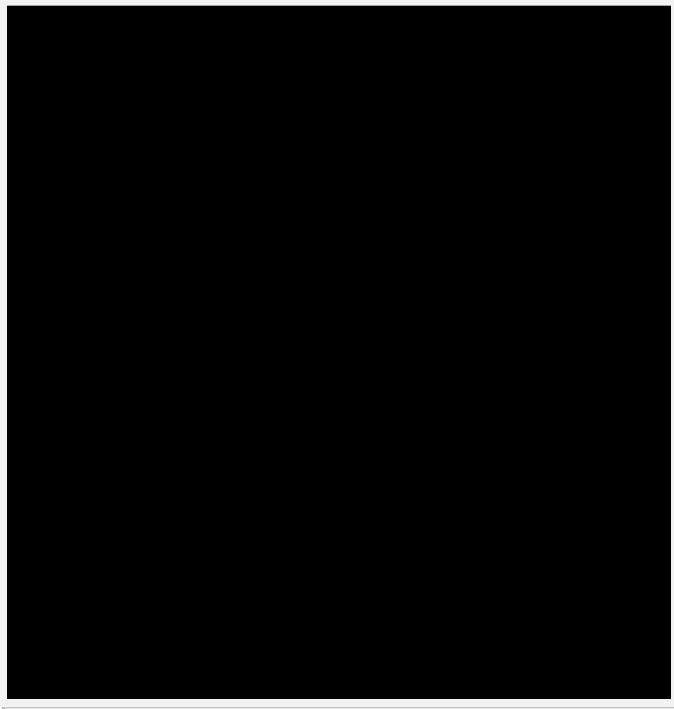
B: MAN BRINGING MEAT, A BONELESS THIGH OF A SACRIFICIAL ANIMAL,
TO THE WOMAN

Keywords:

flower, prostitute, gift, courting, mixed gender, Open-Wrap, plain

Reference:

F. Lissarrague, "Figures of Women," in P. Pantel (ed.), *A History of Women in the West. From Ancient Goddesses to Christian Saints* (Harvard University Press, 1992), fig.49.



Catalogue Record 177

Title:

Rome 57684

Date:

ca. 520-490 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

EPIKTETOS

Current Location:

Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia: 57684

Description:

B: HERAKLES AND BUSIRIS

I: NAKED WOMAN RIDING *PHALLOS* BIRD

A: PSYCHOSTASIA, ACHILLES AND MEMNON, ZEUS SEATED WITH THUNDERBOLT, WOMEN (EOS AND THETIS ?)

Keywords:

phallos bird, nude, prostitute, sexual, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200468



Catalogue Record 178**Title:**

St. Petersburg 14611

Date:

ca. 525-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

EPIKTETOS by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum: 14611

Description:

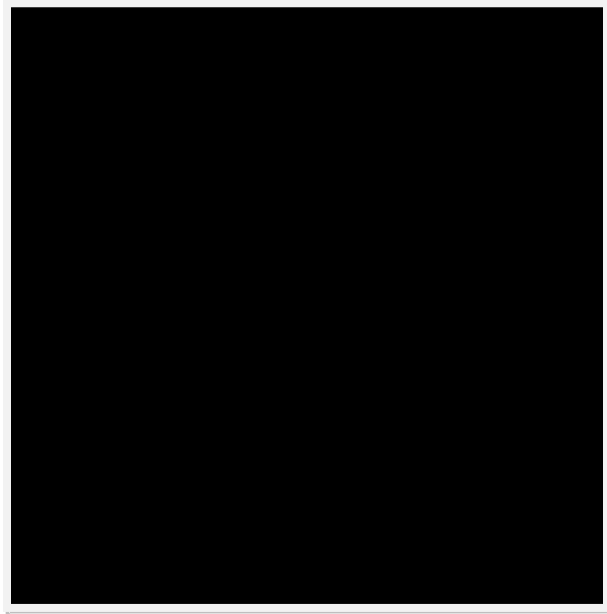
I: EROTIC, NAKED WOMAN WITH *PHALLOI*

Keywords:

prostitute, *olisbos*, *podanipter*, sexual, laver, nude, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200587



Catalogue Record 179**Title:**

St. Petersburg 634

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *krater*

Attributed To:

GOETTINGEN, P OF by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum: 634

Description:

B: *KOMOS*, MAN

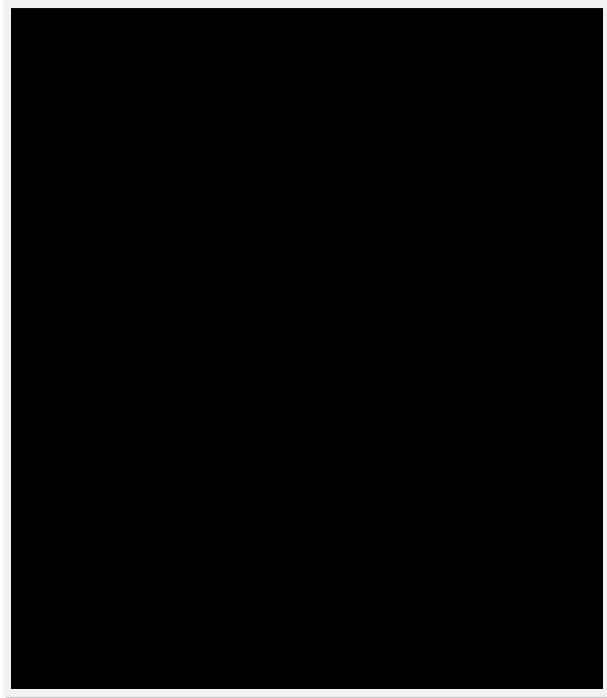
A: NAKED WOMAN WITH *PHIALAI*, ONE ON HEAD, JUGGLING

Keywords:

prostitute, nude, *phiale*, juggling, entertainer, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 202182



Catalogue Record 180**Title:**

St. Petersburg 644

Date:

ca. 520-505 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *psykter*

Attributed To:

EUPHRONIOS

Current Location:

St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum 644

Description:

SYMPOSITION, FOUR NAKED (NAMED) WOMEN WITH *SKYPHOI*, CUP, PLAYING PIPES

Keywords:

flute, nude, *symposion*, magic, amulets, *kottabos*, prostitute, entertainer, *skyphos*, 2
Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200078;
Perseus Digital Library



Catalogue Record 181**Title:**

St. Petersburg B1535 A

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

VILLA GIULIA P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum: B1535

Description:

I: WOMAN WITH MIRROR

A: WOMAN JUGGLING WITH BALLS BETWEEN YOUTHS WITH WALKING STICKS, ONE HOLDING *ARYBALLOS*, COLUMN, STRIGIL, *ARYBALLOI* AND SANDALS SUSPENDED

B: DRAPED FIGURE SEATED, WOMAN AND MAN

Keywords:

prostitute, column, *aryballos*, oil-set, juggling, entertainer, sandals, strigil, mixed gender, visit, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 207263



Catalogue Record 182**Title:**

St. Petersburg B1535 B

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

VILLA GIULIA P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum: B1535

Description:

I: WOMAN WITH MIRROR

A: WOMAN JUGGLING WITH BALLS BETWEEN YOUTHS WITH WALKING STICKS, ONE HOLDING *ARYBALLOS*, COLUMN, STRIGIL, *ARYBALLOI* AND SANDALS SUSPENDED

B: DRAPED FIGURE SEATED, WOMAN AND MAN

Keywords:

prostitute, mirror, sandals, oil-set, mixed gender, visit, 2 Closed-Bag, plain, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 207263



Catalogue Record 183**Title:**

St. Petersburg B1535 tondo

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

VILLA GIULIA P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum: B1535

Description:

I: WOMAN WITH MIRROR

A: WOMAN JUGGLING WITH BALLS BETWEEN YOUTHS WITH WALKING STICKS, ONE HOLDING *ARYBALLOS*, COLUMN, STRIGIL, *ARYBALLOI* AND SANDALS SUSPENDED

B: DRAPED FIGURE SEATED, WOMAN AND MAN

Keywords:

prostitute, mirror, sash, make-up?, chest?, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 207263



Catalogue Record 184**Title:**

Switzerland 0.1679 A

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *pelike*

Attributed To:

KLEOPHRADES P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Switzerland, Private: XXXX0.1679

Description:

A: MAN (ANAKREONTIC ?), WOMAN PLAYING PIPES

B: YOUTH WITH WALKING STICK, WOMAN WITH PIPES

Keywords:

prostitute, flute, mixed gender, entertainer, *komos*, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 201679



Catalogue Record 185**Title:**

Switzerland 0.1679 B

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *pelike*

Attributed To:

KLEOPHRADES P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Switzerland, Private: XXXX0.1679

Description:

A: MAN (ANAKREONTIC ?), WOMAN PLAYING PIPES

B: YOUTH WITH WALKING STICK, WOMAN WITH PIPES

Keywords:

prostitute, flute, mixed gender, entertainer, *komos*, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 201679



Catalogue Record 186**Title:**

Switzerland 0.5361

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

DOURIS

Current Location:

Switzerland, Private: XXXX0.5361

Description:

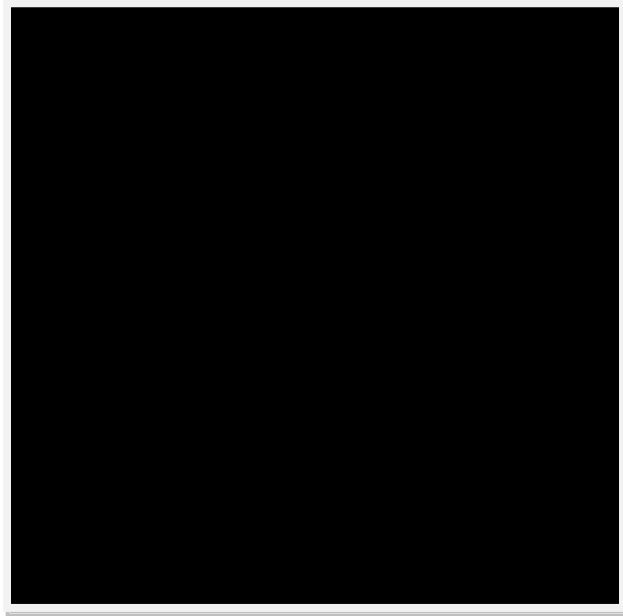
I: WOMAN WITH BASKET AT BED

Keywords:

bed, prostitute, basket, Closed-Bag, pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 205361



Catalogue Record 187**Title:**

Syracuse 18426

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *pelike*

Attributed To:

HEPHAISTOS P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Syracuse, Museo Arch. Regionale Paolo Orsi: 18426

Description:

A: WOMAN SEATED ON CHAIR, DRAPED YOUTH WITH MIRROR LEANING ON STAFF, HERON

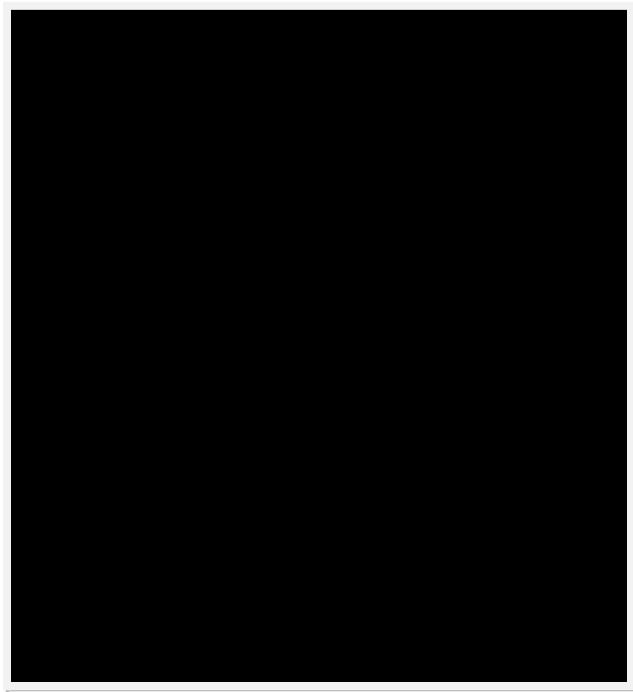
B: DRAPED YOUTHS, ONE WITH STAFF

Keywords:

prostitute, mirror, gift, heron, mixed gender, purse, courting, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 214764



Catalogue Record 188**Title:**

Syracuse 20065 A

Date:

ca. 500-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *pelike*

Attributed To:

MYSON P

Current Location:

Syracuse, Museo Arch. Regionale Paolo Orsi: 20065

Description:

A: EROTIC, NAKED WOMAN WITH *PHALLOS* CLIMBING INTO BASKET WITH *PHALLOI*, STOOL

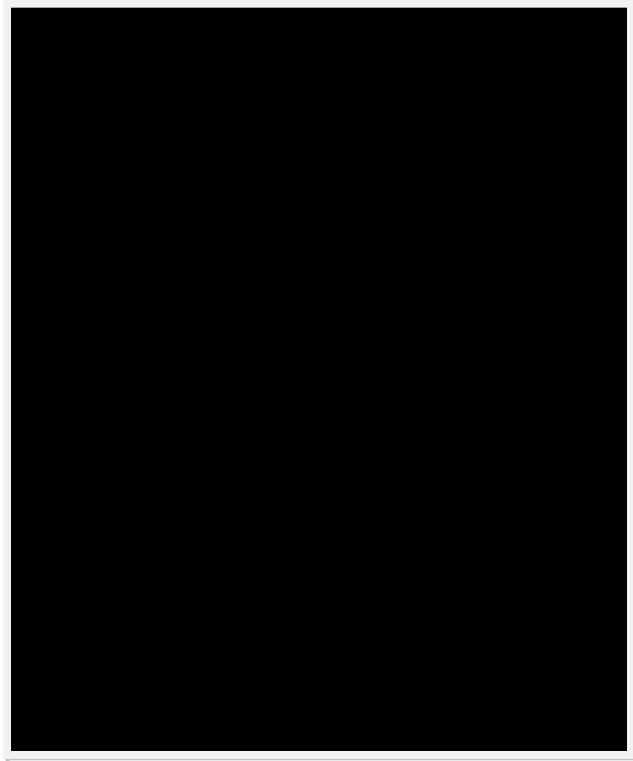
B: NAKED WOMAN AT BELL *KRATER* ON BLOCK, STOOL, SHOES, SPONGE AND STRIGIL SUSPENDED

Keywords:

nude, prostitute, oil-set, boots, bathing, clothes, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 202175



Catalogue Record 189**Title:**

Syracuse 20065 B

Date:

ca. 500-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *pelike*

Attributed To:

MYSON P

Current Location:

Syracuse, Museo Arch. Regionale Paolo Orsi: 20065

Description:

A: EROTIC, NAKED WOMAN WITH *PHALLOS* CLIMBING INTO BASKET WITH *PHALLOI*, STOOL

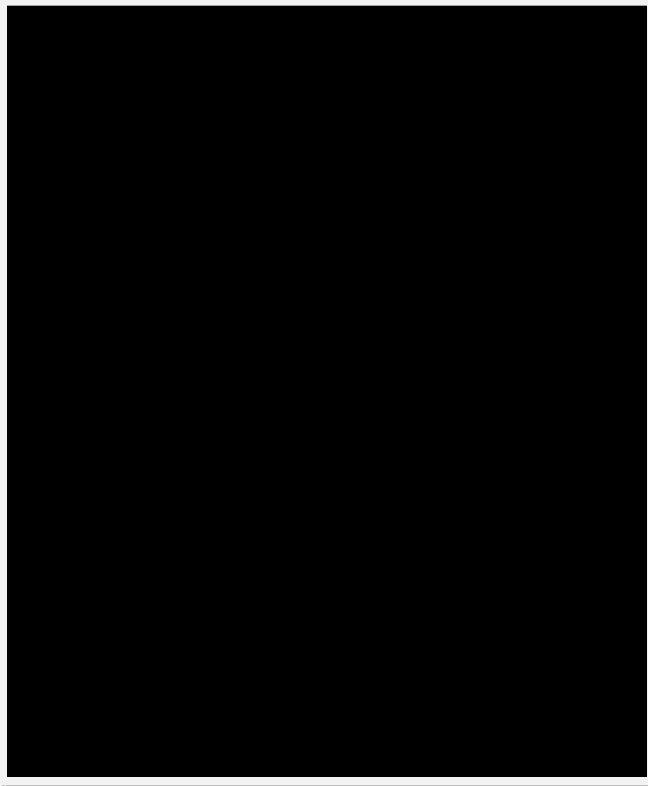
B: NAKED WOMAN AT BELL *KRATER* ON BLOCK, STOOL, SHOES, SPONGE AND STRIGIL SUSPENDED

Keywords:

nude, *phallos*, prostitute, basket, clothes, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 202175



Catalogue Record 190**Title:**

Syracuse 49295

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *krater*

Attributed To:

EUCHARIDES P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Syracuse, Museo Arch. Regionale Paolo Orsi: 49295

Description:

B: YOUTH

A: *KOMOS*, WOMAN WITH LYRE, DRAPED MAN WITH *SKYPHOS* AND STAFF

Keywords:

prostitute, lyre, *komos*, entertainer, mixed gender, *skyphos*, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 202207



Catalogue Record 191

Title:

Tampa 86.70

Date:

ca. 470 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *hydria*

Attributed To:

HARROW P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Tampa (FL), Museum of Art: 86.70

Description:

BD: SEATED WOMAN WITH MIRROR AND DRAPED YOUTH IN BUILDING,
DRAPED MEN, ONE WITH PURSE AND LEANING ON STAFF, *ALABASTRON*,
SPONGE, *ARYBALLOS* AND STRIGIL SUSPENDED

S: FIGHT, WARRIORS

Keywords:

prostitute, mixed gender, mirror, oil-set, purse, column, *alabastron*, visit, Closed-Bag,
plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 202666;

Perseus Digital Library



Catalogue Record 192**Title:**

Taranto 0.6436

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *krater*

Attributed To:

PIG P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: XXXX0.6436

Description:

A: WOMAN SEATED, PLAYING PIPES, DRAPED MAN WITH PURSE LEANING ON STAFF, WOMAN WITH PIPES CASE, BOX AND LYRE SUSPENDED

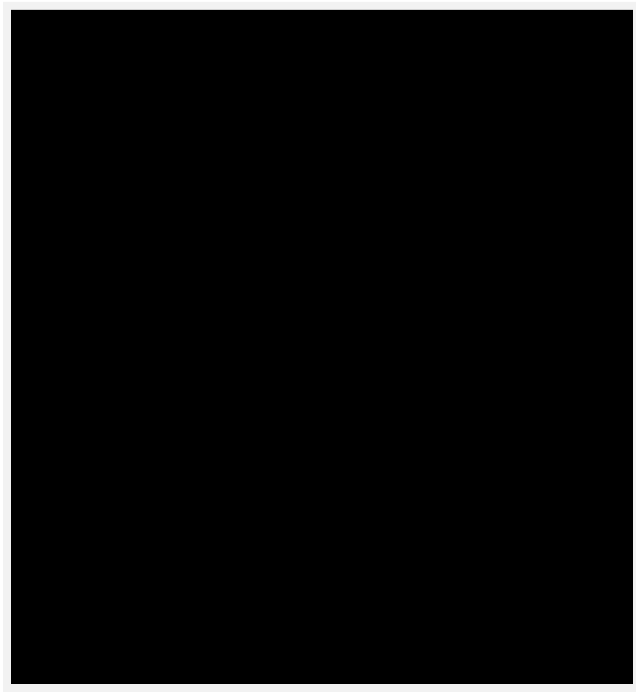
B: YOUTHS

Keywords:

prostitute, flute, mixed gender, purse, entertainer, box, lyre, visit, Open-Wrap, Plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 206436



Catalogue Record 193**Title:**

Tarquinia RC1116

Date:

ca. 480 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

DOURIS

Current Location:

Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese: RC1116

Description:

I: WOMAN AT LAVER, KRATER, STOOL WITH BASKET

Keywords:

prostitute, *kalathos*, laver, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 205297



Catalogue Record 194**Title:**

Tarquinia RC992

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *krater*

Attributed To:

MUNICH AMPHORA, P OF by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese: RC992

Description:

A: SEATED WOMAN WITH LYRE, WOMAN DANCING

B: *KOMOS*

Keywords:

prostitute, lyre, entertainer, dancing, Open-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 202457



Catalogue Record 195

Title:

Texas 12

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *stamnos*

Attributed To:

SIREN P by BOTHMER

Current Location:

Texas, Hunt Collection: 12

Description:

B: EROTIC, DRAPED YOUTH, FONDLING NAKED WOMAN AT LAVER, NAKED WOMAN

A: ODYSSEUS AND IDOMENEUS (NAMED) ESCAPING FROM THE CAVE OF POLYPHEMOS, WITH SLAB, RAMS

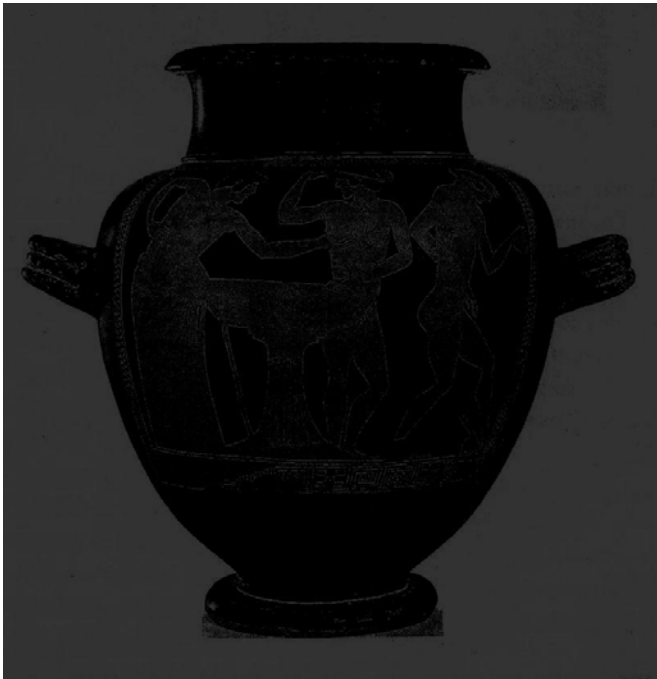
Keywords:

prostitute, laver, mixed gender, nude, bathing, sexual, courting, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 5343;

J. Boardman, *History of Greek Vases: Potters, Painters and Pictures* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2001), fig.279.



Catalogue Record 196**Title:**

Thebes R18.255

Date:

ca. 525-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

AGORA CHAIRIAS GROUP by SABETAI

Current Location:

Thebes, Archaeological Museum: R18.255

Description:

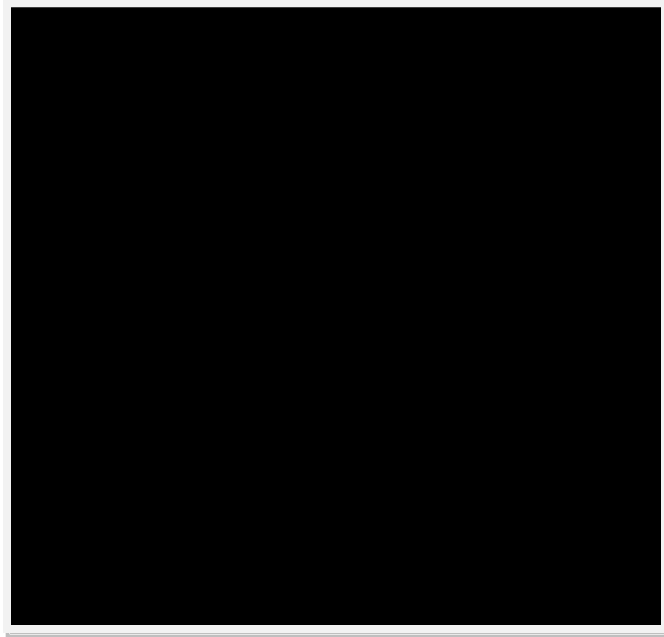
I: NAKED WOMAN WEARING A *SAKKOS* AND CARRYING A BASIN

Keywords:

nude, prostitute, laver, *podanipter*, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 24930



Catalogue Record 197**Title:**

Toledo 1972.55 A

Date:

ca. 490-480 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

MAKRON

Current Location:

Toledo (OH), Museum of Art: 1972.55

Description:

A: COURTING SCENE, DRAPED YOUTH, DRAPED MAN, WOMAN SEATED, PURSE, STRIGIL, PIPES CASE SUSPENDED

B: COURTING SCENE, WOMAN, ONE WITH PIPES, DRAPED MEN WITH STAFFS, MIRROR SUSPENDED

I: SACRIFICE, WOMAN WITH *OINOCHOE* AND SACRIFICIAL BASKET AT ALTAR, INCENSE BURNER ON BLOCK

Keywords:

prostitute, oil-set, purse, flower, mixed gender, flute, entertainer, gift, courting, visit, Open-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 7766;

Perseus Digital Library



Catalogue Record 198**Title:**

Toledo 1972.55 B

Date:

ca. 490-480 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

MAKRON

Current Location:

Toledo (OH), Museum of Art: 1972.55

Description:

A: COURTING SCENE, DRAPED YOUTH, DRAPED MAN, WOMAN SEATED, PURSE, STRIGIL, PIPES CASE SUSPENDED

B: COURTING SCENE, WOMAN, ONE WITH PIPES, DRAPED MEN WITH STAFFS, MIRROR SUSPENDED

I: SACRIFICE, WOMAN WITH *OINOCHOE* AND SACRIFICIAL BASKET AT ALTAR, INCENSE BURNER ON BLOCK

Keywords:

prostitute, mirror, wreath, flower, mixed gender, gift, oil-set, courting, visit, Open-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 7766;

Perseus Digital Library



Catalogue Record 199**Title:**

Trieste S391

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *krater*

Attributed To:

LENINGRAD P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Trieste, Museo Storia ed Arte: S391

Description:

B: DRAPED MAN WITH STAFF BETWEEN DRAPED YOUTHS

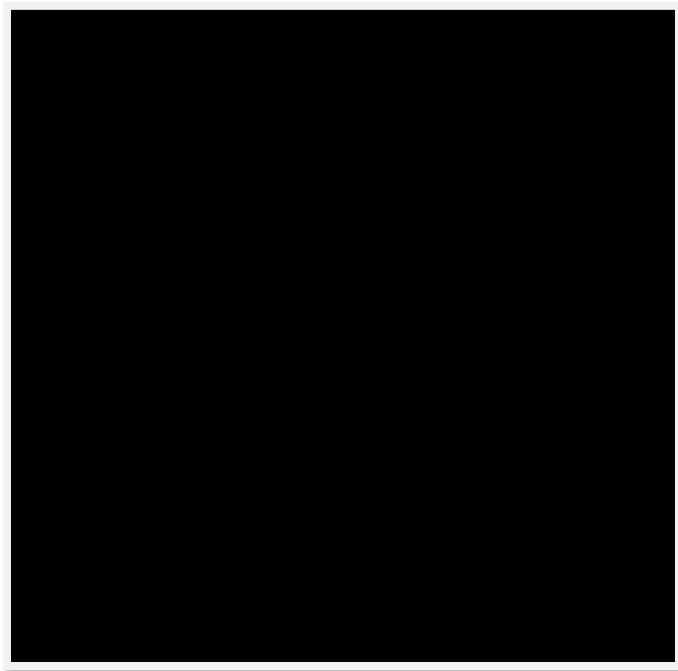
A: *SYMPOSION*, MEN WITH CUPS RECLINING, WOMAN PLAYING PIPES,
TABLES, FOOT STOOL

Keywords:

prostitute, entertainer, mixed gender, *symposion*, Open-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 206489



Catalogue Record 200**Title:**

Tubingen E154

Date:

ca. 460 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *pyxis*

Attributed To:

DOURIS

Current Location:

Tubingen, Eberhard-Karls-Univ., Arch. Inst.: E154

Description:

WOMEN, ONE DRESSING, ONE SPINNING, FIGURE WITH STAFF (?), *HIMATION* ON STOOL, *OINOCHOE* SUSPENDED

Keywords:

girdle, spinning, prostitute, *oinochoe*, mixed gender, wool-working, visit, 2 Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 209972



Catalogue Record 201**Title:**

Tubingen E22

Date:

ca. 505-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

Manner of: ONESIMOS by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Tubingen, Eberhard-Karls-Univ., Arch. Inst.: E22

Description:

WOMAN IN SEE-THROUGH CLOTHING WITH *SAKKOS* HOLDING A CUP

Keywords:

prostitute, *symposion*?, sexual, *skyphos*, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 203425



Catalogue Record 202**Title:**

Tubingen S101390

Date:

ca. 525-475 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *alabastron*

Attributed To:

EUERGIDES P by BEAZLEY PAIDIKOS ALABASTRA, GROUP OF THE by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Tubingen, Eberhard-Karls-Univ., Arch. Inst.: S101390

Description:

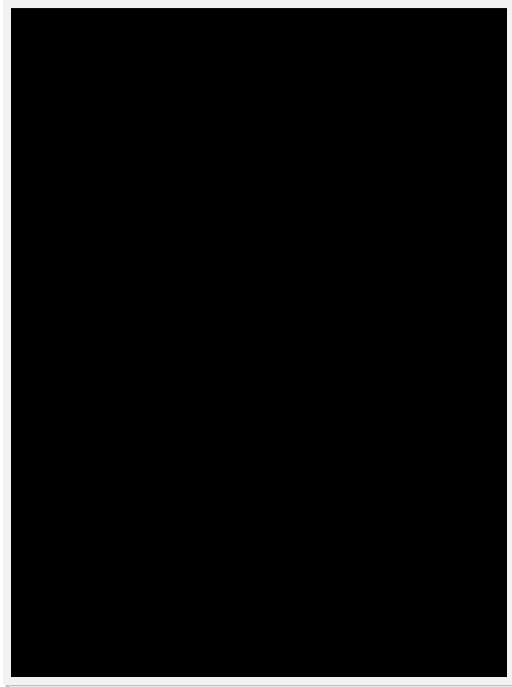
WOMAN SEATED WITH MIRROR, WOMAN WITH *OINOCHOE* AT ALTAR

Keywords:

libation, altar, prostitute, mirror, jewelry, Closed-Wrap, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 200876



Catalogue Record 203**Title:**

Vatican AST760

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

DOURIS

Current Location:

Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano: AST760

Description:

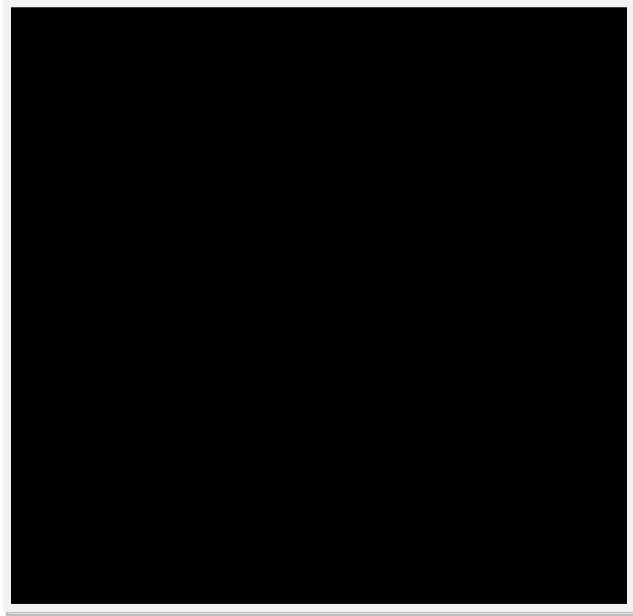
I: WOMAN WITH *ALABASTRON* AT *KRATER*, BUILDING (DOOR)

Keywords:

prostitute, door, *alabastron*, oil container, *krater*, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 205296



Catalogue Record 204**Title:**

Vienna 770

Date:

ca. 500-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *krater*

Attributed To:

AGRIGENTO P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum: 770

Description:

A: *KOMOS*, ANAKREONTIC, DRAPED MEN WITH CUP AND PARASOL,
WOMAN PLAYING *KITHARA*

R: ANIMAL FRIEZE, PANTHERS, GOATS

B: DRAPED YOUTHS, SOME WITH STAFFS

Keywords:

prostitute, *kithara*, entertainer, mixed gender, *komos*, parasol, jewelry, Closed-Bag,
pattern

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 206634



Catalogue Record 205**Title:**

Vienna 836

Date:

ca. 450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *hydria*

Attributed To:

WASHING P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum: 836

Description:

NAKED WOMAN AT LAVER, EROS FLYING WITH CLOTH

Keywords:

prostitute, laver, nude, Eros, clothes, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 214967



Catalogue Record 206**Title:**

Warsaw 142313 A

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

BOOT P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Warsaw, National Museum: 142313

Description:

I: WOMAN AT LAVER, SPONGE AND *ARYBALLOS* SUSPENDED, COLUMN
A,B: NAKED WOMEN WASHING, ONE AT LAVER, ONE HOLDING *CHITON*,
BASKET, TABLET, CLOTH, SPONGE AND STRIGIL SUSPENDED

Keywords:

bathing, prostitute, nude, clothes, oil-set, 2 Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 210164



Catalogue Record 207**Title:**

Warsaw 142313 B

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

BOOT P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Warsaw, National Museum: 142313

Description:

I: WOMAN AT LAVER, SPONGE AND *ARYBALLOS* SUSPENDED, COLUMN
A,B: NAKED WOMEN WASHING, ONE AT LAVER, ONE HOLDING *CHITON*,
BASKET, TABLET, CLOTH, SPONGE AND STRIGIL SUSPENDED

Keywords:

bathing, prostitute, nude, oil-set, boots, strigil, basket, clothes, 3 Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 210164



Catalogue Record 208**Title:**

Warsaw 142313 tondo

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix* tondo

Attributed To:

BOOT P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Warsaw, National Museum: 142313

Description:

I: WOMAN AT LAVER, SPONGE AND *ARYBALLOS* SUSPENDED, COLUMN
A, B: NAKED WOMEN WASHING, ONE AT LAVER, ONE HOLDING *CHITON*,
BASKET, TABLET, CLOTH, SPONGE AND STRIGIL SUSPENDED

Keywords:

bathing, prostitute, column, oil-set, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 210164



Catalogue Record 209**Title:**

Warsaw 142317 A

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

BOOT P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Warsaw, National Museum: 142317

Description:

A: DRAPED YOUTH WITH STAFF, WOMEN, ONE SEATED WITH *KALATHOS*, COLUMN

B: DRAPED YOUTH AND OLD MAN, BOTH LEANING ON STAFFS, WOMEN, ONE SEATED WITH DISTAFF OR MIRROR, ONE WITH *SKYPHOS*, COLUMN

I: DRAPED YOUTH SEATED WITH STAFF, WOMAN WITH POMEGRANATE, COLUMN UH: CHAIR

Keywords:

prostitute, mixed gender, column, *kalathos*, visit, Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 210166



Catalogue Record 210**Title:**

Warsaw 142317 B

Date:

ca. 475-450 BCE

Technique and Shape:

Attic RF *kylix*

Attributed To:

BOOT P by BEAZLEY

Current Location:

Warsaw, National Museum: 142317

Description:

A: DRAPED YOUTH WITH STAFF, WOMEN, ONE SEATED WITH *KALATHOS*, COLUMN

B: DRAPED YOUTH AND OLD MAN, BOTH LEANING ON STAFFS, WOMEN, ONE SEATED WITH DISTAFF OR MIRROR, ONE WITH *SKYPHOS*, COLUMN

I: DRAPED YOUTH SEATED WITH STAFF, WOMAN WITH POMEGRANATE, COLUMN UH: CHAIR

Keywords:

mirror, prostitute, mixed gender, column, *skyphos*, visit, 2 Closed-Bag, plain

Reference:

Beazley Archive Database No. 210166

