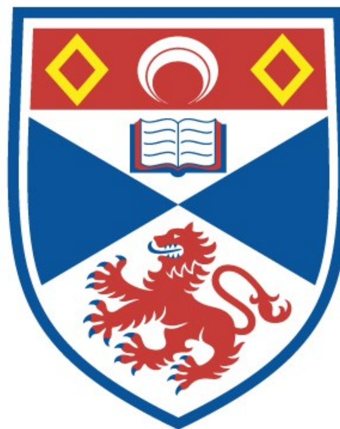
Mistress of the East, goddess of the West: Aphrodite and the development of ancient Greek erotica

Briana King

A thesis submitted for the degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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Mistress of the East, Goddess of the West:
Aphrodite and the Development of Ancient Greek Erotica

Abstract

My thesis analyses the interlinked complexities of socially constructed sexualities and the identity of Aphrodite from the Archaic to the late-Classical period in order to reinstate a critical connection between ancient Greek conceptions of sex and the divine embodiment of sexuality. Previous scholarship has examined Aphrodite in isolation from sex and sexuality in the ancient Greek world, frequently focusing on her origins in Cyprus and the Near East and/or examining characteristics of her cults in select *poleis*. Studies on sexuality in ancient Greece often focus on characteristics of hetero/homosexual relationships and/or gender identity. These separate lines of inquiry have led to a notable gap in current scholarship which fails to consider how the cults and iconographies of the Greek goddess of sex relate to ancient Greek explorations of sex.

Using a viewership model which unites analyses of Aphrodite and of erotica in various ancient Greek media within a common interpretative framework, I demonstrate that developments in Aphrodite's cult personae and material representations in regions where Aphrodite was prominently worshipped, including Sparta, Corinth, and Athens, are reflected in changes in ancient social ideals related to sexuality and gendered desirability.

The Archaic period cults of an armed Aphrodite reflect the divine dichotomy of love and male-instigated violence, a dichotomy similarly explored in Archaic and early-Classical heroic literature and Athenian sympotic vase paintings. Classical Athenian nuptial vase paintings reflect the Athenian emphasis on Aphrodite's marriage-related cults during the same period. Praxiteles's late-Classical Aphrodite of Knidos epitomizes contemporary, changing attitudes towards women's sexuality and the desirability of the nude female form. By analyzing Aphrodite's cults and associated iconographies in relation to ancient Greek erotica from the Archaic to late-Classical period in select regions, the various links between the divine embodiment of sexuality and the mortal explorations of sex become evident.

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Introduction

Aphrodite & Ancient Greek Erotica

Ancient Greek literature and iconography from the Archaic to the late-Classical period richly demonstrate the ancient fascination with the variances of sex and sexuality. However, while the ancient attitudes towards sex are varied and complex, there is a striking gap between the current scholarship on the Greeks' goddess of sex, Aphrodite, and the scholarship on ancient Greek erotica. I classify as erotica works that show or describe one, or a combination, of the following: sexual acts/behaviours (such as explicit coitus), male and/or female nudity in a private or socially exclusive setting (such as nude bathing brides, male and female nudity in symposia depictions), and romantic, idealized love (such as late fifth-century Athenian nuptial vase painting motifs).[1] But this classification does not attribute to these works any particular function or intention; rather, their intended functions range from arousal and titillation to social education. While I incorporate literature which discusses sexuality, attitudes towards sexual behaviours, and/or Aphrodite's sexuality and representations, such as Pliny and Pseudo-Lucian's descriptions of the Aphrodite of Knidos, my thesis focuses on painted (fine ware) pottery, terracottas, bronzes, and sculpture in order to compare this evidence to the representations of Aphrodite also featured in these materials. Other erotica featured in smaller artefacts, such as jewellery, gems, and mirrors, are discussed where relevant to my analyses. The main aim of my thesis is to compare ancient erotica and Aphrodite's cultic iconographies from the Archaic to late-Classical period. As such, I focus on the previously identified materials because they present a particularly clear and rich body of evidence that enables us to draw direct comparisons between the two.

Though one might expect the goddess of sex and ancient Greek depictions of sex (or depictions related to sex and eroticism) to overlap, the two topics are rarely discussed together. The scholarship which does examine ancient erotica simplifies those aspects of sexuality which Aphrodite herself embodies, and consequently it also simplifies the implications for ancient viewership of erotica. My thesis rectifies this oversight in scholarship and these simplifications. The relationship between the development of ancient Greek erotica and the development of Aphrodite's own representations and cult personae has yet to be addressed. This relationship is critical for examining the mutually informative relationship between a deity and the lived, human explorations of that deity's primary domain. The latter

[1] Cf. Chapter 3 introductory discussion for further explanation of nuptial motifs as "erotica."

may manifest in a number of ways, including but not limited to the rituals performed for the deity and through the behavioural ideals prescribed by one's contemporary social and historical environment which relate to the deity's domain. Examining this relationship also relates to a "hot topic" in current scholarship: the performance of Greek polytheism and how the worship of deities should be understood with regard to the humans who "performed" the polytheism. Therefore, my thesis analyses the interlinked complexities of socially constructed sexualities and the identity of Aphrodite from the Archaic period to the late-Classical period in order to reinstate a critical connection between ancient Greek conceptions of sex and the divine embodiment of sexuality.

1.1 Structure of Introduction

I begin my Introduction with an outline of my thesis (1.2). The second section outlines the two underlying principles of my thesis. The first principle relates to the performance of Greek polytheism as it pertains to the characterizations of Aphrodite's worship (2.1). We can interpret ancient Greek divine characteristics as projections of both social and personal relationships, even in chaotic organization. The second principle relates to the significance of Aphrodite's connections to the Ancient Near East and to specific Ancient Near Eastern goddesses (2.2).[2] This second principle maintains that the attributions of Aphrodite to Cyprus as well as the numerous characteristics shared between her and several ANE goddesses can be informative for the study of Aphrodite's Greek personae.

The third and fourth sections outline the interpretative framework of my thesis. I first demonstrate the omission in previous scholarship of the relationship between ancient Greek erotica and Aphrodite' cults and iconographies (3.1-3.4). I then examine theories of socially prescribed sexual behaviours ("socialized sexuality") followed by the "Mulvey model" (4.1-4.3). This model brings together the analyses of the relationship between Aphrodite and erotica in various ancient Greek media within a common interpretative framework. Previous Classical scholars have also used Mulvey's theory to analyse ancient art (and literature). I discuss how Mulvey's theory has been applied in several examples of Classical scholarship and Mulvey's relevance to Classical scholarship generally, and how my application of Mulvey's theories differ from previous applications thereof (4.4-4.7).

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[2] Henceforth, "ANE." Aphrodite's development in Cyprus and Crete in relation to ANE cultural contacts has been extensively analysed previously, as have the parallels between prominent ANE goddesses and Aphrodite. Select examples include: Flemberg (1991) & (1995); Penglase (1994); Pirenne-Delforge (1994); Marcovich (1996); Ustinova (1999); McDonald (2011); Budin (2003); Hadjisavvas (et. al) (2003); Karageorghis (2005) & (2011); Valdés (2005); Johansson (2005); Young (2005); Breitenberger (2007); Cyrino (2010).

1.2 Thesis Outline

When analyzing the development of Aphrodite's iconography and cult personae in relation to contemporary developments in ancient Greek erotica as representative of idealized notions of sex, sexual behaviours, and desire/desirability, following a chronological framework enables greater clarity in discerning gradual changes in both. Throughout each of my chapters, the significance of Aphrodite's connections to the ANE and to specific Cypriot and ANE goddesses will be emphasized as a notable factor (where applicable) in how Aphrodite's iconography and cult personae were both shaped.[3] Through specific selections of artistic and literary evidence from Cyprus and the ANE and with a focus on materials from Greek mainland *poleis* where Aphrodite was a prominent goddess, including Athens, Sparta, and Corinth, I examine Aphrodite's iconography and cult personae as developing concurrently and on a parallel track with depictions of eroticism and sexual behaviours. I use a spectator gaze theory, the "Mulvey model" as described later, in order to examine how ancient viewers of Greek erotica may have internalized the erotic depictions as socially prescribed directives for hetero- and homosexual interactions and for attaining ideals of desirability. The vase paintings and sculptures I discuss have not previously been analysed using such a model.[4] This model enables me to situate Aphrodite within this erotic narrative as a paradigm for certain sexual desires and behaviours.

[3] From Babylonian Inanna/Ishtar to Phoenician Astarte and Ugaritic Asherah, and the Cretan goddess of Kato Symi, several ANE goddesses contributed various traits to the persona of the ancient Great Goddess of Cyprus, the Wanassa, later identified with Aphrodite (Syllabo-Cypriot inscriptions identify her as "Wanassa" or "Paphia"; cf. Budin 2003, 275). Kato Symi is considered the first cult site of "Greek" Aphrodite. Aphrodite's earliest literary myths recognize the traditional setting of her primary cult as the sanctuary at Paphos; cf. Hes. *Th.* 154-206; Hom. *Od.* 8.360-65; *Hom. Hymn Aph.* 5.56-60. Homer also offers an alternative genealogy by which Aphrodite is the daughter of Zeus and Dione; cf. *Il.* 5.370. Herodotus describes the founding of Aphrodite's temple in Cyprus (1.195.2-3) while Pausanias also relates the temple's founding in Paphos (8.5.2-3). On the sanctuary of Aphrodite *Ourania* in Athens, Pausanias states that the first men to establish this cult were the Assyrians followed by the Paphians of Cyprus and the Phoenicians at Ascalon, the latter of whom taught the worship of Aphrodite *Ourania* to the Kytherans (1.14.7).

[4] The "Athenocentric" bias when analysing vase paintings requires noting. Athenocentric here means the privileging of Athenian (Greek) production/artistry over the foreign (most notably Etruscan) context of the find, specifically regarding the area of iconographical analysis focused on reconstructing societal/cultural ideals and/or norms. Recent scholarship reveals an on-going debate among scholars regarding the validity of Athenian vases found in foreign contexts as reliable sources for reimagining Greek cultural practices. Lewis (1997 & 2002) argues adamantly against their reliability, while Lissarrague (1987), Spivey (1991), Shapiro (2000b), & Osborne (2001) argue the opposite. Cf. Lee (2003) for a critique of Lewis (2002). Relatedly, materials from Athens are discussed as representative of cultural norms/ideas of other *poleis*. Cf. Dillon (2004) where "Greek" stands for "Athenian"; cf. Dougherty & Kurke (eds.) (2003) and Vlassopoulos (2007) for discussions on scholarship's use of Athenian materials as representative, broadly speaking, of ancient Greek culture. Where my analyses include Athenian materials, I emphasize the local, Athenian context; for example, chapters three and four focus on Classical period Athens and Athenian nuptial imagery as reflective of *Athenian* marriage ideals. The issue of foreign/Etruscan find context in relation to reflections of Athenian/Greek societal/cultural ideals is resolved by the fluidity of Greek images as well as their mutability in serving foreign contextual needs: they can be read from a Greek or a foreign perspective depending on whose context is relevant to the analysis; cf. Massa-Pairault (1996) & Avramidou (2011).

In chapter one, I analyse Aphrodite's cultic and literary associations with war, primarily during the Archaic period, in order to explore the reasons for this pairing in more depth than previous scholarship. While previous scholarship has analysed Aphrodite's armed representations and their implications for her as a martial goddess, no previous studies have considered how this persona relates to other manifestations of the love/war dichotomy in ancient Greek culture and what affect this relationship had on perceptions of sex. I examine evidence of armed Aphrodite/the cult of a "martial" Aphrodite in *poleis* including Sparta, Argos, and Corinth, and I compare this evidence to the Athenian treatment of this aspect of Aphrodite. The evidence for martial Aphrodite consists of bronze statuary, numismatics, votive weaponry, inscriptions, vase paintings, and literary references to armed Aphrodite and/or joint cults of Ares and Aphrodite from authors such as Pausanias and Plutarch. I also examine the pairing of Ares and Aphrodite in Homer and Hesiod as well as their joint cults in the aforementioned *poleis* to explore how the notion of "opposing yet complementary" forces affected ancient interpretations of Aphrodite's powers. I then examine Empedoclean philosophy to examine the philosophical treatment of opposing yet complementary forces as the main principle behind the balance of the universe.

Chapter two further analyses the love/war dichotomy in the heroic and mortal realms in order to demonstrate the occurrence of this phenomenon throughout several aspects of ancient Greek culture. I analyse narratives of sexual violence in Homer and Euripides, with references to historical texts from Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon as well as philosophical texts by Plato, to understand how this dichotomy was explored in the heroic context. These narratives also suggest the perceived differences between hetero- and homosexual intimacies.[5] Ancient Greek heroic literature demonstrates a similar connection between love and war which manifests similarly as sex and violence. The latter is further expressed in late-Archaic/early-Classical Athenian sympotic vase paintings and encapsulates my analysis of these related dichotomies in the mortal realm where I analyse a category of erotica I term "violent erotica."[6] This erotica corroborates the perceived differences between

[5] The modern use of "heterosexual" and "homosexual" in discussions of ancient sexualities is discussed later.
[6] A further important consideration when analyzing the heterosexual erotica, relevant especially to chapter two's examples, is the status of the female figures. Two terms which often overlap are *hetaira* and *porne*, although there appear to have been subtle differences between the two. *Hetaira* indicates more than "prostitute"; the *hetaira* was a companion/courtesan, a free woman who was educated and possessed skills in conversation, music, and art who provided company and sometimes sex for her male companion for an often considerable price; cf. Osborne (2001) 290. *Porne* denoted a prostitute, a brothel worker; the *porne* served an anonymous and numerous clientele. However, the distinction between *hetaira* and *porne* may be an artificial product created by the Greeks themselves, specifically by poets, and the distinction between the two is often difficult to identify; cf. Beard (1991); Kurke (1999); Lewis (2002). Cf. Davidson's discussion on courtesans vs. "common whores" and

heterosexual and homosexual encounters described by ancient literature.[7] This category of vase paintings also fits two of the three criteria by which I define erotica; the vase paintings explicitly portray sexual acts (coitus, genital stimulation) and/or male and female nudity in private/socially exclusive settings (symposia). This evidence also provides the clearest parallel of the mortal exploration of sex and violence with the divine and heroic treatments thereof. Chapters one and two together illuminate the correlation between Archaic armed Aphrodite's cult and her associations with war and the ancient Greek explorations of the relationship between love and war, sex and violence outside of the divine world.

In my third and fourth chapters, I discuss the cult of Aphrodite in Classical Athens in relation to Athenian wedding rituals/marital unions. Three of the most prominent Aphrodite cults in Athens during this period all relate to her role in weddings, marriages, and reproduction. These cults are of Aphrodite *Pandêmos*, *en Kêpois*, and *Ourania*, and their corresponding iconographies provide the strongest and clearest correlations with contemporary Athenian erotica as expressed through a marital motif. For chapter three, I examine vase paintings which represent Aphrodite *Pandêmos* as well as her shared cult with Peitho as goddesses who facilitate successful marriage unions. I then examine fifth century Athenian nuptial vase paintings to demonstrate the correlation between the cult and iconography of Aphrodite *Pandêmos* and fifth century Athenian marriage ideals as expressed through nuptial erotica. The nuptial vase paintings selected for analysis fit the criteria of erotica by depicting romantic, idealized love through suggestive intimacy between the bride and groom, as well as through nude imagery of the bathing bride. In chapter four, I examine the three Athenian sanctuaries of Aphrodite *en Kêpois*, the votives from these sanctuaries, and the sculptural iconography of the *en Kêpois* goddess. I compare this material to

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the fluidity and diversity of the terminology and persons connected to the Athenian sex market (1997, 73-108). Identifying the *hetaira* or *porne* on pottery is problematic as certain representational elements, such as nudity, hairstyles, amulets, purses/money exchange, and the inclusion of names, have been used to attempt the identification of a *hetaira*. However, these elements are unreliable: female nudity could be represented in a variety of contexts including ritual bathing; hairstyles (long vs. short) are not more prevalent on one type of female figure than others; named women cannot all be prostitutes because of the variety of contexts within which names are applied (mourning scenes, domestic scenes); and we lack any scenes of money being exchanged specifically for sex; cf. Kurke (1999), 183. Beard (1991, 27-28) argues that the ambiguous status of women in these scenes is deliberate based on the artist's aim of calling attention to female stereotypes, and subsequently to whether these stereotypes were valid.

[7] The scenes analysed in chapter two also do not incorporate non-human/divine figures, in contrast to vase paintings in the remaining chapters which do incorporate non-human/divine figures, including Aphrodite, Peitho, and Eros in nuptial scenes. The aggressive eroticism featured in the vase paintings discussed in chapter two may account for this lack of non-human/divine participants, particularly of Aphrodite and Eros, where their presence is less suited to the intended erotic tone, versus in nuptial scenes, where their presence is more relevant. Archaic vase paintings of satyrs pursuing females (possibly maenads) could be included in aggressive erotica due to the often-aggressive pursuit of the satyrs for the females, but chapter two is focused on specifically mortal-only depictions.

additional Athenian nuptial vase paintings in order to demonstrate the correlation between Aphrodite *en Kêpois* and the emphasis on citizen marriage unions for the sake of producing citizen children. Chapter four also examines Aphrodite *Ourania* for which I analyse the *Adonia* and descriptions/depictions thereof in order to demonstrate how Aphrodite and Adonis's relationship relates to Athenian bridal ideals with regard to female sexual autonomy and desirable bridal traits. The nuptial vase paintings and the *Adonia* evidence, including vase paintings of Aphrodite and Adonis in private settings, provide the clearest parallels for comparing the iconography of Classical Athenian marriage ideals with Aphrodite's three most prominent, marriage-related Athenian cults of the same period and with Aphrodite's related, cultic iconographies.

My fifth and final chapter examines the late-Classical period during which we can distinguish a shift in erotic tone with regard to how women are represented, especially in terms of how increasingly revealed women become in vase paintings, notably bathing brides. The evidence in chapter five fits the criteria of erotica by depicting female nudity, both mortal and divine, in private contexts; the iconography of Aphrodite examined, especially the sculptures, also depicts female nudity to varying degrees of explicitness. This period is the same period Praxiteles unveiled his Aphrodite of Knidos which revealed the fully nude female form for the first time in Greek sculptural art and for that reason my final chapter takes a specialized focus on this representation. I discuss what previous scholarship has not considered: the parallels between Aphrodite's late-Classical representations and the contemporary vase painting motifs of Aphrodite and other female figures, such as nude bathing women/brides, which may have been informative for Praxiteles's decision to depict Aphrodite nude. I also examine ANE artistic precedents which may have facilitated Aphrodite as the goddess to be shown nude for the first time in Greek sculpture. I apply the Mulvey model to my analysis of the Knidia to demonstrate that the Knidia is not more meaningful to one gender than the other, as previous scholarship is wont to attempt to argue. My application of the Mulvey model also expands the Knidia's impact beyond the heterosexual male gaze to include the homosexual male gaze and the female gaze, thereby broadening the scope of our understanding of how the Knidia may have been interpreted and/or viewed by a wider range of ancient spectators.

2.1 Greek Polytheism & Divine Assimilation

What is meant by the term polytheism and how polytheism functioned in practice in ancient Greece have long been a topic of debate and one notably fostered by the eminent scholars of Greek religion, Vernant and Burkert. Versnel characterizes this debate as *kosmos* (structure, Vernant's view) vs. *chaos* (chaos, Burkert's view).[8] Vernant holds that a god is "a power that represents a type of action, a kind of force," and that "within the framework of a pantheon, each of these powers becomes distinct not in itself as an isolated object but by virtue of its relative position in the aggregate of forces, by the structure of relations that oppose and unite it to the other powers that constitute the divine universe."[9] This framework follows a strict structure with a complicated network of deity associations similar to a "classificatory system, applicable to the whole of reality—to nature and to human society as much as to the supernatural world" in which these structures "do not exactly coincide and which has to be followed along its several lines like a table with a number of columns and many entries."[10] As Zaidman and Pantel summarize, for Vernant, "the Greeks' polytheistic system was a rigorously logical ensemble, designed for the purpose of classifying divine capacities and powers, and fitted very tightly into the cities' *modus operandi*."[11]

In contrast, Burkert holds that Greek polytheism manifested as a type of chaos. Burkert avers that a "polytheistic world of gods is nevertheless potentially chaotic, and not only for the outsider."[12] This chaos is a result of four factors which constitute and mediate a deity's distinct personality: "the established local cult with its ritual programme and unique atmosphere, the divine name, the myths told about the named being, and the iconography, especially the cult image."[13] While Vernant maintains that the "coexistence and relationships of gods are the *conditio sine qua non* for an individuation of each god," Burkert finds that the "very same pluralist variety of gods and their transformations constitute the germs of the potentially chaotic nature of Greek polytheism."[14] On the discrepancies and divergences evident in Greek polytheism, Vernant holds that such divergences should not be considered accidental or the result of individual whim but rather as part of the same structured polytheism and potentially as meaningful as "congruities and accordances"; Burkert,

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[8] Other scholars have addressed the Vernant/Burkert debate, including Bremmer (2010) and Pirenne-Delforge & Pironti (2015).
[9] Vernant (1991), 273. From Vernant's "Inaugural Address at the Collège de France" (1977), quoted here from its reproduction in the (1991) publication.
[10] Vernant (1991), 277.
[11] Zaidman & Pantel (1992), 185; trans. Cartledge.
[12] Burkert (1985), 119; trans. Raffan.
[13] Burkert (1985), 119.
[14] Versnel (2011), 30.

however, favours viewing these divergences as the result of "historical processes and multifarious influences from different directions."[15]

Unity or diversity, *kosmos* or *chaos*, polytheistic religions are complex and to this debate Versnel offers a third option. Versnel notes that the Greek "interconnected cosmology" does not "compulsively avoid ambiguities" and accepts that the Greeks "had to live with two (or more) indeed mutually exclusive realities," and yet the Greeks "*coped with the inherent paradoxes and inconsistencies*."[16] The Greeks coped with plural religious realities, having both a mythical persona of a god and one or more (local) cultic ones, by "shifting from one to another and back, whenever the context or situation required it."[17] Versnel supports this assertion with a discussion on epithets but Parker examines cult epithets in more detail and notes two primary distinctions, functional and topographic. Functional epithets enable worshippers to approach the god in focus so that they can "pick out the function relevant to their requests, and to exclude the rest"; the formalization of the epithet in cult is both a secondary and an "exceedingly common" phenomenon.[18] Topographic epithets differentiate cult sites from one another and function as a sort of "administrative convenience" so as to avoid confusing these cult sites.[19] Both types isolate or may isolate "distinctive, specialised forms of the god" with the result that "even figures who differ very considerably from the Panhellenic norm for a particular deity can pass muster as that deity in a local form."[20] These cult epithets as aspects and functions of a deity need to be considered together in order to understand the human experience in worshipping the deity, and to this consideration Parker addresses the issue of unity behind the divine figure who bears multiple epithets. Is there one Aphrodite or are there many Aphrodites?[21]

How we understand the different manifestations of Aphrodite depends on how she was being worshipped, where, and by whom. Parker contends that Greek hymns to the gods evidence the notion that "a god of many names is not a divided god, but a wide-ranging and powerful one."[22] Versnel agrees that epithets are "devices to assign different qualities to one and the same god," a type of "unity in diversity" that the Greeks themselves seemed unaware of, or perhaps did not consider as problematic.[23] But Versnel considers that gods who bear

[15] Versnel (2011), 32.
[16] Versnel (2011), 85. Original text italicized.
[17] Versnel (2011), 85-86.
[18] Parker (2003), 175-176.
[19] Parker (2003), 176.
[20] Parker (2003), 178.
[21] Parker (2003), 182. Parker substitutes "Zeus."
[22] Parker (2003), 182.
[23] Versnel (2011), 70, 73.

the same name but also have different epithets "*were* and *were not* one and the same, depending on their momentary registrations in the believer's various layers of perceptions."[24] As Pironti and Pirenne-Delforge likewise argue, "unity and plurality" must be taken into consideration at every level of analysis if we are to understand and discuss Greek polytheism.[25] Versnel considers that the Greeks "played" with the gods, acknowledging a deity's "exclusive and culturally determined" identity through epithets yet ultimately identifying him/her as an Olympian; ambiguities existed between "local, regional and national religions," indicating that "there is no unity, there are *unities*, creating at a different level a new diversity, even a new type of 'potential chaos'."[26] Whether or not Greek polytheism is *kosmos* or *chaos*, Versnel concludes that "the different local pantheons represent multiple frames of reference, contexts and perspectives, each of them serving to help create order in an otherwise confusing diversity…One god—as identified by one name—always participates in a variety of systems."[27] "Structured chaos" may well be the more appropriate phrase for categorizing Greek polytheism.

2.2 Aphrodite & Ancient Near Eastern Goddesses

This debate relates to Aphrodite's development from ANE goddesses, specifically how the transmission of ANE attributes occurred and how these attributes affected Aphrodite's varied cult epithets and corresponding worship.[28] Roller's *In Search of God the Mother: The Cult of Anatolian Cybele* addresses this issue, and the realization of ANE influences on Cybele's worship reflects a similar manner by which we can discuss these influences on Aphrodite. There is a dearth of evidence on the Cybele cult as practised in the earlier eastern areas as opposed to a wealth of information from the Roman era, and this comparative dearth has been resolved in modern studies by attributing every aspect of the cult and especially anything deemed "unattractive" as having an eastern origin.[29] Roller instead considers the highly nuanced manner by which the Mother Goddess cult gained prominence

[24] Versnel (2011), 82-83. Original text italicized.
[25] Pirenne-Delforge & Pironti (2015), 40, 46.
[26] Versnel (2011), 111, 146.
[27] Versnel (2011), 146.
[28] It is now generally accepted in current scholarship that Aphrodite "descended from an Ancient Near Eastern divinity and was later Hellenized," and that Cyprus provided the link between the Aegean west and the ANE; cf. Karageorghis (2011), 33. Astarte is considered the most likely "eastern cognate" of Aphrodite, although Astarte-Ishtar has also been proposed as responsible for Aphrodite's origins, and still others suggest that Astarte is perhaps not a direct progenitress but nevertheless influential on the Cypriot goddess/Cypro-Minoan goddess who then evolved into Aphrodite; cf. Budin (2004), 96 n.1; cf. Burkert (1985), 152-153; Bonnet & Pirenne-Delforge (1999), 272-273.
[29] Roller (1999), 19.

in Greece and later in Rome, and how this cult is emblematic not of Greek/Roman/west versus the "Orient"/east, but rather of an evolutionary process embedded in Phrygian roots and developed through several channels of Anatolian, Greek, and Roman cultural interaction.

Similarly, when my analyses consider the ANE impact on Aphrodite's cult personae and/or iconographies, I do not situate the ANE in opposition to Greece. The bias against the ANE in studies of Aphrodite is not absent. Some analyses of the *Adonia*, for instance, ascribe the differences in festival rites as performed by Athenians in the *polis* proper versus by worshippers in the Piraeus as resulting from those in the Piraeus adhering specifically to ANE traditions because they were of ANE "origins" themselves.[30] This attitude establishes an "X equals ANE, Y equals Greek" approach to understanding how cross-cultural interaction affected deity characterizations and worship, much as Roller decried. Recently, Parker has examined the practice "that provided the indispensable bridge between cultures," *interpretatio*, the process of identification by which a deity of one culture/region would be identified with a similar deity of another.[31] Parker notes that *interpretatio*, admittedly recognizable primarily through Greco-Roman texts, has far earlier origins evident in Ugaritic, Akkadian, Sumerian, Egyptian, and Hittite texts.[32] The role of the Greeks of the second millennium BCE in this assimilation of deities is not directly evidenced; however, owing to the fact that Mycenaean overseas contact was extensive, and therefore Mycenaean encounters with foreign gods unavoidable, "it is likely that the process of Greek *interpretatio* of Ancient Near Eastern gods…was already in full swing centuries before it first becomes visible."[33] This process may partially account for the Cretan goddess of Kato Symi having been assimilated with the Cypriot Wanassa, the latter also influenced by ANE goddesses.

The simplest form of *interpretatio* was the substitution of one theonym for another based on perceived deity equivalence.[34] Herodotus applies this practice to Aphrodite as for example when he equates Heavenly Aphrodite with the Scythian goddess Argimpasa.[35] While some identifications were straightforward, others were less so, but the accuracy of the *interpretatio* does not seem to have been an issue to the ancients, Greek or otherwise, who

[30] Cf. esp. Dillon (2002); Detienne (1977); Winkler (1990a); Goff (2004); Reitzammer (2016).
[31] Parker (2017), 33-34.
[32] Parker is careful to note that our evidence in favour of *interpretatio* comes from Greek and Roman authors; we cannot assume that those whose gods were assimilated (Egyptians, Phrygians, Syrians, etc.) shared these authors' assumptions. Cf. Parker (2017), 62-64.
[33] Parker (2017), 37.
[34] Parker (2017), 43.
[35] Hdt. 4.59.

still considered their deity "theirs" regardless of outside interpretations.[36] Two models are used to rationalize *interpretatio*, the similarity/equivalence model by which "the gods of different people would be distinct, but functionally similar," and the identity model, by which gods are considered "the same throughout the world, but names for them differ."[37] Parker emphasizes the identity model, noting that the mode of *interpretatio* expressed by Herodotus appears in our sources through the Roman period including in Caesar and Livy.[38] Herodotean *interpretatio* suggests different cultures gradually learned to identify and name deities who had always existed "there and everywhere," and while the nature of their worship may have differed by locale, that does not mean that they were different deities.[39]

As cult epithets of one Greek god do not imply multiple Greek gods of the same name, but different functions and sub-identities of the same god dependent on the worshipper's perspective, the assimilation of gods of different cultures did not replace one deity with another. Local customs were still respected as were ancestral traditions. *Interpretatio* demonstrates polytheism as emblematic of "unity in diversity"/"unity and plurality." Parker emphasizes that *interpretatio* was "lived, not discussed"; we might consider all gods the same, but in practice a worshipper was "still free to distinguish" his/her local god as a distinct divinity prominent in a particular region.[40] Aphrodite exemplifies *interpretatio* which Parker describes as "the selective adaptation by one culture of its religious system to that of another culture: an adaptation self-generated, not imposed, through constant interaction with members of the other culture, who are involved in the process of assimilation."[41] This selective adaptation further demonstrates that within Aphrodite manifests the concept of "unity in diversity" and "unity and plurality." Aphrodite's connections with the ANE materialise to varying degrees in her own personae, such as Aphrodite *Ourania* having roots in Inanna/Ishtar's celestial father, Anu-Heaven. And as we shall see in my thesis, how Aphrodite was worshipped in a given circumstance and/or place depended primarily on which of her personae was most relevant to the worshipper's needs.

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[36] Parker (2017), 49. One might consider that the different myths, cults, and genealogies of god X who is identified with god Y would suggest that god Y needs then to adopt these attributes of god X, or combine his own with god X's, but as Parker further explains, this complication appears to have been too messy an issue to address, and the ancient sources therefore ignore the issue altogether. Cf. Parker (2017), 51.

[37] Parker (2017), 53.

[38] Cf. *BGall*. 6.17.1-2, 6.21.2; Livy 42.3.9.

[39] Parker (2017), 57.

[40] Parker (2017), 62. As Parker notes, we have no surviving evidence which discusses the rationale of *interpretatio* and few that question it or problematize it.

[41] Parker (2017), 73.

3.1 Aphrodite & Greek Erotica: Previous Scholarship

No previous publications have examined the relationship between Aphrodite and ancient Greek erotica as I have defined the latter. Breitenberger's (2007) *Aphrodite and Eros: The Development of Erotic Mythology in Early Greek Poetry and Cult* comes close: her analysis focuses on Aphrodite and her "train of erotic personifications," with a special focus on Aphrodite and Eros.[42] My thesis focuses on Aphrodite and incorporates discussions of her cultic retinue, including Eros, where appropriate. Breitenberger examines Aphrodite and Eros through their "representation in their literary and mythological features, their functions as cult deities, and also their iconographical representation."[43] However, Breitenberger restricts her timeframe to the Archaic period and she does not examine the same iconographic evidence I do, save two examples: an Athenian black-figure pinax fragment from the Athenian Acropolis depicting Aphrodite holding Himeros and Eros, and the Ludovisi Throne depicting the *anadyomene* of Aphrodite.[44] Breitenberger does not explicitly discuss either example whereas I discuss these examples in relation to Aphrodite's relevant cultic representations. I also examine the Archaic period; however, I further discuss Aphrodite's cults and iconographies and related erotica in the Classical/late-Classical period. Breitenberger furthermore privileges poetry as the basis of her arguments on the development of Eros's identity; I focus on different iconographic media and incorporate literary evidence, including poetry, where relevant. Breitenberger does not compare her limited selection of iconographic evidence to ancient Greek erotica. Sixteen of the seventeen plates feature depictions of Aphrodite and/or Eros in their cultic and/or mythological representations, but no comparative iconography to contemporary ancient Greek erotica is included as Breitenberger does not make this comparison in her analysis.[45]

A comparison of this type has not previously been made, resulting in a gap in the scholarship on Aphrodite and that on ancient Greek erotica. While this gap may be due to the fact that Aphrodite herself is not depicted in overtly erotic representations, especially any which show explicit sexual acts, Aphrodite's presence in these types of scenes is not required in order to discern parallels between her cult and iconography and contemporary Greek erotica which is reflective of how the ancient Greeks explored sex and sexuality. My thesis demonstrates that Aphrodite's cults and iconography bear relevance on contemporary

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[42] Breitenberger (2007), 3.
[43] Breitenberger (2007), 3.
[44] Cf. figures 1.16 (repeated in 4.2), & 5.1; Breitenberger (2007), pls. 6 & 9.
[45] Pl. 13, an Attic red-figure kalathos-psykter by the Brygos Painter c. 480-70 BCE, does not feature Aphrodite or Eros but rather Sappho and Alcaeus.

depictions of Greek erotica, and vice versa, throughout the periods under discussion. Ancient Greek perceptions of sex, beauty, and eroticism directly correlate with the cults and iconographies of Aphrodite, a correlation which has yet to be examined in current scholarship and one which illuminates greater insights into the relationship between Aphrodite and her worshippers. Since the publications on Aphrodite or on sex/sexuality in ancient Greece are too numerous to review, below is a brief survey of recent works on either topic. It is not my intent to assess the analyses themselves, as at various points throughout my thesis I refer to a number of these works, but rather to draw attention to the types of analyses undertaken and consequently to emphasize the missing link between these previous publications, a link which my thesis provides.[46]

3.2 Previous Scholarship on Aphrodite

Recent studies on Aphrodite fall into three thematic categories: "a focalization on regional contexts, a study of the presence of Aphrodite inside the political and military arena of many cities, and the continuing question of her origins."[47] Contributions to the first include Ustinova's *The Supreme Gods of the Bosporan Kingdom: Celestial Aphrodite and the Most High God* (1999) and Rosenzweig's *Worshipping Aphrodite: Art and Cult in Classical Athens* (2004). Flemberg examines the paradoxical nature implied by the second category in his *Venus Armata. Studien zur bewaffneten Aphrodite in der griechisch-römischen Kunst* (1991) and in his 1995 article "The Transformations of the Armed Aphrodite." Budin's *The Origins of Aphrodite* (2003) chronologically traces Aphrodite's assimilation into the Greek/Olympian pantheon. Valdés's *El papel de Afrodita en el alto arcaísmo griego. Política, guerra, matrimonio e iniciación* (2005) traces Aphrodite's cults from her arrival in mainland Greece to the end of the Archaic period, arguing that because Aphrodite came from the east and from warrior deities, early Greek cities would have embraced this side of the goddess but that later her martial traits lost pertinence, effectively becoming "relics."

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[46] Not discussed in detail here is the *LIMC*. The *LIMC* is an important resource for shaping the relevant scholarship's approach to Aphrodite's cults and iconographies, and while it is a valuable resource for examining and categorizing Aphrodite iconography, in this review I consider only those works which advance specific theses regarding Aphrodite (such as her origins, or specific cult identities and their prominence in select *poleis*), and relatedly those works which focus on ancient Greek erotica as I have defined it in this thesis. If the *LIMC* were categorized by "erotic/erotica" versus "Aphrodite", where the latter falls under the category of the former, this structuring would affect scholarship's interpretations of this theme as well as which iconographic evidence is examined, with the result that the dialogue between ancient Greek (visual) erotica and Aphrodite's own iconographies as they relate to her cults may have become apparent sooner. As it is, the iconographic evidence I discuss enables an original, comparative "database" of Aphrodite iconography and visual erotica which the *LIMC* lacks. *LIMC* references, where applicable, are noted throughout this thesis.

[47] Pirenne-Delforge (2010a), 7.

In *The Origin of Aphrodite*, Budin ultimately argues for Aphrodite's entrance into the Greek pantheon as a transition from the Levant to Cyprus, to Crete, and finally to Greece, privileging the archaeological evidence to examine iconographically how the Paphian goddess transformed into the Greek Aphrodite. Rosenzweig's *Worshipping Aphrodite: Art and Cult in Classical Athens* examines the shrines and sanctuaries dedicated to Aphrodite throughout Attica, demonstrating that Aphrodite was in fact one of the foremost deities worshipped in Athens with the common theme of her worship being unification.[48] In *Entre ciel et guerre: Figures d'Aphrodite en Grèce ancienne*, Pironti debunks the common perspective which situates Aphrodite and her domain as opposite of and contradictory to Ares, instead demonstrating that Aphrodite's attributes both complement and reflect Ares'.[49] Pironti examines the *Theogony*, arguing that Ouranos's castration and Aphrodite's subsequent birth demonstrate a reciprocal relationship between sex and violence; a violent act in the midst of sexual union created reality out of Chaos, and from this violence arose Aphrodite, suggesting that the seductive quality of sexuality inevitably attracts violence.[50] Pironti also argues that *eros* is irresistible for all beings, divinities included, and the persona of Aphrodite is such that *eros* commands a violent reaction which no form of resistance can evade.[51] None of the above publications discuss Aphrodite's cults and/or iconography in relation to ancient Greek erotica.

3.3 Previous Scholarship on Ancient Greek Erotica

The topic of sexuality in ancient Greece has garnered much attention for decades with several works considered core analyses (although not without their criticisms). These works include Dover's *Greek Homosexuality* (1978), Winkler's *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (1990), and Halperin's *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* (1990).[52] Notable trends in this field include attempts to override what was a predominantly heterosexual and/or masculinist approach to studying ancient sexualities (for example, Foucault's *The History of Sexuality*). Heterosexual sex and/or the masculinist perspective had been the blanket perspectives for all sexual activities, but more recent studies have attempted to redefine the narrative towards a more inclusive sexual environment, one which includes the female voice. Other trends include revaluating sexual

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[48] Rosenzweig (2004).
[49] Pironti (2007), 13-14.
[50] Pironti (2007), 32.
[51] Pironti (2007), 46-47.
[52] These publications are addressed more specifically in later chapters.

ethics and rape, examining pederastic relationships in relation to homonormativity, and considering how gender identities impacted erotic and social relations.

A recent contribution is Robson's *Sex and Sexuality in Classical Athens* (2013). The first half of the book, "Debates," is a survey-style discussion on marriage and domestic life, same-sex relationships, prostitution, adultery and rape, and sexual attractiveness and fantasies/taboos. The second half, "Documents," provides the ancient sources. In a chapter entitled "Beauty, Sexual Attractiveness, Fantasy and Taboo," Robson seeks to answer, "new questions about what classical Athenians found sexually alluring and repelling."[53] Noticeably missing from this chapter, however, is any mention of Aphrodite; the only mention of Aphrodite is in chapter two on same-sex relationships in the discussion on Platonic love.[54] In his discussion on beauty and attraction, Robson analyses erotica on red-figure pottery.[55] Robson notes artistic trends, from the prevalence of rear-entry heterosexual coupling, lack of eye contact, an inability or reluctance to represent cunnilingus, and group sex consisting of two men and one woman (often in symposium settings).[56] What remains to be seen is how Aphrodite's Athenian cults and iconographies relate to Athenian erotica.

In *Sex on Show: Seeing the Erotic in Greece and Rome* (2013), Vout examines how the Greeks and Romans used sexual imagery to explore cultural conventions and the possible underlying psychological reasons motivating the erotica. Vout contends that salacious vase paintings, sculptures, frescoes, jewellery, etc., are not only meant to stimulate the viewer and to inspire humor and arousal, but also to force its ancient viewers to confront their sexual norms, sexual impulses, and secret desires.[57] In examining nude representations of divinities, statues of athletes, gymnasium vase scenes, and symposium imagery, Vout demonstrates that nudity's impact on the viewer derived its power from its ability not simply to satisfy, but also to "function as a mark of masculinity" subtle enough "to encompass the sliding scale of possibilities from uber-masculine to hyper-feminine."[58] Vout also argues that violent sexual imagery, especially those images in which divinities or mythological creatures such as centaurs and satyrs commit violent sexual acts, "express what men would like to do, were they outside of the constraints of society" while simultaneously "showing how inhuman these

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[53] Robson (2013), xxi.
[54] Robson (2013), 52. Robson describes the differences between Heavenly Aphrodite and Common Aphrodite per Pausanias in Plato's *Symposium* during the discussion of philosophical views of pederasty. Robson does not make any further remarks regarding Aphrodite specifically.
[55] Robson (2013), 133-137.
[56] Robson (2013), 133-134.
[57] What Vout refers to as, "Greek sexhibitionism" (2013, 100-108).
[58] Vout (2013), 74.

things are."[59] In my first and second chapters, I explore Aphrodite's associations with violence and war followed by violent erotica in order to examine how the former reflects the divine manifestation of the tension between sex and violence as evidenced by the latter. Representations of Aphrodite, although cited throughout Vout's book, are not explored in conjunction with the erotica.[60]

On Greek and Roman sexualities, a number of works function as textbook-style surveys and/or they present the views of a range of scholars including Hubbard's *A Companion to Greek and Roman Sexualities* (2013) and *Sex in Antiquity: Exploring Gender and Sexuality in the Ancient World*, edited by Masterson, Rabinowitz, and Robson (2014).[61] In *Sex in Antiquity*, several articles incorporate iconographical analysis of erotic depictions, including those by Lear, Glazebrook, Gaca, and Goldhill and Calame, but the relationship between Aphrodite's iconography and developments in these erotic depictions remains unexplored. In Hubbard's *Companion*, the essays discuss a number of previously analysed topics related to sexuality (not including gender) in order to open new lines of inquiry for future research. The volume features a number of prominent scholars active in this field including Stansbury-O'Donnell and Clarke. However, Aphrodite and Greek erotica are not discussed together or comparatively in the volume.

3.4 The Gap in Previous Scholarship

As previously stated, there is a notable gap between these two bodies of research. However, as my thesis demonstrates, there is a well-evidenced correlation between developments in Aphrodite's cult and iconography and developments in ancient Greek perceptions of sex from the late-Archaic period through the late-Classical and in various regions. With the chronological framework of this and future discussions, I do not suggest a strictly linear development in Aphrodite's iconography and cult, nor a linear development in Greek perceptions of sex and sexuality, in which various facets of Aphrodite's cults and/or of Greek sexuality are not fluid or overlapping. For instance, in my first and second chapters I discuss Aphrodite's associations with war, with an emphasis on her armed representations and her epithet *Areia*, during the Archaic period in *poleis* including Sparta and Corinth. This is not to suggest that during the Archaic period the most prominent aspect of Aphrodite (in

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[59] Vout (2013), 177.

[60] The examples are limited to repetitive references to the Knidia or to crouching Aphrodite.

[61] Earlier notable publications include McClure's (ed.) *Sexuality and Gender in the Classical World: Readings and Sources* (2002) and Skinner's *Sexuality in Greek and Roman Culture* (2005).

the aforementioned *poleis* or throughout Greece) was her martial attribution, but rather that it was during this period and in these regions where the worship of an armed Aphrodite is most evident. In the Archaic period in Sparta and in Corinth, Aphrodite was also worshipped as Aphrodite *Morpho* and Aphrodite *Ourania*, respectively.[62] Aphrodite's associations with war extend well beyond the Archaic period and in other regions, but these associations manifest in various other ways, including in the motif of the disarmament of Ares as seen in the Aphrodite of Epidaurus sculpture, c. 380 BCE. Similarly, my third and fourth chapters focus on Aphrodite in Classical Athens worshipped as Aphrodite *Pandêmos*, *en Kêpois*, and *Ourania*, but these were not the only epithets under which Aphrodite was worshipped in Classical Athens (other epithets include *Hegemone* and *Euploia)* nor was she worshipped exclusively in Athens under these epithets. My argument is, rather, that different aspects of Aphrodite's personae and representations exhibit greater emphasis in certain periods (and places) than in others. These aspects of Aphrodite find erotic expression and exploration in the contemporary, local environments of her ancient audiences.

4.1 Gaze & Socialized Sexuality

An individual's interpretation of desirable sexual behaviours is largely shaped by his/her social environment. Consequently, the correlation between ancient Greek erotica and Aphrodite's cults and iconography becomes situated in terms of the relevant broader social (and political) environment. Stansbury-O'Donnell has developed a method of analysing ancient spectatorship of Archaic Attic painted vessels using Lacan's psychosexual development theory. Lacan suggested that Freud's "unconscious" functioned not as a symbolic or instinctual phenomenon but rather as a linguistic one, the "discourse of the other."[63] The "Imaginary" phase of the human psyche occurs when an individual becomes aware of his/her environment, his/her place within it, and the extent to which he/she controls it; the onset of language, during the "Symbolic" phase, introduces social expectations which construct identity and behaviour.[64] Stansbury-O'Donnell favours Lacan's theory on the Imaginary and Symbolic phases of development as applied to situating the viewer/group into the idealized societal gaze. This framework enables us to understand how visual stimuli may have affected ancient perceptions of idealized sexuality.

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[62] Paus. 3.15.8; Williams (1986), 17-18; Budin (2003), 77-78.
[63] Lacan [1956] (1968), 27.
[64] Stansbury-O'Donnell (2011), 172.

Lacan prioritized the gaze in his theory of socialization. In the Symbolic phase, the individual realizes not only that he/she can name and desire unseen objects, but also that he/she can be seen by others. What he/she sees Lacan calls the "gaze," whereas the collective sight encompassing him or her is the "Gaze."[65] The individual is now aware of and concerned with how he/she is viewed by others. For Stansbury-O'Donnell, the gaze/Gaze theory structures his model of ancient spectatorship. In what he refers to as the "viewing matrix," Stansbury-O'Donnell considers several elements and participants: the nucleus of the painted picture (the focus and identity model), the spectators painted to the left and/or right of the nucleus, the viewer of the vessel, and the group (the limited number of people within the direct viewing field of the vessel to varying degrees of viewing clarity).[66] The group's gaze towards the viewer is mirrored by the spectators looking at the nucleus and the viewer shapes his social identity based on the ideal presented by the nucleus and reaffirmed by the spectators.[67] A viewer of erotica may see in the nucleus an ideal of sexual interaction as validated by the spectators' gaze and, through his/her awareness of the collective sight of the group encompassing him/her within the viewing field, could strive to imitate the idealized sexual behaviours depicted in order to achieve the epitome of sexuality expected by the spectators in the image and by the group to which the viewer belongs. The viewing matrix reaffirms the reciprocal understanding of vision expressed in the ancient Greek theories by which what one sees as well as by whom one is seen affects one's behaviour.[68] In the context of visual materials, this reciprocity manifests in the viewer's individual gaze (and consequently his/her behaviours) developing from the behavioural ideals projected by the combined gaze of the spectators and the group.

These behavioural ideals which arise as consequences of the viewer's social environment may be explored through another highly influential theoretical analysis of the development of sexuality, Foucault's *History of Sexuality* (1976). But three years prior to the original publication of the first volume of Foucault's *History*, sociologists Gagnon and Simon published their co-authored *Sexual Conduct: The Social Sources of Human Sexuality*. Gagnon held that sexuality developed much like any other behaviour in that people learn based on the cues of their social environment, that their skills and values are assembled from social interactions, and that their critical choices are often shaped by a "go-with-the-flow"

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[65] Stansbury-O'Donnell (2011), 172.
[66] Stansbury-O'Donnell (2006), 70-71.
[67] Stansbury-O'Donnell (2006), 72.
[68] Cf. Cairns (2011), 37-50 for a discussion of ancient Greek gaze theories and for the effect of *eros* on the gaze.

mentality.[69] The ancient viewer of erotica may "acquire and assemble" the meanings and values of sexual behaviour based on the ideals projected both by the vase painting itself and by the collective sight of his/her social environment (i.e. the Gaze, in the terms of Lacan and Stansbury-O'Donnell). Gagnon and Simon use the term "scripts" in three specific dimensions to describe learned sexual behaviours.[70] The first two are irrelevant as they rely on the "authorial 'I'" and genuine accounts of interpersonal interactions, both of which cannot be reliably accounted for in terms of ancient spectators.[71] The third script includes "the strategies involved in the 'doing' of sex, concrete and continuous elements of what a culture agrees is sexual."[72] This third script is culturally and socially driven: as it relates to sexual behaviours, it corresponds to the viewer's interpretation of erotica as being shaped largely by his/her social environment.

Prior to Foucault then, a theory already circulated by which sexuality is a learned/acculturated behaviour. What Foucault does, however, is situate sexuality in a historical framework. Foucault contends that the history of sexuality is a history of discourses. Discourses are the "various social modes of organizing language that give it meaning and insert it into specific structures of power" which "prescribe limits on what can be said in specific contexts and on what can be considered valid statements."[73] Each society has a "regime of truth" constituted by the types of discourses that the society accepts and therefore "makes function as true."[74] The accepted regime of truth results from the acquisition and exercise of power. Foucault interprets sexuality as a strategic "regime of truth" employed by modern powers as a new means of disciplining an individual. This strategy began to take shape with the rise of the practice of psychoanalysis when the psychoanalyst replaces the Christian priest as confessor of sins, listening to "confessions" of sex. The psychoanalyst has the power to interpret the confessions and discover their "truths" and consequently to diagnose the sexual secrets, including particular sexual preferences as indications of sexual perversity; it is the onset of modern psychoanalysis that produced modern notions of sexuality "types" (hetero/homosexual, etc.).[75] Foucault avers that sexual behaviours and inclinations are not constant but arise as consequences of a specific set of historical conditions. For the Greeks and Romans, sexual desire was thought of as an appetite

[69] Gagnon (1977), 2.
[70] Gagnon & Simon (1973), 19.
[71] Blanshard (2014), 100.
[72] Gagnon & Simon (1973), 20.
[73] Ormand (2014), 55.
[74] Foucault (1980), 131.
[75] Foucault (trans. 1978), 68-72.

which required close control, but in contrast to modern notions, certain sexual preferences did not identify an individual as a particular type of person (hetero/homosexual).[76] This control, encapsulated by the ancient Greek notion of *enkrateia*, was "an active form of self-mastery, which enables one to resist or struggle, and to achieve domination in the area of desires and pleasures."[77] As with other appetites, sexual desire was expected to be controlled as a means of further proving a man's virtue and masculinity. His sexual self-mastery reiterated his mastery over other important areas of his life, including the *oikos*.

Foucault is certainly not without his critics. As Skinner notes, Foucault's sexual discourses neglect "the role played by eroticized fantasy in the configuration of desire," and do not explain "radical shifts in ideological frameworks and the emergence of male subjectivities that violated prescriptive formulas."[78] Others criticize the "masculinist emphasis" resonant in the second and third volumes of his *History* which erase the female voice from the discussion and not only single out the elite free male's voice but then also situate this specific male outside of his natural environment (the *oikos*/*polis*) and instead place him within a "solipsistic" environment.[79] I agree with this criticism and for that reason my thesis offers a less male-centred approach and incorporates greater discussion of the female perspective. Foucault's masculinist emphasis also results in his assertion that homosexuality did not exist in ancient Greece and Rome. As Foucault contends: "The Greeks did not see love for one's own sex and love for the other sex as opposites, as two exclusive choices, two radically different types of behaviour"; rather, what was more important were the controlled morals which distinguished the "moderate, self-possessed man" from those who were "given to pleasure" with either boys or women.[80] While many scholars continue to disagree with Foucault on this point, there are several who agree. There were terms for men who were considered desirous of being penetrated (*kinaidos*/*cinaedus*); however, these terms are not indicative of a specific sexual identity but rather a sexual behaviour desired by specific persons.[81] On the applicability of homosexuality (and heterosexuality) to the ancient

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[76] Ormand (2018), 19.
[77] Foucault (trans. 1985), 64.
[78] Skinner (2014), 6.
[79] Masterson et.al (2014), 4.
[80] Foucault (trans. 1985), 187.
[81] The meaning of the term "*kinaidos*" remains disputed. For Winkler (1990b), the *kinaidos* was not a "homosexual" nor a man who occasionally engages in kinaidic acts; rather, the *kinaidos* is a man who chooses to be penetrated, and as such he is "a man socially deviant in his entire being, whose deviance was principally observable in behaviour that flagrantly violated or contravened the dominant social definition of masculinity" (1990b, 177). Halperin defines the *kinaidos* as "the man who will do anything for pleasure and actively enjoys submitting himself to sexual domination by other men" (1990, 133). Davidson, however, contends that accusations of femininity were not based on his sexual passivity and deviance from dominant gender paradigms,

world, I concur with Ormand that such terminology is anachronistic as it assumes every man desired sex with boys (and not to the exclusion of an equal desire for sex with women), and it further overlooks the lack in Greek and Roman culture of a specific category or word for individuals who preferred sex with one gender only.[82] The use of modern terms like homosexual and heterosexual should be understood as descriptors and not as identifiers of sexual orientation. A specific historical and social frame wherein same-sex relations were experienced concurrently with opposite-sex relations with no discernible or definitive distinction between those who engaged with the former more regularly than, or even exclusively of, the latter, supports the theory that the social environment is arguably the most critical element in shaping learned/acculturated sexual behaviours.

The common thread among the above theories is the impact of one's social, historical environment on sexual behaviours. When applied to the ancient viewing context, the collective gaze of one's environment shapes the individual's gaze, influencing his/her interpretation of the projected image to align with the collective's interpretation. For the ancient Greeks, the process of vision was a haptic experience (analogous to touch) by which the image(s)/person(s) portrayed on a given material object would have both an emotional and physical impact on the individual viewer.[83] Consequently, the collective gaze would thus be both creator of, and distributor of images of normalized behaviours, including sexual behaviours, and their desired effects on the individual. Below, Mulvey unites these theories in such a way that we are able to discuss Aphrodite's iconography in relation to the viewing experiences of ancient erotica.

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but rather to his lack of self-control (1997, 174). Davidson later contends that the classical Athenians would characterize the *kinaidos* as a "sexual abuser of males," one whose uncontrollable desires are evidenced through his attempts to seduce other men's sons (1997, 59, 55-60). Dover does not address the term *kinaidos* other than to mention it in passing (1978, 14). Whether the term was meant to indicate social, sexual deviance based on an inversion of the dominant/submissive model, and/or the quality of being sexually insatiable to the point of inappropriately pursuing young men, *kinaidos* is nevertheless not indicative of a specific identity based on sexual preference; *kinaidos* is a characteristic of sexual behaviours and desires which stands out from culturally defined norms.

[82] Ormand (2018), 17-18.

[83] Cf. Cairns (2011), 37-50.

4.2 Mulvey's "Visual Pleasure"

In her 1975 article, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," Mulvey analyses the way in which film "reflects, reveals and even plays on the straight, socially established interpretation of sexual difference which controls images, erotic ways of looking and spectacle."[84] Drawing on Freud, Mulvey contends that Hollywood cinema of the 1930s, '40s, and '50s establishes two modes of perpetuating (heterosexual) male viewership pleasure at the expense of the woman (or women) on screen in order to minimize the male viewer's subconscious fear of symbolic castration.[85] The first, *sadistic voyeurism*, seeks to identify the woman as the symbolic threat of castration and subsequently to punish and/or to forgive the woman for posing this threat. *Sadistic voyeurism* enables a narcissistic identification of the male viewer with the male protagonist on screen, the latter of whom is himself often directly or indirectly responsible for determining the woman's punishment or forgiveness for having been found "guilty." The second, *fetishistic scopophilia*, disassembles the woman to fragmented body parts in order to emphasize genital difference without fully revealing it; she is a face, hair, breasts, buttocks, legs, hips, thighs, etc., and as such this collection of parts mitigates the fear of castration by emphasizing that which makes the woman female and thus not phallic. While sadistic voyeurism requires a specific storyline, fetishistic scopophilia can exist outside of a linear timeframe as the erotic instinct focuses solely on the look.[86] As Mulvey argues, "The image of woman as (passive) raw material for the (active) gaze of man" reiterates the "the ideology of the patriarchal order" such that the woman must be reduced to an object of desire through voyeuristic and scopophilic mechanisms in order to minimize her threat to masculinity.[87] Consequently, the woman is never the maker of meaning but rather the "bearer of meaning": she does not create nor does she control the scene, she exists within the scene to be observed and to be objectified.[88]

The viewing conditions within a cinema facilitate two distinct experiences, the voyeuristic objectification of the female character and the narcissistic identification of the male viewer with the ego-ideal male character. The dark auditorium combined with the shifting images on screen "promote the illusion of voyeuristic separation" and "give the spectator an illusion of looking in on a private world."[89] The nature of patriarchy by which

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[84] Mulvey (1975), 6.
[85] Mulvey (1975), 6-18.
[86] Mulvey (1975), 14.
[87] Mulvey (1975), 17.
[88] Mulvey (1975), 7.
[89] Mulvey (1975), 9.

sexual imbalance is rampant has divided "pleasure in looking" into "active/male and passive/female": "The determining male gaze projects its phantasy on to the female figure which is styled accordingly. In their traditional exhibitionist role women are simultaneously looked at and displayed, with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact so that they can be said to connote *to-be-looked-at-ness*."[90] Similarly, women in erotic vase paintings and in sculpture are often portrayed as passive figures, and in certain instances the composition of the scene suggests the privileging of the heterosexual male gaze.[91]

4.3 Mulvey & the "Phallic Eye"

More recent scholars have reformulated the relationship between gaze and psychoanalysis in their conception of the "phallic eye." Padva and Buchweitz, commenting on consumer society in late-capitalism and postmodernism, contend that now is the "age of the *Phallic Eye*," a "manifestation of the symbolic order" which "embodies a masculinist desiring spectatorship, strongly connected to the glorification of the phallogocentric regime."[92] As Mulvey argues regarding cinematic voyeurism, the spectacle on screen aims to please the male viewer and the narrative is constructed based on the male viewer's ability and desire to connect with the male hero as a symbol of ego-ideal, and to suppress the female character into the object-of-viewing-pleasure.[93] As Padva and Buchweitz similarly argue, the phallic eye privileges "the masculine in the construction of meaning," especially woman's meaning.[94] In cinema, the camera zoom symbolizes the penetrative phallus, one which

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[90] Mulvey (1975), 11.

[91] In her (1981) article, "Afterthoughts on 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' inspired by 'Duel in the Sun' (King Vidor, 1946)," Mulvey responds to the main criticism of "Visual Pleasure": the isolation of the third person singular male and the absence of the female viewer's experience. Mulvey contends that the female spectator identifies with the "masculinisation" portrayed on screen and internalized by the (male) audience. Referring to Freud again, who argues that femininity emerges at a time of parallel development for both girls and boys (a phase phallic in nature for both sexes), and further that the libido cannot be gendered, Mulvey contends that the structure of the patriarchy makes it so that a female libido is indefinable. Mulvey argues that genres which frequently feature a split hero, one who oscillates between social integration via marriage and the rejection of marriage, enables female spectators to experience "an internal oscillation of desire" by which the "masculine identification, in its phallic aspect, reactivates for her a phantasy of 'action' that correct femininity demands should be repressed" (1981, 15). Hence, the "transvestite" nature of the female viewing experience: the woman can identify with and adopt the masculine perspective but only temporarily as she is in fact feminine. Cf. Freud (1933) & (1937). In terms of the ancient viewing experience of erotica, we are hindered by not knowing just how widely certain images were viewed by each gender as the viewing context varied. Regardless, whether a female viewer identified with the "masculinisation" portrayed by the scene is debatable, and given the erotic nature of the depictions, unlikely.

[92] Padva & Buchweitz (2014), 2.

[93] Manlove (2007), in reviewing Mulvey among others, also emphasizes the erotic implications of voyeurism, drawing on Strauss (1990, 31) who argues that voyeurs "find spectacular entertainment in that which was never destined for the public eye."

[94] Padva & Buchweitz (2014), 3.

heightens the act of voyeurism by enabling the viewer to examine "the forbidden, the transgressive and the extraordinary."[95]

The cinematic use of zooming has previously been applied in Classical studies. Latacz uses a camera analogy for explaining Homeric battle scene descriptions, arguing that the poet's point of view is akin to a still camera with a focal length lens which accounts for the poet's focus on a select few soldiers; the poet is zooming in on the action of specific heroes as a literary expedient.[96] van Wees expands on Latacz, arguing that the poet focuses on specific heroes and gives them a disproportionality greater role in determining battle outcomes in order to "justify the hereditary formal power of such men."[97] Zooming also relates to Sourvinou-Inwood's analysis of Sophoclean tragedy in which she examines the relationship between the audience's world and that of the play itself, arguing that this relationship was not constant but manipulated through two textual devices: "distancing devices" which distanced the action from the fifth century Athenian *polis* audience, differentiating them, and "zooming devices" which brought the world of the play closer, "pushing the audience into relating their experiences and assumptions directly to the play."[98] Ancient erotica may also be considered to use a "camera" zoom. Depending on the type of object on which it appears, the erotica can be viewed up close, "zoomed in on" by the spectator him/herself. Having examined Mulvey, we can turn to applications of Mulvey in Classics in order to demonstrate her theory's suitability to analyzing ancient spectatorship of Aphrodite's iconography and of related Greek erotica.

4.4 Applications of Mulvey's Theory in Classical Scholarship

Outside of film studies, Mulvey's theory on how the male gaze shapes the feminine form in order to manifest a voyeuristic and/or scopophilic viewing experience has been applied by previous scholars in several analyses within the field of Classics, demonstrating the applicability of her work in a range of Classical disciplines. Works on Roman literature frequently focus on Latin love poetry, the eroticism of which lends itself well to examining traditional and nontraditional gender roles exemplified by the oscillation of sexual power between men and women. These discussions either directly borrow Mulvey's "Visual Pleasure" paradigm, or they adhere to the general Western model of "male—viewer—active"

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[95] Padva & Buchweitz (2014), 4-5.
[96] Latacz (1977).
[97] van Wees (1994), 14 n.5. Cf. also van Wees (1986) & (1988).
[98] Sourvinou-Inwood (1989), 134.

versus "female—object—passive" while still acknowledging that this model borrows heavily from Mulvey and other similar feminist film critiques.[99] Similar to the works on Latin love poetry, the works on Greek literature adopt Mulvey's model or they apply a methodology à la Mulvey in combination with other works from within feminist art history and film critique.[100]

As my application of Mulvey pertains primarily to ancient visual erotica, my discussion of previous applications focuses on those works which also use Mulvey to examine ancient art. However, two notable examples of Mulvey applied to Roman or Greek literature are Fredrick (1997) and Rabinowitz (1997), respectively. Briefly, Fredrick considers Mulvey's model useful for examining the oscillation between fascination and suspicion in Roman elegy, including in Ovid and Propertius.[101] Fredrick notes that this oscillation is evident in Western female representation in the image of the woman as either the virgin or the whore. Mulvey's dichotomy situates the virgin with fetishistic scopophilia and the whore with sadistic voyeurism.[102] We shall see a similar alternation in chapters one and two where the tension between love and war often results in aggressive, heterosexual encounters and the potential for punishment or forgiveness of the woman. The prostitutes depicted in the violent erotica personify sadistic voyeurism by virtue of their explicit sexual portrayals and nudity, while fetishistic scopophilia arises in the female desirability ideals conveyed by the image of the Athenian bride in chapters three and four which emphasizes the woman's individual physical assets.[103]

Rabinowitz analyses male dominance and anxiety in relation to female strength and desire as exemplified in Euripides's plays. Rabinowitz incorporates Mulvey's interpretation that the woman can only have three experiences, to be fetishized, punished, or forgiven, in her discussion of female sacrificial heroines.[104] Two of the several examples Rabinowitz discusses are Iphigenia and Polyxena: they both embody the fetishized woman as described

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[99] For select examples of the latter approach, cf. Greene (1998) on male sexual desire and female subjection in Catullus, Propertius, and Ovid; the essays in Ancona & Greene (2005) which broadly explore how Latin erotic texts can both conform and subvert traditional gender dynamics; Salzman-Mitchell (2005) on the relationship between gaze and image in Ovid especially as it pertains to visual constructs of male and female; and Bowditch (2009) on the private erotic gaze in Propertius 2.31 & 2.32. Eldred (2002), although not focused on Latin love poetry, discusses Mulvey's "Visual Pleasure" and criticisms thereof in her analysis of Lucan's *Bellum Civile* in order to examine the sadistic visual pleasure achieved by the reader's identification with Caesar in Book 4.
[100] An example worth noting but not discussed here is Nishimura-Jensen (2009) who borrows Mulvey's terminology for describing the dynamic between viewer and spectacle.
[101] Fredrick (1997).
[102] Fredrick (1997), 173-174.
[103] The desirability of virginity is discussed in chapter three; as noted, second marriages were common in Athens, with the bride's virginity being virtually a non-issue.
[104] Rabinowitz also draws upon the works of other feminist scholars in her discussion of female sacrificial heroines, including the works of Teresa de Lauretis and Susanne Kappeler.

by Mulvey whose disassembly into parts (breasts and sacrificial throats) exemplify fetishistic scopophilia, and whose sacrifices are only superficially exercises of female ambition and free-will but in reality are vain attempts to conceal the male mechanisms of power which determine women's fates through punishment and/or forgiveness.[105]

4.5 Mulvey Applied to Ancient Art

As most of the materials I discuss are drawn from media which is different from that discussed above, such as vase paintings, it remains to be seen how Mulvey's theory can be usefully applied to these materials and extended to include female viewers. While there are a multitude of varied gazes, the Mulvey model enables us to understand objects with limited archaeological contextualisation and with different forms and functions within the framework of viewership. Squire applies Mulvey to his comparison of the ancient male gaze and the modern male gaze, focusing on Praxiteles's Aphrodite of Knidos.[106] Squire notes that the Knidia and its successors, through to modern sculptural works including Powers' *Greek Slave* (1843), demonstrate the female sexual objectification by the dominating male gaze as described by Mulvey: "Modern woman is enslaved through the ancient Greek: the female nude performs a revolving dance for her cocksure male scopophiliacs."[107] Squire posits the Knidia as one of, if not *the* most consequential artwork(s) for the history of female objectification; modern women can point to the Knidia as one of the primary causes of their current plight of sexual objectification. Squire's analysis exemplifies why it is reasonable to apply Mulvey's theory to ancient art because her terminology is not just applicable to modern male spectatorship and its effect on modern women's representation in art, but it also translates to ancient male spectatorship and the female nude in ancient Greek art. As I discuss the Knidia at length using the Mulvey model in my fifth chapter, I refrain from discussing it further here and turn now to my case studies of Mulvey's theory applied to Roman wall-paintings and to images of the virgin sacrifice.

[105] Rabinowitz (1997), 48, 60.
[106] Squire (2011), 69-114.
[107] Squire (2011), 96.

4.6 Case Studies: Mulvey & Roman Wall-Paintings

Two studies explicitly apply Mulvey's theory to Roman wall-paintings. The first is Fredrick's 1995 article, "Beyond the Atrium to Ariadne: Erotic Painting and Visual Pleasure in the Roman House." Wallace-Hadrill, from whose work Fredrick structures his interpretation of the placement of erotic wall-paintings in several Roman houses in Pompeii,[108] argues that for the owner, "his house was a power-house: it was where the network of social contacts was generated and activated which provided the underpinning for his public activities outside the house."[109] Fredrick expands on this point, noting that "An interlocking code of architecture and decoration partitioned the 'powerhouse' into hierarchies of space based on the nature and degree of contact allowed with the *dominus*."[110] Mythological paintings helped to display the owner's culture for those of sufficient enough status to view them and who likely also had a sufficient enough education to be impressed by the paintings and the subject matter.[111] Fredrick notes that the content of the mythological paintings, despite including heroes and gods, is not heroic as one might expect but rather erotic, and the erotic contexts are frequently violent, such as scenes of rape. Fredrick argues that the paintings' "erotic and/or violent content requires the consideration of gender as a means of encoding power (or powerlessness)."[112] To assess gender's role in encoding power/powerlessness through Roman wall-paintings, Fredrick turns to Mulvey, arguing that her theory provides a useful outline for his hypothesis that there exists "an association between the visual command of space in domestic architecture and the gaze at the erotic object in the mythological wall paintings."[113] Mulvey's theory connects ways of viewing the female body with power/powerlessness, which is particularly relevant to a society stratified by gender and class.

Fredrick primarily focuses on paintings of Ariadne for which there are three compositional types. The first type depicts Ariadne abandoned by Theseus: Ariadne is asleep with her torso angled towards the viewer, one breast exposed and her clothing slipping away, while Theseus mounts his ship's gangplank; in this composition, "the paintings express an enduring representational formula: the woman in isolation, asleep—or at least unaware of the

[108] Fredrick analyses wall-paintings from the House of Vettii, the House of Ara Maxima, the House of the Dioscuri, and the House of L. Caecilius Iucundus.
[109] Wallace-Hadrill (1988), 55. On the layout of Roman houses and the interior designs/decorations as emblematic of the social, political, and domestic status of the owner, cf. also Wallace-Hadrill (1994); Fredrick (1995); Dickmann (1999); Lorenz (2008); Pollini (2010).
[110] Fredrick (1995), 266.
[111] Fredrick (1995), 266.
[112] Fredrick (1995), 267.
[113] Fredrick (1995), 269.

viewer—her clothing slipping away."[114] The second type depicts Ariadne awake, her clothing having slipped down her torso to reveal her breasts, watching Theseus's ship sail away, sometimes shown wiping away tears while a Cupid stands nearby weeping; such a composition represents the "suffering, passive woman, her violation and abandonment on display."[115] The third type depicts Dionysus discovering the sleeping Ariadne, and there are two sub-types of this category. In sub-type A, Ariadne's breasts are exposed and her torso is turned towards the viewer while Dionysus gazes down at her; in sub-type B, Ariadne's body is turned over so that her buttocks are exposed and face the viewer while subsidiary figures (Cupid, Pan, or a satyr) lift away the robe concealing her genitals.[116] Fredrick argues that sub-type B, which reveals a different angle of Ariadne and includes the removal of her robe, expresses in Mulvey's terms, "the tension in scopophilia between uncovering the body and delaying and disavowing the final revelation of sexual difference."[117] Fredrick argues that Mulvey's theory can be applied to ancient art in order to discern how ancient audiences would have interpreted the images as reiterations of gendered power dynamics: "…the paintings voyeuristically insist on sexual difference in the absolute division of mobility and power between Ariadne on the one hand and Theseus and Dionysus on the other."[118] Ariadne embodies Mulvey's "bearer of meaning" in these paintings, and her stylistic representation in several central panels exemplify the woman as object of the scopophilic male gaze and/or as the object of voyeuristic violence.[119]

By examining these portrayals through a Mulveyian lens, we are better able to understand how perceptions of the sexual power balance between men and women were used to articulate broader structures of power relations in Roman society. Fredrick notes that the mythological panels are placed at the "top of the decorative hierarchy" relative to the rest of the decorations on the wall; that the erotic, often violent, mythological paintings have the highest hierarchical position suggests that art which encouraged scopophilic and voyeuristic viewership functioned as "maps" for social difference.[120] These paintings "protect the assumption that the upper-class male possesses not just the penis, but the phallus," and although the phallus was not just a Roman symbol of gender difference but of social

[114] Fredrick (1995), 272.
[115] Fredrick (1995), 272.
[116] Fredrick (1995), 272-273.
[117] Fredrick (1995), 273.
[118] Fredrick (1995), 273.
[119] Fredrick (1995), 273.
[120] Fredrick (1995), 273-274.

difference as well (master/slave, patron/client, etc.), "the various forms of social passivity and inferiority, of distances from the phallus, could be and were associated with the feminine."[121]

Koloski-Ostrow's 1997 article, "Violent Stages in Two Pompeian Houses: Imperial Taste, Aristocratic Response, and Messages of Male Control" also applies Mulvey to Pompeian walls.[122] Koloski-Ostrow examines wall-paintings in two elite houses from the last years of Pompeii, Casa del Menandro (I.10.4) and Casa degli Amorini dorati (VI.16.7.38). The Casa del Menandro features paintings of the Trojan horse, the violent capture of Cassandra, the death of Laocoon, and a scene of Diana and Acteon.[123] The Amorini dorati features paintings of an amorous meeting between Achilles and Polyxena, Paris persuading Helen, Thetis in the workshop of Hephaestus, and Agamemnon on a throne with Achilles on the right resting his arms on the throne as well as Briseis on the king's left.[124] When the paintings from both houses are considered together, the iconography confronts the viewer with a combination of eroticism (rape of Cassandra), violence (Cassandra's rape, the violence against Acteon and Laocoon), and "domination, vulnerability, power, and control" (Helen persuaded by Paris, Achilles before Agamemnon, Thetis acquiring Achilles's armor).[125]

Koloski-Ostrow uses Mulvey to consider what types of messages these paintings would have conveyed to their ancient audience and whether or not these messages were the same for male viewers and female viewers. Koloski-Ostrow argues that fetishistic scopophilia and sadistic voyeurism can be perceived in these wall-paintings. In the rape of Cassandra, the viewer's attention would be drawn to Cassandra as she is painted with her torso nude and she is positioned in the foreground. The scene "shows a passive woman, semi-nude, in insolation from other figures, her vulnerability and imminent violation openly displayed. She extends an arm in self-defence, but she is essentially immobile and powerless. Ajax (or Odysseus?) gazes longingly at her body."[126] The external audience would focus on Cassandra's nudity, youth, beauty, picturing (possibly with sadistic pleasure) the sexual violence Cassandra is known to inevitably endure.[127] Cassandra before the Trojan horse foreshadows her own future powerlessness against Ajax, paralleling the fate of the Trojans. The viewer could easily picture what is not painted but implied, Cassandra's eventual rape and the fall of Troy.[128]

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[121] Fredrick (1995), 278.
[122] For a discussion on both Fredrick's and Koloski-Ostrow's articles, as well as elaboration on their respective topics and further incorporation of Mulvey, cf. Severy-Hoven (2012).
[123] Koloski-Ostrow (1997), 247-248.
[124] Koloski-Ostrow (1997), 248-249.
[125] Koloski-Ostrow (1997), 254.
[126] Koloski-Ostrow (1997), 255.
[127] Koloski-Ostrow (1997), 255.
[128] Koloski-Ostrow (1997), 256.

Koloski-Ostrow notes that Mulvey's theory can be extended to male victims as well.[129] From the Casa del Menandro, apsed niche 22 depicts Acteon standing in the centre with his hunting dogs running wild behind him. The viewer knows that for having seen Artemis's nude beauty (even accidentally), Acteon's dogs will eventually attack and kill him. Koloski-Ostrow considers that the male viewer "can see in the fate of Acteon the very 'castration' which Mulvey argues that all men fear."[130] Although the depiction of Acteon speaks to the male victim, two scenes from the Amorini dorati still further reiterate the "somewhat sadistic message of female dependence on the male."[131] Achilles before Agamemnon emphasizes the dominance of Agamemnon, and Briseis to the viewer's left is depicted as passive and suffering; her own violation is imminent and the male viewer has "ample time to fantasize her tragedy while taking in this scene."[132] The painting of Paris persuading Helen, with Eros in the centre, also conveys female passivity and female beauty as a commodity of male ownership.[133] Mulvey's theory thus helps to elucidate ancient visual languages of power dynamics, whether those dynamics are focused on gender, social status, or political status, or a combination of the three. "As a spectator of these scenes," Koloski-Ostrow argues, "the viewer sees not just anatomical differences between men and women, but social difference as well. The men (or gods) who control the women or men of suffering possess more than the penis. They wield the phallus, the ultimate symbol of the male Roman social order."[134] In effect, a "language of power" based primarily on gender power dynamics in erotic contexts adorns these houses mainly for the benefit of male viewership and for the assertion of the owner's authority.[135]

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[129] Fredrick also discusses paintings which feature passive/victimized males like Acteon as well as hermaphroditic objects, arguing that such subjects confuse the male/active, female/passive schema. Cf. Fredrick (1995), 276, 279-282.
[130] Koloski-Ostrow (1997), 256.
[131] Koloski-Ostrow (1997), 256.
[132] Koloski-Ostrow (1997), 256.
[133] Koloski-Ostrow (1997), 257. Koloski-Ostrow considers other scenes in both houses suited for voyeurism and fetishism, including Dirce in the Menandro.
[134] Koloski-Ostrow (1997), 257.
[135] Koloski-Ostrow (1997), 257.

4.7 Case Study: Mulvey, Images of the Virgin Sacrifice, & Greek Vase Painting

These case studies demonstrate Mulvey's application in analyses of Roman wall-paintings and why Mulvey's theories are useful for reconstructing ancient, visual perceptions of gendered power dynamics which equally resonate as symbols of social and/or political status. Mangieri notes that Mulvey's descriptions of the male gaze, "could just as easily explain the role that many women play in Greek vase-painting," and that while her film theory has been applied to Roman wall-painting, "it has not been used in a significant way to interpret the images found in Greek art."[136] Mangieri examines the sacrifices of Iphigenia and Polyxena in Greek, Etruscan, and Roman art. The male-centred viewership results in a type of sacrificial representation which reinforces male control of, and power over women since it is the men who decide the women's fates, to live or to die.[137] On images of Polyxena's sacrifice, specifically the moment of her slaughter as depicted for example on the well-known Tyrrhenian amphora by the Timiades Painter,[138] Mangieri argues that the resistance of Polyxena, conveyed by the fact that three men have to restrain her even when she is bound, represents her "solidarity with and loyalty to her family and city."[139] While men have "the power to decide life and death," Polyxena ultimately "decides whether or not she will accept their decision," and it is her refusal "to submit quietly to Neoptolemos' attack that casts her as a powerful figure."[140] Although we can discern male authority and control in images of virgin sacrifices, an element of female agency can still also be discerned. As I later discuss the eroticization of Polyxena, I refrain from discussing it further here but to note that Mulvey's theory can be more ardently applied to descriptions and images of virgin sacrifice.

With respect to Greek vase paintings, Mangieri succinctly summarizes why Mulvey's theory should be taken into consideration more often. Mulvey's theory helps to, "decode Greek images because her psychoanalytic insights help to illuminate two aspects of the relationship between ancient Greek men and women that have become firmly entrenched in the scholarly discourse. One is the ambivalent attitude of Greek men towards women and the other is men's fear of female sexuality."[141] Nevertheless, Mulvey is not without her limitations. Mulvey privileges the heterosexual male spectator, but in the case of Greek vase painting it would be more relevant to say the, "aristocratic Athenian male citizens who were

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[136] Mangieri (2018), 9-10.
[137] Mangieri (2018), 10. Cf. Mangieri (2018), 54 where images of Iphigenia's sacrifice further highlight the erotic undertones of virgin sacrifice.
[138] Beazley 310027; British Museum 1897.0727.2; *LIMC* 11175.
[139] Mangieri (2018), 149.
[140] Mangieri (2018), 149.
[141] Mangieri (2018), 10.

sexually attracted to women," but this group is certainly not the only type of viewership and nor is there a "single, monolithic viewer or gaze."[142] Mangieri argues that in vase paintings of virgin sacrifices, the male spectator need not identify with the control/dominance of the main male figure, Neoptolemus, instead potentially identifying with the *experiences* represented by the main female figure (Polyxena), such as grief, anger, loss of control, and anxiety.[143] Male heterosexual viewership need not automatically imply that the viewer identifies with his perceived equal in the vase painting. Spectatorship is varied and fluid, and Mulvey's theory can be used to shed light on ancient male, although not strictly heterosexual, spectatorship of erotica and of Aphrodite. As I demonstrate, Mulvey's theory can be applied to discern male homosexual power dynamics in opposition to male heterosexual dynamics, as well as to discern female spectatorship. By considering how erotica conveys ideals of feminine beauty and desirability not just for the viewing pleasure of men but also for the social and sexual education of women, we can better understand how female spectators may have interpreted the women in certain types of erotic images as models of self-representation and as visual reminders of their subordinate status, privately and publicly, in a world controlled by men.

5.1 Aphrodite & Ancient Greek Erotica

When Athena and Hera first see Praxiteles's Aphrodite of Knidos, they admit that Paris chose well when he singled out Aphrodite as the most beautiful of the three goddesses: "We are wrong in finding fault with Paris."[144] Platt, discussing the several poems in the *Greek Anthology* which reference the experience of viewing the Knidia, notes that many of the authors construct their "epigrammatic conceit" around the Judgment of Paris.[145] These authors, including Evenus quoted above, suggest that to view the Knidia is to "enter into the *enargeia* of the myth, to behold the goddess in all her naked glory and experience her *kallos*," and that with the Knidia, Aphrodite becomes *panōpēessa* (from *panopsios*) — "wholly visible/visible to all."[146] In exploring the mutually informative relationship between Aphrodite and ancient Greek erotica as the cults and iconography of the former developed in parallel to motifs of the latter, the extent to which the goddess of sex and her worshippers' explorations of sex are clearly linked will also become *panōpēen*.

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[142] Mangieri (2018), 10-11. Cf. n.84. Mangieri considers other film theorists' works to interpret types of spectatorship, including Gledhill, Modleski, Penley, and Clover.
[143] Mangieri (2018), 11.
[144] Evenus *Anth. Gr.* 16.165; trans. Paton (1918).
[145] Platt (2011), 190.
[146] Platt (2011), 191.

Chapter One

Aphrodite's Associations with War & Violence

When Aphrodite enters the fray during a battle of the Trojan War in order to save Aeneas, the Achaean warrior Diomedes wounds her, forcing the goddess to flee back to Olympus and to take refuge in her mother's arms. Once out of harm's way, Aphrodite is subject to Zeus's chastising: "No, my child, not for you are the works of warfare. Rather concern yourself only with the lovely secrets of marriage, while all this shall be left to Athene and sudden Ares" (*Il.* 5.428-430).[1] The rebuke, though brief, is infamous in its unapologetic humbling of a goddess. On the face of it, Aphrodite is out of her element and appropriately chastised – after all, what place is there for the goddess of love on the battlefield? It is not only Zeus who rebukes Aphrodite, as Hera and Athena both mock her for involving herself in battle (5.423-425). Later in the epic, when Aphrodite removes a wounded Ares from battle, Hera immediately notifies Athena, calling Aphrodite "this dogfly leading murderous Ares out of the fighting" and commanding Athena to go after Aphrodite (21.418-422). Athena drives a blow to Aphrodite's chest and Aphrodite and Ares fall to the ground; Athena stands over them, issuing a warning to all those who would dare to aid the Trojans that they would experience a similar fate (21.423-433). Hera and Athena have no patience for Aphrodite involving herself in the War and are quick to make their feelings known. However, Zeus's comments, as well as Hera's and Athena's mockery and Athena's physical retaliation, are also rather striking for their belittlement. Aphrodite is, after all, a powerful goddess in her own right. For the epic to chastise a goddess so openly requires that we consider why Aphrodite's involvement in war would be disconcerting enough to warrant what initially reads as disparagement.

As I demonstrate in the chapter that follows, in this and in similar passages the speaker, or author, does not belittle Aphrodite so much as state where her true strengths, which may be formidable, lie. In situating these passages in their broader literary and iconographical context, we see that the boundaries of Aphrodite's domain are not in fact so straightforward. When we find Aphrodite linked with war or with elements of violence and strife, such as in epic, philosophy, art, and cult, the evidence collectively conveys a notable tension regarding how to reconcile the goddess of love with circumstances and/or events seemingly foreign to her domain. The responses to Aphrodite being linked with war range

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[1] Trans. Lattimore (1952); all subsequent *Iliad* quotes follow this translation.

from scoffing to ready acceptance, and the fact that a multitude of Greek sources return time and again to Aphrodite's more violent facet is indicative of a recurring interest in the relationship of a goddess of love, sex, and beauty with war, violence, and strife. In some instances, the ancient Greeks appear to be dismissive of Aphrodite having any direct involvement with war as she is out of her element on those occasions, as evident in Zeus's rebuke and Hera's and Athena's reactions. Yet in several regions of Greece, including Sparta, Corinth, and Argos, we have material and numismatic evidence, as well as literary evidence in Pausanias and Plutarch, that Aphrodite was worshipped as an armed goddess. In that same vein, however, reactions in later evidence to Aphrodite having been worshipped as an armed goddess convey a sense of confusion and/or surprise, as evidenced in the writings of Leonidas of Tarentum and Antipater. And still further, Attic evidence contemporary to the Spartan, Corinthian, and Argive evidence suggests that it was only in select regions that Aphrodite was readily worshipped as a love goddess who was simultaneously involved in war. Nevertheless, throughout ancient Greece Aphrodite was forever linked with war by virtue of her relationship with the god of war, Ares. Finally, in pre-Socratic philosophy, specifically that of Empedocles, Aphrodite is identified with Love, one of the two primary forces who structures the cosmic balance and who stands in opposition to Strife. This brief survey demonstrates that Aphrodite's relationship with war, violence, and/or strife was hardly a straightforward one in the Greek world. However, it is clear that in its complexity this relationship was also a source of great interest.

That Aphrodite possessed a violent facet is clear from the various Greek sources. We can trace this aspect to ANE goddesses, especially Ishtar, who influenced different Greek, cultic engagements with Aphrodite's persona. However, the tension exhibited in the Greek evidence when it attempts to reconcile Aphrodite's associations with both war and love appears to be lacking in the evidence for the ANE goddesses. While an armed Aphrodite may be indicative of ANE influence where a love and war goddess were one and the same, the extent to which that influence carries into Aphrodite's personae once she is part of the Greek pantheon becomes less clear. In such Greek representations of Aphrodite, there is less evidence that she is meant to embody a dual goddess of love and war which Ishtar does appear to readily embody. As the Greek evidence demonstrates, there are several divergences from the ANE goddesses in the conceptualization of a love goddess possessing a violent facet. These divergences demonstrate a continuous fascination with Aphrodite's several associations with war and violence, from Homer to Empedocles, from late-Archaic Corinthian numismatics to the late-Classical armed Aphrodite sculpture from Epidaurus.

This chapter seeks to examine the ongoing contradiction in Aphrodite's identity as personified by this problematic pairing of love and war. This complication appears to be uniquely Greek in its representation of the pairing as irreconcilable traits. It is primarily in the evidence from our male authors where this pairing emerges as irreconcilable, where the authors appear to try to shape Aphrodite to suit their perceptions of what a love goddess should and should not do. This attempt by male authors to create who and what Aphrodite is, especially in the context of reconciling love and violence, mirrors how the male gaze constructs varied portrayals of the relationship between sex and violence as evidenced in the violent erotica examined in the next chapter. The continued interest in Aphrodite as a goddess of love possessing violent characteristics, who is known to have engaged in war contexts, who is known to have been worshipped in arms, and finally who at all times maintains a close association with war by virtue of her relationship with Ares, requires that we examine how and why this fascination persists. In doing so, we may later be able to better understand how and why this same fascination exists outside of Aphrodite's cult as evidenced in the repeated interaction of sexuality and violence in both Greek art and literature.

Aphrodite's Associations with War & Violence

Although primarily associated with love, sex, marriage, and beauty, Aphrodite has a close relationship with war and violence, one which manifests in varied ways. One example of this manifestation is her persona as "armed Aphrodite." This persona may stem from Aphrodite's associations with ANE goddesses such as Ishtar, a goddess who possessed not only a passionate sexuality, but a fierce bloodlust for battle as well. In comparison, however, Aphrodite, even armed, does not appear to possess the same degree of bloodthirstiness. The following section will begin with ANE parallels of an armed goddess of love and sex followed by a survey of our armed Aphrodite evidence from Sparta, Corinth, Kythera, Argos, and Epidaurus, found in sculpture, vase painting, and coinage and as referenced in several epigrams. This evidence will be compared to depictions of Aphrodite in our contemporary Attic evidence; this comparison enables us both to understand why certain regions were more receptive to an armed goddess of love than others, as well as to consider whether or not the violent erotica originating from Attica bears any relation to this persona of Aphrodite. Thereafter, other associations between Aphrodite and war and violence will be considered as evidenced in epic and pre-Socratic philosophy. To narrow the focus of these other associations, I examine three primary literary texts, Hesiod's *Theogony* and Homer's *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. For the philosophical evidence, I examine Aphrodite in the same poetic

style, i.e. hexameter verse, in the writings of Empedocles. The relationship between Ares and Aphrodite, as referenced briefly by Hesiod but explored in more detail by Homer, emblematizes the dualism of love and war, while Empedoclean philosophy envisions the balance of the cosmos as a fluctuation of power between two forces, Love and Strife, the former linked to Aphrodite.[2] By examining these literary and philosophical associations between Aphrodite and war and violence, and the degree to which Aphrodite herself is involved in either, we can further explore how her relationship with war and violence manifested outside of cult practice.

Armed Aphrodite & her Ancient Near Eastern Analogies

Our earliest references to an armed Aphrodite are two epigrams by the poet Leonidas of Tarentum (mid-3rd cent. BCE).[3] Epigram 16.171 reads as follows:

> Why, Cytherea, hast thou put on these arms of Ares, bearing this useless weight? For, naked thyself, thou didst disarm Ares himself, and if a god has been vanquished by thee it is in vain that thou takest up arms against mortals.[4]

Five additional epigrams describe the armed Aphrodite.[5] As these epigrams note, and as noted by Pausanias (3.15.10, 3.17.5, 3.23.1), a *xoanon* (wooden image) of an armed Aphrodite stood in the temples in Sparta and Kythera. Sparta also had a temple to *Aphrodite Areia* ("she of Ares"/warlike Aphrodite) containing *xoana* which according to Pausanias were "as ancient as any in Greece,"[6] and on Acrocorinth, a shrine of Aphrodite featured an armed statue of Aphrodite.[7]

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[2] The relationship between Ares and Aphrodite will focus on the aforementioned selections of Greek evidence and not incorporate evidence of Roman perceptions of Mars and Venus. One exception of Roman evidence that is discussed is the Aphrodite of Epidaurus.
[3] Flemberg (1995), 109. (*Anth. Gr* 9.320 & 16.171)
[4] Trans. Paton (1918). The other epigram, of similar content, is 9.320.
[5] *Anth. Gr*. 9.321, 16.173, 16.174, 16.176, & 16.177.
[6] Paus. 3.17.5; trans. Levi (1971).
[7] Paus. 2.5.1. The use of Pausanias as a reliable source has long been a topic of debate in modern scholarship. Select examples include: Elsner (1994); Meadows (1995); Alcock, Cherry, & Elsner (eds.) (2001); Hutton (2005ab); Pretzler (2005 & 2007); Bommas (2011). Meadows contends and Hutton agrees that Pausanias chose his sources with utmost care and how closely a source was contemporary to the era and events which Pausanias discusses was paramount. Pretzler argues that Pausanias offers little reliable information about the Greece before his time and that his accounts are more reflective of his contemporary environment and of contemporary ideas about the past (2007). But as Elsner had previously noted, travel-writing is an exploration of the "Other" which is structured by cultural appropriation whereby what is foreign is contextualized in native terms but in such a way that the "Other" does not become translatable: to do so would detract from its attraction. Pausanias's personal perspective and writing environment affect the information he chose to relate, and his work shows clear preferences for certain subjects, such as mystery cults and religious matters of antiquity which can be substantiated by *xoana* and myth-historical traditions (Torelli 2001, 53). By virtue of this selectivity, Pausanias provides invaluable information on local cultic traditions preserved by various Greek communities. As an "art historian," Pausanias shows careful and intensive recording of techniques, materials, dates, and artists and their

This armed Aphrodite appears to derive from ANE goddesses of sex and war, including Astarte and Ishtar, although in the Aphrodite evidence this dualism is presented as contradictory.[8] In contrast, the ANE evidence appears to suggest that this dualism is a coherent pairing as most clearly evidenced in the persona of Ishtar. Descriptions of Ishtar from several ANE texts emphasize her formidability in war. For example, she is referred to as "the lady of confusion, who makes battles terrible,"[9] "the lady of battle, without whom hostility and peace exist not in the land and a weapon is not forged,"[10] and the divinity within whose power it is to "change men into women and women into men."[11] The sex/love/war combination emphasizes the close connection between sexuality and aggression and this connection may explain why these goddesses are often associated with kingship since kings were envisioned as the leaders in warfare.[12] The goddesses' allure and charisma further highlight their suitability for leadership. Ishtar's iconography on Mesopotamian seals demonstrates her dual personality. She is represented armed with a spear, wearing a kilt that has a panel in the back, and donning a square horned headdress; while armed, she is also shown "alluringly revealing herself with her long-fringed garment pushed to one side…or lifting a veil";[13] figures 1.1-1.3, from the mid-nineteenth to late eighteenth centuries BCE, demonstrate this motif. In Ishtar's representations, both aspects of her identity are emphasized. Her body language is that of a fierce war leader: right leg raised and foot upon the back of a lion, taming the beast as it were, while she holds her weapon and faces the viewer head on, yet her body language also conveys sensuality as with her leg raised she exposes its naked length, eroticizing the show of dominance.

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works. On critiques that Pausanias is guilty of "archaism", several scholars caution against overemphasizing this point (cf. Arafat 1996 & Hutton 2005ab). While Pausanias has an archaizing tendency, as Arafat contends, "Where we cannot expect to verify Pausanias' evidence through the archaeological record - cult practices, most obviously - we can assume, by analogy with his accurate descriptions of objects and practices, that he recorded what he saw, and not a fossilized 'memory of the past'" (1996, 27). Bommas remarks that scholars generally agree that Pausanias's methods are reliable for *polis* history and for the archaeology which still remains and proves his accounts accurate; when it comes to archaeological remains which are now absent, one must naturally take his accounts with a grain of salt. This approach does not preclude us from referencing Pausanias at all particularly when what he discusses is referenced by several other sources, including the epigrams noted above and by archaeological evidence relevant to the time period Pausanias discusses (cf. figs. 1.9-1.11).

[8] On Astarte's associations with war, cf. Schmitt (2013).

[9] Tiglath-Pileser, Prism Inscription (History of the First Five Years of Reign), *Invocation of the gods* Col. I, ll. 1-27; cf. Luckenbill (1927) for translation/discussion.

[10] From The Harran Inscriptions of Nabonidus: Nabonidus H_2A *Col. I* 38-41; cf. Gadd (1958) for translation/discussion.

[11] From an Old Babylonian prayer; cf. Hillers (1964), 66 n.62; trans. *CAD* vol. Z 110b: *Sumer* 11 pl.6 r6.

[12] Flemberg (1995), 111.

[13] Teissier (1984), 81.

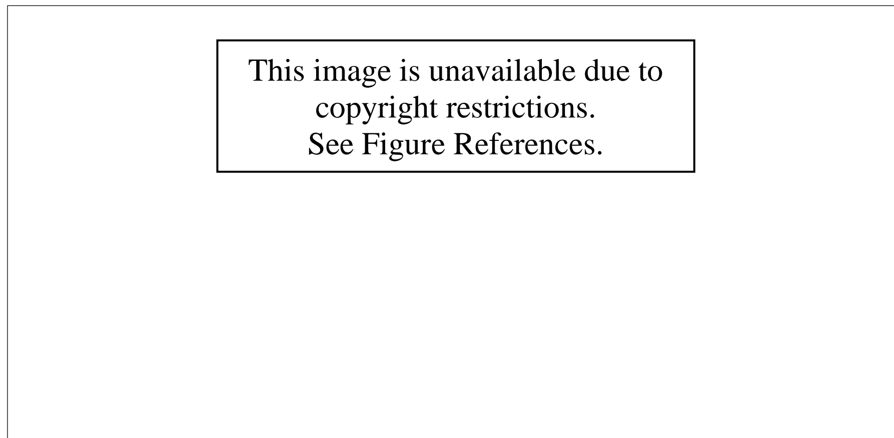

Fig. 1.1. Cylinder seal depicting Ishtar (centre) as love and war goddess; Ishtar wearing a horned headdress and slit robe, one foot resting on lion's back, carrying a spear and throw stick(?), with a set of arrows in two quivers on shoulders; flanked by worshiper on left and priest figure on right; c. 1850-1750 BCE.

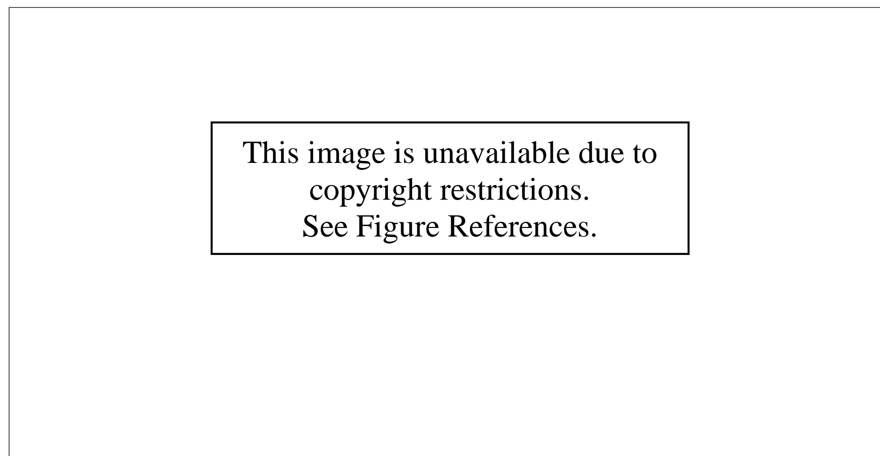

Fig. 1.2. Cylinder seal depicting Ishtar (centre) as love and war goddess; winged Ishtar stands with fringed skirt drawn to one side, with one worshiper on either side; c. 1850-1720 BCE.

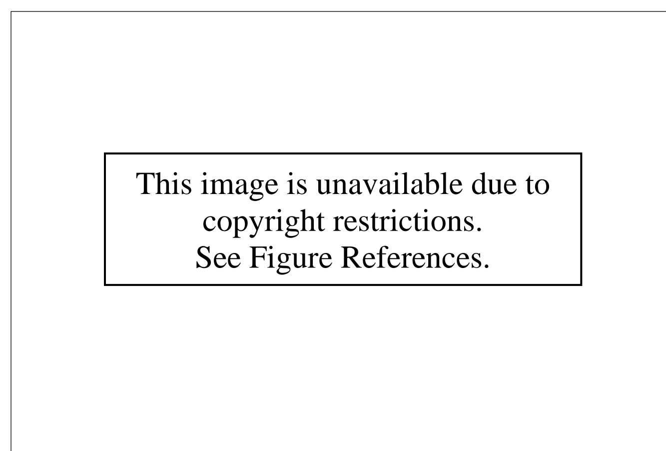

Fig. 1.3. Cylinder seal depicting Ishtar (centre) as love and war goddess; Ishtar stands centre wearing curled toed shoes and lifts her veil to reveal her nudity, with one worshiper on either side; c. 1850-1720 BCE.

This armed representation of Ishtar continues through the millennia, with archaic evidence echoing the motif on cylinder seals and amulets. The war goddess Ishtar features in different contexts, including in that of "seated Ishtar" as seen in figures 1.4 and 1.5,[14] as well as the fully armed goddess standing on a lion as seen in figure 1.6, and also the armed goddess represented as a statue and standing on a platform as seen in figure 1.7.[15] The lion is considered indicative of Ishtar's martial aspect, including in the absence of a more clearly armed Ishtar as shown in the amulet of figure 1.5.[16] The textual descriptions and artistic representations of Ishtar combine to reveal a goddess of war whose strengths equally manifest in matters of sexuality. For her worshippers, Ishtar's martial persona is not in contrast to her sexuality, nor does her sexuality inhibit her martial prowess. In this selection of ANE evidence, there does not appear to be a tension in reconciling these opposing extremes of love and war, sex, and violence. This ready acceptance of a dual goddess of love and war contrasts sharply with the Greek evidence which does convey a distinct tension where Aphrodite is involved.

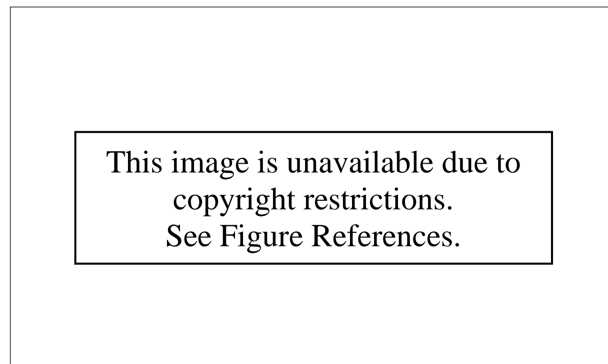

Fig. 1.4. Cylinder seal depicting seated Ishtar; Ishtar dons a two-horned headdress, flounced garment, and clubs and scimitars rise from her shoulders; three worshippers approach the seated goddess; the lower register depicts ducks and fish. Archaic period; British Museum.

[14] On the archaic dating and cataloguing of similar seals related to fig. 1.4, cf. Ward (1910).
[15] For further discussion of Ishtar as a martial goddess, including in her iconography, cf. Teissier (1984), esp. 37-38; Collon (et. al) (1986); Muscarella (1988, esp. 351) on the bronze amulet in fig. 1.5; Reade (2005); Cornelius (2009); Rivas (2016).
[16] Cornelius (2009), 20. Cf. also Cornelius (2009), 20 n.30 for further scholarship.

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See Figure References.

Fig. 1.5. Bronze amulet, on reverse: Ishtar enthroned with lion at her feet, and a worshipper; c. 8th/7th century BCE; Neo-Assyrian. Metropolitan Museum of New York 86.11.3.

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See Figure References.

Fig. 1.6. Garnet cylinder seal: beardless male worshipper stands facing right before warrior-goddess Ishtar, who stands on the back of a couchant lion, raises her right hand, and holds a bow and two arrows in her left. Ishtar has crossed quivers on her back tipped by stars and decorated with dots, as well as a dot-decorated bow-case and sickle-sword, and a sword at her waist. Neo-Assyrian, c. 720-700 BCE. British Museum 89769.

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See Figure References.

Fig. 1.7. Cylinder seal with cultic scene: statue of Ishtar on a platform, identified by her crossed quivers, starred crown, and the stars encircling her body. A worshipper kneels before her, while two genies protect the enclosure. Neo-Assyrian, late 9th/early 8th cent. BCE. Metropolitan Museum of New York 1989.361.1.

Aphrodite's representations as an armed goddess may likewise reflect the dichotomy of love and war as manifest in a single goddess, although as previously noted, this aspect of Aphrodite appears to have been less extreme than its manifestation in Ishtar. In Assyria and Nineveh, Ishtar's most prominent attribute was her role as "powerful warrior and guarantor of Assyrian hegemony" such that "several of the prayers that Assyrian kinds evoked on her name, had to do with the defeat of another king, whether it was to ask her to go into battle with them or to thank her for defeating an opposing ruler."[17] Ishtar the war goddess prevails in battle and establishes order amidst chaos; her relationship with the king through her participation in war and her ability to influence the outcome demonstrates an aspect of conquest not prevalent in Aphrodite.[18] The armed Aphrodite discussion that follows will demonstrate further the contrast between the ANE acceptance of a martial love goddess and the uneasy fascination of such a goddess as conveyed by the Greek evidence.

Armed Aphrodite in Sparta, Kythera, & Argos

Although the specific appearance of the armed Aphrodite *xoana* is unknown to us, they likely resembled *palladia*, the standing female figures wearing a helmet and holding a shield as well as a spear in their raised right hands, an homage to the archaic wooden statue of Pallas Athena once kept in the citadel of Troy. While unsurprisingly no *xoana* have survived, we may be able to recreate this early image of Aphrodite from later iconography. A bronze figurine from the Spartan acropolis from the third/fourth century BCE depicts what would generally be considered an Athena (fig. 1.8), however, an Aphrodite identification has also been proposed.[19] In a Doric peplos, the helmet-wearing female figure has her left arm raised as if to hold/hurl a spear while her right arm curves in front of her lower abdomen, and her right foot is raised upwards to imply forward movement, or striding.[20] She lacks the aegis which typically identifies Athena although aegis-less Athenas are not unevidenced, including

[17] Rivas (2016), 306.

[18] On Ishtar's relationship with the king, select references: Flemberg (1995); Cornelius (2009); Rivas (2016). Cornelius examines an Iranian rock relief at Sarpol-i Zohāb, dated c. 2000 BCE, which depicts a king with a bow and arrow and an axe, one foot subduing an enemy beneath him, and standing before Ishtar. The goddess's dress includes a multi-horned crown and weapons (two maces and an axe) which protrude from her shoulders or back. In her left hand she holds a leash, to which two kneeling enemies are attached through rings through their noses. An accompanying inscription identifies the king as Anubanini and further states that the king made these images of himself and of Ishtar; (Cornelius 2009, 18, fig. 1). In this example, Ishtar presents the enslaved enemies to the king, confirming his victory while simultaneously demonstrating her own success in defeating the enemy. Cf. also Rivas (2016), 306-07. This type of image reiterates the intensity to which Ishtar participates in warfare as well as her intimate relationship with the reigning king. Making slaves of enemies does not appear to have been part of Aphrodite's war persona, nor a singular relationship with a ruling king.

[19] Cartledge & Spawforth (2004), 34; Budin (2010), 86.

[20] Budin (2010), 86.

in Sparta.[21] The assumption that the figure is Athena is not without reason considering Athena's most common iconographic features match almost completely those of figure 1.8, however, it is an assumption which cannot be definitively proven, allowing for the possibility that the figure could be depicting someone else, including Aphrodite. The absent aegis contributes to this possibility and the literary references to a weapons-bearing Aphrodite specifically at Sparta would further allow for such an unidentified armed female figure to be someone other than Athena, in this case Aphrodite.[22]

Additional archaeological evidence from Sparta identifies the presence of an Ares-Aphrodite cult. An inscribed, votive iron blade discovered on the Spartan acropolis states: "Λυκείος Αρε[ϝ]ια[ι]" (fig. 1.9); Lukeios is the dedicator, and Arewiai, "she of Ares", is the recipient of the dedication.[23] Further literary testament to an armed Aphrodite/Aphrodite-Ares cult in Sparta comes down to us from several sources, including the references made by Antipater of Sidon and Plutarch.[24] Antipater, writing in the first century, describes Spartan Aphrodite as defying expectation by appearing fully armored in her statue representation: "Cypris belongs to Sparta too, but her statue is not, as in other cities, draped in soft folds. No, on her head she wears a helmet instead of a veil, and bears a spear instead of golden branches. For it is not meet that she should be without arms, who is the spouse of Thracian Ares and a Lacedaemonian."[25] Plutarch, in *Sayings of Spartans*, describes Aphrodite as follows: "they worship Aphrodite in her full armour, and the statues of all the gods, both female and male, they make with spear in hand to indicate that all the gods have the valour which war demands."[26] Why would an armed statue, particularly of Aphrodite, appeal to a

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[21] For example, from the Athena Chalkioikos temple on the Spartan acropolis, a bronze statuette of Athena sans shield or spear was discovered, dated to c. 460/50 BCE.

[22] The cult statue of Athena Chalkioikos c. the late sixth century was represented with spear and shield, making it likely that the bronze statuette (cf. n.21 above) is now missing these features. Cf. Flower (2009), 201. Other Athena statues excavated at Sparta likewise frequently depict Athena with a shield; cf. the Sparta excavation reports: Woodward, Droop, & Lamb (1926/1927). Coins from Sparta c. third century CE depict the Palladium-style, Athena cult statue holding a spear in her raised right hand and a shield in her lowered left hand; cf. Flower (2009), 201 n.33. Figure 1.8 depicts a lowered right hand and raised left hand, opposite to the composition of the Athenas, and with the lack of aegis we may consider it feasible that figure 1.8 is not a representation of Athena but of Aphrodite, although we cannot make a definitive conclusion either way. Cf. also Palagia (1993), 167-175; Stibbe (2000), xiii; Pomeroy (2002), 18, 122.

[23] Woodward (1928), 252. Pausanias specifically refers to Spartan Aphrodite as "she of Ares" (3.17.5). Budin notes that the *digamma* suggests an early date for the inscription, but she also maintains that it should not be used as a chronological criterion as the presence of the *digamma* within a deity's name "could cause it to remain 'frozen' in epigraphic time" (2003, 76). I suggest, however, that an early date cannot be discounted altogether given the presence of the archaic *digamma* and because we cannot prove whether or not in this instance it has been "frozen in epigraphic time," as Budin speculates. Cf. *SEG* XI, 671.

[24] Other references: Quintilian *Inst.* 2.4.26; Nonnus *Dion.* 35.175-177; Julianus of Egypt *Anth. Gr.* 16.173.

[25] *Anth. Gr.* 16.176; trans. Paton (1918).

[26] Plut. *Instituta Laconica,* 239a; trans. Babbitt (1931).

Spartan audience? Flower considers that these armed statues referenced by Plutarch are representative of "Spartan notions of piety, martial courage, and orderliness,"[27] and this interpretation is further supported by an additional comment recorded by Plutarch attributed to the Spartan Charillus: "When someone was inquiring why all the statues of the gods set up by them have weapons, he said: 'So that we may not blame the gods for cowardice just as we blame men, and so that our young men may not pray to unarmed gods.'."[28] The Spartans do not worship cowardly gods; the notion is diametrically opposed to Spartan values. One way of depicting this ideology is to arm their representations of the gods, including Aphrodite.

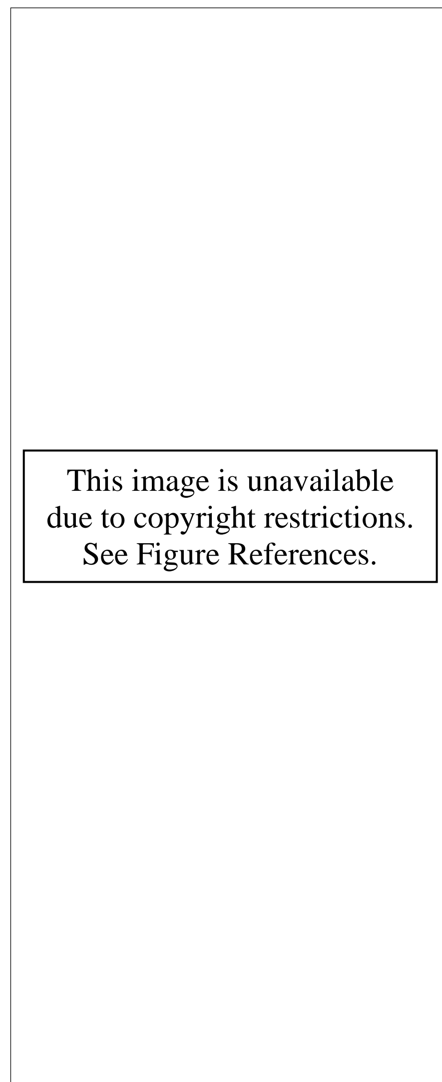

Fig. 1.8. Drawing of bronze figurine excavated at Spartan Acropolis; c. 3rd-4th cent. BCE; Drawing, Paul C. Butler.

[27] Flower (2009), 205.
[28] Plut. *Apophthegmata Laconica*, 232d; trans. Talbert (1988).

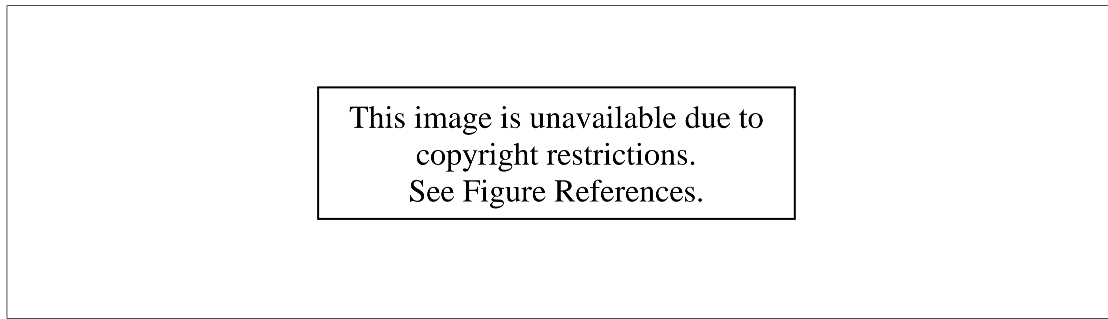

Fig. 1.9: Part of votive iron blade, mid-rib, with incised dedication: **Λυκείος Αρε[ϝ]ια[ι];** *[Lukeios Are[w]iai]*; Spartan Acropolis.

Budin maintains that in the Archaic and Classical periods it was only in Sparta that Aphrodite was worshipped as a martial goddess, and links between Kythera and Sparta led to her worship in the former in this manifestation as well.[29] Kythera was a primary connection between Crete and mainland Greece, a point from which Aphrodite's persona penetrated the Peloponnese.[30] According to Hesiod, Kythera had already been known as the first stopping point on Aphrodite's journey to Cyprus after her birth from the severed genitals of Ouranos.[31] Herodotus held that the temple of "Heavenly Aphrodite" in Ascalon "is the most ancient of all temples which belong to this goddess; for the temple in Cyprus was founded from this, as the people of Cyprus themselves report, and it was the Phoenicians who founded the temple in Kythera, coming from this land of Syria."[32] Pausanias later described Kythera as having the oldest sanctuary to Aphrodite in Greece featuring an armed wooden idol of Aphrodite.[33]

Pausanias further records Aphrodite as being referred to as Aphrodite *Nikephoros* ("Bringer of Victory") in Argos (2.19.6-7). The occasion for this epithet is the dedication of a *xoanon* of Aphrodite by Hypermnestra, daughter of the legendary king Danaus, after she was acquitted of charges that she had defied her father by not murdering her husband on their wedding night, an acquittal attributed to Aphrodite's intervention. Pausanias also describes a double sanctuary to Ares and Aphrodite in Argos: "The road from Argos to Mantineia is not the Tegea road; it leaves from the gates by the Ridge. There is a double sanctuary on this road with one entrance from the west and another from the east. In the eastern sanctuary is a

[29] Budin (2010), 82.
[30] On Kythera's position as the "stepping-stone, or filter, between two large neighbors: to its north, the Peloponnesian…to its south, more distant…Crete," and its potential role as "an articulation point for routes to and from the wider Mediterranean, most immediately the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian seas," cf. Broodbank, Bennet, & Davis (2004, 228). The Kythera Island Project has resulted in several other publications which discuss Kythera's position in the wider Mediterranean network, including the extent of its Cretan contact and cross-cultural interactions. Cf. Broodbank, Kiriatzi, & Rutter (2005); Broodbank & Kiriatzi (2007) & (2013).
[31] Hesiod *Th.* 191-206.
[32] Hdt. 1.105; trans. Macaulay (2005).
[33] 3.23.1.

wooden idol of Aphrodite, in the western one an Ares."[34] The Ares/Aphrodite sanctuary, though featuring different entrances, still further emphasizes the connection between Aphrodite and war/Ares as complementary extremes, especially when their sanctuary rooms are situated opposite one another. Her epithet *Nikephoros* highlights her associations with judicial victory, in this case as related to the sanctity of marriage. In this context, Iossif and Lorber argue that, "The cult of Aphrodite Nikephoros in Argos provides further evidence that the notion of Nike is not only military but should be considered from different viewpoints...The *epiklesis* Nikephoros seems to be an exaltation of the virtues of marriage and matrimonial life."[35] Iossif and Lorber echo Pirenne-Delforge, the latter arguing that the Aphrodite *Nikephoros* statue is intended primarily as a matrimonial dedication given the reference to the Danaides; Hypermnestra also dedicated a statue to Artemis *Peitho*, further highlighting the reference to marriage.[36] The Aphrodite of Argos was less a traditional warfare goddess in this instance, and more a "warrior" in the protection of marriage.

Armed Aphrodite in Corinth

Pausanias notes that the temple of Aphrodite on the summit of Acrocorinth featured an armed representation of the goddess.[37] Further numismatic evidence corroborates him. Corinth changed the reverse symbol of their coinage in the late sixth century and subsequently transitioned to a new minting technique.[38] The Pegasus on the obverse remained from previous periods; however, a helmeted female head replaced the geometric design on the reverse; two versions of the drachma and of the hemidrachma appear, one with a helmeted head and one with a non-helmeted head (figs. 1.10-1.11). The style of the heads is identical, with no indication of their being different goddesses.[39] The identification of the helmeted goddess has been debated, especially as Athena is traditionally identified by her armored appearance including specifically a helmeted head, but Blomberg has convincingly argued for Aphrodite's identification and to identify the Corinthian coins as representing Athena is erroneous. Athena was not a major deity in Corinth in the Archaic and Classical periods; Aphrodite was the primary goddess of worship, her cult as Aphrodite *Ourania* having already existed there "by the time of the Bacchiads, when the villages in the area were

[34] 2.25.1; trans. Levi (1971).
[35] Iossif & Lorber (2007), 82.
[36] Pirenne-Delforge (1994), 153-154. Cf. Paus. 2.21.1.
[37] 2.5.1.
[38] Blomberg (1996), 67.
[39] Blomberg (1996), 67.

united," in the late seventh century BCE.[40] Archaeological excavations in Corinth also concluded that the early temple to Aphrodite on the Acrocorinth dates to the late seventh century BCE.[41] Corinthian Aphrodite was likewise influenced by Aphrodite's progenitresses as evidenced by her epithet. A seventh-century mould-made figurine, assigned to an "Early Dedalic Group" and found in Corinth depicts what may be Astarte.[42] This figurine has a nude columnar body and her right arm is raised with her right hand grasping her right breast while the left arm reaches down, perhaps grasping a now-lost object; the hair-style appears Egyptian, and her ears are visible, adorned with earrings. Considering the extent of Corinth's maritime activities and commercial trade connections (both within and beyond mainland Greece), contacts with the east would have exposed Corinth to eastern naked goddess iconography such as that seen in the Astarte figurine, potentially influencing the formation of Corinthian Aphrodite's representational style.

Contemporary depictions support the identification of the helmeted female head on the Corinthian coins as Aphrodite. Armed Aphrodites feature a wreath or her hair-style resembles a wreath (whereas Athena's hair is depicted in an Archaic knot or tight curls).[43] Literary descriptions and vase paintings also describe or depict Aphrodite wearing, or being presented with beautiful beaded necklaces which feature on these Corinthian coins.[44] In the fifth *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, when Aphrodite reaches Ida and finds Anchises, Anchises's gaze takes in her form, admiring among other things her jewellery: "she wore a dress brighter than firelight, and she had twisted bracelets and shining ear buds. Round her tender neck there were beautiful necklaces of gold, most elaborate, and about her tender breasts it shone like the moon, a wonder to behold."[45] In the sixth *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, the Horai bejewel her with a golden diadem and gold earrings, and "about her tender throat and her white breast they decked her in golden necklaces."[46] Seventh and sixth century descriptions of Aphrodite also emphasize the beauty of her neck, as quoted above from the fifth *Homeric Hymn* ("tender neck") and elsewhere, such as in the *Iliad*, when Helen recognizes Aphrodite in part because of the goddess's "round, sweet throat."[47] Aphrodite's neck on the Corinthian coins is fully shown (in contrast to depictions of Athena on coins

[40] Blomberg (1996), 82.
[41] Blegen et al. (1930), 14.
[42] Ammerman (1991), 225; Davidson (1952), 29, pl. 6 no. 85.
[43] Blomberg (1996), 91.
[44] For vase painting examples, see Beazley 9032483, 220648, & 8717.
[45] *Hom. Hymn 5 to Aphrodite* 84-89; trans. West (2003).
[46] *Hom. Hymn 6 to Aphrodite* 1-7; trans. West (2003).
[47] Hom. *Il.* 3.396.

which do not depict her neck fully), further strengthening the identification of the goddess as Aphrodite due to the deliberate evocation of her well-known physical attributes.

The lack of evidence for a prominent cult to Athena in Corinth in the Archaic and Classical periods further supports Aphrodite as the helmeted goddess. While a sanctuary or an altar to Athena Hippia may have existed c. 500 BCE, the scarce evidence for armed Athena in Corinth combined with the lack of iconographical representations of Athena in Corinthian art before 500 BCE disqualifies her from identification as the helmeted female.[48] Aphrodite had been worshipped in Corinth since before the city began minting coins and given the prominence of her worship alongside Poseidon and Apollo, the likelihood of the helmeted female representing Aphrodite in her armed manifestation is higher. Helmeted Aphrodite may represent her importance as a patron goddess whose role extends to *polis* protectress, in contrast to Ishtar whose armed persona highlights her role as warrior and conqueror. Corinthian Aphrodite's helmeted appearance on the coins c. the late sixth century BCE may also add credence to the existence of contemporary armed Aphrodites in other regions where her worship as both a goddess of love and war was prominent, and where her iconographical representations were stylistically similar, such as Sparta and Argos. Smith recently analysed a bronze coin from Corinth struck under Hadrian which further supports Aphrodite, not Athena, as the helmeted deity on the Corinthian staters of the Archaic and Classical periods.[49] On the obverse is a laureate and a draped and cuirassed bust of Hadrian; on the reverse is a tetrastyle temple on top of Acrocorinth inside of which there is a statue of Aphrodite in himation holding a round shield of Ares and donning a Corinthian helmet pushed back on her head.[50] Smith reiterates, as Lenormant and Blomberg have previously, that fifth century Greek cities "did not display minor deities on their coins, but their principal deities" and that "it is generally accepted that the drachms of Corinth depict the unhelmeted head of Aphrodite"; Smith follows Blomberg in noting that "other contemporary Greek mints did not vary the deity depicted between denominations."[51] The Hadrianic coin supports a helmeted Aphrodite, showing that the statue of Aphrodite on Acrocorinth may have had a Corinthian helmet in pre-Roman and Roman times.[52]

[48] Blomberg (1996), 74-76.
[49] Smith (2005), 41-43.
[50] Smith (2005), 41.
[51] Smith (2005), 42. Cf. Blomberg (1996), 67-99; Lenormant (1866), 73-77.
[52] Smith (2005), 43. Smith discusses why the statue is not helmeted on other Corinthian coins of the Imperial period, suggesting that an armed Aphrodite was likely anachronistic by the Roman period as her martial attributes had been eliminated/reduced by this point in order to emphasize her role as the love goddess; engravers in Roman Corinth may have been uncertain of the precise nature of Aphrodite's statue or deliberately omitted the helmet, however, this particular engraver preferred the helmeted depiction (2005, 43).

Corinth also invoked Aphrodite for her aid in the wars against the Persians. Although not a direct reference to an armed Aphrodite, it is worth noting here that Corinth beseeched Aphrodite to fulfill her role as *polis* protectress during a period of intense strife.[53] Athenaeus, quoting Theopompus and Timaeus, recalls the Corinthian custom of the city's prostitutes to offer city prayers to Aphrodite about "important matters," noting that "when the Persian mounted his expedition against Greece…the Corinthian prostitutes went to Aphrodite's temple and prayed for her to save the Greeks."[54] Here, Aphrodite is beseeched for her aid in protecting the Greeks, as a whole, against the Persians. In an epigram preserved in the scholion to Pindar's *Olympian* 13, Simonides likewise remarks on the prayers of the Corinthian prostitutes: "These ones, for the sake of the Greeks and close-fighting citizens, stood praying to Kypris divine; for holy Aphrodite did not wish to give a Greek acropolis to bow-toting Medes."[55] In this epigram, Aphrodite is again beseeched to help the Greeks (in general) prove victorious against the Persians, as well as more specifically to help Corinth retain its autonomy against the Persian invaders. The epigram implies Aphrodite's "savior"-like persona with her refusal to yield Corinth to the Persians further distinguishing her role as a protectress patron deity in the eyes of the Corinthians. As Plutarch also records, "the women of Corinth, alone in Greece, made that splendid and inspired prayer, that the goddess should make their men fall in love with fighting the Persians."[56] The Corinthians call upon Aphrodite specifically to inspire a passion for battle in the Corinthian men, demonstrating Aphrodite's unique ability to fire passions in contexts outside of sexual relations.[57]

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[53]Ath. *Deip*. 13.573c-573f, referencing Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F285 & Timaeus *FGrH* 566 F10.
[54] Ath. *Deip*. 13.573c-d; trans. Olson (2010).
[55] Simonides (14 P), preserved by a scholiast on Pindar *(Ol.* 13.23); trans. Budin (2008). The epigram is also preserved in Plutarch *De malig. Herod*. 871A-B & Ath. *Deip*. 13.573c-d. On Simonides's Corinthian epigram, cf. Budin (2008) & Yates (2018).
[56] Plut. *Mor.* 871A-B: trans. Bowen (1992).
[57] Cf. n.53 above on invocations to Aphrodite.

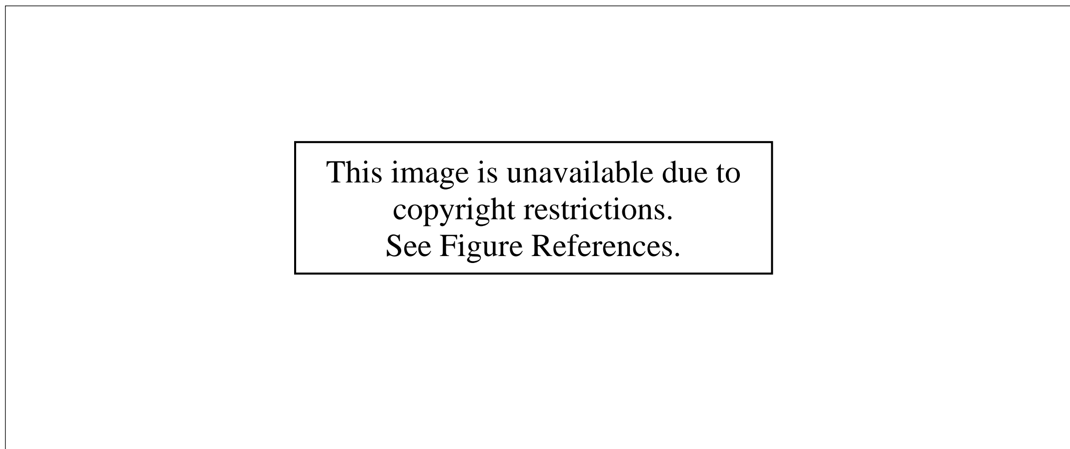

Fig. 1.10: Corinth AR Stater; c. 549-510 BCE; Pegasus flying right, bridled, curled wing/Archaic head of Aphrodite(?) in Corinthian helmet, hair represented by dotted lines; Ravel 110.

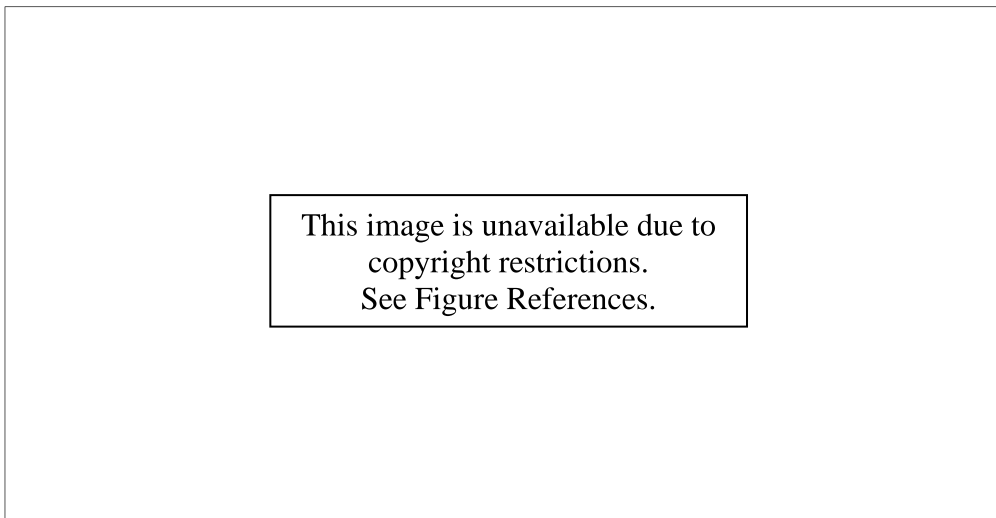

Fig. 1.11: Corinth AR Stater; c. 405–350/45 BCE; Pegasus flying right / Head of Aphrodite(?) in Corinthian helmet, dolphin above visor, retrograde Σ (or rotated M) behind neckpiece; CNS 344.

The Aphrodite of Epidaurus

The armed statue of Aphrodite from Epidaurus manifests the dichotomy of love and war and perhaps speaks more to the implied relationship between Aphrodite and her consort Ares as well as to the political associations of Roman Venus (fig. 1.12). This sculpture, a Roman copy of what has been considered by some as an original Greek bronze sculpted by Polykleitos, or alternatively by the younger Polykleitos, c. 380 BCE,[58] features a revealed,

[58] The dating of the original as well as the sculptor has been much debated. The attribution to Polykleitos originates in part due to an identification of this sculpture with the Amyklaian Aphrodite seen by Pausanias and attributed by him to Polykleitos of Argos (3.18.7-8). Hauser identified the Amyklaian Aphrodite with the statue type of the Aphrodite of Epidaurus, an identification which Delivorrias considers to have prompted scholarship to attribute, erroneously, the sculpture to the younger Polykleitos II; cf. Hauser (1902), 232-47; Delivorrias (1995), 200-201, 213 n.7. Delivorrias further notes that Amandry's "assault on the then prevailing chronological

nude right breast, the baldric, and what is likely to have been a sword or spear in her left hand.[59] Aphrodite stands with a weapon and her garments are sculpted such that they appear to cling to her form like a second skin, emphasizing her feminine attributes and lending provocativeness to her body language. In the Roman sculpture, the emphasis on her feminine attributes is in keeping with the contemporary stylistic renderings of Aphrodite in sculptural form with the result that her explicit femininity highlights the incongruity of the goddess simultaneously carrying arms. The dating of this sculpture to the late-Classical period requires that we consider whether or not this armed representation of Aphrodite is meant to be reminiscent of an older tradition portraying the goddess as such. Though later than the late-Archaic armed Aphrodites, this representation and the manner by which it was styled suggests an awareness of a preexisting image of Aphrodite where the goddess is armed.[60] However, by the late-Classical period, especially in sculpture, Aphrodite's representations were distinctly eroticized such that her provenance of female beauty, desirability, and sex appeal were her primary identifying stylizations; it is unlikely that by this period in Aphrodite's sculptural iconography, she would retain an armed representation indicative of her personal role in matters of war.[61]

The sculpture was discovered in the nineteenth century at the complex of the Asklepion Baths and the Library. In Epidaurus, Aphrodite's associations with rebirth as well as the importance of bathing in her cult, both of which derive in part from her Hesiodic birth story, are notably relevant aspects of her worship in connection with Asklepios.[62] Her sanctuary, the Aphroditeion, is near to the original entrance of the temple complex near a sacred well and in the fifth century BCE the Baths of Asklepios were added, followed thereafter by the Stoa and the Roman Baths.[63] It is unlikely that Aphrodite was worshipped in Epidaurus with any direct war affiliations considering her cultic focus at this site would have been that which complemented the cult of Asklepios, healing and rebirth. According to Pausanias, the armed Aphrodite of Sparta was worshipped under the further surname

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system, which 'highered' the *terminus ante quem* of the artist's activity by at least two decades" (1995, 200), further exacerbated the erroneous attribution to the younger Polykleitos; cf. Amandry (1957), 84-85; Delivorrias (1995), 200-201, as well as 213 n.7 for further bibliography. Delivorrias's (1995) analysis insists on Polykleitos as the sculptor of the Amyklaian Aphrodite. Cf. Flemberg (1991), 49; Budin (2010), 101.

[59] *LIMC* 38174, "Aphrodite 243". Flemberg (1991), 46-56.

[60] As Budin notes, for instance, the Hellenistic evidence indicates that Spartan Aphrodite was armed and that this personification was entrenched earlier; cf. Budin (2010), 99.

[61] Cf. the discussion of Aphrodite sculptures in the third and fifth chapters.

[62] On Aphrodite and bathing as an important aspect of her cult, see chapters 3 & 4 on Aphrodite and bridal vase paintings, and chapter 5 on Aphrodite's nudity in the context of bathing. Aphrodite as a fertility goddess is also likely relevant to the worship of Asklepios, including in Epidaurus, for supplications for aid in human fertility.

[63] Benigni (2013), 38.

Morpho, "the Shapely", related to the god of sleep and dreams, Morpheus; Pausanias notes that her Spartan temple featured an upper story with a sanctuary to Aphrodite *Morpho* where there was a veiled statue of the goddess with chains on her feet.[64] Sleep was critical to the process of healing: Asklepios visited those seeking his aid in an incubation ritual, a "temple sleep"; while the supplicant slept, Asklepios was expected to visit him/her and to provide a cure or to give directions for procuring one.[65] The Aphrodite of Epidaurus, armed as she is, may be an allusion to the Spartan armed Aphrodite who was also known as *Morpho*, an epithet associated with the god of sleep and therefore appropriate to the cult of Asklepios. We might further suggest that Aphrodite *Morpho* is a reference to both Aphrodite's literal form as well as to the transformative results of sleep. In Epidaurus, this transformative effect may have arisen during one's healing sleep, resulting in a "reshaping" of one's health. Thus, in representing Aphrodite as armed, the Epidaurus sculpture may be deliberately evoking Aphrodite *Morpho* for its relevance to Asklepios. Pausanias even stresses the uniqueness of the association between armed Aphrodite and *Morpho*, so I do not think it implausible to suggest that its uniqueness was unknown and therefore plausibly repeated at Epidaurus.

That the Aphrodite of Epidaurus we have now is a Roman copy also requires that we consider whether this armed image of Aphrodite is, to its Roman audience, less a reflection of one of the goddess's (former) personae and instead a representation of the disarmament of Ares, a theme favoured in the Roman period. Flemberg suggests that particularly from the late Republican period onward, Aphrodite (Venus) "played a greater role in the state religion than did Aphrodite among the Greeks" and that this was in part due to the "importance of Mars, her consort, and to the fact that the Julian family regarded Venus as their ancestress through Aeneas."[66] The Aphrodite of Epidaurus may be related to Roman coin depictions of Venus leaning against a pillar and holding elements of Mars's armor, such as his helmet, sword, or shield; the motif of the war god disarmed by the love goddess, the epitome of Venus Victrix ("Victorious Venus"), is repeated in the Aphrodite of Epidaurus sculpture.[67] However, as Flemberg further notes, Roman Venus had a greater political presence than Greek Aphrodite in that Venus Genetrix represented the Roman state, and "when depicted holding the arms of Mars the image was intended to evoke not only the power of Venus, but

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[64] 3.15.10. According to Pausanias, the chains were added by Tyndareus to represent wives' faithfulness to their husbands. Cf. also Pomeroy (2002), 122. See also Liddell & Scott entries on "μορφ-ή, ή, *form*, *shape"* in direct relation to Morpheus as well as "Μορφ-ώ" on the Aphrodite *Morpho* of Sparta.
[65] Luce (2001), 200-202; Meier (2003), ch. 5; Renberg (2017), ch. 3.
[66] Flemberg (1995), 119.
[67] Flemberg (1995), 119-120. Cf. also Lucretius's description of the disarmament of Mars by Venus, *De Rerum Natura* 1.29-43.

at the same time that of Mars, the symbol of the military of Rome."[68] The Aphrodite of Epidaurus may be based on a Greek original which from the late-Classical, Greek perspective had closer connections with Aphrodite's previous representations as an armed goddess in accordance with her worship as such in places like Sparta. By the Roman period, an armed Aphrodite may have retained the spirit of the original Greek in its replication of the armed goddess but the association between Aphrodite and war was more likely to have been an homage to Venus's relationship with Mars, and subsequently to their relationship's reflection of the Roman state.

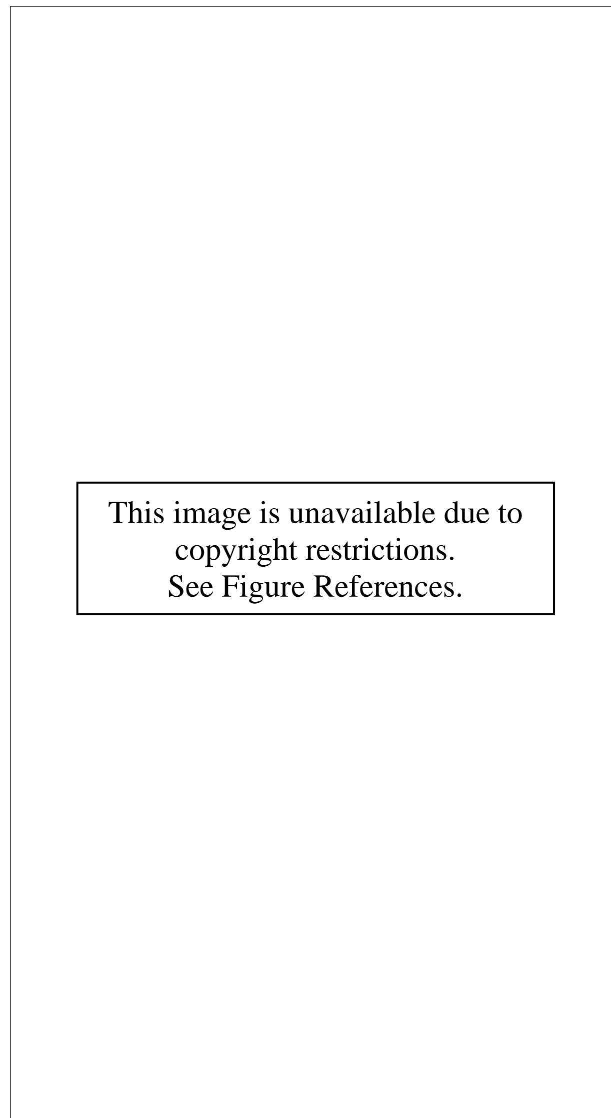

Fig. 1.12. Aphrodite of Epidaurus marble sculpture; Aphrodite bearing weapons; Roman copy of original Greek c. 380 BCE; Athens Archaeological Museum 262.

[68] Flemberg (1995), 120.

Armed Aphrodite in Attica?

There is notably less evidence of an armed Aphrodite iconography in Attica. Perhaps we can attribute this lack of an armed Aphrodite to the prevalence of Athena in this region such that Aphrodite's participation in matters of war was deemed unnecessary if not undesirable. This is not to say that Aphrodite was not associated with war to some degree within Attica. It was known that Aphrodite's lover was Ares, that Aphrodite herself protected cities in war, and that she played a crucial role in the events that led to the Trojan War. Her relationship with Ares was prevalent in Athens as for example Pausanias mentions that there were two statues of Aphrodite in Ares's sanctuary in the Athenian Agora.[69] One of these statues may be of Aphrodite *Hegemone*, "Leader" or "Queen", which suggests a guiding/leading role possibly related to Aphrodite's associations with the Demos and the Charites.[70] The statue's original location may have actually been outside the Temple of Ares and instead near the Sanctuary of the Demos and Charites, and some suggest that the statues were not within the temple until after the sack of Sulla.[71]

We do have one Attic example of Aphrodite armed and participating in battle, but the context is a mythological battle where all of the Olympian gods and goddesses are fighting on behalf of the "common good" as it were, the fight for supremacy of Greek (and notably Athenian) civility over barbarian chaos. The Lydos dinos, a black-figure dinos c. 560-540 BCE, depicts a gigantomachy, a fragment of which portrays Aphrodite, identified by inscription, armed and fighting against a giant, identified by inscription as well as Mimos

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[69] 1.8.4. Pausanias does not describe what these statues looked like; however, Rosenzweig suggests that the two colossal statues of Aphrodite discovered near an altar from the Sanctuary of the Demos and Charites at the north foot of the Kronos Agoraios may be the statues he saw (2004, 27). The first, c. early 4th century BCE (Agora Mus. S 378), is a draped sculpture likely of Aphrodite which Rosenzweig posits may have once held a spear in her raised right hand, and recalls Corinthian statuettes which also featured an Eros on the goddess's shoulder (2006, 27); cf. also Harrison (1990), 346 and pl. 50 (1 & 2). The second, c. 420 BCE (Agora Mus. S 1882), is also a draped sculpture likely of Aphrodite.

[70] Rosenzweig (2004), 27, 27 n.68.

[71] Harrison suggests that this statue and the other statue of Aphrodite in the Temple of Ares (S 1882) were moved into the temple following the sack of Sulla and this relocation resulted in Pausanias's encounter with the statues. Harrison notes that sculpture S 378 most likely represents Aphrodite *Hegemone* as it recalls 4th century Athenian works which emphasized democratic ideals and reflected Athenian emancipation from Macedonian rule and subsequently Athens's reorientation toward Rome and Pergamon (1990, 346). Stewart concurs with Harrison's identification of S 378 as Aphrodite *Hegemone* based on a number of factors, including: a) the number of figures associated with this type likely to have been grouped with an Eros, b) that two of these figures are accompanied by a figure of Pan, who is not likely to have been paired with Artemis-Hekate whom previous scholarship considered to be the identity of S 378, c) a statue of this type, near a base inscribed with a dedication to Venus, was discovered in the sanctuary of Isis at Dion, and finally, d) the pose of S 378 (left hand on hip, right arm extended outwards to hold a spear or scepter), "neatly fits the paradigm of the assertive god, goddess, or hero established in the 5th century by such iconic figures as Angelitos's Athena from the Acropolis and Oinomaos from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia" (2012, 288-294).

(fig. 1.13).[72] Aphrodite's face is partially preserved as well as the leafy stephanos on her head; her left shoulder bears a decorated garment and in her left arm she holds a round shield. Her right arm is beyond the break of the fragment, but the spear Aphrodite wields visibly passes before her forehead. The gigantomachy theme is the most likely reason for Aphrodite's depiction in this manner, as the gigantomachy famously portrays the battle between the Giants and the Olympians and in this instance all Olympians were "called to arms," so to speak. Pseudo-Apollodorus's account of the events which precipitated the battle against the giants as well as the battle itself identifies a number of Olympians who participated including Zeus, Hera, Athena, Apollo, Poseidon, Dionysus, Hephaestus, Hermes, and Artemis.[73] Absent from Pseudo-Apollodorus's account are Ares and Aphrodite, although the former is mentioned by Apollonius of Rhodes as having killed the giant Mimas.[74]

The Gigantomachy was, however, a popular theme in sixth and fifth century BCE vase paintings, where the characters with central focus are usually Zeus, Athena, Gaia, and Herakles.[75] A number of examples include the other aforementioned Olympians as well, including the Lydos dinos from which we have the previously mentioned depiction of Aphrodite battling a giant identified as Mimos (fig. 1.13). An Athenian red-figure amphora c. 400-390 BCE attributed to the Suessula Painter also depicts the Olympians against the giants, including Aphrodite driving a chariot with Ares by her side as he attacks a giant (fig. 1.14).[76] With the literary descriptions and the artistic evidence, we can surmise that the Gigantomachy required the participation of all of the Olympians, Aphrodite included. However, Aphrodite's role in the Gigantomachy should be considered peripheral, save our one known example depicting Aphrodite participating in combat (fig. 1.13). In the case of the Gigantomachy, Aphrodite's involvement has less to do with her possessing martial attributes and more to do with the idea that all Olympians participated to some degree in the fight as, according to an oracle circulated amongst all of the gods, the giants were indeed capable of

[72] "Mimos" may be a misspelling of "Mimas", one of the giants whose death has been attributed to several Olympians, including Zeus, Hephaestus, and Ares; cf. Apollod. 1.6.2, Eur. *Ion* 205–218, & Apollon. 3.1225-1227. On fig. 1.13, cf. *LIMC* 9257, "Aphrodite 1321, 1394"; *AVI* 975. On fig. 1.13, select references: Shapiro (1989), pl. 39c; Carpenter (1991), fig. 112; Hurwit (1999), 31 fig. 31; Budin (2003), 27-28; Budin (2010), 92-94.
[73] Apollod. 1.34-38.
[74] Apollon. 3.1225-1227.
[75] Gantz (1993), 451. Cf. Gantz (1993), 450-454 for further discussion of the Gigantomachy in vase paintings and sculpture.
[76] *LIMC* 11533, "Aphrodite 1398", "Ares 105", "Amazones 332". On fig. 1.14, cf. Beazley (1963), 1344.1, 1691; Boardman (1989), fig. 329; Robertson (1992), 258; Tiverios (1994), 139; Boardman (2001), 273.

defeating the Olympians.[77] If not for the immediate peril facing all of the Olympians, Aphrodite, who does not have skills useful in war, likely would have abstained from the battle. But considering the giants posed a threat to all Olympians, it would have been in Aphrodite's best interests to stand with her fellow deities even if that meant she did not directly battle a giant but rather aided the other, more martially capable gods in defeating them, such as evidenced by the red-figure amphora where Aphrodite drives the chariot while Ares fights the giant (fig. 1.14).

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See Figure References.

Fig. 1.13. Athenian black-figure dinos fragment; c. 560-540 BCE. Gigantomachy: Aphrodite, identified by inscription, fighting a giant, identified by inscription as Mimos. National Museum of Athens, Acropolis Coll.: 1.607. Beazley 310147.

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See Figure References.

Fig. 1.14. Athenian red-figure amphora fragment; c. 400-390 BCE. Gigantomachy: Top left, Aphrodite driving chariot with Ares beside her wielding a spear against a giant, Eros crouching and aiming his bow. Attributed to the Suessula Painter. Louvre S1677; Beazley 217568.

[77] Apollod. 1.34-38. The oracle also claimed that the Olympians could not defeat the giants unless they enlisted the help of a mortal ally, at which point Herakles is drawn into the battle.

A second example of Aphrodite portrayed in a potentially martial context originating from Athens is a black-figure amphora c. 520 BCE depicting Aphrodite and Poseidon, both identified by inscription, in a chariot drawn by four horses (fig. 1.15).[78] Here, Aphrodite holds the reins and dons an aegis (sans the Gorgon face associated with Athena), an atypical accoutrement for the goddess. The snake-shaped fringes along the edge of Aphrodite's cloak confirm that the breastplate she dons is in fact a type of aegis.[79] As Budin notes, Aphrodite in the role of charioteer while also wearing an aegis lends a martial interpretation to this depiction.[80] Shapiro notes that the association between Aphrodite and Poseidon is rare in Attic vase painting as the goddesses usually associated with Poseidon are Athena and Amphitrite.[81] Amphitrite occasionally appears on a chariot next to her consort Poseidon, leading some to consider whether the vase painter had intended to represent this divine couple but due to the similarity of the goddesses' names, inscribed Aphrodite instead of Amphitrite.[82] Pironti considers this depiction of Aphrodite particularly relevant to "rethinking" the goddess, noting that interpretations of this scene which consider Aphrodite to have been a mistake on the artist's part disregard the affinity between Aphrodite and Poseidon. The two deities both have marine/maritime associations, so their pairing is not unusual in the sense of shared domains. Farnell suggested that Aphrodite and Poseidon's pairing on this amphora was a result of their dual association with Corinth, both being patron deities of the region, even considering that Aphrodite in Corinth was worshipped under a war-like aspect.[83] Pironti revisits this interpretation, arguing that, "if Aphrodite watches over the city from the heights of Akrocorinth, then Poseidon is indeed the god of the Ishthmos, and in Corinth's harbors the goddess is far from absent."[84] Why an Athenian artist would choose to depict Aphrodite next to Poseidon in a chariot could derive from the deities' pairing in Corinth, which would not have been unknown to an Athenian audience. Pironti further speculates that perhaps the "political-military function of the Corinthian Aphrodite and the analogy with the most representative couple on the Athenian Akropolis, Athena and Poseidon, could have led the Athenian artist to depict Aphrodite next to Poseidon, as if she

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[78] *LIMC* 11935; *AVI* 4265. On fig. 1.15, cf. Beazley (1956), 673; Heimberg (1968), 33; Shapiro (1989), 109 n.75; Pironti (2010), 114-115.
[79] Pironti (2010), 116.
[80] Budin (2010), 92.
[81] Shapiro (1989), 107-109.
[82] Pironti (2010), 114-115. On the female figure as Amphitrite, cf. Heimberg (1968), 33; Flemberg (1991), 46; & Simon *LIMC* 7 (1994), 476-477, s.v. "Poseidon" n. 266.
[83] Farnell [1896]/(2010), 691.
[84] Pironti (2010), 116.

were the 'Athena' of the Corinthians."[85] As Pironti herself admits, this theory, while enticing, is impossible to prove, although I concur with Pironti that the likelihood of the artist having made a mistake with the inscription is just as speculative and impossible to prove. Given that Aphrodite and Poseidon did have various associations, including shared *polis* patronage of Corinth as well as overlapping domains, their pairing in this amphora is not as implausible as previous scholars consider. While the aegis-bearing Aphrodite is unusual, especially on an Attic vase painting, perhaps this representation of Aphrodite is meant to recall her role in certain *poleis* as a patron goddess and thus one of, if not the primary protector of a given *polis*, not unlike the suggestion of armed Aphrodite in Sparta, Corinth, and elsewhere.

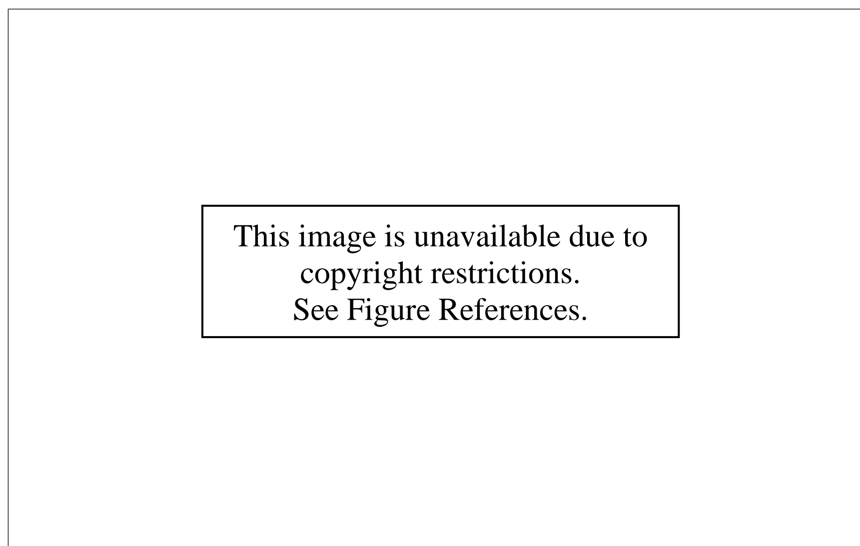

Fig. 1.15. Athenian black-figure amphora, c. 520 BCE. Aphrodite and Poseidon in chariot. British Museum B254. Beazley 306464. Drawing after Lenormant, de Witte, *Élite des monuments céramographiques. Matériaux pour l'histoire des religions et des moeurs de l'antiquité* (Paris, 1844-1861), 3, pl. 15.

More common Attic representations of Aphrodite fall into two categories. These representations are more contemporary to the late-Archaic and early-Classical violent erotica examples discussed in the next chapter which derive primarily from the Attic region. The first is Aphrodite Koutrophoros depictions and the second is Aphrodite in Judgment of Paris scenes. Select examples of both categories will suffice for elucidating Aphrodite's iconography in these Attic contexts. Figure 1.16, a black-figure pinax fragment c. 560-550 BCE from the Athenian Acropolis, depicts Aphrodite Koutrophoros holding a child in each

[85] Pironti (2010), 116.

arm.[86] In this fragment, she holds Himeros, identified by inscription, in one arm and in the other arm, likely Eros. The inscription for Eros is cut off, only the "E" visible. With Himeros clearly identified and Eros being the most likely other child in her arms, the identification of Aphrodite is more secured.[87] Here, Aphrodite dons a geometric-patterned dress, belt, and himation; her hair is unveiled and she wears a cap. This depiction of Aphrodite as mother of Himeros and Eros emphasizes her role in matters of sexuality and love as manifest in her sons respectively, while also highlighting her cult worship around the Acropolis as a fertility goddess, notably in relation to her North Slope sanctuary.[88]

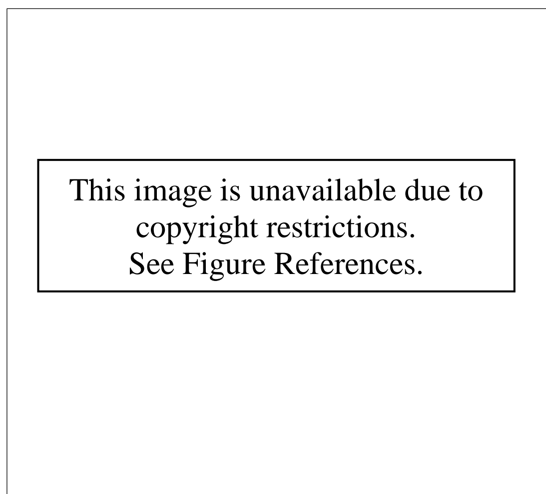

Fig. 1.16. Athenian black-figure pinax fragment, c. 560-550 BCE, from the Athenian Acropolis. Aphrodite holding Himeros and Eros. National Museum of Athens 15131. Beazley 950.

Another example of Aphrodite Koutrophoros is on an Athenian black-figure amphora c. 530-520 BCE (fig. 1.17).[89] This depiction is part of a series of Attic black-figure vases mostly from the third quarter of the sixth century BCE where the Koutrophoros figure appears and usually in a Dionysiac setting, although the female figure and the child or children she holds are never named.[90] Because of her appearance with Dionysus, previous scholarship favoured identifying the female figure as Ariadne holding the twins she bore to Dionysus, Staphylos and Oinopion.[91] Carpenter has argued instead that the female figure in

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[86] *LIMC* 20900, "Himeros, Himeroi 8", "Aphrodite 1255", "Eros 1007"; *AVI* 1182. On fig. 1.16, select references include: Carpenter (1986), pl. 9b; Shapiro (1989), pl. 53b; Carpenter (1991), fig. 91; Shapiro (1993), 110 fig. 62; Budin (2003), 29 fig. 2f; Rosenzweig (2004), fig. 12; Parker (2005), 433; Pala (2010), 204 fig. 10.1.
[87] Shapiro notes an earlier Aphrodite Koutrophoros image from the Athenian Acropolis, dated to no later than c. 580 BCE, which preserves the inscription of Aphrodite but less than half the figure. This image can be more confidently restored thanks to the pinax fragment. Cf. Shapiro (1989), 120-121, pl. 53a. Cf. also Carpenter (1986), 24, pl. 9a. (cf. Beazley 319).
[88] Budin (2003), 29; Shapiro (1989), 121. On the North Slope sanctuary, cf. Ch. 4 discussion.
[89] *LIMC* 8101. On fig. 1.17, cf. Beazley (1956), 142.3; Oakley (2013), 20; Shapiro (1989), pl.43A.
[90] Shapiro (1989), 121. Other examples include: Beazley 302277, 352393, & 310380.
[91] Shapiro (1989), 121. On the Ariadne identification, cf. Simon (1963), 13 n.45; Schefold (1978), 22.

these scenes should be identified as Aphrodite based on the close contemporary associations between Dionysus and Aphrodite both in poetry and in art.[92] As Shapiro notes, given that there are no secured inscriptions identifying Ariadne as a Koutrophoros figure and none of Staphylos either, the inscribed fragments of Aphrodite as Koutrophoros favour the identification of Aphrodite in these Dionysiac settings as well.[93]

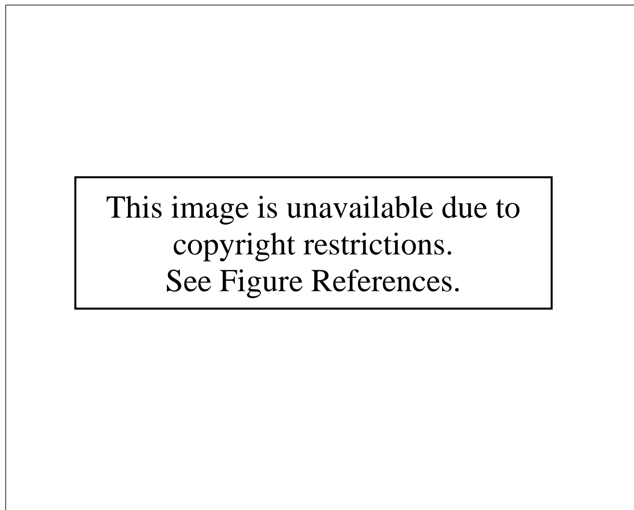

Fig. 1.17. Athenian black-figure amphora, c. 530-520 BCE, attributed to the Towry Whyte Painter. Dionysus with vine and drinking horn, before him a goddess (Aphrodite) holding children, Hermes behind Dionysus, youth with ivy behind Aphrodite. British Museum B168. Beazley 310371.

Aphrodite in the Judgment of Paris are amongst the most frequent Attic representations of Aphrodite. Aphrodite's gift to Paris, the most beautiful mortal woman in the world, Helen of Sparta, wife to Menelaus, instigated what would become arguably one of the most legendary wars of antiquity, the Trojan War. Although Aphrodite's motivation in winning the Judgment was one of personal vanity rather than to instigate a war, one cannot help but think of the Trojan War upon viewing an image of the Judgment knowing that the latter eventually led to the former, thereby recalling Aphrodite's role, however unintentional. An Athenian black-figure pyxis c. 575-550 BCE depicts the Judgment where Aphrodite appears in the middle, presumably veiling her face before revealing herself in all of her splendid glory (fig. 1.18).[94] Athena with her spear stands behind Aphrodite and in front of

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[92] Carpenter (1986), 24-29. Carpenter notes that the François Vase provides the clearest indication that the female figure is Aphrodite, as at the focal point of the Return of Hephaestus frieze Aphrodite stands facing Dionysus, her pose and dress strikingly similar to those images of the Koutrophoros in the Dionysiac settings (1986, 24). Carpenter also notes that sixth century poets, such as Solon and Anacreon, connected Aphrodite and Dionysus on a metaphorical level, "based on the wisdom that wine stimulates love", a notion popular in Athenian imagination by at least the first quarter of the sixth century BCE (1986, 25).
[93] Shapiro (1989), 121. On the fragment with Aphrodite Koutrophoros facing Dionysus, cf. Beazley 319, referenced in n.87 above.
[94] *LIMC* 10803. On fig. 1.18, cf. Beazley (1956), 681.122; Schefold (1993), 35; Gherchanoc (2016), 34; Filser (2017), 416.

Aphrodite is Hera with a scepter. It is worth noting that as well as the connotation of war by virtue of the Judgment scene, this pyxis further emphasizes combat and warfare in more explicit terms with images of warriors battling one another on the other two tripod panels/feet. In one, two warriors face off, both armored and both holding a shield while brandishing a spear, while an Athena on either side observes; in the second, two pairs of horses face each other, the reins held by two armored warriors who face each other and brandish spears. The whole composition of this pyxis clearly focuses on a martial theme, with the Judgment of Paris and its implied results, through which Aphrodite is directly involved, perhaps meant to represent the cause of events similar to those represented in the other two panels. Another later Attic example of the Judgment of Paris is a black-figure lekythos from the Kerameikos c. 500-490 BCE (fig. 1.19).[95] Hermes with his *kerykeion* restrains Paris, who holds a lyre and appears to be fleeing. Behind Hermes is Hera with an apple, followed by armed Athena with an owl, and lastly Aphrodite with a siren. In red-figure Judgment scenes, the goddesses may be identified by specific individual attributes, such as Aphrodite with Erotes, while in black-figure there is less evidence of an artist's attempt to distinguish them, this lekythos by the Diosphos Painter appearing to be an exception.[96]

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See Figure References.

Fig. 1.18. Athenian black-figure pyxis c. 575-550 BCE attributed to the C Painter. Judgment of Paris: from left, Athena, Aphrodite, Hera, Hermes, and Paris. Lille, Musee de Beaux Arts 763. Beazley 306515.

[95] On fig. 1.19, cf. Kunze-Gotte et. al (1999), pl.53.1.5, 53.3.5; Hatzivassiliou (2010), pl. 11.1-2; Paleothodoros (2012), 30, fig. 10.3.
[96] Hatzivassiliou (2010), 27.

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Fig. 1.19. Athenian black-figure lekythos c. 500-490 BCE. Attributed to the Diosphos Painter. Judgment of Paris: from left, Aphrodite with siren, Athena with owl, Hera with apple. Athens Kerameikos 1488. Beazley 9022748.

Compared to the armed Aphrodite evidence discussed previously, the contemporary Attic evidence appears to prefer a less explicitly war-associated love goddess. There are few instances of Aphrodite associated directly with war, such as the gigantomachy representation, and other examples can only be persuasively theorized as martial representations of Aphrodite but not definitively proven, such as Aphrodite in the chariot with Poseidon. In the chariot representation, if taken to be a martial representation, it is less likely that the Athenian audience considered Aphrodite to be a goddess of war, like their own Athena, and more a *polis* protectress particularly relevant to those cities over which she had primary patronage, including Corinth. While the gigantomachy, as an exceptional occurrence where Aphrodite is armed and fighting, does not thus allow us to infer that Aphrodite is willing and able to aid a specific city in times of war, the Corinthian evidence of a martial Aphrodite does speak to this protectress persona. Aphrodite is called upon to protect Corinth from foreign enemies and her numismatic representations also portray her in a more militaristic fashion conducive to imagining the goddess as the city's female, patron deity who in exchange for preferential worship oversees the continued prosperity of the city itself. The Koutrophoros representations suggest a preference for worshipping Aphrodite as a fertility goddess as well as a love and sex goddess, the two personae certainly being related, in keeping with the sanctuaries of

Aphrodite in Athens, such as the Ilissos, North Slope, and Daphni sanctuaries (as discussed in chapter four). The Koutrophoros depictions appear to be indicative of the borrowing of the Koutrophoros function from the Mother Earth goddess and applying it to Aphrodite, a phenomenon not exclusive to Aphrodite as this epithet was attached to several goddesses, including the virgin goddess Artemis, and the artistic motif was also applied to various figures, such as the depiction of Nyx holding the twins Hypnos and Thanatos on the chest of Kypselos, contemporary to the period of the Aphrodite Acropolis fragments of the same Koutrophoros configuration.[97] The Attic Judgment of Paris depictions suggest Aphrodite's involvement in war was primarily thought of as an indirect association. Aphrodite's relationship with Ares as recognized just as clearly in Athens as in other regions suggests an alternative type of association.

The Authenticity of Armed Aphrodite

There is, however, an important objection that my account of Aphrodite and war needs to address. On the Archaic and Classical evidence, Budin maintains that, "the manifestation of this martial persona of the goddess is unknown: we have no way of knowing if *Areia* herself was armed, was thought to go into combat, or was simply a companion to her more martial consort."[98] But as Flemberg previously noted, "the goddess must have had some quality that made the armed image appropriate…But if not a war goddess, the earliest Aphrodite may, in these places, have been a city goddess, as Athena was later to be in many cities, or the protrectress of a ruler, as Astarte and similar goddesses in the Near East seem often to have been."[99] The paucity of armed Aphrodite evidence does not negate what evidence we do have, and to suggest that what evidence exists is not sufficient enough to warrant crediting Aphrodite with a martial persona at certain stages of her cult worship before the Hellenistic period, as Budin does,[100] ignores the legitimacy of her role as a city protectress in places such as Corinth and Sparta where she was a patron deity. It may be more pertinent to say that armed/martial Aphrodite was a local phenomenon in certain cities because this persona complemented the city's envisioning of Aphrodite within the context of local customs. To reconsider Sparta, the worship of an armed Aphrodite is reasonable when the goddess is contextualized within the ideals of Spartan culture and society. As Flower

[97] Shapiro (1989), 121. On the chest of Kypselos description, cf. Paus. 5.18.1.
[98] Budin (2010), 96.
[99] Flemberg (1995), 120.
[100] Budin (2010), 96.

argues, "The whole Spartan system of values and way of life are summarized in the image of an armed god."[101] As Aphrodite was included amongst the deities actively worshipped in Sparta, her being represented in arms is emblematic of her personal contribution to the perpetuation of Spartan values, including superior martial skills and martial success.[102] I also consider it erroneous to diminish the impact ANE precedents would have had on shaping a persona of Aphrodite which included an involvement with war. The manifestation of a war and sex/love goddess in the ANE was significantly more brutal and lustful for battle than in her Hellenic counterpart. Armed Aphrodite was not the equivalent of armed Ishtar. However, if one were to question the inspiration for an armed Aphrodite, one answer would be the ANE goddesses, notably Ishtar, who played prominent roles in the formation of Aphrodite's identity and who were worshipped as love and war deities represented accordingly in arms.[103]

Cities where an armed Aphrodite is said to have been worshipped were also receptive to eastern, foreign models of goddess representations present in the Archaic period and this receptivity supports the likelihood that an armed image of a love and sex goddess was entertained and explored in a wider Greek context. Other goddess iconography that reaches Sparta and Corinth more or less separately and in transmission from the east is the Daedalic terracotta standing naked goddess type. During the seventh century BCE, this type "made its way" to several Greek sites, including Sparta and Corinth, as well as to Crete and Asia Minor.[104] The terracottas date from the mid-seventh century BCE to early sixth century BCE and the naked goddess usually "takes the form a locally produced terracotta…[and] are again found for the most part at sanctuaries where they have been dedicated as votive offerings."[105] Crete has proven receptive to this iconography, with figurines and relief plaques found at several sites including Gortyn and Axos, the latter where Aphrodite was worshipped, attesting to Cretan contact with Cyprus (fig. 1.20); several Cretan bronze shields of likely Cypriot manufacture feature figures in the relief of the naked standing goddess.[106] The Cretan evidence may also indicate direct contact with the Levantine coast. Higgins suggests that the Phoenician Astarte plaques evolved on Crete into the Daedalic plaques which would later appear at sites throughout Greece, meaning that the routes through which the mould technology of these plaques spread may have bypassed Cyprus.[107] Terracotta naked standing

[101] Flower (2009), 205.
[102] Cf. Plut. *Instituta Laconica,* 239a.
[103] Astarte is also associated with war and kingship; cf. Schmitt (2013).
[104] Ammerman (1991), 223.
[105] Ammerman (1991), 223. On the eastern "naked goddess" ("Nackte Göttin") motif, cf. chapter 5 discussion.
[106] Ammerman (1991), 223.
[107] Higgins (1967), 28.

goddesses were found at the Menelaion (fig. 1.21) and the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (fig. 1.22), as well as in Corinth (the Astarte figurine) and near Corinth in Perachora from the port sanctuary of Hera Limenia.[108] The Daedalic terracottas further attest to the transmission of goddess iconography reaching mainland Greece and being stylized to local impressions.[109]

There is no doubt that Aphrodite did not remain a war goddess once assimilated into the Olympian pantheon. I do not suggest that armed Aphrodite was worshipped in a linear fashion from the Archaic period through the Hellenistic/Roman periods. The Hellenistic and Roman evidence does strongly imply an awareness of a previous martial persona of Aphrodite which flustered later audiences by its incongruity. Plutarch's reference to the Corinthian women praying to Aphrodite to "fire their husbands with a passionate love for battle" suggests a later attempt to make sense of her involvement with war in the first place.[110] Here, Aphrodite appears to be invoked for the purpose of instilling a love of battle within the men, which for Plutarch and his contemporary audience may have explained why the Corinthians would have beseeched the goddess of love and beauty for aid during a time of

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[108] Ammerman (1991), 225. The Menelaion likely started as a Helleneion, with earlier dedications to Athena and Hellen, supporting the identification of the figurines as goddesses and not simply consorts of Menelaos; the earliest inscription from the Menelaion is a dedication to Helen on a bronze aryballos c. 650 BCE; the earliest dedication to Menelaos dates to c. 500 BCE; cf. Whitley (2013), 54, 61-62 n.4. These naked goddess figurines may or may not be related to the sixth century BCE Spartan figures of naked girls and *diazoma*-clad girls styled as caryatid mirror handles and paterai. The mirror figures are not always completely nude (instead donning a *diazoma*), they are often stylized with masculine physicality, they are representative of young, teen girls with underdeveloped breasts and masculine torsos rather than fully developed women, and the naked figures omit the vulva; cf. Stewart (1997), 108-113. It is thus unlikely that there is a direct correlation between these figures and the terracotta naked goddess figures. Who the mirror/paterai figures are meant to represent is also another question. The provenanced *diazoma* wearers come from outside Spartan territory and have been considered potentially representative of slave girl performers at feasts and parties, although Stewart notes that paterai were ritual objects and thus a cultic or mythological frame of reference should be considered; the naked girls are found within Spartan territory and some, Stewart argues, can be tentatively connected to cult based on certain attributes they possess (1997, 111-112). Some of the naked girls wear baldrics and/or amulets, or a *polos*, some others are accompanied by certain flora and fauna (rosettes, lotuses, frogs, turtles, lions, griffins, etc.); these attributes can be linked to Spartan cult, including to votives from the Artemis Orthia sanctuary and the Helen sanctuary at the Menelaion which likewise feature these attributes and are representative of the respective deities worshipped; cf. Stewart (1997), 111-112. The terracotta naked goddesses and these mirror/paterai figures may therefore share a cultic link if not an iconographic one.

[109] Further evidence of ANE influence on specifically Spartan iconographies comes from the Laconian terracotta votive plaques. Salapata has extensively studied these plaques in association with the Spartan hero cult, particularly the Amyklaian plaques of which the dominant motif is the seated man holding a drinking cup, usually a kantharos, accompanied by a snake (Cf. Salapata 1997, 2009, 2013, & 2014). Salapata argues that this iconographic type was created in Laconia during the third quarter of the sixth century and it was based not only on regional prototypes but Egyptian and ANE as well, having been modified according to "aesthetic and cultic requirements" (2013, 193; cf. 2014 ch.5). ANE influences include the rendering of the man's face and his Ionic clothing, as well as the motif of the banqueting scene as indicative of divine/royal status (Salapata 2014, ch.5). Salapata notes that the sixth century "was the period of Sparta's alliance with the Lydian king Kroisos and was also the time when Ionian artists were working in Lakonia…Thus, eastern influences may have reached Lakonia either directly from Asia Minor or through Samos" (2014, 143).

[110] *Mor*. 871A-B.

war. If Aphrodite can influence deep erotic passions, then that influence may have extended to passions for battle and thus "boost" the men's fighting vigor. Aphrodite need not be a particularly martial goddess in order to be useful in times of war; her strengths can be uniquely utilized in other, still relevant ways. Furthermore, our Roman sculptural evidence of an "armed" Aphrodite, as Flemberg argues, represents Aphrodite's disarmament of Ares and indicates a predilection for representing oppositions; these representations also demonstrate the Republic's deliberate evocation of victory with Rome's founding mother-goddess.[111] However, I do not consider that the Hellenistic and Roman evidence discredits an earlier existence of an armed Aphrodite in select areas of Greece. Armed Aphrodite in the later contexts can be regarded as a reinterpretation of this preexisting motif, one which in previous periods had more in common with reinterpretations of Aphrodite's ANE associations and her role as a patron deity and *polis* protectress than with poetic and artistic stylizations of opposing yet complementary extremes, such as love and war. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, armed Aphrodite had a new meaning, but this new meaning does not invalidate previous interpretations.

[111] Flemberg (1991). Flemberg analyses literary and sculptural depictions of "armed Aphrodite" and begins with a discussion on the oriental background of this motif in relation to Astarte and Ishtar, arguing that Aphrodite's martial attributes likely derive from this background. In Greece, the association with war was reduced to her relationship with Ares, and this juxtaposition (love/war) appealed especially to Hellenistic Greeks, as evidenced by a number of the 31 literary sources Flemberg includes. Flemberg argues that the first assured identification of an armed Aphrodite is the Epidauros sculpture, and that earlier examples have been misidentified, including two archaic bronze statuettes from Gravisca and a statuette found at Himera. Flemberg then analyses 16 statues of a nude Aphrodite holding a sword, including examples from Nea Paphos, based on which he concludes that the original statue was three-quarters life-size, bronze, and showed nude Aphrodite putting on a sword belt; it likely originated on an Aegean island (Cos or Rhodes?) or in Asia Minor, and was probably of the late second-century BCE or later. In Rome, armed Aphrodite was interpreted as an extension of Venus Genetrix and/or Victrix.

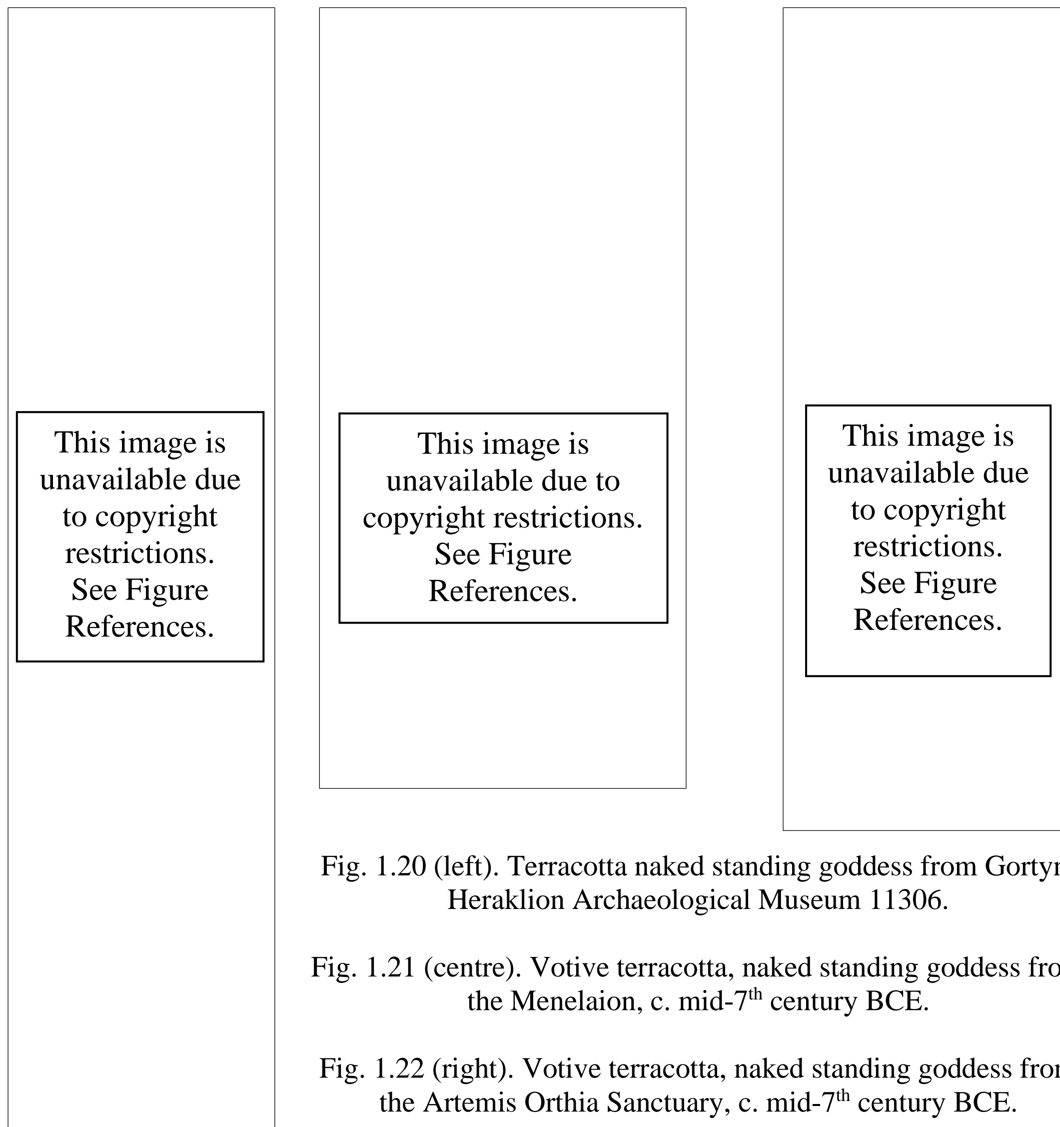

Fig. 1.20 (left). Terracotta naked standing goddess from Gortyn. Heraklion Archaeological Museum 11306.

Fig. 1.21 (centre). Votive terracotta, naked standing goddess from the Menelaion, c. mid-7th century BCE.

Fig. 1.22 (right). Votive terracotta, naked standing goddess from the Artemis Orthia Sanctuary, c. mid-7th century BCE.

Ares & Aphrodite

When the Greek pantheon as we recognize it today began to form, there was "no place for a warlike or 'political' love goddess," as Flemberg aptly summarizes.[112] It is primarily through her relationship with Ares that Aphrodite's association with war continues even after she is "disarmed." Hesiod briefly describes Aphrodite as the consort of Ares: "To Ares the piercer of shield-hides Cytherea bore Terror and Fear, formidable gods who rout tight battle-lines in the chilling conflict together with Ares sacker of cities; and Harmonia, whom proud Cadmus made his wife."[113] Even the divine couples' children further emblematize the dichotomy between love and war, with their sons taking after their father and their daughter following in her mother's footsteps. Again, the dichotomy is rendered as opposing extremes,

[112] Flemberg (1995), 120.
[113] *Th*. 933; trans. West (1999).

particularly as opposing gendered extremes with the masculine representing elements of war and strife and the feminine representing elements of peace. Aphrodite's personality embodies a set of polarities, sexuality and violence, love and war. She is not "conciliatory, but rather a kind of tension," Pickup and Smith note; "her erotic realm straddles the middle ground" between the two extremes of love and conflict.[114] Her relationship with Ares is the vessel through which these contradictory facets of her identity materialize most evidently. The pairing likely derives from an older tradition of the war god and his love goddess consort (e.g. Astarte and Baal). The Cypriot goddess and her consort protected copper, although her consort was not the predecessor of Hephaestus; this god was a warrior, donning a helmet and holding a spear and is usually interpreted as akin to Ugaritic Baal or Syrian Reshef.[115] These relationships provide a direct connection between sexuality and aggression, both male and female, and they further indicate that the basis upon which the Hellenistic and Roman evidence focuses attention on armed Aphrodite as representative of the disarmament of Ares is rooted in a far older tradition of pairing complementary extremes.

As the separate *cellae* of the Ares/Aphrodite sanctuary at Argos may demonstrate, the Greeks perceived the relationship between the two deities as an appropriate representation of opposing but complementary forces, intimately connected by virtue of their ability to balance each other out. Aphrodite, goddess of peace, faces the city, while Ares, god of war, faces the enemy.[116] Charm and persuasion stand opposite to brutality and conflict. Their "opposing yet complementary domains" as well as their mutual "command of uncontrollable passions"[117] rationalize Ares and Aphrodite's continual association based on the perception of the relationship between love and war. Pironti suggests that the Greek cults honouring an armed Aphrodite and her participation in warfare demonstrate that Aphrodite's martial side was an "essential component of the goddess' realm, closely connected to her political prerogatives."[118] This essential component emerged through her relationship with Ares, specifically in that her role in violence extended to the "clashing together of bodies in erotic *mixis*."[119] This *mixis* recalls the Corinthian invocation to Aphrodite where her ability to stir a burning passion for fighting amongst the soldiers demonstrates the dual applicability of her powers in both sexual and warfare contexts. As previously shown, the extent to which

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[114] Pickup & Smith (2010), 18.
[115] Karageorghis (2005), 136.
[116] Pirenne-Delforge (1994), 454; Budin (2010), 102.
[117] Budin (2010), 102.
[118] Pironti (2010), 121.
[119] Cyrino (2010), 51. See also: Pironti (2007).

Aphrodite herself participated in warfare is not clearly evidenced and her political prerogatives in connection with her war affiliations is more likely relevant to her role as patron deity and thus protectress of certain cities. Her dual ability to effect powerful, volatile emotions in both sexual and warfare contexts does present a convincing rationale for her continual, albeit indirect, involvement with war, and consequently her direct involvement with the war god Ares.

There are instances in epic of Aphrodite involving herself in battle, although not for the purpose of any direct fighting, for which we turn to the Homer. As referenced previously, in the *Iliad* she hastens directly into an ensuing battle to save Aeneas, suffering an injury inflicted by Diomedes in the process; Aphrodite borrows Ares's chariot to flee back to Olympus (*Il.* 5.311-366). This episode results in Zeus's well-known rebuke, worth repeating, as he advises Aphrodite, "No, my child, not for you are the works of warfare. Rather concern yourself only with the lovely secrets of marriage, while all this shall be left to Athene and sudden Ares" (*Il.* 5.428-430). Later in the epic, although reduced to a peripheral role to help a protagonist, she once again enters the fray, this time between the gods, to save Ares and to remove him from the fighting (*Il.* 21.415-417). It is striking that Zeus is quick to rebuke Aphrodite for involving herself in the fight. Perhaps, as Flemberg suggests, by virtue of there already being a war goddess in the Hellenic pantheon, any involvement Aphrodite would have had in warfare would have been out of place and superfluous. In order to draw clear distinctions between the domains of individual deities, Aphrodite was put in her rightful place, so to speak.[120]

Whatever the specific reasoning for Zeus's rebuke, Aphrodite's participation in battle during the *Iliad* is nevertheless connected to Ares. Whether Aphrodite is borrowing his chariot or saving Ares himself, Aphrodite is not amidst battle without Ares in close proximity. When Aphrodite is injured by Diomedes, Ares is quick to give her his chariot so that she may flee to safety; after Apollo saves Aeneas after Aphrodite is injured, Apollo finds Ares amidst the ensuing battle and beseeches him: "Ares, Ares, manslaughtering, blood-stained, stormer of strong walls, is there no way you can go and hold back this man from the fighting, Tydeus' son, who would now do battle against Zeus father? Even now he stabbed in her hand by the wrist the lady of Kypros, and again, like more than a man, charged even

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[120] Zeus, the supreme god, assigns each deity his/her own domain, although this theme is stronger in Hesiod's *Theogony* than in Homer, thus for Aphrodite to step outside this assigned domain may countenance Zeus's rebuke. Cf. Scully (2018), 81-94 on Hesiod's *Theogony* as a hymn to Zeus and "his creation," including the gods and their domains.

against me."[121] Ares immediately goes amongst the Trojans to stir their ranks to defeat the Greeks; Diomedes has the audacity to attack even gods and to wound a goddess, for which Apollo feels the Greek warrior must be punished, urging Ares to recognize the transgression as well, especially as the goddess wounded is Ares's own consort. In the *Iliad*, Aphrodite retains a connection to warfare, however, it is largely through her relationship with Ares as well as her being Aeneas's mother. Any participation in the actual fighting is peripheral at best and the poet makes it clear that Aphrodite does not belong on the battlefield.[122]

One might argue that the Zeus's disparaging of Aphrodite is excessive. She is, after all, still a goddess to be revered and respected whether or not her domain directly extends to war. Although as we have seen from the Spartan, Corinthian, and Argive evidence that Aphrodite was not completely removed from warfare,[123] Homer's depiction of Aphrodite may have more to do with emphasizing her specific strengths not in opposition to martial attributes but rather as equally powerful as martial strengths but in a different context. Aphrodite does not lack power; what Homer does in the scenes discussed above is situate Aphrodite's powers in the contexts they are meant to be in, in other words in matters of love, beauty, marriage, sex, etc. Although she may not be a martial goddess, there is no need for her to be one, and she certainly does not need weapons of war when her own weapons of beauty, desirability, sensuality, etc. are more than powerful enough on their own. No other god or goddess could compete with Aphrodite were he or she to stray into Aphrodite's realm of power, just as Aphrodite does not possess equal strengths in the individual realms of the other gods, including those realms of war. Zeus's "mockery" then may not be "mockery" in the true sense but rather simply a frank assessment stemming from a desire to differentiate in no uncertain terms where individual deities' strengths lay.

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[121] *Il.* 5.455-459.

[122] Aphrodite's rebuke may also be related to the idea that sexually active women who were also martially inclined posed a uniquely specific threat against the Homeric hero. In a recently published article, I discuss the role of sexual experience in determining a woman's ability to participate in male-oriented activities, especially warfare, as it relates to the ancient Greek notion of *thumos*, and why a sexually active woman who was also competent in warfare posed a specific threat to the ancient Greek male psyche; a perfect example of this type of woman is the Amazon. Cf. King (2019), 1-38. For women's involvement in warfare discussed in ancient sources, cf. Paus. 4.29.5; Polyb. 1.72.5, 38.15.6ff; Diod. 32.9; Thuc, 2.78; Paus. 1.13; Plut. *Pyrrh*. 29.3-6, 27.4, 34.2; Polyaenus, *Strat*. 8.49, 8.68, 8.70. Select modern discussions on women's involvement in warfare include: Graf (1984); Barry (1996); Pomeroy (2002); Loman (2004). On *thumos* and Greek heroic ideals, cf. Schein (1984), 177-79; Blok (1995), 279; Walshe (2016), 112; also, Koziak (1999).

[123] Budin further notes that Aphrodite's associations with war were far reaching, noting her epithets Aphrodite *Hoplismenê* ("Armed"), as worshipped at Kythera, Sparta, and Corinth as previously discussed, as well as Aphrodite *Strateia* ("Campaigner") and *Hegemonê* ("Leader"). Aphrodite is married to the armorer god Hephaestus and of course, she is the lover/wife of Ares. Cf. Budin (2010), 80.

Ares and Aphrodite also appear in book eight of the *Odyssey* in an infamous song sung by the poet Demodocus. The song is too long to quote in full here (8.266-366), but it recounts the discovery by Aphrodite's then-husband Hephaestus of Ares and Aphrodite's love affair and his revenge on both of them. According to the song, the sun god Helios saw Ares and Aphrodite "lying in love together" and subsequently told Hephaestus. Distraught and seeking retribution, Hephaestus makes an unbreakable chain-link so finely wrought as to be nearly invisible and attaches it to his bed. When next Ares and Aphrodite shared the bed, they became ensnared by the chains; Hephaestus was able to trap them and drag them to Mt. Olympus to shame them in front of the other gods. The other Olympians find great delight in their humiliation, Hermes even saying that he would still risk any bondage and shame or humiliation for the chance to sleep with Aphrodite (8.339-342), until Poseidon persuades Hephaestus to free them in return for a guarantee that Ares would pay whatever is asked of him to make amends, and if Ares reneged, Poseidon himself would (gladly) take Aphrodite off his hands. Hephaestus frees the lovers and Ares flees to Thrace while Aphrodite takes refuge in Paphos. The song was later condemned in antiquity by various writers who claimed the adulterous story was too risqué to be recounted in poetry, and the treatment of the gods in this manner both disrespectful and impious.[124] The song has also been discussed at length by modern scholarship, notably for its relevance to the plot of Book VIII, how the story of adultery relates to Odysseus and Penelope or to Odysseus and Euryalus, and/or for the song's character reflections of both mythological figures (Hephaestus, Ares, Odysseus, Demodocus, etc.) and/or the nonmythological figure of the Homeric poet.[125]

Here, my focus is strictly on the portrayal of Ares and Aphrodite. Although the poet describes the direct interaction between Ares and Aphrodite only briefly, it nevertheless shows a softer side of Ares through which one can read a subtle suggestion that even the most violent and aggressive of men are vulnerable to a woman's embrace. After Ares, having closely kept an eye on Hephaestus's whereabouts, sees that the lame god has seemingly departed for Lemnos, he finds Aphrodite in the house she shares with Hephaestus whereupon he "took her by the hand and spoke to her," saying, "Come, my dear, let us take our way to the bed, and lie there, for Hephaestus is no longer hereabouts, but by this time he must have come to Lemnos and the wild-spoken Sintians" (8.291-294).[126] Aphrodite is "well pleased to

[124] Ancient protestations include Pl. *Rep*. 390c and Xenophanes DK 21 B11. On the song's reception, cf. Burkert (1960), 130-144.
[125] Select examples include: Braswell (1982); Brown (1989); Alden (1997); Holmberg (2003); Beck (2005); Allen (2006); Rinon (2006); Purves (2011).
[126] Trans. Lattimore (2007); all subsequent *Odyssey* quotes follow this translation.

sleep with him" (8.295), and so the story continues and their affair soon thereafter discovered. That Ares and Aphrodite are, in this version, unmarried might suggest that their bond is stronger than that of marriage. Hephaestus even implies he will seek to end his marriage with Aphrodite: "my fastenings and my snare will contain them until her father pays back in full all my gifts of courtship I paid out into his hand for the sake of his bitch-eyed daughter. The girl is beautiful indeed, but she is intemperate" (8.317-320). For all the humiliation Aphrodite may have endured, she returns to Paphos seemingly undaunted, taking a bath and being anointed by her attendant Graces, then being dressed in fine clothing (8.362-366). Demodocus's song appears to reiterate the strength of Ares and Aphrodite's intimate association. Their relationship may not be able to break through divinely wrought chains, but it is enough to break marriages.

Ares and Aphrodite's relationship, although certainly a perfect representation of the pairing of opposing yet complementary extremes, also manifests as a result of both deities' roles in the clashing of bodies, Ares in war and Aphrodite in sexual union. Volatile emotions and strong passions ensue as a result of both types of clashing, and these emotions and passions themselves overlap (adrenaline, excitement, angst) and likewise produce similar physical effects on the body, such as heavy breathing, tension, and in the aftermath, lethargy. Because of Aphrodite's role in *mixis*, Pironti suggests that Aphrodite's domain must then also extend to the more violent aspects of sex and sexuality: "Aphrodite a sans doute un rôle à jouer à côtédes prétendants qui se disputent, aumoyen d'une épreuve de force physique, le domptage de la jeune fille. On verra se nouer, sous les yeux d'Aphrodite, des liens étroits entre élan érotique et impulsion aggressive, entre virilité sexuelle et virilité guerrière."[127] Pironti further notes that *mixis*, even under Aphrodite, is not always peaceful, and does in fact hold the possibility of conflict, violence, and war.[128] The same emotions that govern violent clashes in battle can seep into sexual encounters, resulting in a more violent sexual experience altogether, especially if the target of those emotions is no longer a male foe, but a female victim. As the domains of Ares and Aphrodite are prone to clash, the results may include the types of more violent or aggressive sexual encounters that are described in ancient literary narratives of sexual violence and which are visualized in the violent erotica, both of which are discussed in chapter two.

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[127] Pironti (2007), 106. ["Aphrodite undoubtedly has a role to play alongside the suitors who vie, through physical force, for the conquest of a young girl. We will see, through Aphrodite's eyes, close links being forged between erotic impulses and aggressive impulses, between sexual virility and warrior virility."]
[128] Pironti (2005), 183.

Aphrodite in Philosophy: Empedocles on Love & Strife

Aphrodite's role in Empedoclean philosophy presents a compelling case study for examining how Aphrodite's domain of love could be conceived as one of the two primary forces of the cosmos that effected the mixing and separation of the four "roots" (or elements, i.e. fire, earth, water, and air) from which all structures of the world are created. I will not discuss Empedocles's cosmology at length as my intent is to highlight a different perception, rooted in pre-Socratic philosophy, of Aphrodite's association with matters of war and strife. Briefly, however, Empedocles suggested that the world experienced an eternal cycle of change under the alternating higher rule of two divine forces, Love and Strife, with the former often identified as Aphrodite/Kypris (as well as occasionally Harmonia), while the latter is never explicitly identified as a specific deity.[129] As Empedocles describes it,

> And there is a double coming to be of mortals and a double waning; for the coming together of [them] all gives birth to and destroys the one, while the other, as [they] again grow apart, was nurtured and flew away. And these things never cease from constantly alternating, at one time all coming together by love into one, and at another time again all being borne apart separately by the hostility of strife.[130]

While Love strives to maximize harmony, Strife's goal is to create conflict, war, and chaos; when Love gains supremacy, the world is changeless and utterly harmonious, á la Parmenides, although Strife is powerful enough to prevent true harmony from lasting.[131] The periods of conflict between Love and Strife for supremacy effect the creation/proliferation of living organisms as their conflict causes the roots to come together or to move apart, the variances in unity and separation resulting in the "birth" of different organisms.[132] This birth may rather be a "double birth," for as Warren notes on Empedocles's description, "the coming to be of any given composite item in the universe is created by a recombination of roots that must be separated and moved from something else and somewhere else."[133]

The struggle for dominance between Love and Strife is here most relevant. Empedocles identifies Love as Aphrodite, claiming that mortals can perceive her within their

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[129] Empedocles B17 1-36. Sedley (2008), 32-33; Rangos (2012), 319. NB: Ancient readership of Empedocles's writings (orally taught or personally viewed) likely would have been limited to those within a community who possessed the level of literacy, the time, and the educational access all necessary to examine such texts in-depth, i.e. a limited, privileged minority primarily consisting of elite males. Cf. Harris (1989), 63-64, 101-106, 337.
[130] Empedocles B17 3-7; trans. Inwood (2001). NB: succeeding translations are Inwood (2001).
[131] Sedley (2008), 32-33.
[132] Warren (2007), 142; Sedley (2008), 32-33.
[133] Warren (2007). 142.

own bodies because it is "by her they think loving thoughts and accomplish works of unity[.]"[134] At one time, there was a golden age when Aphrodite/Love reigned supreme:

> They had no god Ares or Battle-Din, nor Zeus the king nor Kronos nor Poseidon; but Kupris the queen [Aphrodite]…her they worshipped with pious images, painted pictures and perfumes of varied odours, and sacrifices of unmixed myrrh and fragrant frankincense, dashing onto the ground libations of yellow honey… [her] altar was not wetted with the unmixed blood of bulls, but this was the greatest abomination among men, to tear out their life-breath and eat their goodly limbs. All were tame and gentle to men, both beasts and birds, and loving thoughts blazed on.[135]

Aphrodite/Love at her most powerful engendered a world of prosperity and peace where all animals were tame and coexisted harmoniously with humans. To worship Love during this period was to reject blood sacrifices, necessitated of course by taking the life of an animal,[136] and instead to honour her with gifts worthy of her beneficence and reflective of her divine being. Fragment B128 alludes to Ares, Kydoimos (Tumult), Zeus, Kronos, and Poseidon as alternatives to Aphrodite/Love and in some cases, such as with Ares, they are manifestations of Strife. However, it is unlikely that B128 refers to a time when Love possessed absolute control and no other forces existed. As Rangos notes, B128 must "refer to a cosmic phase when Strife has not yet begun to gain, or has already lost, sufficient influence in the universe. And if the present state of the world is, on the most plausible reconstruction of Empedocles' cosmic cycle, a phase of ascending Strife, it follows that B128 refers to a past period when Strife had less influence on the world than it has today."[137] In Empedoclean terms, Love and Strife are opposing extremes, yet the world cannot exist as one without the other; Love and Strife may be ever at conflict but one balances the other. This perspective echoes the opposing-yet-complementary relationship of love and war as epitomized by the relationship between Ares and Aphrodite, although Love and Strife here are not imagined as lovers, as Ares and Aphrodite are in Homer, nor is Strife described as being motivated by love.[138] While Strife is not explicitly likened to a deity, that Aphrodite is Love tempts a striking

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[134] Empedocles B17 22-24.

[135] B128, B130.

[136] Empedocles, a firm advocate of vegetarianism, appears also to be implying that meat-eating and sacrifices are, to use the modern term, unethical, one reason being that the animal could actually be a *daimōn* in a different form, and thus sacrifice/meat-eating could be cannibalistic. Cf. Warren (2007), 150-151; Rangos (2012), 320.

[137] Rangos (2012), 320.

[138] In Homer, the opposing-yet-complementary aspect of Ares and Aphrodite's relationship is evidenced by their contrasting realms, made explicit when, for instance, in the *Iliad* Zeus rebukes Aphrodite, emphasizing that her domain consists of "the lovely secrets of marriage" while the "works of warfare" should be left to Ares (and Athena) (5.428-430).

parallel of Strife/Ares, Love/Aphrodite. As with B128, Ares is, if not Strife itself, then a manifestation of it.

This pairing, Love/Strife—Aphrodite/Ares, may complement the personifications of the four roots depending on one's interpretation of which deity matches which root. In fragment B6, Empedocles identifies the roots as follows: "Hear first the four roots of all things: shining Zeus, life-bringing Hera, Aidoneus, and Nestis whose tear-drops are a well-spring to mortals." The exact correlations of these deities to the roots has long been debated, in antiquity as well as in modern scholarship, as not all of the deities exactly correlate with the roots, and consequently etymology was often turned to as a means of decoding the correlations.[139] Kingsley has extensively examined these deities/roots, concluding based on Homeric epithets that Zeus is air and Hera is earth.[140] Kingsley further argues that Nestis is the Sicilian Persephone and her tears mentioned in B6 relate to the seasonal springs as well as to her own tears when returning to Hades.[141] These three correlations leave Aidoneus, another name for the god Hades, and thus Hades is fire.[142] Based on Kingsley's identifications, Rowett argues that, "If Nestis is Persephone and Aidoneus is Hades, Persephone's chthonic spouse, we should surely think of these gods more as pairs of male and female divinities, and less as a list of four single elements. B6 is not a list of four co-equal elemental gods. It mentions two marital couples."[143] Zeus and Hera, king and queen of the upper world, complement Hades and Persephone, king and queen of the underworld. While the relationship between Hades and Persephone emblematizes the changing of the seasons and fluctuations in the natural world, Zeus and Hera may emblematize, through their well-known frequent occurrences of marital strife, the ebb and flow of discord and harmony between married men and women, deities included.[144]

If the four roots which comprise the world and its living organisms are divine, married couples who themselves are frequently of opposing dispositions, we might also find that the two forces which cause these roots/couples to interact in varied ways are also opposing forces. Further, if indeed we are to imagine the roots as divine couples, then as with

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[139] Cf. ps.-Plutarch *Placita* 878a (Aetius 1.3.20); Sextus Empiricus *Adv. Math.* 10.315; Philodemus *De Pietate* 2.
[140] Kingsley (1995), 15-23.
[141] Kingsley (1995), 348-358.
[142] Rowett (2016), 86.
[143] Rowett (2016), 86-87. "Chthonic" suggests a connection with earth, meaning Hades would be earth as opposed to Hera; however, I do not believe Rowett, who supports Kinglsey's identifications, is here equating Hades with earth since her main point is the pairing of married deities. Fire features in the underworld (by virtue of the river Phlegethon, for example), and "chthonic" furthermore refers primarily to "beneath the earth" (i.e. the underworld). Cf. Liddell & Scott entry, "χθόνιος": "in, under, or beneath the earth".
[144] Rowett (2016), 87.

any married couple, there may very well be a love/hate relationship—or, rather, a love/strife relationship.[145] As Rowett remarks, "Sexual attraction and repulsion is part of the story of these pairs of gods: they are agents who sometimes love each other and sometimes don't."[146] Rowett is not speaking of the relationship between Love and Strife as these two forces are not envisioned as a couple in Empedoclean terms. Their not being considered a couple contrasts with the paired envisioning of Aphrodite and Ares as described by both Homer and Hesiod. Whereas for Homer and Hesiod this pairing was complementary, for Empedocles the pairing is irreconcilable. This irreconciliation, however, is necessary in order for the cosmos to function as it does, with the constant exchange of dominance between Love and Strife (versus a balanced union between them) resulting in the creation and proliferation of living organisms.

The two forces which govern the four roots are the combined manifestation of what binds married couples. Love and Strife are the two alternately dominant, divine forces structuring the cosmos but they themselves are not coupled. Love/Aphrodite and Strife/Ares are not traditionally married, but perhaps we can attribute their unmarried status to their respective forces being too volatile to bind together, and if the cosmos functions based on their constant battle for supremacy, then there cannot truly be a bound coexistence between them lest the cosmos as we know it malfunction. Through Empedocles, we see Love and Strife as distinctly not lovers; they are strictly opposing forces. Nevertheless, both Love and Strife are uniquely important for the structure of the cosmos. Empedocles offers yet another manner by which Aphrodite and war were related, in this case in a manner which sharply contrasts with how Aphrodite is related to war in Homer and Hesiod.

Chapter Conclusion

It is clear from our evidence that Aphrodite's varied associations with war and violence/strife were a continuous source of bemusement and interest, and in some places of cultic importance, to her Greek audience. During the Archaic period, several regions worshipped Aphrodite as an armed goddess and/or in shared cultic spaces with Ares, including Sparta, Corinth, and Argos. Our evidence for armed Aphrodite suggests that, unlike her ANE counterparts, armed Aphrodite was not a goddess of war in the same sense as

[145] Zeus and Hera, for instance, are often at odds, especially as their strife pertains to Zeus's many marital indiscretions. In Homer, Zeus and Hera support opposing armies; in the beginning of the *Iliad*, Zeus agrees to aid the Trojans and even laments that his aiding them causes strife between him and his wife (1.517-527); Zeus and Hera also argue over Zeus's decision to aid the Trojans (1.536-570).
[146] Rowett (2016), 88.

Athena but rather one who was "called to arms" as a deity whose patronage oversaw the prosperity of her *polis*, such as in Corinth. In places such as Sparta, an armed Aphrodite contributed to the local ideals of martial supremacy amongst both the Spartan people and their patron deities. In Athens, however, while we do have local iconographical evidence of Aphrodite participating in battles (such as the Gigantomachy) or plausibly donning armor, her Athenian audience was far more inclined to acknowledge Aphrodite's associations with war through her relationship with Ares and through her role in the Trojan War, preceded by the events of the Judgment of Paris. With respect to Ares, he and Aphrodite represent the divine embodiment of opposing yet complementary extremes. The strong passions incited by war and violence find their balance in the equally strong passions of love and sexuality. In Homer, and briefly in Hesiod, Aphrodite's love affair with Ares symbolizes this dualism of love and war, while in Empedoclean philosophy Aphrodite is directly linked with one of the two cosmic forces, Love, which affects the balance of the universe and which stands in opposition to the second force, Strife (not unlike Ares and Aphrodite). The armed Aphrodite of Epidaurus represents most clearly the way in which Aphrodite ultimately retains her connection with war and violence through the Roman period, as the goddess capable of disarming the god of war.

With this continued interest in Aphrodite as a love goddess closely associated with war and violence, the effect of this association on the mortal experience of Aphrodite's realm must also be considered. In the next chapter, I examine the relationship between sex and violence as it is represented in ancient Greek literature and vase paintings in the Archaic and early-Classical periods in order to shed light on the correlation between Aphrodite's cult and iconography, and of related themes of sex and sexuality explored by her contemporary worshippers. This correlation will be demonstrated throughout this thesis as a critical feature of Aphrodite's worship and of Greek attitudes towards sexuality hitherto unexamined.

Chapter Two

Love & War in the Heroic & Mortal Realms

As the previous chapter demonstrated, Aphrodite represented the underlying tension between war and love, sex and violence in its divine embodiment. However, examining this tension in Aphrodite alone without also considering how the nuances of sex and violence exist in the heroic and mortal realms presents an incomplete picture of this phenomenon. For that reason, this chapter will focus on the relationship between sex and violence as evidenced elsewhere in ancient Greek culture in keeping with the previous chapter's thematic focus. This chapter broadens the parameters under which we examine this relationship by extending its relevance beyond the strictly divine realm and exploring it within the heroic realm of epic heroes, described by Homeric epic and Euripidean tragedy, and within the mortal realm, conveyed by a category of vase paintings which depict similar notions of aggressive sexual behaviours. Sexuality was, furthermore, a feature shared by gods and human beings, one more acute in the gods in comparison to how sexual relations manifested amongst humans. Nevertheless, as the gods' sexual exploits were widely known and widely disseminated in both art and literature, it would be an oversight to neglect similar tensions and concerns in the representation of human sexuality. How can we compare the sexual behaviours of the gods to those of humans? More specifically, how can we compare characteristics of Aphrodite's cult and iconography, especially the tension of sex and violence, to characteristics of human sexuality? These questions highlight the broader discussion of how the Greek gods were conceived of as beings in relation to humans. In order to examine aspects of Aphrodite's cult and how these aspects were experienced in the mortal sphere, we need to consider how and why the Greeks gods were conceived of as emblematic of human experiences.

Ancient Greek Divine Anthropomorphism

The gods were vehicles for communicating and exploring key concerns of mortal life. As such, there may be comparable concerns stretching across the divide between the mortal and divine spheres, concerns including sex and sexuality. Because of this overlap, divine characteristics and behaviours can be situated in relation to their human counterparts. As Sissa and Detienne summarize: "because of their common origin, comparisons are constantly drawn between the lives of humans and the lives of the gods. Throughout the tradition, ever

since Homer and Hesiod, life as it is lived by mortals is referred back to the life of the gods."[1] The life of mortals is to be understood, in part, in terms of the gods, by virtue of the gods' responsibility for the cosmos and their characteristics. In turn, the life of the gods is to be understood in terms of mortals; for example, mortals understand how blessed the gods are by contrasting the lives of the gods with their own lives. The gods are also physically formed like mortals, although in a superior sense (beauty, strength, etc.). This anthropomorphism is one of the three main qualities which Henrichs identifies as fundamental to what characterizes a Greek god, the other two being immortality and power.[2] Anthropomorphism need not imply strictly physical resemblance. As Boyer notes, "the *only* feature that is *always* projected onto supernatural beings is the mind."[3] For instance, human physicality was not a mandatory/universal rule for the Greek deities; some manifested in animal form (such as Zeus Meilichios), in hybrid form (such as Pan), and/or in the form of objects, such as pillars or planks.[4] Even if a deity does not have a corporeal human form, he/she/it is understood to have cognitive capability similar to the human mind and its processing of information, thoughts, emotions, etc.

Anthropomorphism is the quality which best enables us to compare the lives of the gods to the lives of humans. Guthrie argues that anthropomorphism is a result of the human cognitive process to find the familiar in the unfamiliar or nonhuman, to find common ground in what would otherwise be difficult to relate to personally. Guthrie maintains that humans "strive to understand our world by pursuing important possibilities, and humanlike forms and behaviours are the most important ones we know," and in terms of religious systems, all religion "is anthropomorphic in that, in postulating deities in or behind natural phenomena, religion credits nature with the human capacity for symbolic action. Some deities have animal or other nonhuman forms, but all act symbolically and hence like humans."[5] Deities are symbolic of human nature because of the projection of human characteristics onto the divine, and consequently in the actions of the divine we can discern the mortal behavioural parallels. Humans envision nonhuman objects, including supernatural agents, as human-like because humans are the most complex objects we know of and our cognitive process consequently strives to, "extract as much relevant information as possible from environments…and

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[1] Sissa & Detienne (2000), 4.
[2] Henrichs (2010), 19-39.
[3] Boyer (2001), 163.
[4] Larson (2016), 70.
[5] Guthrie (1993), 7.

produce as many inferences as possible."[6] This process is why, "when people are faced with ambiguous cues in their environment, they often 'see' faces in the clouds and on the mountains."[7] We automatically and subconsciously seek to relate to our environment and to the objects/agents within that environment by attributing human-like characteristics to both. Furthermore, the different types of interactions between human and deity are facilitated by the deity's anthropomorphism because the human-like tangibility of the deity makes it possible for the human to connect with the nonhuman agent in a way comprehensible to human cognitive processes.[8] The human-like appearance of gods can also be explained by this phenomenon because, as Boyer emphasizes, "however much people want to describe them [gods] as different from humans, they are in fact very much created in our own image."[9]

In the case of the ancient Greeks, the creation of the gods in the image of humans was an important aspect of the gods' relationship with humans.[10] In their anthropomorphism, the Greek gods were definitively persons, and by first reflecting on how this characterization shaped divine behaviours broadly speaking, we can then focus specifically on divine sexuality as a reflection of human sexuality. The gods were not "abstractions, ideas, or concepts", and while "*theos* can be a predicate," a divine name when used in myth is the subject such that, "the experience of a storm is Zeus, or that the experience of sexuality is

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[6] Boyer (2001), 163.
[7] Boyer (2001), 163. Cf. Guthrie (1993), 80-84, esp. 83.
[8] On the specific nature of ancient Greek notions of human/deity interactions, Lefkowitz argues, and Burkert would second, that ultimately the gods cared little for humans and human troubles. Lefkowitz notes that because the gods do not age or die, they do not have any sense of urgency or of the precariousness of mortality; they live a blessed existence, and countless Greek myths portray the deities as existing to please themselves only and not to serve humanity. Cf. Lefkowitz (2003), 239; Burkert (1985), 188. In contrast, Sissa and Detienne argue that denying the gods' concern for mankind strips the "*vita hominum* of its meaning" and invalidates the purpose of all ritual practices while also eliminating any justification for critical social values; the gods must have some interest in the social bonds of humans as, "the morality of relations between human beings depends solely upon the attentive gaze that the gods keep fixed upon them" (2000, 128).
[9] Boyer (2001), 163. Cf. Guthrie (1993), 120-122. J.-P. Vernant argues instead that humans are reflections of the divine when the splendor of divinity is projected onto a mortal being; cf. Vernant (1991), 34-36. Vernant maintains, in keeping with Hesiod's *Theogony*, that there were first divine beings which humans imagined themselves to be sub-versions of; the gods possess human vitalities in a pure, unlimited state which highlights the transitory and precarious nature of human life (1991, 34-35). Vernant's argument is circular and ultimately leads back to Boyer's point. As we saw with Guthrie's analysis, if there is a divine being on which humans are based, humans cannot conceive of this divine being without projecting human characteristics onto it/him/her. But Vernant adopts an emic perspective as opposed to Boyer's etic. Their viewpoints need not be oppositional, and in fact can be read as saying the same thing, just inverted depending on whose perspective you adopt, that of the ancient Greek seeking commonality with the divine, or that of the modern scholar seeking to understand how humans formulate their envisioning of the divine.
[10] Xenophanes famously critiqued the perception of the gods as human-like, including in form, with the following sardonic observation: "but if horses or oxen or lions had hands or could draw with their hand and accomplish such works as men, horses would draw the figures of the gods as similar to horses, and the oxen as similar to oxen, and they would make the bodies of the sort which each of them had"; fr. B15; trans. Lesher (1992). While not doubting the existence of the gods, Xenophanes does express a certain condescension that mortals presume the gods possess distinctly human attributes.

Aphrodite"; for the ancient Greeks, the experience would not have been described thusly, but rather as "Zeus thunders" and "Aphrodite bestows her gifts."[11] Because the gods are linked to specific domains/functions, like Aphrodite to sexuality, it is through these domains and functions that humans can obtain and experience the gods' specific influences; the epithets and the personified cultic retinue of a god or goddess enable humans to partake of the deity's influence.[12] Because the gods were considered to be persons, their actions and behaviours reflect the cognitive/emotional anthropomorphism humans attributed to them, including reactionary behaviour. For example, extreme anger and grief may result in extreme retribution, as when Achilles kills Hector and mutilates Hector's body for the death of Patroklos, or when Demeter stalls the changing of the seasons in her anger and grief over the loss of Persephone to the Underworld. On the behaviour of gods, Guthrie argues that gods are "significant and intelligible as theoretical terms. They are significant because they are modeled on highly organized, versatile, and hence powerful originals, and generate correspondingly diverse phenomena. Because real humans vary their behaviour infinitely, humanlike beings, such as gods, similarly vary infinitely."[13] The infinite spectrum of human thoughts and emotions, and the behaviours, actions, and choices we make which often (if not always) result from those thoughts and emotions, means that the range of emotions and behaviours the gods are capable of is similarly infinite and notably human-like. As Sissa and Detienne describe, "For *like* men…the gods are assailed by moods – desire, pain, joy, anger: in other words, erections, tears, laughter, and black bile. These so-called Blessed Ones are neither indifferent nor impassive. They are changeable, reacting to whatever affects them on a register of sensitivity that is not theirs alone. The life of the Olympians is animated and oriented by all kinds of emotions."[14] If the ways gods think and feel are perceived as similar to the ways humans think and feel, then we may infer that the behaviours of the deities in reaction to different thoughts/feelings are reflections of how humans would also potentially

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[11] Burkert (1985), 182-183.
[12] Burkert (1985), 184. Another manner by which humans could experience the deity's influence is epiphany. Henrichs argues that the anthropomorphism of the gods had two important cultic consequences related to epiphany: that the gods' physical, tangible presence facilitated by their human form enabled humans to "put a face" to their gods, and consequently that this epiphanic experience enabled humans to create material representations for worship. Cf. Henrichs (2010), 33.
[13] Guthrie (1993), 189.
[14] Sissa & Detienne (2000), 97. Burkert previously expressed these sentiments, further noting that a number of differences which distinguish the gods from humans also highlight that these gods are "far from purely spiritual," in turn enhancing their human-like form (1985, 183). For example, while the gods' knowledge surpasses humans', they are not omniscient; they can travel great distances, but they are not omnipresent; they visit their temples, but they are not confined within their cult image; they are not readily visible, but they can physically interact with humans; they do not bleed human blood or partake of human food/drinks, but they still experience pain from a wound, and partake of the divine versions of sustenance.

behave, within human limitations, as a result of similar feelings and under similar circumstances.

As Larson further explains, the Greeks attributed "fully gendered, humanoid, material bodies to the gods," and consequently their physical bodies implied physical appetites not unlike those of humans.[15] One of these appetites is sexual. Larson notes, "The gods, and most of the goddesses, felt sexual desire. In their erotic and reproductive capacities, they closely resembled human beings."[16] The emotions and behaviours of the gods are, to an exaggerated degree, reflections of human experiences, including sexual experiences. Burkert considered sexuality to be an "inalienable part" of the Greek gods: "The human man is defined by sexual activity; for gods, all human limitations fall away, and here, too, wish and fulfilment are one."[17] Furthermore, Burkert notes that every sexual act involving an immortal and mortal results in offspring, and for male deities, "The character of the father is manifest in the divine offspring: a son of Zeus will be regal, a son of Hermes nimble and roguish, and a son of Heracles muscular and daring; but all these children are glorious."[18] But for female deities, sexuality is complicated by the female role being generally perceived as passive/tamed, and so does not accord well with the role of "Mistress"; "Athena and Artemis enjoy their special power," Burkert adds, "while the rape of Demeter is occasion for her bitter rage. Hera and Aphrodite find their fulfillment in the commerce of love; where more is told, they are the active partners – Hera at the deception of Zeus, and Aphrodite when she seeks out Anchises."[19] Nevertheless, sexuality is still an aspect of divine existence comparable to human experiences of sexuality, and so it would be particularly strange to discuss Aphrodite, the goddess of sex, without looking at Greek attitudes towards mortal sex.

As human-like as they are, it is important to remember that the gods operate on a different level to humans. Whereas the gods face few consequences for misbehaviours or transgressions, or at least few long-lasting consequences, humans do not have free reign with their actions. For example, Aphrodite's marital indiscretion with Ares as described by Demodocus in *Odyssey* VIII results in an embarrassing comeuppance for the goddess, but no more than that. Had a human woman been caught in bed with someone other than her husband, the consequences would be far more severe. But Aphrodite is a goddess, the same

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[15] Larson (2016), 69. The gods did not partake of the same food/drink as humans, but they did still "feast" on their version of sustenance, nectar/ambrosia.
[16] Larson (2016), 69.
[17] Burkert (1985), 183.
[18] Burkert (1985), 183.
[19] Burkert (1985), 183.

rules do not apply. Sexual misconduct for Aphrodite is frowned upon, but not punishable to nearly the same degree as it is for human women.[20] There are thus limits to how directly we can compare the sexuality of the gods to the realities of human lives and human behaviours, but these limits do not prohibit us from linking the actions and behaviours of the gods as described in myth, poetry, historical accounts, philosophy, etc., with the human actions upon which they are based. In analyses of a deity and of developments within that deity's cult and iconography, it is critical not to disregard the mortal/human factor, i.e. the mortal/human experiences which shaped the deity's development. Furthermore, human and divine bodies are frequently contrasted in various ways, including in terms of vulnerability, aging, and beauty. However, both human and divine bodies can be subjects and/or objects of sexual desire as well as subjects of sexual pleasure. While anthropomorphism can also be used to distinguish humans from deities, in terms of sexuality the difference is lessened. The line between divine sexuality and human sexuality is far more blurred than other appetites and characteristics which differentiate gods from mortals. In examining the cult of Aphrodite, we also examine *ta aphrodisia*, "the things that belong to Aphrodite," which naturally includes her realm of sexuality. As we cannot examine Greek sexuality without reflecting on how humans experienced *ta aphrodisia*, we cannot separate the human experience of sexuality from the goddess of sex.

As the previous chapter focused on the underlying tension between sex and violence as specifically embodied in the divine sphere by Aphrodite, this chapter will follow thematically by discussing this tension as it is exhibited in the intersection between the divine and mortal realms: the heroic realm as exemplified by Homeric epic and Euripidean tragedy. Previous scholarship has not examined this tension within Homeric epic and/or Euripidean tragedy by contextualizing it in relation to the same tension exhibited in the cult of Aphrodite. This type of analysis enables us to consider the nuances which exist beyond the treatment of sex and violence in the divine world, consequently demonstrating the deeply intertwined experiences of sexuality as realized in mortal and immortal contexts. By focusing on the Homeric epics and Euripidean tragedies, the interplay of humans and deities is more starkly highlighted, and their interactions during and after a period of intense combat emphasize the overlap of physical aggression and sexual conquest, the latter of which is not restricted to conquering men. In epic and tragedy, erotica and aggression are frequently intertwined in

[20] An Athenian (citizen) woman who committed what in modern terms is known as "adultery" risked losing her citizen rights; more of this topic is discussed in my third chapter. Cf. Robson (2013), 98.

narratives of war. Accounts of war, notably of the impending aftermath of combat, establish a narrative of sexual violence where the sexual captivity of the enemy's women is the decisive means of conquering by which the aggressor eradicates the enemy's *oikos* and strips him of his *kleos* and *timē* through the transfer of sexual ownership of the wife from her husband to the aggressor. It is a narrative established as far back as Homer, then continuously explored thematically thereafter by later poets such as Aeschylus and Euripides, and one which finds substantiation in the accounts of historians such as Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon. These narratives furthermore draw a sharp distinction between heterosexual and homosexual relations, with the perceived baseness of the former contrasted with the perceived superiority of the latter. Epic and tragedy focus almost exclusively on the fates of the captive Trojan women: Euripides's *Hecuba* and *Trojan Women* centre primarily on the post-war tragedies that befall the Trojan elite women while the absence of references to male captives in the *Iliad* further highlights the degradation specifically of female captives. The Trojan Cycle is the most popular topic through which this narrative is explored and as such will be the main focus of the present analysis. Aphrodite appears in these examples as a foil to war and violence, her particular brand of power proving more effective than any weapons.

Briefly, before beginning the analysis of sexual violence in epic and tragic portrayals of the Trojan Cycle, the terminology with which we describe sexual violence needs to be addressed. In the examples discussed, the sexual violence committed against the women would, in modern terms, be defined as "rape." The Greeks did not share our modern view of rape, of what makes it reprehensible to compel (or force) someone else into sex. For the ancient Greeks, rape was more commonly identified as an act of violence or outrage, and in discussions of this type of incident, the Greeks used words associated with "force"/"violence" (such as *bia*, *biasmos*, *biazesthai*), or "outrage"/"insolence" (such as *hybris*, *hybrizein*), or "wrong-doing"/"shame"/"subdue" (*adikēma*, *aischynein*, *damazesthai*).[21] Rape was less an issue of the violation against the woman and more an issue of how this offense affected the husband (or father, or *kyrios*, the primary male guardian of the woman/girl) and consequently the honour of the *oikos* to which the woman/girl belonged and which the *kyrios* controlled. In this way, rape was similar in its conceptualization and legal ramifications to *moicheia*, the

[21] Robson (2013), 103. Cf. Lys. *On the Murder of Eratosthenes* 1.30-34; Men. *Men at Arbitration (Epitrepontes)* 136-137; Paus. *Description of Greece* 9.13.5; Aeschin. *Against Timarchus* 16; Eur. *Aug. fr.* 272b. The verb *damazesthai* ("to tame, subdue") was also applied to defeated warriors in Homer; as Schein notes, "A warrior who is killed has become in effect a subdued animal or a subjugated woman" (1984, 77).

closest cognate to the modern concept of "adultery."[22] Rape was actionable in Athens under the "public prosecution for hybris," *graphē hybreōs*, which allowed the prosecutor to propose any penalty he deemed suitable, including death.[23] Since the Greeks in general and the Athenians in particular did not define rape as a separate category of sexual crime, and the issue of the woman's consent was not a determining factor in how the offense was legally treated, a number of laws which relate to the punishment of the man who commits *moicheia* could also potentially be used in the context of rape, such as imprisonment by the woman's family and a ransom paid to the offended *kyrios* (or assurances of repayment).

The similarities in how men who rape women versus men who commit adultery are held responsible for their actions may owe to the fact that legally, women were considered minors in the sense of their being under the complete control of the *kyrios*, and women were often considered not responsible for their actions or decisions based on their "weaker" intellects.[24] Thus, "the adulterer that *persuades* a woman, a person held to be of constitutionally and categorically feebler intellect, to have sex with him is committing an offence that is morally indistinguishable from a man that *forces* a woman, a person of constitutionally and categorically feebler strength, to have sex with him."[25] As Harrison further notes, "The scale along which sexual relations were judged and controlled…was not one that ran between non-consensual intercourse and romantic, reciprocated love, but between one form of non-consensual intercourse and another."[26] This scale manifests in a woman's lack of sexual autonomy as her *kyrios* determined when she would be "wedded and bedded" and thereafter her sexual congress was controlled by her husband. In either case, her "consent" was not a relevant consideration, and any sexual transgressions were contextualized as crimes against her *kyrios* or husband.

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[22] On *moicheia* [μοιχεία] and its derivatives, cf. Liddell & Scott (1996 edition, published online via the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG), 2011): "μοιχ-εία, ἡ, adultery" (1996)/TLG (2011).

[23] Ogden (1997), 30. Another law code against rape worth mentioning appears in the Gortyn Law Code 2.2-8 (also 2.11-16 on forcible intercourse with a slave, 2.16-20 on attempted seduction, and 2.20-45 on adultery). According to the GC, rape was punishable by fines determined by the difference in the social status between the offender and the victim with those of a higher status (such as a free man) who rapes someone of a lower status (such as a slave woman) receiving a smaller fine than a those of a lower status who rape someone of higher status (such as a slave man raping a free woman). As Scafuro (2018, 51) also notes, as in Athens, "the victims of rape may be both male and female; the victims of *moichos* are only female." In its provisions on the legal status of rape, the GC also suggests the relative immunity of high-status individuals who commit sexual violence against individuals of lower status. Cf. Gagarin (1982) & (2008); Scafuro (2018).

[24] Ogden (1997), 31.

[25] Ogden (1997), 31.

[26] Harrison (1997), 197.

Narratives of Sexual Violence during War & Combat

The following analysis considers examples from the *Iliad* as well as Euripides's *Hecuba* and *Trojan Women* where the lines separating acts of violence from acts of sex are blurred in order to shed light on previously unexamined evidence of the interplay between sexuality and physical violence. This analysis brings the evidence from the previous chapter, which presents Aphrodite as the divine reconciling of sex and violence, together with the evidence of sex and violence as realized beyond exclusively divine parameters to include the mortal/heroic world. When we frame these Homeric and Euripidean examples within the context of a phenomenon which occurs almost exclusively in Aphrodite's cult, this framing having not been analysed before, the overlap between divine precedents and lived human experiences in relation specifically to sexual behaviours becomes more distinctly inseparable. I first examine the capturing of the women of a conquered city/peoples and taking sexual ownership of these women as the defining feature of eradicating the enemy. The *Iliad* refers to this occurrence frequently, notably in relation to the fall of Troy as being officially marked by the capture of the Trojan women. In *Hecuba* and *Trojan Women*, the fates of the now-captured elite Trojan women are frequently described in relation to how their sexualities can be used, with varying degrees of success, to improve their new circumstances. Historical accounts from Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon which refer to populace-ravaging warfare targeted against women and/or young boys are discussed briefly in order to situate the Homeric and Euripidean examples within an historical framework. This analysis also highlights a theme which consistently appears in the literary evidence discussed: the moral distinctions made between homosexual and heterosexual relations. The analysis which follows will further show that within ancient Greece, there was a persistent association between sex and violence which manifested across several spheres, divine, heroic, and mortal, demonstrating with greater clarity that the nuances of sexuality were indiscriminately experienced by divinities and mortals alike.

It is first worth noting that Aphrodite herself is one of the main characters in a graphic narrative of usurpation infused with sexual overtones: her birth-story according to Hesiod's *Theogony*.[27] Born out of the white foam which surfaced from the castrated genitals of Ouranos after Kronos severed the divine organ with a long, sharp sickle and discarded it into the sea, Aphrodite emerged as the beautiful goddess whose "allotted province" then came to

[27] Hes. *Th*. 174-206. Alternatively, according to Homer, Aphrodite is the daughter of Zeus and Dione; *Il*. 5.370.

be "the whisperings of girls; smiles; deceptions; sweet pleasure, intimacy, and tenderness."[28] From familial bloodshed and emasculation arose the epitome of eroticism, beauty, and pleasure; here, violence is masculine, sex is feminine, and Aphrodite embodies the feminine answer to masculine aggression.[29] In Aphrodite's Hesiodic birth story we find a combination of violent conquest and sexuality comparable to the mortal events explored below.

Beginning with Homer, it becomes evident that women as "war booty" functioned as tools for the total destruction of the Trojan enemy and that their sexual violation was the *pièce de résistance* of this destruction.[30] Gaca defines the practice of aggravated rape and keeping the victims alive, or of aggravated rape and killing the victims or leaving them to die, and of targeting this practice against women and girls belonging to peoples who have been the focus of martial aggression, as "populace-ravaging warfare."[31] Although the rape of a freeborn woman within one's own society which was committed by another member of that society was considered an offense, the rape of women and girls who were previously freeborn within the now conquered society and who consequently became war captives was not just customary practice but commonly a top-down martial one.[32] The Greeks of the *Iliad* frequently identify the rape of the Trojan women as emblematic of the fall of Troy and that the women's captivity and enslavement is the ultimate symbol of Greek triumph. Notably absent from the *Iliad* are specific references to young, male Trojans being taken captive by the Greek army; the emphasis is clearly on women captives.[33] The epic heroes distinguish between particular phases of war; the city and the men within it are destroyed and then the women are taken as captives along with other movable booty.[34] As Nestor proclaims to his

[28] Hes. *Th*. 206; trans. West (1999).
[29] According to Hesiod, Eros, the male god of love and sex, existed before Aphrodite, having been the fourth primordial being (or third, depending on how you define the nature of Tartarus) to exist (*Th*. 116-122). On whether or not Tartarus should be considered a primordial *being*, cf. Most (2013), 164-165. Most also discusses why Eros is one of the primordial beings, and what his role in Aphrodite's birth story says about divine and human sexual activities. On the former, Most argues that the workings of Eros are necessary to the divine world's history and structure: the first two beings, Chasm and Earth, required a third force which would compel them to procreate so that the next generations can exist. Eros is an irresistible force which overcomes the reason and purpose of both gods and humans. In Aphrodite's birth story, Eros accompanies Aphrodite to Cyprus. The violence which precipitated her birth followed by Eros's presence suggests that he is present to demonstrate the milder form sexual attraction will henceforth take in Earth's family: from this point on, Eros is not only a violent, overpowering cosmic force "but also the emotion familiar from our own experience[s]", those activities associated with Aphrodite, *ta aphrodisia*. Cf. Most (2013), 163-174.
[30] Homeric warfare differs from *polis* warfare in terms of a city being taken in such totality; however, the emasculation of one's foe by eliminating his *oikos* continues as an Homeric ideal.
[31] Gaca (2014b), 279. Gaca expands on populace-ravaging warfare in several of her related publications, cf. Gaca (2010), (2011), (2012), & (2014a).
[32] Gaca (2014b), 280-281.
[33] Cf. n.37 on the male adolescent captives.
[34] van Wees (1992), 189, 252.

fellow Achaeans, "Therefore let no man be urgent to take the way homeward until after he has lain in bed with the wife of a Trojan to avenge Helen's longing to escape and her lamentations" (*Il.* 2.354-356).[35] This declaration establishes the final victory as being achieved only after the Trojan women have become captive slaves to the Greeks.

But if not only for the sake of war spoils, then why target the women, especially the freeborn? Is it just freeborn women who are targeted? Although in the *Iliad* several captive women are identified, all of freeborn status and members of an elite or royal family, such as Chryseis and Briseis, the epic also alludes to the possible (and inevitable) captivity of the wife of King Priam, Hecuba, as well as their daughters (notably Cassandra and Polyxena), and of the wife of Hector, Andromache.[36] Besides these named, freeborn women are the unspecified number of unnamed women likely of varying status, who are raped and taken captive, or raped and killed or left to die. The soldier Thersites scolds Agamemnon during an assembly: "Son of Atreus, what thing further do you want, or find fault with now? Your shelters are filled with bronze; there are plenty of the choicest women for you within your shelter, whom we Achaians give to you first of all whenever we capture some stronghold" (*Il.* 2.225-228). A precedent had long been set for capturing women and giving them to the conquering men, with the "choicest" of the women being saved for the military leaders. Later, Agamemnon, when decreeing concessions he will make for Achilles in order to regain the latter's cooperation, states, "if hereafter the gods grant that we storm and sack the great city of Priam, let him go to his ship and load it deep as he pleases with gold and bronze, when we Achaians divide the war spoils, and let him choose for himself twenty of the Trojan women who are the loveliest of all after Helen of Argos" (*Il.* 9.135-140), a promise which is later reiterated by Odysseus during the embassy's consultation with Achilles (*Il.* 9.277-282).

These examples of unnamed choice women being given to Greek warriors, and the already established fates of freeborn women such as Briseis and Chryseis as well as the fates which await the women of the Trojan royal family, highlight the type of women or girls sought-after as captives. These are young women of or nearing marriageable age who are sexually desirable and who are most susceptible to being docile in their subjugation.[37] The freeborn of these women, especially those who once belonged to the Trojan male elites such

[35] Trans. Lattimore (1952).

[36] Cf. *Il.* 6.450-465 & 22.61-65, both discussed later.

[37] For a discussion on the inclusion of preadolescent girls in this group, see Gaca (2010), (2011), (2012), & (2014ab). The men of attacked cities were often wholly killed; in some cases, preadolescent boys were kept alive along with the young women in a policy termed "andrapodizing" (the enslavement of specific groups of people, namely those who do not possess the abilities to fight back); cf. Gaca (2010). For examples of this practice described in historical accounts, cf. the discussion on Thucydides and Xenophon in this section.

as Priam and Hector, represent the pinnacle of victory against Troy. The rape and enslavement of one such as Andromache twists the knife of Hector's failure to protect his city and his family, further exacerbates the eradication of Hector's honour, glory, and house, and savages the honour of Troy itself. The Trojan War is ultimately an act of obligatory vengeance for Paris's violation of his oath to Menelaus, the oath cemented by *xenia*, the concept of guest-friendship by which hospitality between two parties extended to material and nonmaterial reciprocity and included due respect shown to one another's properties (including wives).[38] This violation of the oath of *xenia*, protected by Zeus twofold,[39] leaves Menelaus no choice but to seek retribution. The aim of the war as acknowledged by the Greek army, is "to win your [Agamemnon's] honour and Menelaus' from the Trojans" (*Il.* 1.159-160). The house of Atreus having been dishonoured, the Greeks fight to reclaim its honour from the Trojans, and the personal vendetta is against Paris and his family.[40] What better way to claim vengeance against the Trojans than by taking sexual ownership of the Trojan men's women? Even those freeborn women not named but nevertheless raped and taken as captives represent the highest victory. Freeborn women give birth to new citizens, perpetuating the community at large and ensuring its continued successful existence; to rape these women and to bear children by them is to subvert this system. Now the freeborn woman bears children for the enemy, and her former community is rendered barren.

The expression used when describing the captivity of these women is to take away "the day of their liberty." When Achilles and Aeneas meet on the battlefield, Achilles reminds the latter of the following: "Then you got away into Lyrnessos, but I went after you and stormed that place, with the help of Athene and Zeus father, and took the day of liberty away from their women and led them as spoil" (*Il.* 20.191-194).[41] Achilles's taking "the day of liberty" from the Lyrnessian women and turning them into slaves is the feat which the Trojans fear most and vow to prevent. Hector proclaims to Diomedes, "You shall not storm our battlements with me giving way before you, you shall not carry our women home in your ships" (*Il.* 8.164-166). Hector also admits to his wife Andromache that of all the

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[38] Harrison also notes that in Herodotus, Helen's abduction is not described as a violation committed against Helen herself, but rather against Menelaus, for its infringement on his "property rights" (2.114.2, 2.115.4-5); cf. Harrison (1997), 190-191.
[39] Zeus presides over both oaths/oath-keeping and *xenia*.
[40] Cf. van Wees (1992), 172-190.
[41] Odysseus also describes his taking of captive women from conquered cities (*Od.* 9.39-43). Achilles and Odysseus are both given the epithets *ptolíporthos* ("sacker of cities") and this epithet is often linked to their proficiency in taking captive "wives". Cf. *Il.* 2.278, 8.372, 15.77, 21.550, 24.108; *Od.* 8.3, 9.504, 9.530, 14.447, 16.442, 18.356, 22.283, 24.119.

consequences he fears should Troy fall, it is her enslavement he fears most. He hopes to be dead before his wife's liberty is taken so that he cannot witness such violation and defeat:

> But it is not so much the pain to come of the Trojans that troubles me, not even of Priam the king nor Hekabe, not the thought of my brothers who in their numbers and valor shall drop in the dust under the hands of men who hate them, as troubles me the thought of you, when some bronze-armored Achaian leads you off, taking away your day of liberty, in tears…But may I be dead and the piled earth hide me under before I hear you crying and know by this that they drag you captive.[42]

Hector is right to fear this day, as Andromache faces a bleak future, one which could potentially include sexual violation. Priam does not mince words when he tries to convince Hector not to fight Achilles and instead to remain within the city walls so as to save the Trojans and the women of Troy, and to save his own life, otherwise Priam will have "looked upon evils and seen my sons destroyed and my daughters dragged away captive and the chambers of marriage wrecked and the innocent children taken and dashed to the ground in hatefulness of war, and the wives of my sons dragged off by the accursed hands of the Achaians" (*Il.* 22.61-65). The expressions used to describe the daughters and wives being dragged away/dragged off ("*elketheísas te thúgatras*", "*elkoménas te nuoùs*") may be indicative of sexual violation. Gaca argues that, "ἕλκειν (or ἑλκεῖν) here signifies aggravated rape, just as it does when Tityus 'raped (ἕλκησε)' Zeus' consort Leto (*Od.* 11.580)"; moreover, "ἕλκειν" is "synonymous with the Homeric ῥυστάζειν, which is a frequentative of ἐρύειν, 'drag along', and, like ἕλκειν, stresses the dragging or mauling involved in attacking and subjecting female persons to aggravated rape."[43] The fate of the Trojan women is indisputably grim. The women not raped and then killed or left to die face habitual rape and a life of enslavement to the enemy of their city and the murderers of their husbands. Through the Trojan women's sexual violation, Homer expresses a narrative of sexual violence against women in connection with war and combat, one which finds even more complex exploration in the works of his poetic successors.

One aspect of eroticism and violence specifically related to Homer's epics but discussed in later sources is the "recovery of Helen" by Menelaus, and Aphrodite's mediation

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[42] *Il.* 6.450-465.

[43] Gaca (2014b), 287. This expression is also used in the *Odyssey* to describe what Penelope's suitors inflict upon the women in Odysseus's house; cf. *Od.* 16.108-109, 20.318-319. Liddell & Scott note on ἕλκειν, from ἕλκω, can mean in Homeric usage, "drag about, esp. with lewd violence, ἕλκει καὶ βιάζεται" (cf. Dem. 21.150). On ῥυστάζω, L&S define it as "to drag about"; in the *Etymologicum magnum*, ῥυστάζειν connotes to drag with violence, and further to take women sexually by force: "Τὸ μετὰ βίας ἕλκειν; παρὰ τὸ ἐρύω ἢ καὶ πλεονασμῷ, ῥυστὰζειν. Ἕστι δὲ τὸ μετὰ βίας καὶ ἀνάγκης ἕλκειν καὶ μίγνυσθαι γυναικί" (*Etym. Magn.* s.v. ῥυστάζειν).

in their reunion. Several sources describe the reunion including Menelaus's intention to kill Helen for her perceived treachery, his sword often raised against her.[44] According to some accounts, however, Menelaus's rage is held in check because of Aphrodite's intervention and Helen's famed beauty.[45] The account in Quintus Smyrnaeus's *Posthomerica*, although one of our later sources, is one of the most detailed and worth quoting in its entirety:

> It was some time before Menelaüs found his wife in her hiding place in the palace. She was terrified of the menaces of her rightful husband: the sight of her roused his jealousy so much that he felt driven to kill her. But Aphrodite, goddess of love, restrained his violence, made the sword fall from his hand, and put a stop to his impulse by ridding him of dark jealousy and kindling sweet desire deep in his mind and eyes. He had not expected to be dumbstruck at the sight of her in all her beauty, but he could no longer bring himself to strike her neck with his sword. Just as on a wooded hillside a dried-out tree keeps standing, unmoved by the strong blasts of Boreas or Notus gusting through the air: just so he stood long rooted to the spot in amazement, and as he gazed at his wife his strength gave way. He instantly forgot all the offenses she had committed against the marriage bed, because they were all effaced by the goddess Cypris, conqueror of the minds of all immortal gods and mortal men.[46]

Menelaus, driven by rage and jealousy, is about to strike Helen down before Aphrodite intervenes. The goddess cuts through the potential violence against Helen and stirs within Menelaus a strong desire for his recovered wife. Any thoughts Menelaus had of killing Helen

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[44] Menelaus and Helen's reunion also features on a number of late-Archaic vase paintings, some of which depict Menelaus with his sword raised against/towards Helen, many of which depict the "recovery of Helen" where Menelaus looks back at Helen as he leads her away. Select examples, cf. Beazley 310321, 310359, 310434, 330100, 320086, 303396, 301604, 8510, 201000, 14719, & Boston MFA 13.186.

[45] Most of the sources describe the reunion as such; some omit Aphrodite's specific presence, but they all describe Menelaus's anger and intent-to-kill as having been eradicated by the sight of Helen's beauty. Some of these sources also indicate that Helen was partially nude when Menelaus first sees her, her breasts revealed. Cf. Ar. *Lys*. 155-156; Eur. *Andr.* 624-631; *Little Iliad* fr. 28 (trans. West 2003): Schol. Ar. *Lys*. 155, Ibycus *PMGF* 296. Euripides is the first to have included the detail of Helen's breasts (cf. Henderson 1990 commentary, pg. 86), while the *Little Iliad* and Aristophanes relocate the power of Helen's beauty specifically from her face to her breasts. On Helen's breasts in this context, cf. Maguire (2009), 52-55. Stesichorus also recounts Helen's near-death; however, his account is unique in that it is not Menelaus who is on the verge of killing Helen, but the Greek army by means of stoning. When the army sees Helen's beauty, they drop their stones; cf. Schol. Eur. *Or.* 1287, fr. 106 F. On the uniqueness of Stesichorus's account, cf. Finglass (2018), 146-147. Apollodorus also briefly mentions the reunion; he recounts only that after slaying Deiphobus, Menelaus led Helen away to the ships; *Epit.* E.5.22.

[46] *Posthomerica* 13.385-402; trans. Hopkinson (2018). NB: Quintus composed the epic between the late second and mid-fourth centuries CE. Quintus further describes the reunion between Menelaus and Helen once they return to Menelaus's tent; there, Menelaus forgives Helen after she pleads with him not to be angry at her as her actions were not those of a willing participant. Aphrodite facilitates Menelaus's forgiveness: "Cypris was hovering about their minds to make them banish all their grief by recalling how they used to sleep together"; 14.151-178. Aphrodite rekindles the intimacy the couple once shared in order to help both of them move past their individual and shared grief.

are forsaken when Aphrodite intervenes, her powers of lustful persuasion inescapable by both mortals and immortals alike. Aphrodite does not need a weapon to fight her battles, and quite poignantly she compels the fierce Greek warrior Menelaus to drop his own weapon.[47] Helen's beauty, that characteristic which likened her to "immortal goddesses" (*Il.* 3.158), makes Aphrodite's task all that much easier to accomplish: Menelaus is so overcome both physically and mentally by the sight of her that he forgoes his revenge as Aphrodite intended. In Euripides's *Andromache*, Peleus lashes out at Menelaus for not killing Helen, accusing him of cowardice for falling prey to Aphrodite's powers: "And when you had taken Troy (for I shall go there also in my argument), you did not kill your wife when you had her in your power, but when you saw her breasts, you threw away your sword and kissed the traitorous bitch and fawned on her, proving no match, coward that you are, for Aphrodite's power."[48] Peleus suggests that Helen deserved to die ("traitorous bitch"), that Menelaus should have been able to follow through with his revenge, especially as he had Helen right where he would have wanted her to see his revenge accomplished. Menelaus proves to be a weak "coward" for succumbing to Aphrodite's powers of persuasion so easily. Helen's arresting beauty is focalized on her exposed breasts, not her face. The focus on Helen's breasts lends the reunion a more erotic tone; Menelaus, thanks to Aphrodite, is struck by an intense desire for Helen upon seeing her partial nudity such that he forsakes his revenge, and Helen's own sexuality undermines Menelaus's violence. Aphrodite uses Helen's beautiful form against Menelaus to save Helen from near-death, demonstrating on the one hand how easily susceptible to Aphrodite's powers one can be, and on the other how she can utilize her specific powers to foil impending violence. The reunion also demonstrates how, in some cases, female sexuality can overpower masculine aggression.

Only once in the epic does Aphrodite imply that she would let physical harm come to Helen. When Aphrodite summons Helen to see to Paris in his chamber after his duel with Menelaus, Helen expresses aggravation with Aphrodite, going so far as to suggest that if Aphrodite so cares for Paris's well-being, then the goddess should forsake "the god's way" and "stay with him forever, and suffer for him, and look after him until he makes you [Aphrodite] his wedded wife, or makes you his slave girl" (*Il.* 3.399-412). Aphrodite's response is swift and angry: "Wretched girl, do not tease me lest in anger I forsake you and grow to hate you as much as now I terribly love you, lest I encompass you in hard hate,

[47] Cf. epigram 16.171 of Leonidas of Tarentum discussed in chapter one, which questions why Aphrodite would bear the arms of Ares when she does not need weapons to overpower other gods, never mind mortals.
[48] Eur. *Andr.* 627-631; trans. Kovacs (1995).

caught between both sides, Danaäns and Trojans alike, and you wretchedly perish" (*Il.* 3.413-417). Helen is quick to do Aphrodite's bidding at that point. Again, Aphrodite does not need weapons to accomplish her goal: the threat of Aphrodite forsaking her love of Helen is enough to convince Helen that she would be far better off not angering the goddess from whom she enjoys protection. As evidenced in the previous chapter, Aphrodite's associations with violence frequently portray the goddess as a foil to violence, countering or changing it through both her unique powers and her own beauty. In the context of combat in the heroic realm, the violence committed against the Trojan women balances divine and mortal experiences of sex and violence. Where Aphrodite is involved, it is clear that the goddess, although not an active participant in combat, can still use her powers to thwart violence and that her powers are more than strong enough to counter threats of aggression, especially those against women. Moreover, as the description of Menelaus and Helen's reunion demonstrates, women of epic who possessed qualities which mirrored Aphrodite's, such as beauty, were likewise able to thwart violence against them. And while the Trojan women, especially the elite women, await a grim fate of captivity (which may include sexual violation by their captors), we do not see this fate unfold. We have the historical accounts discussed below as substantiation for what the women of epic potentially would have faced as captives of war, but the epics do not go so far as to represent this future. The Homeric epics allude to sexual violence against women as a result of combat warfare, but they do not turn allusion into mythical reality.

Outside of Homer, the sexual violation of women as a consequence of combat is a theme further explored in Euripidean tragedy where the Trojan women are the favoured cast of characters. That this theme continues to be explored post-Homer and in a performative context demonstrates that the association between sex and violence is one which continued to captivate Greek, particularly Athenian, audiences. The sufferings experienced by the Trojan women during (and after) a war long since passed nevertheless resonated poignantly with a war-ravaged (and war-ravaging) Athens.[49] Again, we find no specific reference to male captives taken from Troy, suggesting that the potential for homosexual assault against male captives does not warrant legitimization in epic or tragedy. The implications of homosexual assault against young male captives, as will be discussed forthcoming, undermine the cultural values which hold pederastic relationships above heterosexual relations. Although the present

[49] Euripides's *Troades* is considered by some as a commentary on the siege of Melos by Athens, and the slaughter and subjugation of the Melians thereafter. Cf. Croally (2007), 232-234 for discussion.

discussion focuses on select examples from Euripides, other playwrights, both comic and tragic, such as Aeschylus and Aristophanes, explored the effects of wartime conflicts on sexual relationships (and vice versa) and referenced the practice of taking women and girls as war captives for the purposes of enslavement.[50]

In *Hecuba*, Euripides examines the analogy between marriage and sacrifice and draws attention to the destructive effects of war on eroticism, particularly as associated with the male gaze and the woman at whom the gaze is directed. Talthybius, Agamemnon's herald, tells Hecuba of Polyxena's sacrifice, describing in detail how honourably the Trojan princess carried herself in the last moments of her life. Notably, the description of Polyxena's actions just before the knife is taken to her throat is highly eroticized: "When she heard the command of her masters, she seized her robe and tore it from the shoulder to the middle of her waist, by the navel, and showed her breasts, lovely as a goddess' statue."[51] Polyxena's actions may be intended to inspire admiration and even pity among the male soldiers witnessing her sacrifice; however, the way in which she is described suggests that her actions may have also had more sexual implications.[52] Helen, as we saw previously, exposed herself to Menelaus to save her life. In these instances, both Polyxena and Helen may be using their sexualities to thwart male aggression and impending violence and to make a plea for their lives. Polyxena revealing herself would, in this context, be a final plea to save her life in the hopes that the sight of her nudity would eradicate the soldiers' intent to sacrifice her, much like Helen's nudity eradicated Menelaus's intent to kill her, suggesting that a woman's exposed form could overpower male-instigated violence. That Talthybius emphasizes Polyxena's beautiful breasts and even compares Polyxena's form to a goddess in this moment of violence and imminent death suggests that Polyxena was successful in captivating the soldiers' gazes. Having exposed her body, Polyxena reveals to her audience that which is usually kept hidden from public view: the nude, young female form.[53] Polyxena diverts their gazes from the serious, tragic event about to take place for which she will suffer the greatest and instead turns their thoughts to erotic associations of sexual engagement with the beautiful, nude maiden presented before their eyes, potentially saving herself in the process.

However, Helen had Aphrodite's help in preventing her death. Polyxena does not have Aphrodite to help her, which may have contributed to her failure in persuading the men

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[50] Cf. in particular: Aesch. *Ag.* & *Sept*; Ar. *Lys.*
[51] *Hec.* 558-562; trans. Kovacs (1995). Cf. Segal (1990), 111-112.
[52] Segal (1990), 112.
[53] References to Polyxena by characters in *Hecuba* identify her as Hecuba's "young girl/child", cf. *Hec.* 140-152, 171, 220.

to spare her. Despite also being likened to a goddess, Polyxena does not have the benefit of Aphrodite's intervention to overpower the men's violence. Furthermore, according to Euripides, Polyxena's sacrifice was required to honour Achilles, the ghost of whom appeared before the Greeks as they prepared to sail away from Troy demanding that they not leave his tomb "without its prize of honour."[54] The Greeks, after much deliberation, chose Hecuba's daughter Polyxena, following Odysseus's advice not to "reject the most valiant of all the Danaans merely to avoid shedding a slave's blood."[55] Whereas Helen's death was arguably not an absolute necessity for securing Greek victory over the Trojans or for the Greeks' return home, Polyxena's sacrifice was inescapable, regardless of what pleas she used to change her circumstances. There is perhaps a sense of mockery in her actions as well; in revealing herself, Polyxena forces the men to confront the reality of their decision to sacrifice a young girl, calling into question whether or not their actions for the sake of Achilles are truly as noble as they would rather believe, and further heightening the eroticized violence about to be committed against her. Polyxena's fate furthermore perverts the ritual of sacrifice; she is likened to a goddess then sacrificed in honour of a (deceased) mortal man, Achilles.[56] In Polyxena's case, despite revealing herself and being likened to a goddess, her fate remains death at the hands of men.

Polyxena's sacrifice and its eroticization are but one example of the general eroticization of war violence. As Segal notes, "War here displaces erotic into destructive energy, an insight that haunts Greek and Roman reflections on war."[57] Two forms of sexual violation are referenced in *Hecuba*, Polyxena's sacrifice and Cassandra's sexual enslavement; their fates are contrasted in the parode: "that the Greeks should crown Achilles' tomb with fresh blood, and that they would never set the love of Cassandra above Achilles' spear."[58] This contrast emphasizes the fates that await female war-time captives. Either death or sexual enslavement awaits them, but in either case their bodies are sacrificed for the enemy. Euripides echoes Homer's characterization of the fall of Troy as metaphorically symbolized when the Trojan women fall victim to sexual violation. The chorus's final ode laments this fate: "Ilium, our fatherland, no longer will you be numbered among the cities that stand

[54] Cf. *Hec*. 98-152; trans. Kovacs (1995).
[55] Cf. *Hec.* 125-139.
[56] Her literal sacrifice also echoes the symbolic sacrifice a woman experiences when getting married as her previous life (as a maiden) dies, and her new life (as a wife) begins. For the parallels between sacrifice, death, and marriage, cf. ch. 3 on Aphrodite *Pandêmos*. Cf. Alexiou (1974); Foley (1982); Redfield (1982); Jenkins (1983); Seaford (1987); Golden (1988); Dowden (1989); Holst-Warhaft (1992); Rehm (1994); Blundell (1995).
[57] Segal (1990), 112.
[58] *Hec.* 126-130. Cf. Segal (1990), 112.

unsacked: such is the cloud of Greeks that has covered you about on every side, ravaging you with the spear. You are shorn of your crown of towers and stained most pitiably with the disfiguring mark of smoke. No more, poor city, shall I tread your streets."[59] Troy is ravaged, its city shorn of its crowns and left with stains of defilement; this imagery of violation evokes the rape of the Trojan women. That Troy is defiled and defeated like its women demonstrates the connection between their respective fates. The Chorus later describes their preparations for bed on the night of what would mark the fall of Troy; upon hearing the alarms raised of the city falling under attack, "Clad in only a single garment, like a Spartan girl, I left my marriage bed and sat, luckless woman, as a suppliant to Artemis the revered, but to no purpose. I was carried away to the sea after seeing my husband slain."[60] This description blurs the distinction between maiden/woman as the Chorus of married women compares themselves to maidens seeking Artemis's protection; rather than "the (sanctioned) loss of virginity," these women face the "loss of the chastity of marriage," a fate which their being carried away to the sea after their husbands are slain confirms.[61]

Euripides's *Hecuba* and *Trojan Women* further explore the delicate situation in which captive women find themselves after the war is over and the dust has settled, for their survival depends on blurring the distinction between concubine and *hetaira*.[62] When a woman becomes the sexual slave of a captor, the "gift-exchange of normal marriage is replaced by the violent death of the woman's kin";[63] the captive woman's transfer from one man/house to another is distorted by her lack of sexual consent on one hand, and on the other by the conspicuous lack of familial involvement where the woman's loyalty is split between husband and natal family. This testing of loyalties causes significant emotional turmoil. As Andromache laments, "If I put my love for Hector out of my mind and open my heart to my present husband, I shall appear disloyal to him who has died. But if I loathe my present husband, I shall incur the hatred of my own master. Yet they say that a single night dispels the hatred a woman feels for her bedmate."[64] But Hecuba advises Andromache that it is more prudent to submit to her new master and to use her womanly enticements to woo him for the sake of a more comfortable enslavement; Hector is dead and tears will not bring him back, Hecuba reminds her daughter-in-law, and she would serve his memory better by surviving

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[59] *Hec*. 905-910.
[60] *Hec*. 933-936.
[61] Segal (1990), 113.
[62] Scodel (1998), 137-154.
[63] Scodel (1998), 142.
[64] *Tro*. 661-668.

and giving the chance of a new Troy greater possibility by raising Hecuba's grandson.[65] Hecuba's sentiments throughout *Trojan Women* are echoed in *Hecuba*. Speaking to Agamemnon, Hecuba states:

> Well then—perhaps this part of my speech will be for naught, appealing to Aphrodite [Κύπριν], but still I shall make the point—my prophetic daughter, whom the Phrygians call Cassandra, sleeps at your side. What weight will you give, my lord, to those nights of love? Or what return shall my daughter have for her loving embraces in bed, and what return shall I have for her?...Listen, therefore: do you see the dead man here? In benefiting him it is your kinsman by marriage that you benefit.[66]

Hecuba needs Agamemnon's help to take revenge against Polymestor, the murderer of her son Polydorus, and she implies that because Cassandra is Agamemnon's concubine, Polydorus is essentially his brother-in-law, and that as such he owes it to his kinsman and his kinsman's family to facilitate Hecuba's plans. On the basis of *nómos* and *diké*, Hecuba argues that Agamemnon is lawfully obligated to avenge Polydorus, as her late son had been under Polymestor's protection by the ordinance of *xenia*, that oath which Paris had broken when he took Helen from Menelaus and that which Polymestor broke when he murdered her son.[67]

When Agamemnon remains unmoved by Hecuba's appeal for upholding *nómos* and *diké*, Hecuba exploits Cassandra's sexuality to convince Agamemnon that he is under moral obligation to punish Polymestor. Cassandra goes so far as to consider her relationship with Agamemnon a marriage,[68] and Hecuba uses this quasi-marriage to insist that Agamemnon, the new male head of their quasi-family, is responsible for avenging Polydorus.[69] Notable in the passage quoted above is Hecuba's invocation of Aphrodite. When Agamemnon remains unconvinced of Hecuba's plea, Hecuba cites Aphrodite, hoping to persuade Agamemnon that since he enjoys her daughter Cassandra within the context of Aphrodite's realm, does he not owe Hecuba a debt, one which can be paid by avenging the murder of her son and Cassandra's brother?[70] Here, Aphrodite represents the force which binds Agamemnon and Cassandra, consequently binding Agamemnon to Hecuba. Agamemnon had already proven loyal to Hecuba's family when he voted against sacrificing Polyxena for the sake of his

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[65] *Tro*. 696-705.
[66] *Hec*. 825-835.
[67] For discussion on Hecuba's appeal to Agamemnon, specifically her invocation of *nómos* and *diké*, cf. Kastely (1993); Lloyd (1996); Foley (2001); Croally (2007); Fletcher (2012); Anhalt (2017); Turkeltaub (2017); Zanotti (2019).
[68] *Tro*. 311-313, 345-347.
[69] For related discussion, cf. Scodel (1998), also Battezzato's commentary (2018), 184 n.834.
[70] Anhalt (2017), 159.

relationship with Cassandra;[71] by the same principle, Agamemnon should avenge Cassandra's brother's death. Moreover, *Trojan Women* indicates that Agamemnon specifically chose Cassandra rather than receiving her by gift or lot.[72] Agamemnon may have been overcome by Aphrodite's powers when he chose Cassandra just as Menelaus was when he recovered Helen. The sexual bond between Agamemnon and Cassandra imposes certain obligations on the man so long as the woman is willing to acquiesce to his authority; as Cassandra remains silent in this appeal, Hecuba stands in for her daughter.[73] Agamemnon ultimately agrees that Polymestor should be punished but he does not agree to personally avenge Polydorus's death due to his loyalty to the Greek army; however, out of pity for Hecuba he agrees to turn a blind eye when Hecuba puts her plan for revenge into motion.[74] Hecuba's invocation of Aphrodite also echoes Aphrodite's mediation in the reunion between Menelaus and Helen. Aphrodite uses Menelaus's desire for Helen to prevent him from killing his estranged wife. As for captives like Cassandra, they may face rape and sexual degradations upon losing their freedom; their sexual encounters during captivity are not likely to be mutually pleasurable. But here, Hecuba calls upon Aphrodite to ease the burdens of her daughter Cassandra. Even though Cassandra has been forced into sexual enslavement as a consequence of war, and the threat of (repeated) sexual violence looms over her as it does the other Trojan women, perhaps Aphrodite can persuade the captors to treat their captives with mercy so that the suffering of the captives does not manifest in their new beds.

The examples from Homer and Euripides of sexual violence against women as a consequence of warfare are not without historical precedents. Herodotus alludes to preadolescent girls being targets of populace-ravaging warfare in his description of the Pelasgian raid at Brauron.[75] The Athenian girls who worshipped Artemis at Brauron were around the age of ten although they could have been as young as seven, possibly five.[76] Herodotus uses "*gunaĩkas*," a general, collective term for women including preadolescents, to describe the girls ambushed at Brauron and taken as concubines. But as we know that the Brauron girls would have been much younger than the typical marrying age, and not traditionally what would be considered *gunaĩkes*, Herodotus's passage suggests that their

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[71] *Hec.* 120-123.
[72] *Tro.* 246-255; cf. Scodel (1998), 143-144.
[73] Scodel (1998), 144.
[74] *Hec.* 850-863, 898-904.
[75] 4.145.2, 6.138.1-4.
[76] Sourvinou-Inwood (1988), esp. 59-66. Sourvinou-Inwood examines iconographical representations of the *arktoi*, the young girls who served Artemis as "bears" at her Brauron and Mounichia sanctuaries, to determine the age range of these girls while in service, and she further corroborates these conclusions with evidence from literature, including Aristophanes (cf. Ar. *Lys.* 641-7).

sexual enslavement by the Pelasgians, although a perversion of Athenian girls' rites of passage, nevertheless accomplished their transition from virgins to women.[77] For these girls, their sexual captivity was emblematic of their wedding night and the honours associated with it having been stolen from them as well as their families.[78] Herodotus also describes instances of non-Greeks raping women, including the rape of the Phocian women by the Persians;[79] the Phocian women are seized in their attempt to retreat from Persian soldiers, then "violated to death"/raped successively by so many Persians as to result in their deaths.[80] The description of the Pelasgians should be considered less reality-based as the Pelasgians themselves are shrouded in mythological history, and the description of the Persians may be more indicative of Herodotus's "othering" of a foreign peoples.[81] Nevertheless, Herodotus's quasi-historical accounts do allude to a reality-based practice of female sexual captivity having existed from which he was able to describe the actions of the Pelasgians and Persians.

Thucydides does make specific historical reference to populace-ravaging warfare in his accounts. On several occasions, Thucydides explicitly identifies the practice of "andrapodizing," the enslavement of specific groups of people, namely those who do not possess the abilities to fight back.[82] Thucydides references this practice as exercised by Athenians against Mytilenaeans (3.28.2, 3.35.1-36.6, 3.49.1-50.3), against Peloponnesians (5.3.4), against Scionaeans (5.32.1), and against Melos (5.116), as well as in the case of Sicily against Sicanians (6.62.3). Thucydides also discusses this practice used as a means of profiting by ransoming male prisoners (2.70.3, 4.14.1, 4.38.5). Herodotus does also note andrapodizing exercised by Greeks on other Greeks, such as the Spartan attack on Tegea which resulted in a Spartan loss and the andrapodizing of the Spartans (1.66.3-4).[83] Xenophon, for his part, supports andrapodizing: "it is an eternal law among all human beings that when a city is captured by those at war, both the bodies of those in the city and their valuables belong to those who take it."[84] Xenophon reiterates the practice, including guidelines for implementing it, in *Memorabilia* (2.2.2 and 4.2.15).

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[77] Gaca (2014b), 288-289.
[78] Aeschylus in *Seven Against Thebes* also describes preadolescent girls as the targets of sexual violation; cf. *Sept*. 110, 326-328, 333-335, 792.
[79] 8.33.
[80] Cf. Harrison (1997), 188-189 for discussion on Herodotus's description of the rape of the Phocian women.
[81] As Sourvinou-Inwood notes, what information we have on the Pelasgians is myth-based, and therefore attempts to differentiate between the "real" Pelasgians and the theoretical/mythological Pelasgians are methodologically flawed (2003, 103).
[82] Cf. Gaca (2010).
[83] Cf. Meineck (2017), 49-69, esp. 54-56.
[84] *Cyr*. 7.5.73; trans. Ambler (2001).

In his biography of the Syracusan tyrant Hiero, written as a dialogue on tyranny, Xenophon distinguishes between the fate that awaits women war captives and that which awaits captive boys.[85] Hiero, speaking to the lyric poet Simonides regarding desire between a pederastic couple, remarks: "But to have your way with him against his will is more like robbery [*le̲ilasía*] than sex."[86] Xenophon uses "*le̲ilasía*" (plundering/pillaging, "robbery") to describe the circumstances under which forced sexual advances are made; as this sexual behaviour is the antithesis of how a pederastic relationship functions, the "pillaging" is contrasted with the correct form of pederasty, where force is not used. Plato also elevates the pederastic relationship above heterosexual relationships, the latter being more inclined towards baser, sexual appetites. In the *Symposium*, Pausanias describes the eroticism of Heavenly Aphrodite and that felt specifically by men for boys: "However, the Love who accompanies the heavenly goddess (and who does not descend from the female but only from the male) is the love of boys, and that goddess is older and entirely free from wantonness [*húbreos ἀmoírou*]."[87] That this type of love is reserved for relationships between males implies that wanton violence expressed in an erotic context only occurs between men and women, and that the love of "Heavenly Aphrodite" is superior to the love of Aphrodite *Pandêmos*, the Love "that inferior people experience. In the first place men of this sort love women quite as much as boys, and secondly, their bodies more than their souls, and thirdly, the stupidest people possible, since they have regard only for the act itself and do not care whether it is rightly done or not."[88] However, Pausanias is describing an idealized version of male homosexual relations in order to dispel the notion that the inequality evident between the man and woman likewise exists between the two men despite the fact that the *erastēs* is older than the *erōmenos*. In this passage, Pausanias is also seeking to eliminate from male homosexual relations the shame of *hubris* implicit in relations between men and women, manifest most notably in the male-dominant/female-submissive sexual roles.[89] Xenophon and Plato both make sharp distinctions between homosexual and heterosexual relations, with homosexual sexual interactions, even those involving captive males, being described as superior to heterosexual relations both in decorum and intent.

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[85] Cf. also Gaca (2014b), 283.
[86] *Hier*. 1.36; trans. Waterfield (1997).
[87] *Symp*. 181C; trans. Howatson (2008).
[88] *Symp*. 181B; trans. Howatson (2008).
[89] Monoson (2013), 77. Cf. Monoson (2013), 68 n.14, 77 n.49 for bibliography on the social significance of sexual activities, including its relation to *hybris*.

Relatedly, in epic and tragedy, we hear little of the fate of young men and boys. The allusions to captivity and sexual enslavement are almost exclusively focused on the Trojan women. If we consider the victory tactics of the Greeks against the Trojans, i.e. their intentions to destroy Troy and to take the women, then “historically” speaking the fall of Troy follows similar patterns of defeat seen in Greek history as described by Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon. In defeating the Trojans, the Greeks would by and large kill the Trojan men, and in keeping with the practice of andrapodizing whereby specific groups of defeated peoples (namely, those who cannot fight back) would be enslaved, we might imagine that some preadolescent Trojan boys would also have been kept alive along with the young captive women. Yet the *Iliad* as well as Euripides’s *Hecuba* and *Trojan Women* are concerned with the fate of the Trojan women. It is the women’s freedom, or lack thereof, that determines whether or not Greek victory over the Trojans has been accomplished. More importantly, it is the transfer of sexual ownership of the Trojan man’s wife to his Greek foe that ultimately ravages the Trojan’s house and honour. Little in epic or tragedy is said of the potential for homosexual sexual enslavement, possibly suggesting that the sexual degradation was more likely to have been more acceptable (if not inevitable) against the women captives.

The narratives of combat rape as portrayed in the heroic realm of epic amidst the tumult of the Trojan War further exemplify the underlying tension between sex and violence which in the divine sphere manifested in Aphrodite. In the bridge between divine and mortal, the heroic realm combines elements of immortal and mortal experiences of sexuality in the context of war and combat. Aphrodite appears in the *Iliad* and in Euripidean tragedy as a foil to violence, her unique gifts proving more powerful than even weapons. The mythical heroes exhibit behaviours and/or intentions of sexual violence against women, while the heroines must face a grim future of captivity. For some women, such as Helen and Cassandra, their sexuality can prove to be their means of empowerment as long as they have Aphrodite’s mediation, while for others, such as Polyxena, their sexuality can only get them so far, especially without the aid of the goddess. The fates that await the epic heroines find historical basis in accounts of combat rape recorded by Herodotus and Thucydides, but in epic and tragedy we do not witness the implied sexual violation come to pass. Vase paintings occasionally pair scenes of combat with images of erotica. Several examples depict erotica on one side and a battle scene on the other, and in some examples the complement to the erotica is a reference to the Trojan Cycle.[90] From an observational viewpoint, this pairing is

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[90] Cf. Beazley 200483, 204492, 350280, 10110, 12960, 201942, & 300833; Boston MFA RES08.30a.

noteworthy as it may visually express this tension, although to what extent these vases were intended to reflect cultural perceptions of sex and violence is indeterminable. Homeric epic and Euripidean tragedy are more revelatory in their portrayal of the relationship between sex and violence, particularly as it manifests in the context of war.

Sex & Violence Beyond Epic & Tragedy

How we interpret ancient Greek perceptions of the relationship between sex and violence outside the specific context of war and beyond the heroic realm depicted in epic and tragedy requires that we consider a different mode of representation. Literature alone is not enough. Vase painting is particularly promising as here we find this relationship further explored, and furthermore, as I will demonstrate, Mulvey's model is especially applicable to vase painting. To make this endeavor more manageable, I focus on a specific category of vase painting henceforth referred to as, "violent erotica," which is contemporary with the previously analysed materials relating to Aphrodite and war. The criteria for categorizing a vase painting under "violent erotica" is discussed further below. The violent erotica examples derive from a limited timeframe, c. 525-450 BCE, with a few iconographic predecessors from c. 575-550 BCE.[91] This timeframe correlates with the Aphrodite iconography in Athenian vase paintings as well as the Corinthian numismatic iconography featured in the previous chapter, both of which have been shown to represent varied interpretations of Aphrodite's relationship with warfare and which furthermore correlate with the paradoxical pairing of love and war, sexuality and violence. This synchronous timeframe enables us to consider the violent erotica within the context of the ways in which the tension between sex and violence was being treated in the divine sphere through Aphrodite's cult and iconography. Furthermore, this specific time-frame enables a more manageable treatment of the evidence. Within the broader picture of Greek vase painting, especially vase paintings with erotic

[91] Kilmer chooses to restrict his analysis to Athens/Attica, and to restrict the "chronological coverage to the comparatively short period of early red-figure painting, the late Archaic period," defined as c. 530-460 BCE (1993, 1). Furthermore, "since the earliest preserved red-figure known to [Kilmer] does not include explicit erotica," the period can be restricted even further to c. 520-460 BCE (1993, 1). My discussion, as noted, analyses the same period, here noted as 525-450 BCE, and for reasons similar to Kilmer's, my discussion likewise focuses on Athenian red-figure paintings in order to analyse in greater depth the category of erotica I have classified as "violent erotica." As stated above, the violent erotica also correlates with evidence discussed in the first chapter. Kilmer does not discuss late black-figure examples because the techniques, in his estimation, "have substantially different ways of dealing with erotic topics," with black-figure "less restricted in subject-matter" in comparison to red-figure (1993, 2). I also refrain from discussing black-figure erotica with the exception of a few examples which are included for predecessorial context.

themes, the focus on a select group of vases specifically relevant to the theme of sexuality and violence sheds new light on the nuances of sexuality present in the ancient Greek world.

The majority of the violent erotica examples are of Athenian fabric. Of the 30,000-40,000 surviving Athenian pots, Sutton notes that an estimated 150 show figures engaging in explicit sexual activity; there are far more numerous ("two thousand or more") scenes depicting male drinking parties "in which there is often a strong sexual element even when graphic illustration of copulatory acts is avoided."[92] Chronologically, the explicit erotica is restricted almost entirely to the period 575-450 BCE, and there is a marked drop after 480 BCE, few after 405 BCE, and only one example from the fourth century.[93] This exceptionally small fraction of the total surviving pots demonstrates a "broad range of sexual activities from group sex and sadism to fellatio, anal sex and masturbation, in both heterosexual and homosexual contexts."[94] Of this estimated 150, the violent erotica represents a still smaller percentage; however, this category of erotica is markedly unique in its representation of sexual engagements.[95] Notably, the stark differences between heterosexual engagements and homosexual engagements in terms of how the presence of women alters the erotic tone of the image presents a compelling basis for applying the Mulvey model to these images in order to discern viewership interpretations of these erotic scenes. In particular, the nuances of heterosexual male viewership in relation to the objectification of the female body become distinctly more evident when examined through the methodology inspired by Mulvey.

As discussed in my Introduction, Mulvey's theory on the male gaze and how it shapes the feminine form, resulting in a voyeuristic and/or scopophilic viewing experience, has been applied by previous scholars within the field of Classics to ancient art, notably Roman wall paintings. In analyses of Roman wall paintings from Pompeii, the location of the wall paintings, the often violently erotic themes (including the rape of women) depicted in mythological contexts, and the partial nudity of the female figures together reveal a visual language of power where the intended viewership privileges the male gaze and, through the power dynamics conveyed specifically by gender, reiterates messages of authority and

[92] Sutton (1992), 7. Cf. also Robson (2013), 133.
[93] Sutton (1992), 7.
[94] Robson (2013), 133.
[95] When analyzing such a small percentage of evidence, it must be noted that the views expressed in this category of erotica could possibly represent a-typical views, ones produced on a specific set of objects for a narrow range of contexts. The conclusions drawn here are not meant to be all-inclusive of ancient Greece broadly, or of the Athenian male audience, or of other types of viewers, or of the audience relevant to the export market. Rather, this discussion focuses on a specific and limited body of evidence in order to analyse a particular phenomenon which this evidence illuminates further: the relationship between sex and violence and how that manifests in various outlets, including in art/vase painting.

control applicable to the social and political status of the house's owner.[96] These wall paintings demonstrate the unequal power dynamics between men and women which manifest as a result of the voyeuristic and scopophilic viewing experiences described by Mulvey. However, Mulvey's theory has not previously been applied to vase paintings such as it is in my analysis of violent erotica; more pointedly, my analysis is the first to employ a Mulvey model to this subset of explicitly erotic vase paintings. As previously discussed, Mangieri, in his analysis of images of the virgin sacrifice in Greek, Roman, and Etruscan art, notes that Mulvey's theory resonates particularly well with Greek art, specifically the representation of women in various themes found in vase paintings. While Mangieri does not himself apply Mulvey's theory to his own analysis, he does assert that Mulvey's theory illuminates two critical features of the sexual relationship between men and women. The first is "the ambivalent attitude of Greek men towards women", and the second is "men's fear of female sexuality."[97] As my analysis reveals, both of these aspects are represented in the violent erotica, further demonstrating the applicability of Mulvey's theory to ancient art as well as showing my analysis to be a unique contribution to the body of work which seeks to understand the dynamics of sexual relations as depicted by Greek vase paintings.

Strikingly, these vases are not mythologized depictions of sexual violence unlike the examples from epic and tragedy. Additionally, the public performance of sexuality in both literary and visual sources reveals that a major facet of sexuality persistently explored in ancient Greek culture is the interplay of sexuality and violence. There was clearly an ancient interest in portraying the darker sides of sexuality, and whereas modern audiences might shy away from exploring this subset of sexual engagements due to our collective rejection of certain sexual acts, the ancient audiences evidently did not have the same reservations. To explore this theme within the mortal realm, we turn to the violent erotica as dramatic representations of human experiences. Heroes and deities do not feature in these vase paintings. The violent erotica is limited to human figures and from their depictions we are better able to discern why violence played a recurring role in ancient Greek portrayals of sex and sexuality.

[96] Cf. Fredrick (1995) & Koloski-Ostrow (1997).
[97] Mangieri (2018), 10.

Violent Erotica: The Evidence

Emblematic images which most clearly evidence the iconography of violence and sexuality as a culturally structured behavioural phenomenon are highlighted in the analysis. These chosen violent erotica representations fall under four main categories of sexual intercourse: heterosexual coupling, homosexual coupling, orgy scenes, and foreplay. The former two are analysed together for the sake of examining how and why same-sex intercourse, through its dramatically different, comparatively chaste representations, highlights in turn the often-aggressive connotations of male/female intercourse. Orgy scenes and foreplay are analysed together in order to examine the similarities in the physical behaviours of the male and female figures. The criteria for deeming an erotic representation "violent" include the following: nonconsensual sexual engagement and/or pursuit, forced double penetration, and "foreplay" which involves physical abuse (ex. slipper beating, hair-pulling). It is important to note that in referring to these scenes as "violent," it is not to imply that the ancient Greeks who viewed such scenes found the violence abhorrent; "violence" as a modern term carries the anachronistic implications of twenty-first century (visual) norms. What to a modern viewer today is shocking/offensive, or inappropriate/prohibited, to an ancient Greek (male) viewer could have been one aspect of sexual practices and pleasures.[98]

It is also worth briefly noting that the majority of the violent erotica is red-figure. As Osborne explains, the "technical revolution" in the last quarter of the sixth century when red-figure decoration replaced black-figure as the most common technique used in Athenian vase painting must be understood in the context of the "desire to forge a more intimate relationship between the viewer and the scene viewed" such that the red-figure technique "is about embodiment, about enfleshment."[99] The black background created a sharp distinction between the figure(s) and the background, allowing for more naturalistic depictions of the human body and of human gestures; the essential appeal of red-figure, as Robertson argues, is "surely in the way it combined the silhouette principle so dear to the vase-decorator with a style of drawing comparable to that of painters on panel or wall."[100] Artists had a greater ability to "make their images take up space that is continuous with the space they themselves

[98] See Kilmer (1993), 103-104. The violent erotica examples may also be more relevant to private viewing contexts versus public in terms of the acceptability of depictions of these types of sexual behaviours, in other words domestic wares which are more publicly handled and viewed versus sympotic wares which are handled and viewed more selectively and often by a predominantly male audience.
[99] Osborne (1998), 136-137. The scholarship on the advent of red-figure is extensive. Select bibliography includes: Beazley (1963); Noble (1965); Boardman (1975) & (2001); Frel (1983); von Bothmer (1987); Buitron-Oliver (ed. 1991); Williams (1991a) & (1991b); Sparkes (1991) & (1996); Martin (1992); Cook (1997); Oakley et. al (eds. 1997); Osborne (1998) & (2018); Neer (2002); Oakley (ed. 2014).
[100] Robertson (1992), 51.

occupy" and consequently encouraged the painters to "put themselves into that space as participants at the parties they paint," while the ability to paint bodies in a variety of poses and displaying a wide range of gestures encouraged the viewer "to think that this is not simply a distant parade that they see, but that they are given a private view from a particular point."[101] The effects on the viewer are particularly relevant to erotica. The more naturalistic depictions of the human body as well as the array of poses in which bodies could be painted exposed the "vulnerability and the erotic attraction of naked bodies,"[102] while the sense of private viewership enabled a greater degree of emotional engagement with the erotica.

The scenes are analysed through the Mulvey model. To reiterate, this model treats the vase painting and its original viewer much in the same way we understand the modern-day experience of viewing films on screen. The violent erotica is a haptic experience, and when focused through modern psychoanalysis and gender film theory, it is an experience realized through a model of object viewing which reveals how the male (and female) spectators may have internalized the sexual behaviours as viewed by the gaze/Gaze through a phallocentric consumption of aggressive sexuality. Moreover, the violent erotica does not shy away from explicitly differentiating between the perceived baseness of heterosexual intercourse and the perceived superiority of homosexual intercourse. As this analysis will further demonstrate, the tension between sex and violence which is evidenced divinely through Aphrodite and which exists in the heroic realm is also clearly evidenced in the mortal sphere by this category of erotica. As such, the existence of violent erotica speaks further to the relationship between characteristics of sexuality existent in the divine world, and manifested in the relevant deity of sex, and the human explorations of similar characteristics.

Heterosexual & Homosexual Scenes

My analysis is the first to distinguish between heterosexual and homosexual erotic vase paintings specifically using the Mulvey model. The heterosexual scenes resemble the viewing experience as exemplified by the Mulvey model in their projection of the male viewer's use of erotica to reassert control over the female sex, and to envision women as the objects of, in these cases, violent release. Especially when compared to homosexual erotica, heterosexual erotica features violent overtones indicative of a distinct contrast between the veneration of the *erastēs*/*erōmenos* relationship and the oftentimes degradation of the sexual

[101] Osborne (1998), 149.
[102] Osborne (1998), 149.

relationship between men and certain types of women. This degradation reiterates the use of such imagery as "political weapon" per Mulvey's model; the women are situated within the vase painting specifically from the context of male spectatorship. The viewing conditions furthermore facilitate the privileging of the male gaze. In heterosexual scenes, the male viewer coming into close contact with the vase enables voyeuristic objectification of the female figures as well as narcissistic identification with the male figure(s).

The development of symposium scenes, particularly their depiction of relations between male attendants and female attendants, demonstrates a brief period in erotica when encounters between men and women develop iconographically from moderately suggestive scenes to explicit depictions of sexual congress. For context, in relation to Aphrodite's current stage of representation in vase painting, the period of erotica c. 575 BCE to 450 BCE first overlaps with the prevalence of Judgement of Paris scenes such as the example shown in figure 2.1, an Athenian black-figure skyphos c. 525-500 BCE.[103] As discussed in the first chapter, Aphrodite most commonly featured in Judgement of Paris scenes during the late-Archaic period, particularly in Athens. In the early-Classical period c. 475 BCE, scenes of Aphrodite's birth begin to appear.[104] Images of the *anodos* ("rising", as in "from the sea") of Aphrodite, such as those depicted by figures 2.2 (Athenian red-figure hydria, c. 460 BCE) and 2.3 (Athenian red-figure cup, c. 470-440 BCE) evoke Aphrodite's primordial beginnings according to Hesiod.[105] As previously discussed, Hesiod's account of Aphrodite's birth combines violent conquest and sexuality. As explored below, the violent erotica explores a similar combination in a mortal context.

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[103] On fig. 2.1, cf. *CVA*: Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale 2, 51, pl. (456) 70.4.6-8.

[104] As Rosenzweig notes, *anodos* scenes appear frequently on varied vase shapes including hydriae, squat lekythoi, and pyxides, shapes "most appropriate…for a watery birth" (2004, 73).

[105] The *anodos* depicted on the hydria attributed to the Bologna painter (fig. 2.2) also includes a palm tree near the altar which may be an allusion to her Cypriot sanctuary. Cf. Rosenzweig (2004), 73. On fig. 2.2, cf. *LIMC* 41045, "Aphrodite 1175". On fig. 2.2, cf. Beazley (1963), 917.206; Rosenzweig (2004), 73. On fig. 2.3, cf. *LIMC* "Pan 242". On fig. 2.3, cf. Beazley (1963), 840.60; Kavvadias (2000), pl.60.60 (I).

Fig. 2.1: Athenian black-figure skyphos; Corinth 525-500 BCE; Side B: Judgment of Paris, Hermes, Athena, Hera, Aphrodite, Dionysus with drinking horn; Beazley 11350.

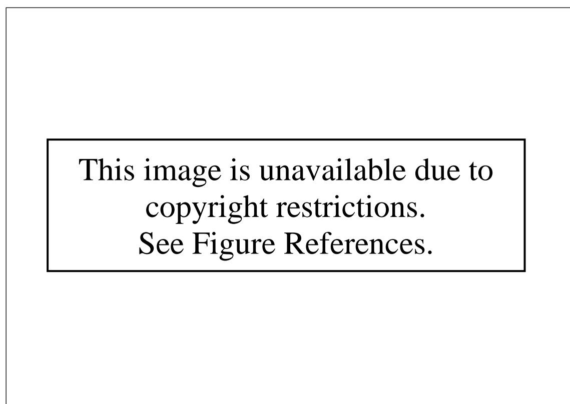

Fig. 2.2: Athenian red-figure hydria; c. 460 BCE; BD: *Anodos* of Aphrodite, Eros with fillet, woman with cloth, altar, palm tree, fillet suspended; attributed to the Bologna Painter; Beazley 211143.

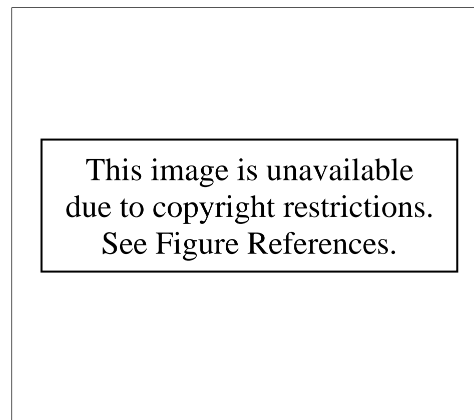

Fig. 2.3: Athenian red-figure cup; c. 470-440 BCE; *Anodos*, Aphrodite emerging from the ground, Pan above; attributed to Sabouroff Painter; Beazley 212239.

The symposium scenes progress from modest imagery of men and women interacting to more explicit scenes of men and women engaging in various stages of sexual intercourse. Figure 2.4 of an Athenian black-figure lekythos c. 480 BCE, depicting a symposium scene with a seated man listening to a woman playing the lyre, demonstrates this "staid" symposium environment where the woman provides musical entertainment for a male listener, with neither his nor her body language suggesting anything further.[106] The distance between the figures and the lack of physical contact suggest the focus is not the specific interaction between the man and woman but rather the symposium atmosphere achieved by

[106] On fig. 2.4, cf. *CVA*: Leiden, Rijksmuseum Van Oudheden 2, 56, pl. (191) 97.1-3.

non-sexual activities, such as music. Compare this to figure 2.5 where fragments of a red-figure dinos c. 480-460 BCE depict an erotic symposium scene.[107] The figures on the left are noteworthy: a nude man holds a nude woman to his side, both looking at another man who is possibly playing a harp. While these dinos fragments likewise depict musical entertainment, the inclusion of a nude couple embracing changes the tone and the viewer's interpretation of the scene.[108] The dinos may be considered later than the lekythos based on the former's more detailed figural compositions and its more overtly displayed eroticism.[109] In terms of shape, both types of vessels would be seen in public and/or private contexts. The lekythos was a highly common oil vessel for personal use (scented oils/perfumes), or for more general use (cooking oils), or, more commonly, for funerary purposes (ritual oil). When used as funerary gifts/offerings, white-ground lekythoi often depicted events associated with funeral rituals such as the traditional prothesis, mourners at tombs, or images of Charon ferrying the deceased across the river Styx.[110] The dinos, a large round-bottom bowl which did not have handles and required a stand, was used for mixing wine and water; that figure 2.5 depicts explicit erotica makes it more likely that the vessel was used in a social setting for mixing water and wine, enabling a more public viewing context. Both vessels would have been used in settings conducive to several levels of spectatorship, from personal private use to general public use. The change in tone of the erotica evident in these examples demonstrates that the erotica was becoming more explicit but still reaching various groups of viewers in traditional social/cultural contexts.

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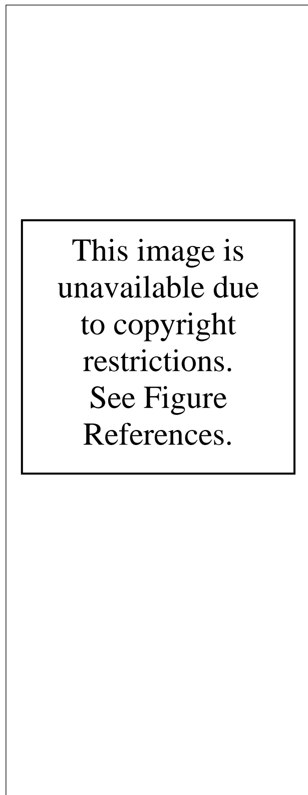
[107] On fig. 2.5, cf. Beazley (1963), 552.28; Beazley (1971), 387; Kilmer (1993), pl. AT P.146, R697.

[108] On the dinos fragment, see also Stafford (2005), 100-101. Stafford discusses the central woman wearing a decorated breast-band in this scene, our only Attic example of a woman wearing such a garment in a symposium context. As Stafford notes, the elaborate design of the breast-band may indicate that rather than being underwear, the band was meant to be seen regularly and likely for erotic effect. This effect further enhances the overall erotic tone this scene conveys.

[109] The dinos is attributed to the Pan Painter, active c. 480-460 BCE, while the lekythos is attributed to the Haimon Painter, who is believed to have been active beginning earlier than the Pan Painter, c. 500-470 BCE. On the Haimon Painter, cf. Beazley *ABV* (1956), 538-539; Boardman *ABFH* (1974), 62, 148-151, 178, 191, 194; Haspels *ABL* (1936), 130-141, 241-246; Anan′ich (2005), 27-29; & Lynch (2011), 104-107. On the Pan Painter, cf. Beazley *ARV²* (1963), 550-561; Boardman *ARFH¹* (1975), 180-181, 193; Robertson (1992), 143-151; Mannack (2012), 54.

[110] Mertens (2010), 30.



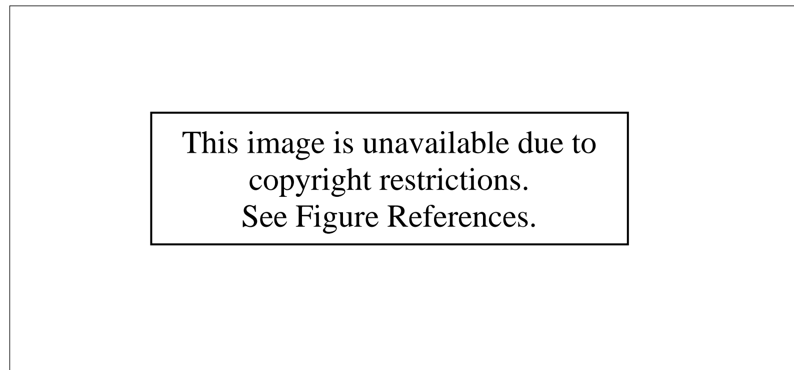


Fig. 2.4 (left): Athenian black-figure lekythos; Athens c. 480 BCE; BD: Symposium, man, woman playing lyre; Attributed to manner of the Haimon Painter; Beazley 1214.

Fig. 2.5 (above): Athenian red-figure dinos fragments; Athens c. 480-460 BCE; BD: Symposium, erotic scene with men and women; Attributed to the Pan Painter; Beazley 206303.

Further evidencing the shift in erotic tone and explicit imagery of late-Archaic vase paintings are figures 2.6 through 2.8. While not suggestive of aggressive/violent sexual behaviour, the scenes do mark an enhanced male perspective of the objectification of the feminine form. Figure 2.6, a red-figure pelike attributed to the Nikoxenos painter c. 490 BCE, depicts on one side an ithyphallic man lifting a woman's skirt and staring intently at her genitalia (side A), and on the other side a man and a woman engaged in standing rear-entry sex (side B).[111] Side A has been interpreted as preparation for cunninlingus by some scholars such as Sutton; Kilmer, however, notes that Sutton's interpretation of the woman's scowl as indicative of her displeasure at the prospect of impending cunnilingus, while possible, is less convincing than his own interpretation by which if the woman is displeased, it may have more to do with the fact that unlike the woman on side B, the woman on side A is more interested in commencing the act than waiting for the man to look his fill.[112] I am inclined to follow Kilmer's interpretation; if the woman were opposed to the act of cunnilingus, her body language might suggest resistance (such as turning away, pushing her skirt down), whereas in

[111] On fig. 2.6, cf. Beazley (1963), 224.7; Keuls (1985), 158, 178; Frontisi-Ducroux (1996), 93; Dierichs (1997), 115; Dierichs (2008), 88; Robson (2013), 260; Sánchez (2013), 153-154.
[112] Kilmer (1993), 144. Cf. also Sutton (1981).

this scene she is fully engaged, appearing impatient for the act to begin. Though the intended location of this interaction is indeterminable, if the woman is meant to represent a prostitute, she may have been expected to express interest whether or not she really were interested; this feigned interest would enhance the male fantasy of the encounter since the representation is also phallocentric in its portrayal of the large, erect penises.

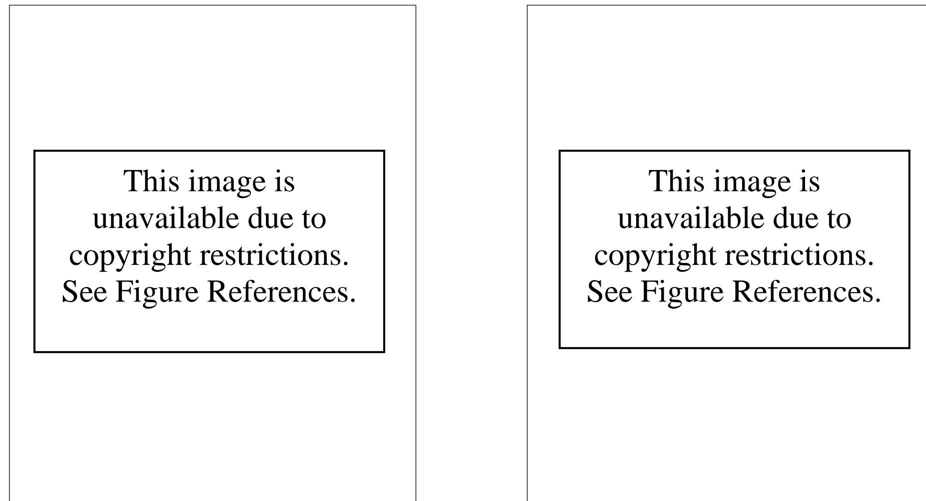


Fig. 2.6: Athenian red-figure pelike; c. 490 BCE Tarquinia; side A (left) man inspecting woman, side B (right) man and women engaging in rear-entry sex; attributed to Nikoxenos Painter; Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese: RC2989; Beazley 202076.

Although the specific setting of figure 2.6 cannot be definitively identified, scenes similar to that of figure 2.6 which depict men inspecting nude or partially nude women may correspond to descriptions of brothel-prostitutes being presented to potential clients for inspection.[113] In these cases, it is worth noting how the women are described in relation to their customers. One of these descriptions comes from the comic poet Philemon (late 4th/early 3rd cent. BCE), who describes the "ease of transaction" when purchasing naked prostitutes: "They stand there naked so you won't be fooled. Look at it all! ...There's nothing to be prudish about, no nonsense, and she doesn't flinch. No, it's straight off to the woman you want, however you want it. You're done? Tell her to go to hell: she's a stranger to you!"[114] This passage is also notable for its portrayal of the woman's status (or lack thereof). She is reduced to an object of satisfaction without discernible agency and her partial nudity is in a sense her occupational costume, but in this case her uniform is indicative of a degrading

[113] Robson (2013), 73. Cf. Keuls (1985), 158; Keuls identifies the woman in figure 2.6 side A as a young prostitute being inspected by the male customer.
[114] Philemon fr. 3 KA "The Brothers (Adelphoi)"; trans. Robson (2013).

profession. Such inspection scenes also reiterate the societal notion that men control "the economic means and hence the bodies of women."[115]

Two Athenian red-figure kylikes by the Triptolemos Painter (figs. 2.7 and 2.8, c. 490-480 BCE) further demonstrate the satisfaction of the male erotic gaze. On the first cup (fig. 2.7), a balding man and a woman have sex on a *kline*; on the second cup (fig. 2.8), a (younger?) bearded man and a woman have sex on a *kline*.[116] In both images, the man's knees grip the side of the couch as he pushes against the tondo rim with bent toes and his arms are around the woman's thighs and/or curving around her torso/shoulder; the women have their legs raised over the men's shoulders, and the woman in figure 2.7 wears her hair cut short while the woman in figure 2.8 wears her hair long.[117] The positioning of the figures suggests mutual engagement, especially in the close proximity of the faces. As Johns notes, the isolation of the couples "can heighten the potential affection" in the image, although these kylix paintings convey, partly because of the eye-contact, a more "cheerful" atmosphere of enjoying sex for its own sake, versus a more intense and/or emotional atmosphere.[118] However, the positions also suggest male dominance in the man's firm grip on the woman as well as the woman's raised legs, both of which subsequently render the woman with limited mobility. The kylix paintings both also depict the woman accommodating her body to the man's, signaling her "willing acquiescence," and as Stewart notes, "After this initial concession, whatever else she does – bending passively down till her forehead touches the ground, turning round to look at him, placing her legs on his shoulders, and so on – reinforces and validates his control."[119] The women in the kylikes have their legs on the men's shoulders, demonstrating their acquiescence to their respective partners' control over both them and the erotic encounter. The woman here is reduced "not only to being a mere body for the man to use as he thinks fit, but one that dances happily to his tune – a willing receptable for his desire,"[120] and while her legs in the air may indicate her own genuine pleasure in the act (and her pleasure in the man's domination and objectification), the

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[115] Keuls (1985), 158.
[116] On fig. 2.7, cf. Beazley (1963), 367.94; Boardman (1975), fig. 302; Boardman & LaRocca (1978), 115; Johns (1982), 128; Keuls (1985), 170; Kilmer (1993), pl. AT p.146/R507; Robson (2013), 270; Sánchez (2013), 141. On fig. 2.8, cf. *AVI* 7622. On fig. 23, cf. Beazley (1963), 367.93; Boardman & LaRocca (1978), 114; Johns (1982), 8, 128; Kilmer (1993), pl. AT p.146/R506; Dierichs (2008), 70.
[117] Kilmer (1993), 47.
[118] Johns (1982), 127.
[119] Stewart (1997), 162.
[120] Stewart (1997), 162. Stewart also notes that comic poets regarded the legs up position as indicative of a woman's sexual eagerness, and the position became "notorious as a prostitute's technique; brothels were colloquially referred to as 'legs-up joints'" (1997, 162).

interaction as it is depicted in these and similar scenes clearly emphasizes an unequal power balance which reduces the woman, per Mulvey's model, to an object of viewing pleasure and a receptable of male physical release.

Figs. 2.7 & 2.8: Athenian red-figure cups; c. 490-480 BCE Tarquinia. Left (2.7): balding man and woman have sex on *kline*. Right (2.8): bearded man and woman have sex on *kline*; Triptolemos Painter; Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese: RC2983 & NA; Beazley 203886 & 203885.

That these scenes appear on kylikes further emphasizes the satisfaction of the male gaze. The kylix was one of the most common Attic vase types and its use was likely closely connected to the symposium. This environment of male companionship, drinking, and pleasure-taking was conducive to the perpetuation of male ego ideals. Vase paintings such as those depicted by the kylikes contribute to the "generalized representational language of social dominance and submission" which the Greeks projected onto their "sexual landscape," and furthermore bring "gaze and glance into common focus" such that these paintings "align the participants' attitudes to 'their' women with both the symposiast's and his patriarchal culture's."[121] Per the Mulvey model, the symposiast, surrounded by his male peers and drinking from a cup with scenes such as those depicted on figures 2.7 and 2.8, may internalize the depiction as a form of desirable and normalized sexual behaviour validated by the collective gaze of his social environment. In doing so, he then identifies with the male figure in the image, determining that intercourse with a certain type of woman can be actioned similarly. The female attendants at the symposium contribute to the male-centred atmosphere by isolating the feminine within a dominantly masculine setting. As such, their

[121] Stewart (1997), 162.

presence may have enabled the symposiasts to project their sexual internalizations onto the female attendants, replacing the female figure in the scene with one of the female attendants just as the symposiast himself replaces the male figure. Although whether or not the symposiasts suited action to thoughts is speculative, the images reinforce for both the symposiast drinking from the cup and for the female servants the expected power balance between the men and the women involved in the commodity of sex. The tone of the images may be mutual engagement, but the behaviour of the men in asserting physical control consequently suggests the women's lack of agency.

Figures 2.6 through 2.8 become even more revealing as reflections of male-oriented pleasure fulfillment through the sexual objectification of women when compared to contemporary homosexual erotica. An Athenian red-figure kylix (c. 510-500 BCE) attributed to the Carpenter painter (fig. 2.9) shows an inversion of the norms of pederasty.[122] Unexpectedly, the *erōmenos* initiates intimacy: he pulls the head of the bearded *erastes* down to him for a kiss. Kilmer notes that the youth's lips project "as though pursed for the kiss; and his hands at the man's head echo the frequent gesture of men in both homosexual and heterosexual kissing-scenes."[123] While the eroticism is evident, it is not in connection with genital stimulation as the lack of any visible erection corroborates. The forwardness of the *erōmenos* does not appear to repel the *erastēs*. While some have considered the *erastēs* to be stiff and rather sullen looking,[124] others argue that "facial expression in vase-painting is, however, frequently uninterpretable, and the *erastēs* is clearly an active participant here as well."[125] That the *erastēs* leans down to the beckoning of the *erōmenos* and also cradles his head further indicates the former's receptiveness to the latter's actions.[126] In figure 2.10, an Athenian red-figure kylix signed by Peithinos (c. 500 BCE) depicts youths and boys at different stages of courtship.[127] The couple on the right shows a boy attempting to restrain the

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[122] Robson (2013), 64. On fig. 2.9, cf. Halperin (1990), 161 n.31; Kilmer (1997a), 41; Dierichs (2008), 124; Lear (2008), 61-62; Robson (2013), 64, 258; Fisher (2014), 250; Osborne (2018), 80-81. On this kylix and the inversion of the norms of pederasty, see also Lear (2008), 61-62.
[123] Kilmer (1993), 15.
[124] von Bothmer (1986), 5-9.
[125] Lear (2008), 61-62.
[126] Lear (2008), 61-62. On this kylix, see also Robson (2013), 258 & Osborne (2018), 79-81. Osborne notes that the exterior of this cup shows on one side five garlanded, bearded athletes (four of whom throw a javelin), and on the other side four youthful athletes not engaging in any specific athletics, a youth with a pick, and a youthful *auletes* (2018, 79). The contrasting images of the exterior, the bearded men being active in a gymnasium setting versus the inactive youthful males, are brought together in erotic unison by the cup's interior, where the depiction of the *erastēs* and *erōmenos* suggest that the men who are serious athletes are "showing off their paces not simply to the viewer but to the young men…The older men parade their skill, the younger parade their bodies, as all part of the preliminaries to serious courtship" (2018, 80).
[127] *LIMC* 337; *AVI* 2325. The bibliography on this kylix is extensive. Select examples: Boardman (1975) fig. 214; Dover (1978), 95, R196; Johns (1982), 99; Keuls (1985), 56; Shapiro (1981), 136; Shapiro (1989), pl.55E;

youth's arm which has reached to the back of the boy's head. The couple on the left shows a boy "close to surrender" as he gazes up into the youth's face and "satisfies honour" by holding the youth's arm above the elbow, "which does nothing to interrupt the dandling of his penis by the youth's fingers."[128] The middle couple shows the youth sagging at the knees, looking beseechingly up at the boy as he gestures to his swollen penis, while the boy raises his chin and grabs the youth's arm to hold him at bay. The homosexual courtship scene contrasts sharply with the heterosexual scene on the other side of the cup, where Dover notes that the atmosphere is much different: "the youths and women do not touch each other at all, but seem immersed in a patient, wary conversation, in which a slight gesture or an inflexion of the voice conveys as much as the straining of an arm in the other scene."[129] Whereas the homosexual scene conveys, in some pairs more than others, clear affection between the couple, the heterosexual displays the opposite. As Shapiro notes, "The nature of Athenian society simply precluded romantic relationships between young men and women."[130]

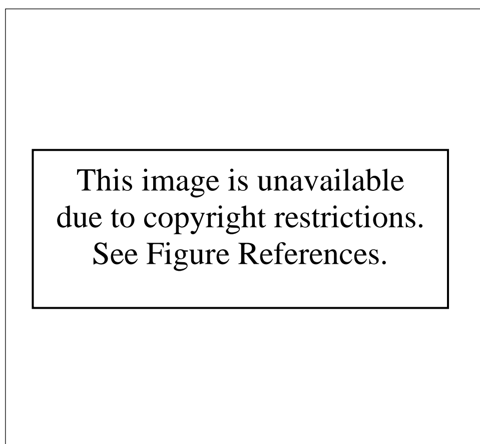

Fig. 2.9: Athenian red-figure kylix; c. 510-500 BCE; *Erōmenos* initiates intimacy with *erastēs*; attributed to Carpenter Painter; J. Paul Getty Museum: 85.AE.25; Beazley 31619.

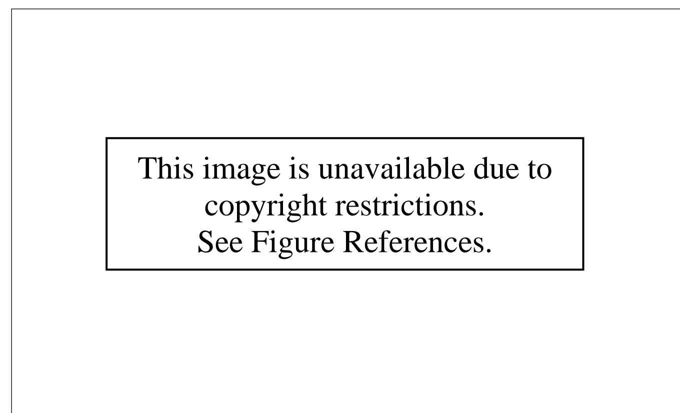

Fig. 2.10: Athenian red-figure kylix; c. 500 BCE; Youths and boys at various stages of courtship; signed by Peithinos; Berlin, Antikensammlung: F2279; Beazley 200977.

Shapiro (1992), 57; Sutton (1992), 14-15; Kilmer (1993), pls AT P.146/R196; Reeder (1995), 341, 343; Stewart (1997), 158-159; Barringer (2004), 104; Levine (2005), 67; Lear (2008), 133; Robson (2013), 250; Sánchez (2013), 119; Osborne (2018), 129.

[128] Dover (1978), 95.

[129] Dover (1978), 95.

[130] Shapiro (1981), 136.

These homoerotic scenes differ dramatically from the explicit nature of the heterosexual scenes and corroborate the comparisons made by Xenophon and Plato between homosexual partners and heterosexual partners. The homosexual scenes lack the base, even animalistic tone of the contemporary heterosexual scenes. As Dover notes, "Whereas men and youths are often depicted as mauling and hauling women…- not, of course, women of citizen status - the protection afforded to freeborn boys by the law on hubris is reflected in the rarity of homosexual assault in the visual arts."[131] As discussed when examining Xenophon and Plato, heterosexual relations were distinguished from homosexual relations partly by virtue of the way women were decidedly not handled delicately by men, particularly as certain women were not protected by law in the same way as an *erōmenos*. As Shapiro notes, scenes of homosexual relations are the reverse of heterosexual scenes: "while the latter [heterosexual] exaggerate and indulge in wild fantasies, the homosexual are restrained and understated."[132] Á la Dover, Shapiro attributes this discrepancy "not only to gender difference but in the difference in social status between the female prostitute (foreigner and/or slave) and the freeborn citizen *erômenos*."[133] Depictions like figure 2.10 present an idealized image of equality of social status and mutual respect between the *erastēs* and the *erōmenos*, which later Plato would also idealize, in contrast to the motifs of power, abuse, and subjugation often seen in heterosexual scenes.[134]

This equality and mutual respect also relate to the erotic gaze where the *erōmenos* cannot fit into the Mulvey model because he is not a threat to the masculinity of the *erastēs*. There is no fear of castration as the *erōmenos* does not represent the sexual difference that emphasizes women's role as the catalyst to men's insecurity regarding their unchallenged omnipotence. The Mulvey model argues that the *erōmenos*, by virtue of being male, does not represent a sexual threat to the *erastēs* and therefore aggressive sexual behaviour exhibited by the *erastēs* towards the *erōmenos* is not necessary in order to maintain the balance between penetrator and penetrated (or pseudo-penetrated in the case of intercrural copulation). Contrary to Dover, this perspective does not reject the possible agency of the *erōmenos* in the sexual engagement, nor does it insist that the *erastēs*/*erōmenos* relationship was reduced to strict paradigms of dominant partner vs. submissive partner.[135] If the *erōmenos* displays

[131] Dover (1978), 93. Dover notes that homosexual assault in visual arts is a rarity when the aggressor is human; the same laws do not apply to gods, who cannot be indicted for hubris.
[132] Shapiro (1992), 56.
[133] Shapiro (1992), 57.
[134] Shapiro (1992), 57.
[135] As argued in Dover (1978); Foucault (1985); Winkler (1990a); Halperin (1990).

positive sexual responsiveness, as Hubbard and DeVries contend, his responsiveness is in contrast to the prostitute's.[136] The woman lacks agency and whether or not she positively responds to the act is a moot point.[137] As the homosexual images are also featured on kylikes and again can be situated within the symposium context, the contrast between these images and the heterosexual ones depicted on figures 2.6 through 2.8 is even more stark. Whereas the latter reinforce the power divide between men and women and focus on the men's exclusive sexual pleasure, the former emphasize a mutually positive erotic encounter. For a symposiast using a cup with imagery such as that featured on figures 2.9 and 2.10, the social gaze reiterates the acceptability and desirability of the *erastēs*/*erōmenos* relationship, particularly when conducted as a traditional courtship, and the imagery thereof asserts the symposiast's emulation of this relationship. In juxtaposition, the heterosexual interaction is coarse and conducted with a particular class of women whose purpose is to appease a man's sexual appetite and to submit to his physical authority.

This expectation of submission is particularly notable in a final heterosexual example. Figure 2.11, an Athenian red-figure kylix by Douris (c. 480 BCE), depicts a couple engaging in rear-entry sex, possibly anal.[138] A bearded man bends over a short-haired woman who braces herself on a stool in front of her; a *kline* is behind the couple and an oil-jar (aryballos) is in front of them, appearing to be balanced on the same stool. An inscription reads "*heche hēsychos* ['hold still']", rendering the sexual interaction "mechanical," as Lewis describes it, and indicates a lack of affection between the couple.[139] Sutton further views this scene as "impersonal," specifically because of the rear-entry position without eye contact "enhanced by a stiff awkwardness in the figures that show their lack of accord," as well as because of the inscription, "a preemptory command which captures well the master's voice."[140] If the position is anal sex, then like oral sex, anal sex was considered degrading (for the person being penetrated); however, it is difficult to distinguish between vaginal and anal penetration in portrayals of heterosexual copulation.[141] This kylix appears to express the discomfort of

[136] DeVries (1997); Hubbard (2003).
[137] The Mulvey model further supports the conclusions held by others that depictions of homosexual eroticism are indicative of a mutually pleasurable experience lacking overtones of dominance. Cf. DeVries (1997); Davidson (1997); Thornton (1998); Hubbard (2003).
[138] On fig. 2.11, cf. *AVI* 2822. Select bibliography: Beazley (1963), 444.241; Johns (1982), 134; Kilmer (1993), pl. AT P.83, 577; Sutton (1992), 12; Stewart (1997), 163; Lewis (2002), 122; Coccagna (2011), 116; Robson (2013) 272; Sánchez (2013), 139.
[139] Lewis (2002), 122.
[140] Sutton (1992), 11.
[141] Dover (1978), 100-102; Johns (1982), 133; Robson (2013), 134. Erotic homosexual scenes do not depict oral sex or explicit anal penetration. The most common sexual position depicted between males is standing intercrural copulation; the partners are face-to-face, with the passive male upright and the penetrating male with

the female partner, the "hold still" inscription also suggesting that her engagement is not entirely willing and/or comfortable. Although anal sex was "one of the most reliable birth-control methods available,"[142] it was not necessarily pleasurable for the female participant, again suggesting that the male's sexual fulfillment is paramount in both the physical act and the portrayals thereof. No emotional attachment is implied in figure 2.11 in contrast to the homosexual scenes in figures 2.9 and 2.10. The homosexual scenes imply a degree of affection and mutual pleasure, whereas the heterosexual scenes imply dominance, subjugation, and specifically male sexual satisfaction. The homosexual scenes also contrast the heterosexual in terms of eye contact between the partners; where the homosexual partners virtually always share eye contact, suggesting mutual emotional investment, the heterosexual scenes do not include this feature consistently, suggesting a distinct lack of mutual engagement (compare figures 2.6 and 2.11 to figures 2.9 and 2.10). These portrayals of men dominating women and forcibly satisfying their sexual urges reflects the male erotic gaze and its manifestation of the Mulvey model. The lack of violent/aggressive overtones in homosexual erotica can in one sense be attributed to the male viewer's recognition of the younger male's burgeoning equality in contrast to the woman's consistent subjugation.[143] This tension between aggression and sex exhibited by the heterosexual erotica highlights the mortal outlet for exploring a sexual phenomenon that also exists in various forms in Aphrodite's cult as well as in epic and tragedy.

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bent knees, his legs outside the passive's. Examples of homosexual anal penetration are rare if not nonexistent depending on interpretation. One possible example of anal penetration about to occur appears in an orgy scene of satyrs; that the figures are satyrs precludes this scene from being indicative of common behaviours (Beazley 275638). Cf. Kilmer 1993, 15-26. The Eurymedon oinoichoe may also suggest impending anal penetration but as the penetration is not actually depicted, it cannot be considered a legitimate example of explicit homosexual anal penetration (Beazley 1107).

[142] Kilmer (1993), 34. Johns, however, gives little weight to the contraception argument; although Johns concedes that anal sex as a form of contraception is plausible, she argues that, "hetairai must have been able to cope with the hazard of pregnancy, since they are often enough shown indulging in normal intercourse," (1982, 133-134).

[143] Other examples of vase paintings which portray male sexual aggression against a female include: Beazley 200647, 200483, 201716, & 204718.

This image is unavailable due to copyright restrictions.
See Figure References.

Fig. 2.11: Athenian red-figure kylix; c. 480 BCE; Heterosexual couple engaging in rear-entry sex; Inscription: "*heche hēsychos* ['hold still']".; Douris Painter; Boston MFA 1970.233; Beazley 205288.

Orgy & Foreplay Scenes

When analyzing the orgy and foreplay scenes from the late-Archaic/early-Classical period collectively, especially in comparison to the heterosexual and homosexual couple scenes, the prevalence of violent behaviour becomes more apparent. These erotica examples, particularly the heterosexual ones, are striking for their blatant intermingling of violence and sex. These depictions further evidence a mortal preoccupation with exploring the relationship between sex and violence. This interest supports the necessity of comparing different aspects of sexuality as they appear in both the mortal world and in the divine world. The orgy and foreplay scenes provide additional evidence of an aspect of sex which manifests in Aphrodite's cult being reflected in the sexual explorations of humans. These human explorations may also be influenced by the descriptions of sexuality and violence found in the previously analysed literature. In the narratives of sexual violence found in Homer and elsewhere, group mentality in relation to sexual behaviour appears in the case of women captives being used and potentially discarded by the conquering men. The raping (and sometimes killing) of these women resulted from populace-ravaging warfare where the dominant social group, the victorious warriors, raped the women partly to cement their victory over their foes but also in order to strengthen their group bond. This mentality as it appears in epic suggests a type of "group sex" involving aggressive sexual behaviour against the women. Comparatively, the orgy and foreplay scenes depict a mortal social setting where this group mentality might also be acceptable.

Orgy and foreplay scenes in the beginning of this period appear as precursors of the more explicitly erotic and more violent orgy/foreplay scenes. Three examples include an Athenian black-figure amphora attributed to the Tyrrhenian Group (c. 560-550 BCE; fig.

2.12), an Athenian black-figure cup (c. 540-530 BCE; fig. 2.13), and an Athenian black-figure hydria (c. 540-530 BCE; fig. 2.14).[144] Reflective of the earlier, less detailed figural compositions, these examples are consistent in their portrayals of erotic encounters between men and women in group settings. Men and women are differentiated in each example by the black-painted men and the white-painted women. The amphora depicts nude men and women, some of the former are ithyphallic and others are masturbating; two heterosexual couples are engaged in penetrative, rear-entry sex. The cup depicts a heterosexual couple on either side engaged in rear-entry sex; each couple has an audience of several male onlookers. The hydria depicts the return of Hephaestus to Olympus; on the shoulder, ten male and female couples are depicted copulating in rear-entry and front-entry/standing positions. The actions of the men and women in these three depictions are not overtly aggressive; the loose-limbed, dance-like representations (arms waving, legs raised) of some of the figures (namely those men not copulating with women but also including select female figures) in the amphora scene in particular evoke a tone of mutual revelry. The nudity is not distinctly delineated and the acts of penetration are rendered simplistically, the viewer's gaze drawn to the point of penetration and the man's arousal less so than the behaviour of the orgy's participants. Also notable is the rear-entry sex in figures 2.12 and 2.14 which despite the position also depicts the couples looking at each other, suggesting mutual engagement. These early portrayals of group sex appear more focused on the general pleasures of sex and of group revelry rather than on the exclusive pleasure of select participants.

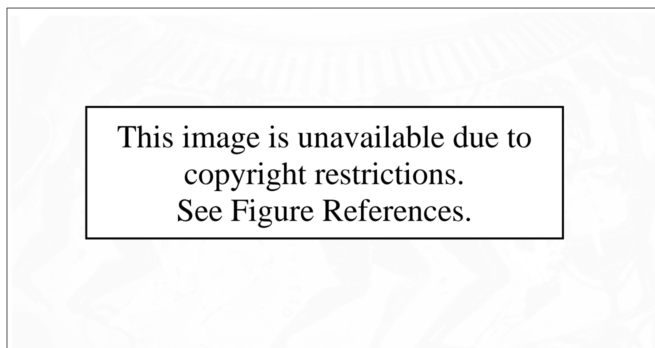

Fig. 2.12: Athenian black-figure amphora; c. 560-550 BCE Tyrrhenian Group, Vulci; Nude men and women including two heterosexual couples engaged in rear-entry sex; Munich, Antikensammlungen: 1431; Beazley 310098.

[144] On fig. 2.12, cf. *AVI* 5158. Select bibliography: Beazley (1956), 102.99; Korshak (1987), 91; Frontisi-Ducroux (1995), pl.72; Isler-Kerényi (2007), figs. 86-87; Dierichs (2008), 53; Smith (2010), 317; Smith (2016), 153. Figure 2.12 is, as noted, a Tyrrhenian amphora and therefore the Etruscan provenance must be emphasized once again. Tyrrhenian amphorae, produced in Athens but the majority of which have been found at Etruscan sites, are distinct in shape and imagery, the latter given to explicit sex and violence; cf. Osborne (2001), 278. See Introduction pg. 3 n.4 for further discussion of Attic wares in Etruscan provenances.
On fig. 2.13, cf. Paul (1982), 112.48; Vierneisel & Kaeser (1990), 152, 357; Paul (1994), 9; Paul (1995), 28-29. On fig. 2.14, cf. *LIMC* 26116; cf. Beazley (1956), 249.9.

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See Figure References.

Fig. 2.13: Athenian red-figure cup; c. 540-530 BCE; Heterosexual couple engaged in rear-entry sex with audience of male onlookers; attributed to Bo Group; Leipzig: T3359; Beazley 3385.

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See Figure References.

Fig. 2.14: Athenian black-figure hydria; c. 540-530 BCE; Ten male and female couples copulate in rear-entry and front-entry/standing positions; attributed to Elbows Out; Boston MFA 95.62; Beazley 301406.

The focus on the pleasure of select participants appears on later orgy scenes, such as the scene featured on an Athenian red-figure kantharos by the Nikosthenes painter (c. 520-510 BCE; fig. 2.15).[145] On side B is an orgy with nude figures dancing around each other and grabbing each other, maintaining the tone of revelry implied by previous such erotic depictions; this revelry suits one of the functions and mythical connotations of the kantharos, a wine-drinking cup mostly closely associated with Dionysus and used in related rituals to hold wine offerings. The carousing implied by the scene suits the gaiety and revelry of Dionysiac rituals. The kantharos could also be used as a drinking cup by symposiasts, widening the spectator audience even further to both male symposium participants and the female attendants, much like in the case of the varied spectatorship implied by the kylikes depicting heterosexual intercourse. Unlike its predecessors, this orgy depiction is more explicitly detailed, the copulations “zoomed in” for greater visual impact. The nudity of the

[145] On fig. 2.15, cf. *AVI* 2649. Select bibliography: Beazley (1963), 123, 132; Boardman (1975), fig. 99; Boardman & LaRocca (1978), 86; Dover (1978), R223; Johns (1982), 120; Kilmer (1993), PL. AT P.146, R223; Lear & Cantarella (2008), 120; Kondoleon (2011), 114-115; Parker (2015), 64-65.

figures is more detailed, the identification of the males and females clarified further by their well-defined genitalia and/or breasts. Notably different too is the more active participation of the females. The youth on the far left of side A sitting on his calves and leaning against a cushion holds the hips of his partner, guiding her down onto his erect penis, and although this appears to be a normal rear-entry depiction, "the penetrated partner…is above her partner, in what we would ordinarily consider a super or dominant position; and the woman has her upper torso, and especially her head, radically turned, so as to look back towards the youth."[146] This configuration implies a level of mutual engagement by which the woman is an active participant in the copulation, to a degree that may even suggest female control superseding male control. And yet still on side A, on the far right, a youth wields a sandal against a woman performing fellatio. Behind the woman, another youth prepares to penetrate the woman with an oversized, double-headed *olisbos*, and although whether or not the woman is aware of this impending penetration is not clear given her focus on performing fellatio on the sandal-wielding youth, the assumption here is that she is not prepared for the penetration. The use of the sandal combined with the youth on the verge of using an oversized *olisbos* on an unknowing female imbues the scene with aggressive overtones. On one side, this kantharos depicts orgy erotica with implications of revelry and both male and female pleasure; on the other side, portrayals of forceful sexual male behaviour directed against female participants begins appearing in erotic depictions.

[146] Kilmer (1993), 41. The gender of the figure bending down to the aroused youth kneeling on the ground, on the left of side A, is disputed. Dover (1978), 86 and Lear (2008), 120 identify the figure as male, arguing that the torso is male; Kilmer (1993), 25 & 41 identifies the figure as female. I am inclined to agree with Kilmer, who argues that, "the line defining the lower surface of her right breast continues outside her body and was intended to form a female breast very similar to that of a woman on the other side of the vase", and further argues that had the painter intended the figure to be male, he had two clear conventions, neither of which he followed: "It is common when a male is shown bending over, squatting, sitting on the ground, and so on, for his genitals to be shown below the thigh nearest the viewer…A frequent alternative is for the genitals to be above the near thigh," (1993, 182, see also 188 n.8 for Kilmer's elaboration on the right breast). Especially with the detail of the right breast, I concur with Kilmer, and here I will also consider the figure to be a woman.

Fig. 2.15 (top, side A; bottom, side B): Athenian red-figure kantharos; c. 520-510 BCE; Erotic scenes, orgy in progress; Nikosthenes Painter; Boston MFA 95.61; Beazley 201063.

Following these depictions are orgy/foreplay examples which privilege the male heterosexual gaze and sexual gratification at the expense of the female participants to the extent that sadomasochistic (male) behaviours supersede any implications of mutual pleasure. One example is a well-known Athenian red-figure kylix by the Pedieus Painter (c. 510-500 BCE; fig. 2.16).[147] Side A depicts an orgy including three-way copulation, what appears to be forced fellatio, and slipper beating; side B continues the orgy with women performing fellatio and heterosexual couples engaged in rear-entry sex. The women in these scenes are presumed to be older prostitutes, limbs outstretched in “positions which could not differ more from the closed silhouette expected of a citizen woman in public.”[148] Their mouths are depicted with stretch marks on the sides which further suggests their discomfort in trying to accommodate the oversized penises. Further, the manner by which the male youths physically handle the women (one using a slipper to beat the woman, another holding a woman’s head in place, and

[147] On fig. 2.16, cf. *AVI* 6390. Figure 2.16 has been analysed extensively; select bibliography: Beazley (1963), 86.A, 1578.16; Boardman (1975), fig. 92; Johns (1982), 6, 129; Keuls (1985), 184; Korshak (1987), 95; Kilmer (1993), pls.AT P.146, R156; Frontisi-Ducroux (1995), pl. 59; Humphreys (1995), 109; Dalby (1996), 19; Kilmer (1997b), 125; Stewart (1997), 9; Sutton (2000), 196; Dierichs (2008), 71, 82-83; Topper (2012), 111; Robson (2013), 265; Sánchez (2013), 135; Corner (2014), 202; Parker (2015), 92-93; Glazebrook (2016), 189.
[148] Robson (2013), 129.

all of the women being penetrated simultaneously from behind by another man) evidences the violent tone of the scene as a whole. These women are no more than objects of sexual gratification, their comfort and/or pleasure a non-concern. Compare this kylix to the kylikes by the Triptolemos Painter (figs. 2.7 and 2.8) and the kylix by Douris (fig. 2.11); the Triptolemos Painter and Douris kylikes depicting heterosexual intercourse between one couple reiterate similar themes of female submissiveness and lack of agency, even potentially physical discomfort (fig. 2.11), but the masculine physical aggression is not as pronounced as it is in the imagery of the Pedieus Painter's kylix. Here, the youths aggressively force the women to perform degrading sexual acts, physically overpowering the women in order to gain both the pleasure of physical release and the pleasure of subduing the women. The oversized penises speak to an exaggerated masculinity; the male viewer may project himself into the scene as the overly well-endowed man forcing his opponent to submit to his greater masculinity. The penis is his weapon, the woman his target for the release of sexual and aggressive tensions. Following the Mulvey model by which the "determining male gaze" projects phantasy onto the female figure(s), violent erotica depicting orgies where women appear to be forcibly engaging in sexual activities portrays women from a passive perspective meant to stimulate the male viewer's gaze and to encourage the male viewer to project his own image onto the men creating the scene itself. This process of projection allows the male spectator to take control of the events in the scene while simultaneously engaging in the erotic gaze, enabling him to achieve a sense of omnipotence.

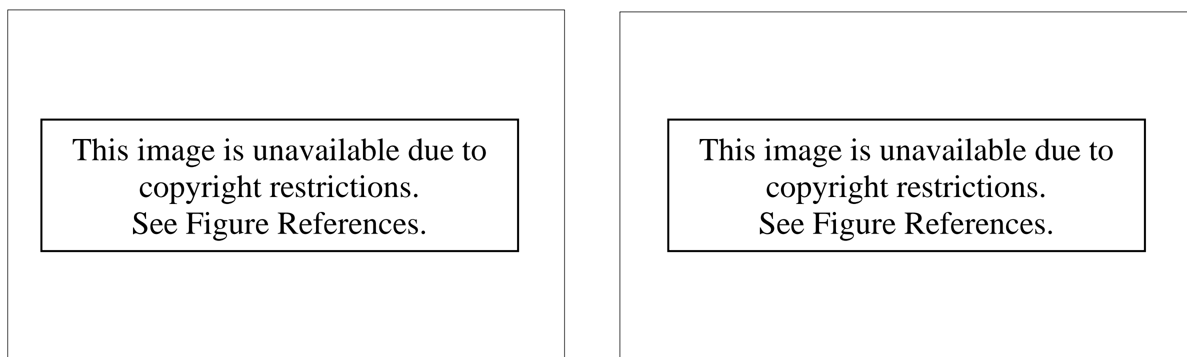

Fig. 2.16 (left side A, right side B): Athenian red-figure kylix; c. 510-500 BCE; Orgy scenes; Pedieus Painter; Louvre G13; Beazley 200694.

The sadistic nature of voyeurism which Mulvey exposes in relation to the male viewing experience of women on screen lends itself well to this type of violent erotica. Scenes portraying females as victims and/or as unwilling participants in sexual acts reinforce the image of the man in control who punishes she who threatens his masculinity. The male viewer of violent erotica may derive pleasure from this reinforcement of male dominance not only because he connects with the male character(s) in the scene who assert control, but also because he vicariously punishes woman for representing a threat. In particular, scenes such as the one by the Pedieus Painter exemplify this sexual exploitation of women. Keuls considers the idea of a "refined hetaera" as embodied by the well-known Aspasia, the Classical period Athenian prostitute who gained notoriety for her intelligence more so than her sexual appeal, as the "fabrication of the male mind."[149] On the post-Classical period when the collection of unsophisticated witticisms attributed to prostitutes (but intended for men's humorous appreciation) was disseminated as ravenously as it was consumed, Keuls argues that "Athenian men were at pains to construct an image of witty, prosperous hetaerai in order to gloss over the fact that their principal sex outlets were debased and uneducated slaves, who were at the mercy of their profit-hungry owners, and who were almost certain to end their lives in misery."[150] The Pedieus Painter's kylix portrays the women in a degrading manner, their debasement explicit in the aggressive sexual intercourse the men subject them to combined with the excessively proportioned penises. These images suggest that any "glossing over" was fleeting. This erotica did not intend to suggest the women were anything more than tools for achieving male sexual release.

An Athenian red-figure cup by the Brygos Painter (c. 490 BCE; fig. 2.17) depicts what Keuls considers the "crassest illustration of the motif of men battering prostitutes into submission to their specific desires."[151] The cup features men coercing women using violence. On side A, left, a man pushes a prostitute's head down to perform fellatio while another man penetrates her from behind, putting his arm on her upper back and head to hold her in position; to the far right, an agile man has lifted a girl off her feet, her legs over his shoulders; in the centre, a man with a stick threatens the prostitute kneeling before him. The

[149] Keuls (1985), 198-199. The objectification and glorification of an "ideal" *hetaira* as a "fabrication" of the ancient male mind can be extended to modern male minds, where women as sex objects are idealized similarly, for example as evidenced by women's cinematic portrayals per Mulvey et. al.
[150] Keuls (1985), 199-200.
[151] Keuls (1985), 181. On fig. 2.17, cf. *AVI* 3553. Figure 2.17 has also been analysed extensively. Select bibliography: Beazely (1963), 372.31, 398; Boardman & LaRocca (1978), 97-99; Johns (1982), 112; Keuls (1985), 185; Sutton (1992), 12-13; Kilmer (1993), pl. AT P.83, R518; Frontisi-Ducroux (1996), 91; Kilmer (1997b), 127; Dierichs (2008), 84-85; Sánchez (2013), 134.

woman in the central scene is crouched down and she appears startled, making pleading gestures with her hands as the bearded man with a large erection approaches her with the likely intention of forcing her to perform oral sex. On the more fragmentary side B, a woman is bent over while a bearded man holds her by the hair and also beats her with a sandal. The graphic erotica on this and other vases of the period speaks to a persistent interest in viewing, if not potentially experiencing, this type of sexual behaviour, where the tension between sex and violence reaches a new height of explicit, mortal exploration.

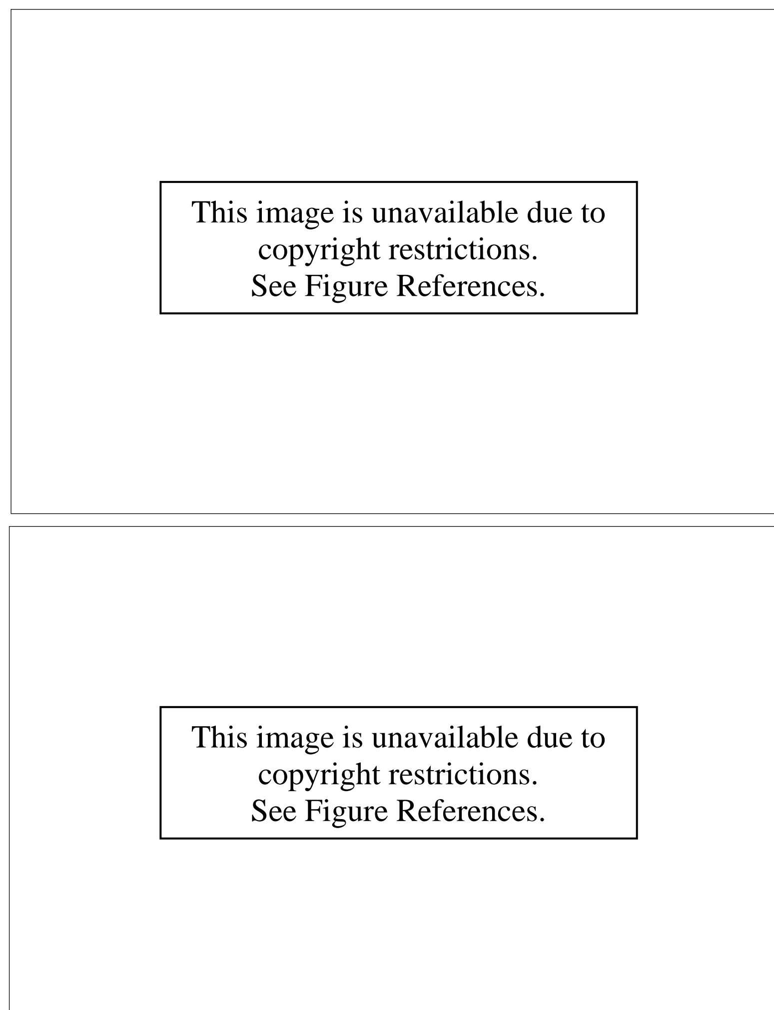

Fig. 2.17 (top A, bottom B): Athenian red-figure cup; c. 490 BCE; Orgy scenes; Brygos Painter; Florence 3921; Beazley 203929.

Related to these violent portrayals of sexual intercourse are erotic scenes which prominently depict slipper beating as the main motif. Examples include an Athenian red-figure cup (c. 490-480 BCE; fig. 2.18) depicting (on side A) a man about to beat a woman on the buttocks while another man behind the woman appears to be protesting; on side B a man with a sandal threatens a reclining woman and the woman appears to protest against the threat, her arm raised as if to protect herself and/or to prevent the man from wielding the sandal against her.[152] Another example is an Athenian red-figure cup (c. 490-470 BCE; fig. 2.19) portraying an ithyphallic man threatening a woman splayed beneath him with a sandal; the man also forcibly grabs the woman by her hair.[153] The woman's gestures are the critical elements suggesting that this encounter is arousing for the youth but assuredly frightening for her. With her left hand open against his right thigh and her right hand lifted and open in a gesture common in scenes of pleading, the woman's body language conveys her attempts to stop the man's actions, and the downward curve of her mouth suggests that she opposes what is being done to her, and that the hair-pulling the man is subjecting her to is considerably uncomfortable if not painful.[154] Lewis argues that depictions such as figure 2.19, those which appear to embody "Athenian male ideas about female exploitation and degradation," are too infrequent to warrant their important status in discussions of Athenian psyche, further reiterating that their findspots are not Athenian.[155] Nevertheless, despite their infrequency, these types of depictions fit into a catalogue of more violently inclined sexual encounters, this particular sub-set being more explicitly violent than the rest, and reiterate in still more explicit ways the preexisting gendered hierarchy especially present in sexual encounters. The sandal as it is being wielded in figure 2.19 is meant to be an instrument of pain not pleasure, something the woman appears to be keenly aware of.

[152] On fig. 2.18, cf. Beazley (1963), 339.55; Boardman (1975), fig. 241; Keuls (1985), 183; Brule (2003), 102.
[153] On fig. 2.19, cf. Beazley (1971), 370.33TER; Kilmer (1993), pl. P.141, R530; Lewis (2002), 124, fig. 3.26.
[154] Kilmer (1993), 113.
[155] Lewis (2002), 124.

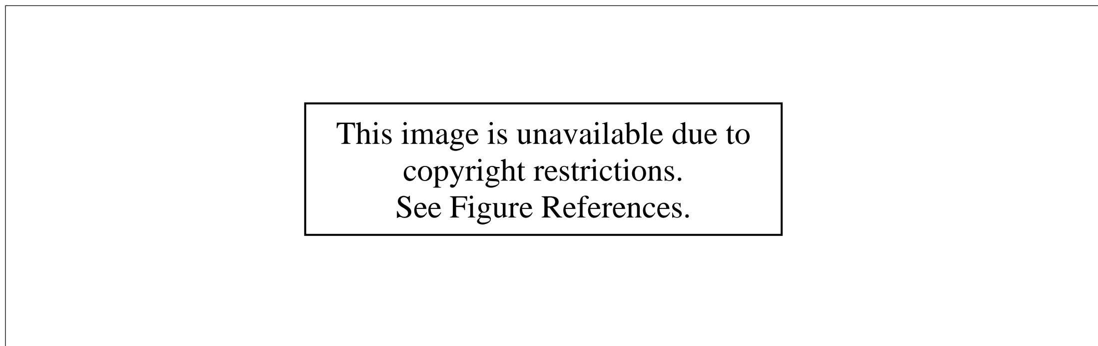

Fig. 2.18: Athenian red-figure cup, c. 490-480 BCE; side A (left): man about to beat woman on the buttocks while another man behind the woman protests; side B (right): man threatens reclining woman with sandal; attributed to Antiphon; Beazley 203489.

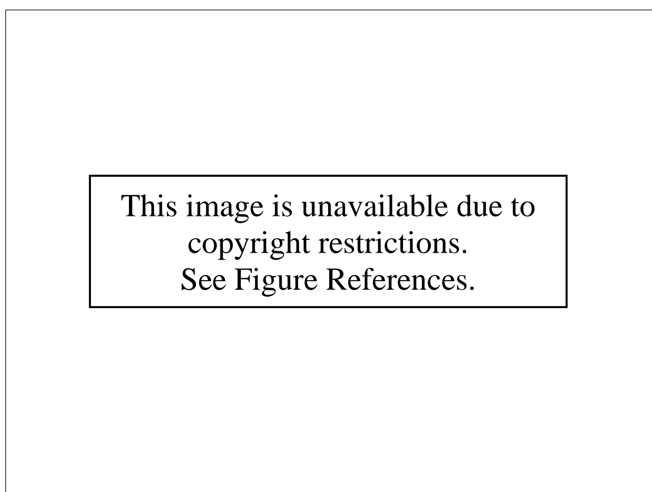

Fig. 2.19: Athenian red-figure cup; c. 490-470 BCE Cerveteri; Youth attacking woman with sandal; Milan A8037; Beazley 275962.

Kilmer maintains that slipper beating was a form of foreplay. On the Pedieus Painter's kylix, specifically where a woman is penetrated from behind by a man wielding a sandal while she performs fellatio on a youth in front of her, Kilmer suggests that the painter "may wish us to think that the sandal has been used primarily during the persuasion/excitement phase of the transaction and will soon be put aside."[156] However, it is unlikely that the sandal is being used to stimulate excitement given that this man is penetrating her from behind while she is forcefully being made to perform fellatio on another man; it is more likely that he is wielding the sandal to ensure the woman stays in place for his own sexual pleasure. Alternatively, Kilmer notes "perhaps the painter has a coarse and rather violent joke in mind: if the woman is sufficiently surprised and hurt by the sandal, one of her reactions will be a spasm of the jaws and the youth will be startled."[157] Even if this were to be the intention, the

[156] Kilmer (1993), 114.
[157] Kilmer (1993), 114.

notable point is the violent aspect of the "joke"; it is clear that the woman's pleasure is of no concern (it would be her pain that would enhance the man's pleasure), nor would this reasoning explain the other slipper-beating scenes. Regardless, this reading is arguably too creatively interpretative to be considered a painter's plausible, personal objective in painting the scene in this way (as even Kilmer admits), but nevertheless Kilmer posits that "it may be safer to see the raised sandal as a threat designed to titillate the woman (and so both males), whether by threat or actual application, and to ensure her continued co-operation."[158] However, to infer titillation aimed at the women in these scenes overlooks the basic implications of the status of these women; they would not have had a choice to deny their clients, regardless of their willingness and comfort to perform certain acts or to have certain acts forced upon them. The slipper/sandal-beating is another example of tolerated violent behaviour aimed against women for the benefit of male sexual gratification. These scenes depict the tenuous power achieved by the men who forcibly take their pleasure from women whose lack of agency imposes upon them the status of being a sexual tool used by men for reasserting masculine dominance.

The portrayal of homosexual erotica by and large lacks the aggressive and sadistic overtones that can be found in heterosexual erotica. Homosexual erotica focuses instead on various stages of pederastic courtship. Homosexual orgy scenes are rare and violence between a homosexual couple infrequent as well. There are select "outliers," examples of homosexual orgy and/or couple scenes which do denote behaviour out of the sexual norm. A red-figure kylix from Turin (c. 520-500 BCE; fig. 2.20) is one example of this abnormal homosexual behaviour, but its own composition is not straightforwardly an orgy scene.[159] On one side of the kylix, four youths gather around a wineskin, two of the figures seemingly distracted by what is happening on the vase's other side; this other side features two nude youths bent over with their buttocks pressed against each other while another youth stands between them face-on to the viewer. While the details are not distinct, "there is (perhaps) the suggestion that the figure in the centre has placed his penis between their buttocks and is enjoying an act of frottage in a manner that mimics intercrural intercourse."[160] Four youths, two on either side, surround the central figures: the youth on the far left may be masturbating but his gestures could also signify dancing while the youth to his right has his arms raised and

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[158] Kilmer (1993), 114-115.
[159] Blanshard (2014), 105. On fig. 2.20, cf. *AVI* 7809. On fig. 2.20, cf. Dover (1978), R243; Robson (2013), 255; Blanshard (2014), 105; Parker (2015), 51.
[160] Blanshard (2014), 106.

is erect; to the far right a youth mimics the motions of the youth on the far left, and to this youth's right another youth stands with a cloak draped over an extended arm. As an "orgy" scene, this kylix is problematic. The masturbation is not definitive and the youth in the middle of the central scene may not be enacting frottage but simply pressing his companions' buttocks together. The aroused youth is the only positive indication of sexual behaviour which calls into question whether or not this scene can truly be termed a homosexual orgy. As one scholar notes, "At the very least, it seems to be an inefficient orgy where eleven figures gather, but only potentially one participant gets any sexual release."[161]

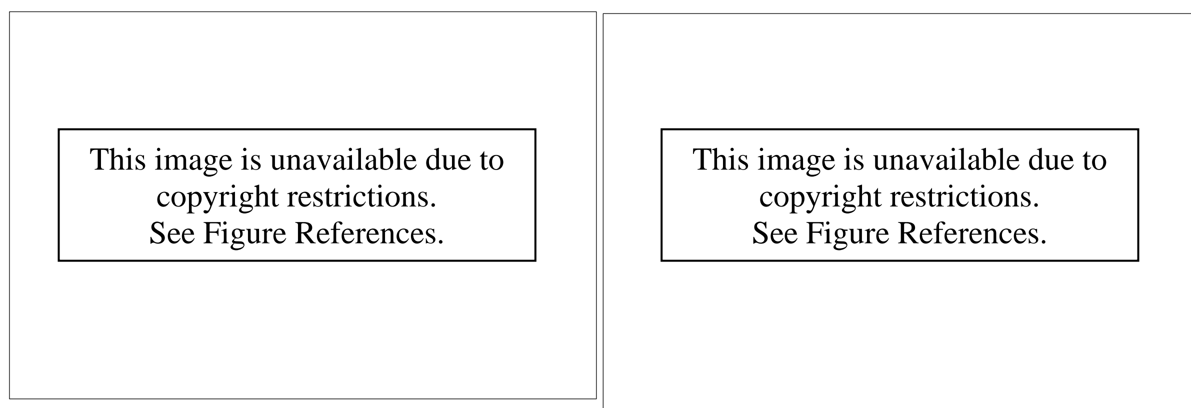

Fig. 2.20: Athenian red-figure kylix; c. 520-500 BCE Turin;
Homosexual orgy scene (?); attributed to Epeleios; Beazley 201359.

On sadistic sexual behaviour, an Athenian red-figure pelike attributed to Euphronios (c. 520-515 BCE; fig. 2.21) may depict sandal-beating between a homosexual couple. The exact function of the pelike is uncertain making any reconstruction of this image's original viewing context more speculative.[162] Archaeological excavations have suggested that the pelike was a type of storage jar for water, wine, or oil, and fragments of pelikai have been found in the Athenian agora as well as in private households; pelikai containing ashes and bones have also been recovered in Athenian cemeteries and elsewhere in Greece, suggesting that a second function of the pelike was its use as an ossuary.[163] Found within these contexts, the pelike can be associated with women/domesticity as goods-containers, as well as with symposium ware and funerary ware.[164] Given the potential for homosexual eroticism depicted

[161] Blanshard (2014), 107.
[162] Gaifman (2018), 55 & Lynch (2011), 127. Further bibliography on the pelike, cf. von Bothmer (1951), 44; Kanowski (1984), 113-114; Shapiro (1997); Lynch (2001), 171.
[163] Gaifman (2018), 55.
[164] Gaifman (2018), 55 & Lynch (2011), 127.

on this pelike, the original viewing context is unlikely to be funerary and more likely social/public, as in a symposium.

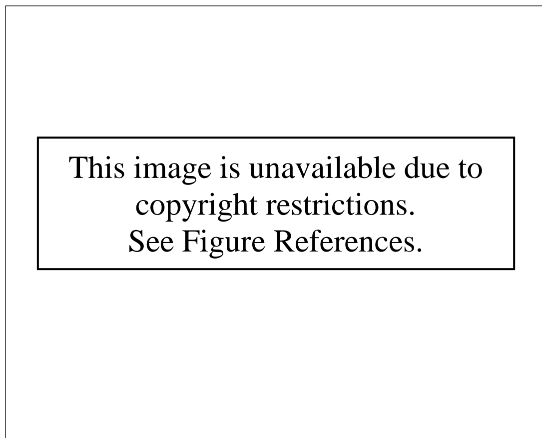

Fig. 2.21: Athenian red-figure pelike; c. 520-515 BCE, Viterbo; Man seated with sandal, beating (?) ithyphallic youth; attributed to Euphronios; Rome MNEVG 121109; Beazley 200073.

The depiction of the seated male youth brandishing a sandal in his raised right hand while reaching for the smaller boy with his left, the latter of whom has an engorged, semi-erect penis, as well as the accompanying inscription, have been much discussed, with the intended meaning of the image also debated.[165] The inscription reads "*Leagros kalos*" with "*Leagros*" inscribed from the youth's stomach to the boy's hand, and "*kalos*" running down between them. Depending on one's interpretation, the scene could be an erotic encounter or a punishment for misbehaviour. Shapiro notes that, "Leagros is by far the most popular *kalos* ("beautiful boy") in all of Attic vase-painting. There are some 80 examples of his name attested on vases followed by the word *kalos*."[166] While "more than a dozen painters" praise Leagros between c. 515-500 BCE, of the Pioneer circle only Euphronios shows an interest; sixteen vases signed by/attributed to Euphronios bear the name Leagros, "representing about half his total oeuvre," and this predilection, as Shapiro suggests, could reflect a "special relationship – call it a fascination or an infatuation – outside the workshop."[167] On this pelike, Shapiro takes the boy to represent Leagros and the scene as a whole indicative of mutual sadomasochist pleasure. Rather than infatuation, Keuls instead believes that the scene represents punishment for masturbation, the "half-mast" penis and the boy's hand having just been removed from it indicating that the boy was caught in the act by the older male.[168] Lear,

[165] On fig. 2.21, cf. Beazley (1963), 1591.5; Keuls (1985), 286; Kilmer (1993), pl. AT P.146, R18; Shapiro (2000a) 27-29; Lear & Cantarella (2008), 121-122; Stafford (2011), 351; Sánchez (2013), 111.
[166] Shapiro (2000a), 27.
[167] Shapiro (2000a), 27.
[168] Keuls (1985), 285. Stafford (2011), 349-350 finds Keuls's explanation more plausible than those which consider the scene to be mutually/homosexually erotic in nature. Kilmer (1993), 130 doubts Keuls's

however, has a different view. On the other side of the vase there is another "*Leagros kalos*" inscription running next to the single male youth, and thus if the inscription with the youth and boy refers to either figure, it is likely referring to the youth.[169] The scene lacks any "markers of a pederastic scene, such as courting-gifts…Instead, the scene shares some elements with orgiastic scenes: the sandal, and also the gesture with which the youth grabs his victim, rather than caressing him. The boy's large, semi-erect penis, furthermore, marks a clear distinction between this scene and pederastic iconography."[170] For these reasons, the scene should be considered representative not of a "respectable pair of *erastēs* and *erōmenos*" but rather a respectable youth (possibly Leagros) and a "less exalted kind of sex-partner."[171] Shapiro, however, does interpret the scene as homosexual eroticism. Shapiro notes in particular the fact that the boy, although moving away, does not attempt to flee nor does he exhibit resistance, instead "his expression is relaxed, and the right arm hangs calmly at his side."[172] The boy's long, erect penis is also surprising, and as opposed to Keuls's interpretation, Shapiro suggests that the boy's calm demeanor and erect penis suggest that the wielded sandal inspires sexual arousal in the boy. If the boy is indeed Leagros, then Shapiro contends that, "The boy who would in a few years grow up to be the greatest heartthrob in Athens, the toast of prostitutes and gentlemen alike, is shown as an early adolescent sexually endowed beyond his years and preternaturally obsessed with the perverse pleasures that would mark his later life."[173]

I am inclined to concur with Shapiro's interpretation, especially as the boy's demeanor were he being punished (and in a non-sexually arousing manner) would likely show more resistance, and the boy would perhaps not sport a disproportionately large erection. Other examples of punishment with a sandal about to be inflicted portray the recipients of the impending punishment as distinctly unaroused, in some cases cowering, including even a (later) depiction on an Attic red-figure hydria fragment showing Aphrodite

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interpretation, questioning the existence in Greek art or literature of any clear prohibitions against masturbation. Kilmer also notes that this scene does not offer a "straightforward sexual interpretation" as the youth does not appear aroused and the boy's erection is unusual for pederastic scenes; the garlands indicate a symposium setting, where erotic events are common, but Kilmer maintains that there is not enough evidence to make a decisive comment on the nature of the scene, arguing only that the semi-erect penis does at least indicate some erotic interest (1993, 105).

[169] Lear (2008), 122.

[170] Lear (2008), 122-123.

[171] Lear (2008), 123.

[172] Shapiro (2000a), 29.

[173] Shapiro (2000a), 29.

punishing Eros with a sandal.[174] Their mother/son relationship would preclude any amorous intentions; however, Eros's rigid stance indicates perhaps inevitable acceptance of the punishment but no degree of relaxation; he stands stiffly upright, his body is turned away, his arms stretched forward and his hands held together, with his head turned to look back at his punisher, in this case Aphrodite, perhaps beseeching leniency or waiting for the punishment to be inflicted. A similar scene unfolds on an earlier Attic red-figure cup, where an adult satyr punishes an infant satyr with a sandal; the infant satyr's stance is the same as Eros's.[175] An Athenian black-figure amphora c. 540 BCE depicts a man seated on a stool punishing a youth with a sandal; here, the youth being punished is distinctly unaroused and resistant as he crouches down, one arm raised to shield himself as the older man leans far over him, the sandal held high above his head.[176] Additionally, as previously noted, sandal-beating could be a form of sexual foreplay, featuring often in orgiastic depictions.[177]

The potential eroticism suggested by this pelike would emphasize the power balance inherent in a pederastic relationship. However, the notable difference between this homosexual depiction and the previous heterosexual depictions is the implication of sexual pleasure the boy experiences. This implication isolates this homosexual image from similar heterosexual images which were also in circulation and accessible to a varied, mixed-gender audience. Whereas in the heterosexual scenes, the woman is likely enduring rather than enjoying the sandal-beating, as discussed the boy features an enlarged penis which may denote sexual arousal caused by the older youth's actions. Here, the sandal-beating may very well be a form of mutually satisfying foreplay, but that the victim/recipient who gains erotic satisfaction is male suggests that in a homosexual context, this foreplay does not have sadistic intentions. Between a man and a woman, especially a *hetaira*, the sandal is an outlet of aggression, a weapon for painfully enforcing dominance over the woman. Between two males the sandal is used to arouse: for the older male, it is an instrument, not a weapon, used to reiterate status but in such a way that is stimulating for his partner, not punishing.

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[174] *LIMC* 35429, "Eros", "Aphrodite 1252", "Peitho 40"; Beazley 2724, c. 420-410 BCE, attributed to the manner of the Meidias Painter.

[175] Beazley 205372; c. 460 BCE, attributed to Douris.

[176] Beazley 351017; attributed to the Painter of Würzburg 252.

[177] Shapiro also notes a scene painted in the interior of a cup by the Thalia Painter which includes the inscription "*Leagros kalos*". This scene includes a named woman, Smikra, sleeping beneath a couch on which a prostitute wields a sandal, "adding a dash of piquancy to the coupling with her bearded lover while a youthful voyeur, waiting his turn, masturbates" (2000a, 28). The aroused voyeur, taken here to be Leagros, appears to have joined an orgy with the same Smikra who had, in a previous vase painting on a psykter by Euphronios depicting nude prostitutes enjoying a women-only symposium, made a toast, likely meant to be complimentary, to Leagros: "This one's for you, Leagros". Cf. Shapiro (2000a), 28.

Chapter Conclusion

The aim of the first chapter was to examine the various ways in which Aphrodite was used as a figure for the exploration of links between violence and sex, and perhaps even the ancient Greek perception of what constituted male and female power. This exploration is evidenced in the late-Archaic period in several of her Greek cults, as well as in epic, through her relationship with the war god Ares, and in Empedoclean philosophy. This initial analysis revealed a preoccupation in ancient Greek culture with the relationship between sex and violence that ultimately permeated beyond strictly the divine sphere and, as chapter two has shown, is abundantly evidenced in the heroic and mortal spheres as well. An underlying tension is palpable in the evidence we have of Aphrodite's associations with war and she herself represents the divine manifestation of this tension between sex and violence. In examining narratives of sexual violence in Homeric epic and in Euripidean tragedy, we saw that contexts of war and combat often coincided with implications of sexual violence to be committed against the female captives of the defeated army. The Homeric heroes envision the sexual captivity of the Trojan women, especially the Trojan elite women, as emblematic of the definitive fall of Troy. Euripides continues the stories of the Trojan women who are forced into the fate feared by Hector. But in the tragedies of *Hecuba* and *Trojan Women*, the heroines find ways of manipulating the circumstances forced upon them, turning the potential for sexual violence into a tool for controlling their captors. In the last moments of her life, Polyxena reveals her nude form to the Greek men bearing witness to her sacrifice, hoping that the erotic sight overpowers their violent inclinations. Hecuba uses Agamemnon's sexual relationship with her captive daughter Cassandra to compel the Greek king to aid in the revenge of Hecuba's son's murder.

The narratives of sexual violence against women evidenced in the literary discussion are visually reiterated in the violent erotica. In the literary discussion, homosexual relationships are elevated to a higher standard of sexual morality than their heterosexual counterparts, as both Xenophon and Pausanias (in Plato) emphasize. The violent erotica, however, does not shy away from explicitly differentiating between the perceived baseness of heterosexual sexual relations, which could occasionally be sadistic, and the (intentionally) mutually pleasurable experiences perceived in homosexual physical relations. Here, the Mulvey model becomes particularly useful in highlighting the ways in which women are used as sexual objects of male pleasure and how the privileging of the male (heterosexual) gaze facilitates sadistic voyeurism and fetishistic scopophilia. Previous analyses of ancient art have already demonstrated the applicability of Mulvey's theories in analyzing the intended

viewership of ancient erotica and how such images were able to convey specific cultural ideals of gender relations, sexual behaviours, and social status. Such an approach had not yet been undertaken in analyses of Greek vase paintings, not until now. The Mulvey model as I have applied it to the violent erotica has enabled a closer reading of the intended viewership of such images as well as how this specific type of erotic imagery was used to explore the relationship between sex and violence. This erotica seems to have satisfied a specific consumer audience, possibly by individual commission, fixated on linking power and success, such as in war, with the acquisition of the right to perform sexual violence. This dynamic then appeared in the sympotic sphere by the representation of emboldened, likely elite men exploiting sexual conduct as a conscious misdemeanor linked to power.

The beginning of this chapter discussed the inherent need to consider how and why the Greek gods were conceived of as emblematic of human experiences. More specifically, how and why are we able to compare Aphrodite's relevance to the relationship between sex and violence to the human experiences of the same. The Greek gods were the vessels through which key concerns of mortal life were communicated and explored such that characteristics of divine life overlap with the human world, including characteristics of sex and sexuality. The gods were just as susceptible to their sexual appetites as humans were and, with very few exceptions, no deity was immune to Aphrodite's powers of persuasion. When we examine the cult of Aphrodite, we also examine *ta aphrodisia*, "the things that belong to Aphrodite," which encompasses all of the variances of sexuality. This chapter has demonstrated the parallels in a phenomenon we find in Aphrodite's cult and iconography with contemporary, or near-contemporary, literary and artistic depictions of a strikingly similar phenomenon: the tension between sex and violence and attempts to reconcile this inseparable association. The overlap between the divine and mortal spheres, as evidenced in the former by Aphrodite's associations with war and in the latter by the violent erotica, with the narratives of sexual violence explored in Homeric epic and Euripidean tragedy as the bridge between the two, further proves the necessity of analyzing various aspects of a deity's cult together with the evidence of how human worshippers explore those aspects for themselves. How Aphrodite's cult affects human perceptions of love and sex correlates directly with how the ancient Greeks reflected their notions of human sexuality and sexual behaviours through Aphrodite.

Chapter Three

The Classical Period: Aphrodite Pandêmos & Athenian Weddings

As the previous chapters were focused, with noted exceptions, primarily on the Archaic period evidence of Aphrodite's associations with war and with contemporary related evidence of the relationship between sex and violence, this chapter and the next focus on the Classical period and the Athenian wedding. The Athenian wedding in the fifth century presents a case study with a comparative abundance of evidence for examining the relationship between the divine and mortal, where aspects of Aphrodite's cult and iconography develop in parallel to social and political developments in Athens. The iconographic evidence chosen for discussion in this chapter consists mainly of vase paintings with nuptial themes as well as depictions related to Aphrodite *Pandêmos*, the persona of Aphrodite most relevant to the increased emphasis on the importance of marriage in Classical Athens. The nuptial vase paintings I analyse furthermore reflect the shift in viewership from the previous era, which catered more to themes of interest to the private male gaze (such as symposium erotica), to the current era which turned its attention to themes more relevant to public spectatorship (such as weddings) in keeping with the new civic environment taking shape in Athens. Simultaneously, the iconography of Aphrodite shifts towards the more public face of Aphrodite. Aphrodite *Pandêmos* represents the civic manifestation of the goddess prominent in Athens in the Classical period, that which stressed her role in unions, particularly marital. Other personae are also prevalent in Athens during this period, including her *en Kêpois* and *Ourania* personae, both of which are examined in chapter four.[1]

In the previous chapters, I demonstrated that Aphrodite's associations with war, particularly as evidenced in the Archaic period, were divinely representative of the relationship between sex and violence which manifests as a common fascination in the literature and art of the same period. The phenomenon of pairing sex with violence which appears as a characteristic of the cult and iconography of the goddess of sex similarly appears in the sexual explorations of her contemporary audience. The explicit erotic, including the violent erotica, seemingly disappears altogether by the early-Classical Period. At the same time, Aphrodite's more overt cultic associations with war, such as her representations as an

[1] Besides the personae emphasized in this chapter (*Pandêmos*, *en Kêpois*, and *Ourania*), Aphrodite was also worshipped in Attica as Aphrodite *Hegemone*, Aphrodite *Euploia*, Aphrodite *eph' Hippolyto*, and Aphrodite *Kolias*. Cf. Delivorrias, (2008), 107-113. See also Parker (1996) & (2005) for Aphrodite's Athenian epithets.

armed goddess or within militaristic contexts, also dissipate, most especially in Attica.[2] This is not to suggest a direct causal connection, but rather to draw attention to a parallel development in ancient Greek sensitivities towards their representations of sexual encounters and in the iconography of their goddess of sex. As we shall see with Classical Athens, the juxtaposition of Aphrodite's iconography with Greek erotica continues to illuminate the mutually informative relationship between the cult of the goddess of sex and the explorations of *ta aphrodisia* experienced by her worshippers.

In Athens in the Classical period, the manner by which sexual relations were portrayed evolved. The shift away from explicit to suggestive painted erotica and from focusing on action to focusing on emotional bonds is reflective of the changes occurring in the wider environment. In the second half of the 5th century BCE, there was less demand for painted imagery on symposiac vessels such as pots and cups and more production of vessels believed to be owned by women; simultaneously, there was an increase in female imagery notably associated with Aphrodite and notions of love.[3] Depictions of older men appear less frequently and husbands in bridal scenes are generally depicted as youths (rather than men, in contrast to the common reality of the age difference between the bride and her groom). Relatedly, depictions of Eros, Adonis, Paris, and young Dionysus increasingly appear, with those of Adonis and Paris presenting the beautiful youth as the ideal (fantasy) lover for women.[4] The Archaic depictions, particularly those featured in symposium contexts, focused on masculine self-expression which "encouraged aggressive individualism."[5] This aggressive individualism emerges in the violent erotica analysed in the previous chapter. The Archaic scenes provided images for male viewers to emulate while simultaneously enabling a social catharsis. However, by the mid-fifth century, "antisocial individual self-expression was no longer popular on vases," likely reflecting both the need for a "more restrained public self-image for the Athenian *dêmos*" as well as changes in consumer preferences in painted pottery where a shift towards focusing on harmony rather than excess becomes more popular.[6] This shift is exemplified in one of the nuptial vase paintings analysed in this chapter, a much-discussed Athenian red-figure epinetron attributed to the Eretria Painter which depicts the

[2] Cf. Delivorrias, (2008), 107-113; Budin (2010), 79-112. As discussed in chapter one, the motif of an armed Aphrodite which gained popularity especially in the Hellenistic and Roman periods likely did not have cultic implications for a martial persona of Aphrodite having been worshipped during these periods, but rather reflected the disarmament of Ares and the continued interest in pairing love and war. Cf. Flemberg (1995).
[3] McNiven (2012), 517.
[4] McNiven (2012), 517.
[5] Sutton (1992), 32.
[6] Osborne (2018), 146.

marriage of Harmonia and Cadmus (figure 3.8). Women-only scenes also become more common and involve a "narrower range of activities, with adornment featuring heavily";[7] as Blundell and Rabinowitz qualify, "adornment" refers to scenes where, "female figures are getting dressed, washing, or being washed, but also to those where the women are holding, and in some cases giving and receiving, a variety of objects used for adorning the body, principally perfume jars, jewelry, wreathes, hand-mirrors, items of clothing, …and chests and caskets that might contain jewelry or clothing or possibly cosmetics."[8] The nuptial vase paintings discussed in this chapter feature a number of these women-only/adornment motifs, including the bride taking her ritual bath and attendants carrying adornment items such as the bride's sandals (*nymphides*). Oakley and Sinos postulate that the popularity of nuptial vase paintings during this period, especially bridal preparations, relates to the development of the Athenian democracy at which point, under Perikles's citizenship law of 451 BCE, legitimate citizenship could only be conferred to a child if both the father *and* mother were also citizens.[9] This law greatly emphasized the importance of marriage in the later fifth century, "and thus the increasing elaboration of the visible manifestations of the marriage, i.e. the processions and the relevant vases."[10]

The inclusion of nuptial vase paintings as "erotica" in this chapter derives from this shift in erotic tone of red-figure vase paintings evident in the Classical period, here demonstrated primarily by Athenian vase paintings. As Sutton notes on the popularity of explicitly erotic vase paintings in the Archaic period and their subsequent decline in the Classical period, "their representation of individualistic self-gratification, often shown in almost countercultural terms, runs contrary to the trends of vase imagery under the fifth century Democracy, which comes to stress a channeling of emotion into socially beneficial avenues."[11] As discussed in the previous chapter, explicit erotica sharply declines from c. 475 BCE and relatively disappears by c. 450 BCE. This decline culminates near the end of the fifth century where nuptial vase paintings "convey a new, more romantic and idealized notion of heterosexual love."[12] I have included nuptial vase paintings as "erotica" because they also represent an aesthetic of sensuality, sexual desire/attraction, and (in this period) romantic love

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[7] Blundell & Rabinowitz (2008), 115.
[8] Blundell & Rabinowitz (2008), 115. Blundell, in line with Sabetai (1997) and Reilly (1989), argues that a "high proportion of the adornment scenes contain allusions to wedding ritual," (2008, 128).
[9] Oakley & Sinos (1993), 132.
[10] Smith (2005), 9. For Perikles's citizenship law, cf. *Ath. Pol*. 26.4 and Plut. *Per*. 37.2-5.
[11] Sutton (1992), 8.
[12] Fantham et. al (1994), 101. See also Sutton (1981). On nuptial *eros*, cf. Sutton (1997/98) & Stafford (2013).

which uses suggestive, allusive imagery rather than explicit imagery to convey these ideals.[13] Though there is a shift in erotic tone, this genre of erotica still further emphasizes the link between the object, the social gaze, and the individual gaze which the previously analysed erotica exemplified. Whereas the explicit erotica of the previous era appears to have emphasized the individual (primarily male) gaze in relation to the social gaze of elite Attic society, the erotica present in the Athenian nuptial vase paintings of the Classical period instead emphasizes both the male and the female gazes in relation to the social gaze of the democratic, Athenian *polis*. I furthermore concur with Sutton who considers the nuptial scenes on Classical Athenian pottery "remarkable for their rich erotic imagery," and as this chapter will also further explore, "the ambivalent romantic figure of Helen" plays a major role in this genre of vase painting where, "images first applied to her are adopted for ordinary wedding scenes."[14] As Sutton summarizes:

> Early Classical vase painters represent a close emotional and sexual bond between bride and groom primarily through touch and glance and by appropriating so-called courting motifs for nuptial use. High Classical artists culminate the development of nuptial eroticism by employing the personification Eros to express a variety of meanings and by introducing both male and female nudity into wedding iconography.[15]

This chapter examines nuptial scenes with a similar focus on the use of suggestive erotica centred on the bond between the bride and groom although I extend this analysis to the ideals of feminine beauty conveyed by the wedding rituals pertinent to the bride's preparations. I also examine these depictions through the Mulvey model and in specific relation to Aphrodite *Pandêmos* and related iconography so as to analyse the relationship between Aphrodite *Pandêmos* and the ways in which her worshippers explored various aspects of this cult, such as love and marriage, in a mortal context.

This chapter continues to use the Mulvey model for examining viewership of ancient erotica and here the model extends to related vase paintings indicative of ancient Greek ideals of beauty, desirability, and marriageability. The Mulvey model, as with the erotica examined in chapter two, has not been previously applied to the vase paintings discussed in this chapter. As this chapter further demonstrates, the Mulvey model enables a closer reading of the variances in male and female spectatorship of ancient Greek depictions related to sexuality,

[13] See also Blundell & Rabinowitz (2008), 115.
[14] Sutton (1997/98), 27.
[15] Sutton (1997/98), 27.

especially within vase paintings. Whereas the previous chapter emphasized male, heterosexual viewership of explicit erotica, this chapter emphasizes female spectatorship of less explicit depictions which convey ancient Greek ideals of feminine beauty and desirability. This chapter focuses on Athenian vase paintings of Aphrodite *Pandêmos* and of nuptial themes. In order not to overlook the sculptural developments in Aphrodite's iconography during the Classical period, I begin the chapter with a brief discussion of this topic as exemplified by Aphrodite's representations in the east pediment and the east frieze of the Parthenon.[16] These sculptures emphasize a number of Aphrodite's attributes which are prominent in Athens during the Classical period and thus serve to introduce the facets of Aphrodite and of contemporary erotica which will be examined in the vase paintings discussed in this chapter and in the next. The sculptural arrangements of the Parthenon east pediment and east frieze epitomize the configuration of Aphrodite's social public role, one not explicitly in relation to a male figure, such as was the case with Aphrodite being configured in war contexts in relation to Ares. This social public role highlights her predominance in the sphere of socially acceptable and/or preferable female attributes. The final chapter discusses in more detail the evolution of Aphrodite's sculptural iconography in relation to the works which preceded Praxiteles's Aphrodite of Knidos.

The Parthenon Aphrodite Sculptures

Although, as the previous two chapters demonstrated, Aphrodite appears frequently in Archaic period black-figure and red-figure pottery, her appearance in sculpture is another story. As Delivorrias notes, "there are no securely recognizable monumental representations of her in Archaic sculpture of the sixth century BC" in Athens or elsewhere.[17] This story changes in the Classical period when Aphrodite's sculptural representations dramatically increase. The representations of Aphrodite from the Parthenon epitomize an unmistakably erotic aesthetic suitable for the goddess of sex which is able to come to life in sculptural form. The Parthenon Aphrodite of the east pediment and of the east frieze both emphasize several aspects of the goddess which take the forefront of her worship in Athens during the Classical period. Technically speaking, the sculptures of the Parthenon demonstrate one of the Classical period's innovations in sculpture: construction from within, not without. In other words, the structure beneath the varied figures themselves is evident regardless of

[16] Cf. *LIMC*, "Aphrodite 1393" & "Aphrodite 1404".
[17] Delivorrias (2008), 113.

figure type (lithe, plump, etc.).[18] In the east pediment, the figure of Aphrodite (figure M amongst the group K, L, and M; see fig. 5.5 in chapter five) represents a notably sensualized embodiment of the female form. Aphrodite exemplifies what Spivey refers to as the prevailing of "exuberance" in the second half of the fifth century BCE in contrast to the simplicity of the preceding Archaic and Severe sculptures. The rendering of garments no longer demonstrates a disregard for how clothing molds to bodies (whether in motion or not), and Classical sculptors use modelling lines to accentuate body shapes as well as "illusionary transparency" to give the effect of textured fabrics adhering to body shape.[19]

The attention to body shape is not just present in sculpture. Athenian vase painters of the end of the late-Archaic period and of the Classical period also depict the human body in "every conceivable pose and position," and drapery folds "lose their starched rigidity and hug the contours of the body."[20] For example, Makron frequently painted drapery as if it were transparent, with the bodily form beneath shown in movement;[21] figure 3.2 of this chapter is an example of Makron's work where his attention to anatomy and movement is evident through the styling of the drapery featured on the figures. The nuptial vase paintings discussed in this chapter and in the next demonstrate the use of drapery to emphasize the female form, especially the "reproductive capacities of the female body."[22] The illusion of transparent drapery to eroticize the female figure relates to the ways in which Greek artists reconciled the non-body ideal of the female form with women's essential role in biological and social reproduction.[23] As Sabetai argues, "the cultural expectations of modesty, fertility, and sexual allure create a tension in the artist as he tries to mediate his need to idealize and eroticize the female body. As a result, the artist depicts women as modest dressing them in clothing that in real life would have been opaque, and as sexually alluring by making that clothing semi-transparent in order to reveal certain details of their bodies."[24] The Eretria Painter and the Calliope Painter, for instance, frequently depict women using a style of drapery that draws attention to their breasts and nipples;[25] figure 3.8 of this chapter, the Athenian red-figure epinetron depicting the marriage of Harmonia and Cadmus by the Eretria Painter, demonstrates this motif. As Llewellyn-Jones notes, the manner of portraying the

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[18] Boardman (1985), 93.
[19] Spivey (2013), 11.
[20] von Bothmer (1987), 7. See also: Burn (1987), 4-11; Boardman (1989), 60, 97, 145; Robertson (1992), 7ff; Sparkes (1996), 104.
[21] von Bothmer (1987), 46.
[22] Lee (2015a), 46, 196. See also: Darling (1998/99), 47-69.
[23] Lee (2015a), 46. Cf. Sabetai (1993), 129-130; Llewellyn-Jones (2002), 179-182, 188-190.
[24] Sabetai (1993), 130.
[25] Blundell & Rabinowitz (2008), 132.

female body "in an overtly sexual way" by closely assimilating the dress and the figure results in an emphasis on "the torso, the curve of the buttocks, the thighs and legs and, most importantly, accented the breasts to such a degree that they appear like torpedoes sticking out of the torso, where they culminate in detailed nipples which are also often exaggerated."[26] The "torpedo-like" breasts and delineated nipples are apparent in a number of the vases discussed in this chapter and in the next, including figures 3.3, 3.8, and 4.20. In vase paintings of this period, dress and drapery convey form in a way that is readily recognizable in sculpture, including in the pediments of the Parthenon, and the transparent effect is found in later relief sculpture, such as the balustrade of the Nike Temple on the Athenian Acropolis.[27]

Diaphanous dress and clinging drapery are abundantly evident in the group KLM of the Parthenon's east pediment and the figures themselves have been interpreted widely.[28] In the past, the group has been thought to represent a triad such as the Moirai (Fates), the Horari (Seasons), or the Hesperides.[29] However, as Palagia notes, "In the visual language of the Parthenon pediments, figures leaning on one another are blood relations," in which case the group KLM is likely a family group.[30] Figure M is now widely recognized as Aphrodite because of her relaxed, provocative stance as well as her provocatively draped garments. Figure L, in whose lap Aphrodite leans back and rests, has been identified as her mother Dione (L), with the final figure Hestia (K).[31] Alternative identifications for L include Peitho, Themis, Demeter, and Artemis.[32] Palagia argues that L "must be a youthful goddess" because of the shoulder-cord she dons which was normally worn by more active figures, and Artemis is the most plausible identification based on the arrangement of the Parthenon's east frieze where Aphrodite rests her right forearm on Artemis's lap behind her and where their arms are linked.[33] Figure K could then be Artemis's mother, Leto, probably leaning on Apollo.[34]

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[26] Llewellyn-Jones (2002), 181.
[27] Boardman (1989), 145.
[28] On identifications, select examples include: Brommer (1963); Fehr (2004); Mostratos (2004).
[29] Palagia (1998), 22. On the Moirai, cf. Visconti (1816), 44 who first published on the Elgin Marbles; Fürtwangler (1895), 466 who first attempted a systematic identification; & Cook (1940), 717. On the Horai, cf. Jeppesen (1963), 89. On the Hesperides, cf. Jeppesen (1984), 274.
[30] Palagia (2005), 240.
[31] Williams & Morton (2013), 24. See also Palagia (1998), 22. On the identification of L as Dione, cf. Carpenter (1962) and Simon (1969), reiterated by Williams & Morton (2013). As previously noted, alternative to Aphrodite's Hesiodic birth story, Homer identifies Aphrodite as the daughter of Dione; *Il*. 5.370.
[32] On Peitho, cf. Carpenter (1933), 85-86. On Themis, cf. Harrison (1977b), 155-161. On Demeter, cf. Fehr (2004), 128-136. On Artemis, cf. Palagia (1993), (1998), & (2005); Mostratos (2004), 118-119.
[33] Palagia (2005), 240. See also Mark (1984); Reeder (1995); Palagia (1998), 22; Neils (1999); Lagerlöf (2000); Stafford (2013), 195.
[34] Palagia (1998), 22 & (2005), 240.

As figure M, Aphrodite exemplifies what is evident in both vase painting of this period and sculpture, "the interplay between the body and diaphanous dress," which, consequently, "could be more erotic than nudity itself."[35] Aphrodite is sculpted wearing a girdled, sleeved chiton and a himation. Her right shoulder is exposed while her chiton drapes across her lower chest, just covering her breasts. A dowel hole indicates that she wore a bracelet on her right arm. Aphrodite's garments (and L's) are rendered in the "wet drapery" style of the late fifth century. On the goddess of sex, this type of rendering lends an added layer of seductive appeal.[36] Aphrodite's "wet drapery" gives the sense that, "the surface of the stone is permeable, transparent, diaphanous. The perception of something underneath the drapery is at once visually significant and overtly eroticized."[37] While this technique is not unique to the Parthenon, the "interplay of surface and depth, outside and in" as exhibited by the pediment sculptures is unique in its narrative function: "It intimates an *ēthos*. Aphrodite's virtual submersion into the body of her mother expresses a form of intimacy, a *philia* to go along with *erōs* that Aphrodite herself incarnates."[38] As discussed in more detail in the final chapter, in alluding to Aphrodite's nudity through the illusory drapery, the Parthenon sculptures tantalize viewers with what Aphrodite's divine *eidos* (form/appearance) actually looks like. In the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, for instance, Aphrodite's physical form is never specifically described by the poet; instead, the poet focuses on the material concealment of the goddess.[39] In the *Hymn*, Anchises wonders at Aphrodite's appearance, "her stature, and her shining garments," including her dress, her bracelets, her earrings, and her necklaces.[40] But not even when Aphrodite and Anchises's encounter progresses to the bedroom and Anchises begins to undress the goddess do we find any description of Aphrodite's physical form.[41] Similarly in sculpture, artists do not fully reveal Aphrodite, but as the Parthenon pediment sculpture demonstrates, the illusory drapery nevertheless succeeds in elevating the relationship between deity and domain to one of physical tangibility. There is no doubt that she is the goddess of sex, desirability, and seduction based simply on how her body has been rendered: the nonchalant yet provocative pose, the alluringly revealed shoulder

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[35] Lee (2015a), 196. See also Dalby (2002), 111-124.
[36] Cf. Kousser (2008), 59; Neer (2010), 172.
[37] Neer (2010), 172.
[38] Neer (2010), 172.
[39] Platt (2011), 68.
[40] *Hom. Hymn Aphr.* 85-90; trans. West (2003).
[41] *Hom. Hymn Aphr.* 160-167.

and upper chest, and the garments molding to her breasts and hips and gathered at her pubic region. This figure is clearly one without self-consciousness.[42]

Aphrodite also features in the Parthenon's east frieze which depicts an assembly of the gods. Aphrodite appears with Poseidon, Apollo, Artemis, and Eros on block VI. Unlike the first three gods, which have survived in good condition, Aphrodite is preserved only in fragments while Eros is preserved in cast of a more complete version now lost.[43] After Poseidon and Apollo, Artemis and Aphrodite are seated together. Aphrodite, as in the east pediment, appears relaxed as she sits with her right forearm resting on Artemis's thigh. The goddesses sit with their arms entwined. Aphrodite dons a veil, a short-sleeved chiton, and an himation folded across her knees and draping down. She stretches her left arm forward and rests it atop Eros's shoulder, pointing to the approaching procession. Eros stands before his mother, looking in the direction she points while holding a parasol in his left hand, leaning his back against her legs and resting his right hand on her knees.[44] Aphrodite's place in the east frieze with Artemis and Eros draws attention to her connection to brides and marriage as well as to her role in motherhood, both of which relate to her worship as Aphrodite *Pandêmos* and Aphrodite *en Kêpois*.

Much attention has been given to the meaning of the gods' positioning in the east frieze and their individual relevance to the procession.[45] The pairing of Artemis and Aphrodite, two antithetical goddesses, has drawn particular interest. This pairing affects interpretations of Aphrodite's appearance and intended function in the frieze. Stafford argues that Aphrodite and Artemis, sitting arm in arm, represent a juxtaposition which, "taken in conjunction with Aphrodite's veiled, matronly appearance here, recalls the involvement of both goddesses in the Athenian wedding."[46] This connection between the goddesses helps explain why they are seated together and emphasizes Aphrodite's role as a marriage goddess.

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[42] Cf. Havelock (1995), 35.
[43] Cf. Mark (1984), 295ff for discussion of the circumstances which led to the fragmentary and/or now-lost figures of Aphrodite and Eros from Block VI.
[44] Kondoleon (2011, 108) notes that the east frieze is the "oldest visual trace" of Aphrodite and Eros's relationship.
[45] For instance, Simon argues that the four gods of block VI all relate to Theseus and his overseas voyage to kill the Minotaur, and to the sea in general, cf. Simon (1996), 9-26. Neils further argues that the duality of land and sea may explain the arrangement of the gods, with the four sea-related gods who were worshipped in Attic ports on one side, and the four land-related gods (Dionysus, Demeter, Hermes, and Ares) on the other side; thus arranged, they represent Athens's land and sea victories of the past, during the Persian Wars, as well as Athens's present preeminence as the head of the Delian League. Cf. Neils (1999), 11-12. Elderkin theorized that the "Erechtheid" deities of the east frieze were represented sequentially according to the location of their cult sites in relation to the Erechtheum on the Acropolis, with Aphrodite seated in her North Slope sanctuary pointing to the Panathenaic procession below; cf. Elderkin (1936), 95.
[46] Stafford (2013), 195-196.

Artemis's chiton, which slides off one shoulder, may indicate Artemis's role as the protector of young, pregnant wives and further connects Artemis with Aphrodite as the latter's realm facilitates procreation.[47] Younger considers Artemis and Aphrodite as "stand-ins for Athenian women," such that the "elder Aphrodite would then resemble the East frieze's matron, innately sexual as wife and mother, but, at the same time, de-sexualized as a proper woman of the *polis*. The younger Artemis would represent the maiden there, unapproachable as adolescent female Athenian female, yet sexualized and desirable."[48] I question Younger's interpretation as it is unclear how the goddess of sex can be innately sexual and de-sexualized at the same time. Regardless of which persona of Aphrodite is being considered, her sexuality plays an important role in how that persona is worshipped. The pairing of Artemis and Aphrodite evokes their contrasting yet complementary roles in marriage and highlights why Aphrodite specifically is a powerful figure in facilitating successful marriage unions. While the virgin goddess Artemis represents the young, virgin bride and also protects women during childbirth, Aphrodite represents the bride's initiation into the sexual side of marriage and the sexual attraction between husband and wife that is necessary for producing children. The prevalence of nuptial vase paintings demonstrates Aphrodite's specific influence on the bride's ability to attract her groom and a wife's ability to maintain her desirability for her husband's sake in order for the marriage to be successful in producing legitimate children.

While Aphrodite's role in marriage can be deduced from the east frieze, can one specific aspect of Aphrodite be singled out in this representation? Her connection to Theseus, mythological founder of Athens, her role in the *synoikismos* of Athens, her connection to brides and marriage/unions, and her possibly deliberate representation as a "proper" *polis* woman, all make *Pandêmos*, the persona which encapsulates most if not all of these characteristics, an attractive candidate.[49] Pemberton argues that the east frieze represents Aphrodite *Pandêmos* based on her associations with "the unique democratic institutions of the *polis*," noting that as *Pandêmos*, Aphrodite "is respectable, without overtones of erotic functions."[50] Aphrodite's veil and Eros's parasol thus represent Aphrodite as protected and hidden like a bride would be, elevating her status. I disagree with Pemberton's suggestion that it is possible to separate Aphrodite's inherent sexuality from her persona as *Pandêmos*. I concur with Rosenzweig in that, "Aphrodite's veil and parasol may indeed suggest some

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[47] Reeder (1995), 153.
[48] Younger (1997), 134.
[49] Cf. Simon (1996).
[50] Pemberton (1976), 80, 119.

elevated status, but by suggesting that any one of the inherent natures of Aphrodite must somehow be suppressed, whether it be her erotic qualities, her associations with fertility, or any one of her other aspects" ultimately diminishes Aphrodite's importance and ignores the more private associations (weddings, brides, etc.) of Aphrodite *Pandêmos* in favour of her public and civic associations.[51] Consequently, the east frieze Aphrodite is not likely meant to be representative of a single epithet of Aphrodite to the exclusion of others but rather several aspects intermingled.[52]

In addition to these connections with Aphrodite *Pandêmos,* we could also suggest that Aphrodite's maternal role in the east frieze is represented, which, as discussed in chapter four, relates to her worship as Aphrodite *en Kêpois*. Aphrodite, though lounging, is not leaning back with her full weight borne by Artemis's support (as is the case with Aphrodite and figure L of the east pediment), and Aphrodite's chiton does not slip down to reveal a breast.[53] While the chiton of the virgin goddess Artemis slips down one shoulder, Mark contends that Aphrodite's remains in place such that Artemis is here a foil to Aphrodite, helping to keep Aphrodite's sexuality in check, with the purpose of emphasizing Aphrodite's role as a mother: "Recall the gestures that bind Aphrodite and Eros together as mother and son, Aphrodite's arm on Eros' shoulder, pointing, his hand on her knee. Aphrodite's upright bearing is in conformity with this, that is, her appearance and demeanor support and confirm that she is a matron, that she is Eros' mother."[54] Aphrodite's chiton may not be overtly revealing, however, it is still loosely draped such that her shoulders are visible and part of her chest, lending her an air of nonchalance similar to the east pediment figure and also helping to identify the figure as Aphrodite. Although the pairing of Artemis and Aphrodite does partially draw attention to Aphrodite's maternal aspect, Mark draws too sharp a distinction between the styling of the goddesses' respective chitons in relation to how erotically represented Aphrodite is meant to be.[55] Nevertheless, with Aphrodite's maternal aspect emphasized, the Parthenon east frieze can be considered to portray multiple aspects of Aphrodite which someone observing the figures would likely have been able to discern.

Aphrodite's representations in the Parthenon's east pediment and east frieze help to characterize the motifs which would continue to distinguish Aphrodite's sculptural form from

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[51] Rosenzweig (2004), 97.
[52] Rosenzweig (2004), 95-101. Stafford (2013, 196) also notes that, "anyone standing within sight of these Parthenon figures would have been only metres away from the north-slope sanctuary, which must surely have brought its Aphrodite and Eros to mind for some viewers."
[53] Mark (1984), 296-297.
[54] Mark (1984), 296-297.
[55] Cf. Reeder (1995), 152-153; Younger (1997), 134.

the early/mid-Classical period into the late-Classical period and beyond. The east pediment sculpture in particular highlights the seductive and erotic aesthetic of Aphrodite's sculptural representations during this period. As this sculpture represents, her inherent sexuality was pivotal in all aspects of her worship, whether she was being worshipped for her role in civic and public affairs, for her role in weddings and marriages, and/or for her role as a mother and her subsequent relevance to human fertility. Aphrodite's sexuality distinguishes her from other goddesses whose domains overlap with hers and thus it cannot be removed from whichever of Aphrodite's personae is being worshipped, including the three personae which are examined in chapters three and four. The east frieze representation of Aphrodite alongside Artemis and Eros highlights her connection to weddings and marriage as personified by Aphrodite *Pandêmos*, as well as to her role in motherhood as personified by Aphrodite *en Kêpois*. Her positioning with Eros may have partly been a reference to her North Slope sanctuary which she shared with Eros and which underlined the extent of her domain into matters of human fertility. The overtly eroticized representations of the Parthenon Aphrodite also highlight the increased emphasis on female desirability and the emulation of Aphrodite for attaining this desirability as evidenced by contemporary nuptial vase paintings as well as vase paintings which depict Aphrodite *Ourania* with her young lover, Adonis. Aphrodite *Ourania* is also relevant to Aphrodite *Pandêmos* in terms of the goddess's personal experiences with love as a contrast to the young, Athenian bride's acceptance of her marriage to someone likely not of her choosing. With the Parthenon sculptures having set the stage for the analyses in the remainder of this chapter, we can now turn to the first of Aphrodite's personae which gains prominence in Athens during the Classical period, Aphrodite *Pandêmos*, and her impact on Athenian ideals of marriage.

Aphrodite Pandêmos & Peitho

One of the clearest developments in Aphrodite's persona and her iconography in Athens during the Classical period results from the greater emphasis placed on her epithet, *Pandêmos*, "of or belonging to all the people"/"the whole people", which affected the configuration of the goddess's role in shaping the new civic and social environment. In Athens, Aphrodite *Pandêmos* had two notable sanctuaries. In the agora, there was a sanctuary to Aphrodite *Ourania* dated to c. 500 BCE; based on the premarital offerings recently discovered on the site, it was linked with Aphrodite's role in marriage and reproduction.[56]

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[56] Breitenberger (2007), 32. See also Rosenzweig (2004), 13-19.

The cult of Aphrodite *Pandêmos* was closely associated with Peitho, the goddess of persuasion and seduction.[57] The goddesses shared a sanctuary in Athens. Apollodorus (and later the *Suda*) identified the location as in the neighborhood of the old Agora.[58] Pausanias describes a shrine west of the Asklepieion in the vicinity of the heroön of Hippolytus; most scholars follow Pausanias's description, locating their shared shrine on the southwest slope on a terrace beneath the Nike bastion.[59] On Aphrodite *Pandêmos*, Breitenberger aptly notes that, "This widespread cult epithet indicates a specifically Greek political interpretation of an aspect of Aphrodite's traditional sphere of influence."[60] This interpretation is made clearer by Pausanias who describes the attribution of this epithet as both a political and mythical *aition*: "When Theseus brought the Athenians together into one city from being little towns of people, he instituted the worship of Popular Aphrodite and Persuasion."[61] Connecting Aphrodite *Pandêmos*, as well as Peitho, to Athens's synoecism, accomplished peacefully according to legend by the mythical hero Theseus, imbues the cult with both power and age,[62] suggesting that Aphrodite had already held and would continue to hold a long-standing, important role in Athens's political landscape.[63] Furthermore, as Aphrodite "presided over the individual union of the bride and the groom and the union of families and clans within the demos, a wedding was not only a private affair, but also the reaffirmation of the *synoikismos*."[64] The cult of Aphrodite *Pandêmos* evokes the Athenian *synoikismos* well after the achievement of the latter and the founding of the former by virtue of Aphrodite's role in facilitating the marital unions which perpetuate the union of the demes.

Apollodorus, here quoted by Harpocration of the late second century CE, explains the origins of Aphrodite *Pandêmos* using a more historically inclined perspective which is nevertheless as political as the founding of the cult as a result of the *synoikismos*.[65] The title "*Pandêmos*" was based on her sanctuary's location near the agora where the demos

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[57] On the cult of Peitho and/or Peitho's association with Aphrodite *Pandêmos*, cf. Buxton (1982), 29-66; Simon (1983), 48-51; Pirenne-Delforge (1991), 395-413; Stafford (2000), 111-145; Pirenne-Delforge (1994), 26-34; Rosenzweig (2004), 13-28.
[58] Apollod. *Harp*. 233.13-234.3; *Suda* s.v. Ἀφροδίτης Πάνδεμος.
[59] Paus. 1.22.1-3. Cf. Beschi (1967/68), 517-526 (Beschi also discusses the inscribed and relief-decorated architrave blocks [*IG* II^2 4596] which may belong to a fourth century building associated with the cult); Travlos (1971); Simon (1983), 48; Pirenne-Delforge (1994,) 44-45; Mikalson (1998), 107; Rosenzweig (2004), esp. 14-16; Smith (2005), 11-16; Smith (2011), 56-57; Greco (2010); Pala (2010), 199-201; Friese (2019), 56-57.
[60] Breitenberger (2007), 32.
[61] Paus. 1.22.3; trans. Levi (1971).
[62] See also Rosenzweig (2004), 14 & Larson (2007), 118.
[63] Buxton (1982), 33. Buxton also draws attention to an inscription to Peitho found at the site of the temple of Aphrodite at Daphni, the sanctuary of which is discussed in the next chapter. Cf. *IG* II.5.1558.1.
[64] Friese (2019), 58. Cf. Pirenne-Delforge (1994), 81; Rosenzweig (2004), 25, 103; Smith (2005), 11-12; Smith (2011), 55-56.
[65] Garland (1992), 91; Smith (2005), 11.

traditionally assembled: "Apollodorus in his work on the Gods says that the title Pandêmos was given to the goddess established in the neighborhood of the old agora because all the Demos gathered there of old in their assemblies, which they called *agorai*."[66] Further to Apollodorus, Philemon (c. 350 BCE) and Nicander of Colophon (c. 130 CE), both quoted by Athenaeus (c. 200 CE), ascribe the foundation of Aphrodite *Pandêmos* to Solon, with the epithet being a consequence of proceeds taken from prostitution houses.[67] These references to the epithet in varied sources demonstrate that the tradition of Aphrodite *Pandêmos* in direct connection with one of the leading figures behind Attic democratization was sufficiently widespread and well-known. As Athenaeus recounts it:

> Philemon as well in Brothers describes, among other things, how Solon, motivated by the energy of the young men, was the first person to buy women and put them in brothels; Nicander of Colophon offers similar information in Book III of the History of Colophon, saying that Solon established the first temple of Aphrodite Pandêmos by using the money brought in by the women who worked in the brothels.[68]

Solon's intent to eradicate social inequalities apparently extended to access to sexual services as well. And as Athenaeus continues, quoting Philemon:

> …Solon – when you saw that the city was full of young men, who had urges that couldn't be controlled and were making the wrong kind of mistakes; and you bought women, set them up in various places, and got them ready and gave everyone access to them. They stand there naked, so you can't be fooled. Look at everything! Maybe you're feeling out of sorts; you're . . . † how † The door's open! (It costs) one obol! Hop on in! There's no acting shocked, no chit-chat; she doesn't pull away. Instead, you immediately get the girl you want, however you want her. You leave – tell her to go to hell! She's somebody else's problem.[69]

If Solon is to be credited with establishing state-sanctioned prostitution, then his subsequent success in political reforms may have been commemorated with his founding a temple to Aphrodite *Pandêmos* using the profits from the prostitution establishments.[70]

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[66] FGrH 244 fr. 113; trans. Wycherely (1957). Cf. Pirenne-Delforge (1988), 142-157.

[67] Mikalson (1998), 107. See also Parker (1996), 48-49. Parker argues that while Aphrodite *Pandêmos* was "probably consecrated in the archaic period, in a spirit that was in a broad sense political; or that the same spirit animated the festival of *Synoikia*," there is no solid ground for associating this cult (or any other) with "Solon himself or with any other specific figure, or century" as we know too little of the political histories of the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries to isolate Solon as responsible for unifying festivals (1996, 48-49).

[68] Ath. 13.569d; trans. Olson (2010).

[69] Ath. 13.569e-f; trans. Olson (2010).

[70] Rosenzweig (2004), 18.

Pausanias's mythical account along with Apollodorus's more historical account, and subsequent connections between Solon and Aphrodite *Pandêmos* as described by Athenaeus in his references to Philemon and Nicander, all highlight Aphrodite's significant participation in the political environment of the Attic demes.[71] Apollodorus's explanation, which references the sanctuary site in the agora as the inspiration of the *Pandêmos* epithet, may have been mythologized later in Pausanias's version in order to glorify further the legendary hero and founder of Athens, Theseus.[72] In each origin account, Aphrodite "of all the people" is exemplified by the gathering of people whether it is in the assemblies of the agora, as newly unified peoples from the demes (and as newlyweds), or as like-minded partakers of the pleasures offered in prostitution houses.[73] As far as Peitho is concerned, Buxton notes that on the origins of the *Pandêmos*-Peitho cult, one story connects it to erotic seduction (the prostitutes), the other to the agora where people gathered for public discussion; as such, "the range of activities covered by *peitho* could not be more neatly illustrated."[74] The *aitia* of Aphrodite *Pandêmos*, attributed to Theseus or Solon, and the location of the ancient agora near to the *Pandêmos* sanctuary (regardless of the topographic accuracy of Apollodorus's account), all indicate a clearly political affiliation.[75] Pirenne-Delforge notes that, "dans le cadre de la fondation par Solon, Aphrodite Pandémos intègre des fonctions sociopolitiques lorsque la sexualité des jeunes gens devient une affaire d'État."[76] With the Athenian *synoikismos*, because of which the cult of Aphrodite *Pandêmos* is said to have been founded, the heightened emphasis on creating unions for the sake of maintaining what the *synoikismos* had achieved meant that Aphrodite's ability to facilitate marital unions was not just of crucial personal significance to the couple, but also of crucial political significance to the *polis*.

Aphrodite's more political role reiterates her powers of sexuality. Because she is a deity of *mixis*, "of the 'mixing' between creatures," Aphrodite is "called upon to intervene in the cohesion of the 'body' politic."[77] As Aphrodite oversees the coming together of people in sexual union, it follows that her influence in bringing individuals into intimate contact extends to influencing their coming together in social and political unions. Peitho was a "helper not only in affairs of love but also in politics," and outside of Athens Peitho helped

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[71] This cult title extended well beyond Attica, including other areas of the mainland (such as Elis, Megalopolis, Erythrae, and Thebes) and on several islands (such as Cos, Thasos, and Paros). Cf. Breitenberger (2007), 34-35.
[72] Breitenberger (2007), 34.
[73] Rosenzweig (2004), 18. See also Buxton (1982), 33-34.
[74] Buxton (1982), 34.
[75] Pirenne-Delforge (1994), 81. See also Simon (1983), 50-51.
[76] Pirenne-Delforge (1994), 81. ["As part of the foundation by Solon, Aphrodite *Pandêmos* integrates socio-political functions when the sexuality of young people becomes a matter of state."]
[77] Pirenne-Delforge (2010b), 316.

form the first civic communities of other regions, including Argos, Paros, and Thasos.[78] Peitho was an ideal complement to Aphrodite *Pandêmos* in applying erotic powers outside of the bedroom, so to speak, where persuasions were useful not just in forming personal, sexual unions but also more broadly in communal, political unions. As discussed in chapter two, Plato distinguished between Aphrodite *Ourania* ("Heavenly Aphrodite") and Aphrodite *Pandêmos*.[79] This distinction relates to the superior love shared between pederastic couples (over which Heavenly Aphrodite presides), and that between heterosexual couples (under the domain of Aphrodite *Pandêmos*), with the likely intent of obscuring the potential for dominant/submissive sexual roles in the former which were not uncommon in the latter. For the perpetuation of the *polis*, heterosexual relations take precedent for which Aphrodite *Pandêmos* is clearly more relevant.

Aphrodite *Pandêmos* and Peitho were honoured in the *Aphrodisia* festival for their roles in securing the Attic synoecism.[80] The *Aphrodisia* included a bathing festival held on the southwest slope of the Acropolis where the *aediculae* of both goddesses were located.[81] The festival was likely to have occurred on the fourth day of Hekatombaion and as part of the festival proceedings the sanctuary was purified with the blood of a dove after which statues of Aphrodite and Peitho were carried in a procession and thereafter washed.[82] The *Aphrodisia* was celebrated before the *Synoikia* festival also held in Hekatombaoin, and while the former celebrated Aphrodite's role in Attic synoecism, the latter celebrated Athena's specific role in the unification of the demes.[83] That there were separate festivals celebrating these goddesses' roles in the synoecism reiterates Aphrodite's role as critical to the successful unification.

Aphrodite Pandêmos & Peitho in Vase Painting

In contemporary artistic depictions, Aphrodite's close relationship with Peitho is more fully realized. According to some ancient sources, Peitho is Aphrodite's daughter which may explain her frequent presence in scenes with Aphrodite in contexts reflective of Aphrodite's domain, such as marriage and sex, and which helps to identify her in the scenes.[84] Peitho's

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[78] Simon (1983), 50. For Peitho in Argos, Paros, and Thasos, cf. Simon (1965), s.v. "Peitho", also Buxton (1982), 35-36.
[79] *Symp*. 180d-181c. On Plato's "playful sophistry" which affected interpretations of Aphrodite's *Pandêmos* epithet, cf. Parker (2005), 407-408.
[80] For other Athenian festivals related to Aphrodite, cf. Parke (1977).
[81] Pala (2010), 209.
[82] Rosenzweig (2004), 15-16; Simon (1983), 48-49; Parker (2005), 461; Pala (2010), 209. Cf. *IG* II[3] 1 879.
[83] Rosenzweig (2004), 16; Simon (1983), 49-50.
[84] Aeschylus *Suppliant Women* 1038ff; Sappho fr. 90.1a & 200; Pindar fr. 122.2-5. Cf. Smith (2005), 13. Hesiod has Peitho as the daughter of the Titans Tethys and Oceanus (*Th.* 349). Cf. Buxton (1982), 38 on Peitho's

worship in the Athenian Aphrodite *Pandêmos* cult makes her the most likely candidate for the unlabeled bridal attendant frequently depicted in marriage and/or wedding scenes alongside Aphrodite since Peitho's combined erotic and civic role in these unions complements Aphrodite's.[85] Elsewhere, Peitho is identified in marriage and wedding scenes, including mythological ones, by inscription, further supporting her identification as the unlabeled attendant in other such scenes which feature the identifiable Aphrodite. In the late sixth century BCE, Aphrodite and Peitho are first represented together in red-figure vase depictions of the Judgment of Paris or in scenes related to the Judgment such as the abduction of Helen, emphasizing their individual and combined powers of sexual persuasion.[86] A fragmentary oinochoe c. 520 BCE signed by the Euthymides Painter depicts the Judgment with the three goddesses and also includes Peitho at the end of the procession, presumably present to persuade Paris in his final decision (fig. 3.1a-c).[87] A later example is a skyphos by Makron c. 490 BCE depicting on side A the abduction of Helen (fig. 3.2).[88] A helmeted, spear-wielding Paris grabs Helen by the wrist and strides to the left, the two figures separated by a small Eros; behind Helen, Aphrodite reaches out to adjust Helen's *stephane* (headband) and garment, and immediately behind Aphrodite stands Peitho holding a flower in her uplifted right hand.[89] Sutton considers the Makron skyphos as representative of the new "pedestrian" type of wedding depiction, in contrast to the previous era which depicted the

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distinction from Aphrodite in Hesiod. When described as Aphrodite's daughter, however, Peitho's father is not named. Considering Peitho, like Aphrodite, is born before the other Olympian deities (according to Hesiod), it may be that Aphrodite and Peitho, with their overlapping spheres of influence, were at one time interchangeable such that when Aphrodite later was described as Peitho's mother, the unnamed father is due to Peitho having been "born from" solely Aphrodite in the splitting of their identities. See also Burn (1987), 37.

[85] Shapiro (1993), 189-195; Smith (2003), 56-58. Parker notes that Peitho's powers could have been applied to aspects outside of eroticism and marriage. Parker cites Isocrates, who complained that, "though the Athenians make sacrifice to Peitho each year, they view with suspicion all those persons, professors of rhetoric such as [Isocrates], who seek to share the goddess's powers", and as such we might consider that there existed a separate, political and/or rhetorical cult of Peitho (1996, 234); cf. also Parker (2005), 408. But as Peitho was worshipped alongside Aphrodite *Pandêmos* in their dual sanctuary, it is more likely that Isocrates is also referring to this cult rather than alluding to two distinct Peitho cults; while most Athenians would likely attribute erotic persuasions to Peitho because of her association with Aphrodite, Isocrates highlights "the opposite end of the broad spectrum" of Peitho's powers (Parker 1996, 234). Cf. Isoc. *Antid*. 249. Cf. Gross (1985) on Peitho as an erotic force, and Pirenne-Delforge (1991) for Peitho as a political force. See also Buxton (1982), 34 on Isocrates/Peitho.

[86] On Peitho in Athenian art, particularly with Aphrodite, cf. Icard-Gianolio (1994); Burn (1987), 32-40; Shapiro (1993), 189-195; Borg (2002), 58-71.

[87] *LIMC* 10818, "Peitho 1"; *AVI* 5731. On fig. 3.1, cf. Buxton (1982), 45-46; Shapiro (1993), 189; Oakley et. al (1997), 147; Rosenzweig (2004), 20.

[88] *LIMC* 6026; "Helene 243 & 166", "Aphrodite 1471, 1256, & 1445". On fig. 3.2, cf. Ghali-Kahil (1955), pl. 4A; Carpenter (1991), fig. 293; Oakley & Sinos (1993), 32-33, 98; Shapiro (1993), 190; Oakley (1995), 64; Sutton (1997/98), 29; Stafford (2000), 132-134; Llewellyn-Jones (2002), 189; Rosenzweig (2004), 20; Levine (2005), 66-67; Segal (2011), 68.

[89] Worth mentioning is the depiction on side B of this Makron skyphos, which portrays Menelaus's reunion with Helen. Llewellyn-Jones remarks that this depiction is a "striking example of transparency" created to "set off to best advantage the female frontal pelvic display and pubic hair" evident in Helen's figure (2002, 188-189).

bride and groom in a chariot procession; in this new type, shown here by Paris, "the groom leads his bride on foot, grasps her by the wrist or hand, and usually turns back to look at her," likely symbolizing the bride's transfer from the control of her *kyrios* to that of her husband.[90] The pedestrian type "creates greater emotional warmth than the chariot processions by allowing the couple to touch and gaze upon one another."[91] Helen also appears barefoot which Levine considers potentially emblematic of the anticipated sexual intercourse between Paris and Helen.[92] Through several motifs, Athenian red-figure nuptial vases convey a connection between sexuality and feet in the course of the wedding rituals, including the tying of the bride's sandals (*nymphides*, often tied by Eros), the custom of throwing shoes at the departing newlyweds, and the offering of gifts, including footwear, after the wedding (during the *epaulia*).[93] The ritualistic use of footwear in the bride's wedding preparation as well as after the consummation of the marriage shows a clear link between feet and sexual intercourse as partially symbolic of the bride's entry into the world of Aphrodite.[94] In figure 3.1, Aphrodite performs an act typically associated with the iconography of the *nympheutria*, the bride's attendant. This action combined with the inclusion of the *stephane* and the presence of Peitho "imbue the scene of abduction with overtones of a bridal elopement."[95]

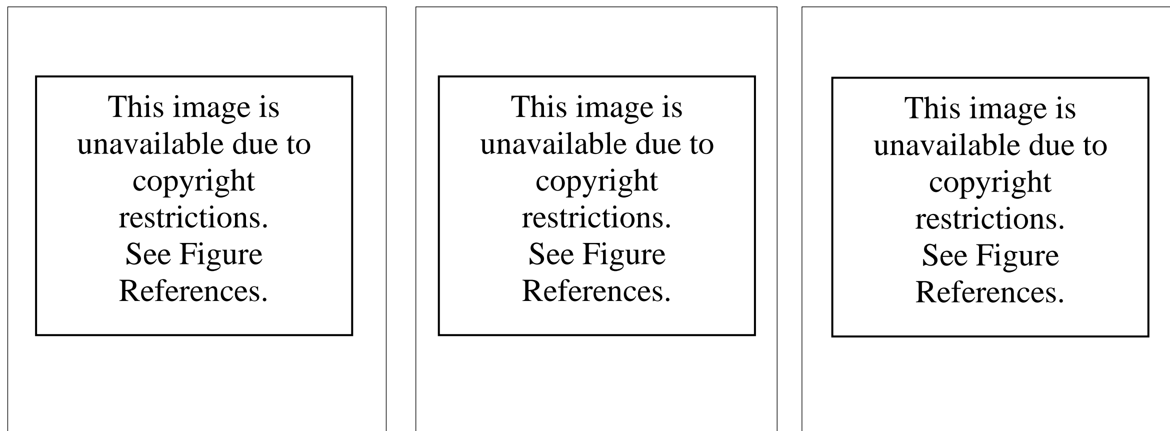

Figure 3.1a-c: Athenian red-figure terracotta oinochoe; c. 520 BCE; Judgment of Paris; Euthymides Painter; MET 1981.11.9, Beazley 9988.

[90] Sutton (1997/98), 29.
[91] Sutton (1997/98), 29.
[92] Levine (2005), 60-61. See also Blundell (2002), 146-152 on the eroticism of shoes and feet.
[93] Oakley & Sinos (1993), 18, 33, 38. See also Levine (2005), 60-61.
[94] Levine (2005), 61. The barefoot Helen could also relate to a more general association between feet and sexual intercourse. Levine discusses vase paintings where older men wearing shoes are shown pursuing barefoot younger men and/or women, and erotic red-figure vase paintings where the active, male lover wears slippers while the women are barefoot. In fig. 3.2, Paris wears shoes while Helen is barefoot. Cf. Levine (2005), 66-67.
[95] Rosenzweig (2004), 20.

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See Figure References.

Fig. 3.2: Athenian red-figure skyphos; Suessula c. 490 BCE; Paris Abducting Helen; Makron Painter, potted by Hieron; Boston MFA 13.186, Beazley 204681.

A third example is the much-discussed amphoriskos c. 430 BCE by the Heimarmene Painter showing Aphrodite comforting Helen with Peitho in close proximity (fig. 3.3).[96] In a scene post-Judgment and pre-abduction, a veiled Helen sits on Aphrodite's lap, her head bent, eyes cast downward, and the fingers of her left hand held to her mouth in a pensive gesture. Aphrodite appears to offer comfort by wrapping one of her arms around Helen. Helen and Aphrodite are both depicted with the close-fitting drapery style common to vase painting in this period; their breasts, especially Helen's, are notably emphasized. Peitho holds a small chest and stands behind Helen; Peitho's presence is likely meant to be further soothing to Helen while also indicating Peitho's role in persuading Helen to accept the outcome of the Judgment whereby Aphrodite fulfills her end of the bargain. Ghali-Kahil titled this scene, "La Persuasion de'Helene," so it is little wonder that Peitho makes an appearance.[97] To the right of Helen and Aphrodite, a nude Paris stands in contrapposto with a sword hanging from a strap draped across his chest and with a spear propped against his left arm. Before him stands a nude Eros-figure labeled as Himeros, "Desire," who rests his raised left hand on Paris's shoulder and grasps Paris's right arm with his other hand as he looks up into Paris's face, Paris gripped by Desire's gaze.[98] To the left of Helen and Aphrodite and behind Peitho stand Nemesis and Tyche, the former pointing an accusing finger in Helen's direction while wrapping her other arm around the latter. Tyche follows Nemesis's pointing finger to stare intently at the central figures. On the other side of Himeros and Paris stand two women who

[96] Cf. *LIMC* 1868, "Heimarmene 1", "Helene 140", "Peitho 4", "Aphrodite 1260 & 1449"; *AVI* 2491. On fig. 3.3, select bibliography: Ghali-Kahil (1955), 225, pl. 8.2-3; Buxton (1982), 46; Shapiro (1986), 9-14; Shapiro (1993), 193, 228; Robertson (1992), 247; Sutton (1997/98), 38-39; Stafford (2000), 90-91 (fig. 9), 134; Borg (2002), fig. 77; Stafford (2013), 199; Rosenzweig (2004), 20-21; Smith (2005), 14; Smith (2011), 45-48, 58.
[97] Ghali-Kahil (1955), 225.
[98] Stafford (2013), 199.

do not appear to take much notice of the central scene, instead focusing on the bird perched on the unidentifiable woman's finger, with the other woman labeled as Heimarmene.[99]

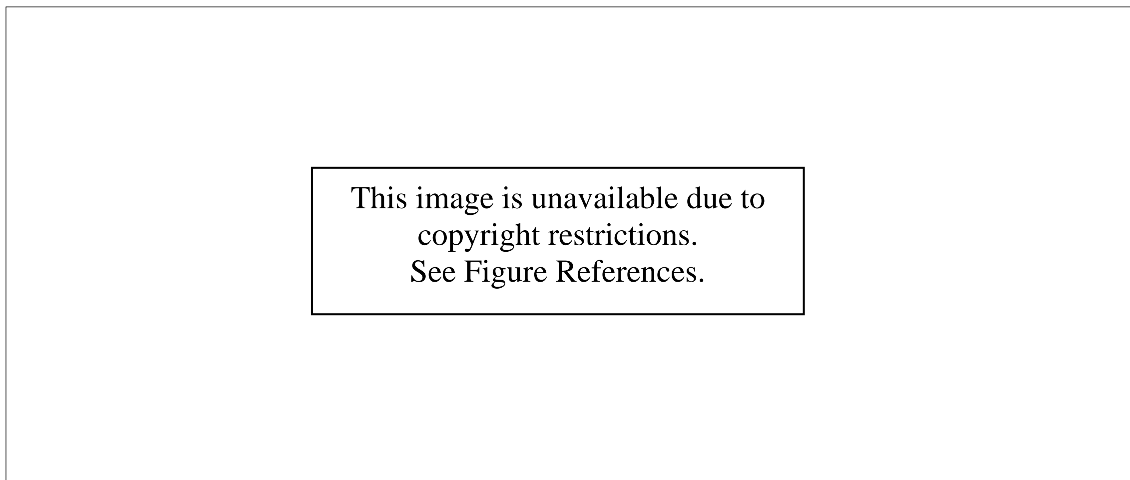

Fig. 3.3: Athenian red-figure amphoriskos; c. 430 BCE; Persuasion of Helen; Heimarmene Painter; Berlin Antikensammlung 30036, Beazley 215552.

Shapiro considers the personifications as part of an allegorized version of Paris and Helen's meeting and one which can be further situated into the narrative of the Trojan Cycle. Peitho and Himeros are each associated with a particular figure (Peitho with Helen and Himeros with Paris) while the other four are observers whose presence situates the central scene within temporal context.[100] As Shapiro argues, "Heimarmene signifies the past, the destiny long ago decided but here just being set in motion. Her part has been played; she is no longer interested and therefore turns away."[101] Tyche represents the present, the fateful meeting of Helen and Paris, while Nemesis "points to the future and reminds us of the consequences of the path on which Helen is about to embark."[102] Nemesis draws attention to Helen's role in the events of the Trojan War. As Shapiro further notes, "Antiquity could never quite decide how to view Helen, as innocent victim or willful adultress."[103] But the amphoriskos, judging by Helen's apparent nervousness and/or reticence and Aphrodite's motherly reassurance, appears to lean more towards the former, that Helen is an innocent

[99] The unidentifiable woman may be Themis based on the iconographic motif not uncommon to her, the shoulder cord securing her drapery; cf. Smith (2011), 48. See also Rosenzweig (2004), 20.
[100] Shapiro (1986), 14.
[101] Shapiro (1986), 14.
[102] Shapiro (1986), 14. See also Shapiro (1993), 193-195; Sutton (1997/98), 38; Smith (2011), 130.
[103] Shapiro (1986), 10.

pawn in fate's game.[104] Helen herself does not have a choice in what follows this first encounter; Aphrodite is obliged to fulfill her promise to Paris by awarding him Helen and "with the help of Peitho, persuade Helen to play out the inevitable."[105] This amphoriskos draws further attention to Aphrodite *Pandêmos* and Peitho's combined role in a more intimate/private context, the preparation of a bride for her groom, which could include emotional preparation if Helen's demeanor is any indication. With Paris captivated by Himeros's gaze, we might also wonder if Paris needs a "boost of desire," so to speak, to encourage him to continue on fate's path with Helen as his bride.[106] Himeros, by virtue of representing sexual desire, may also be present to further imbue the scene with the erotic connotations associated with newlyweds whose imminent union results in physical consummation. As such, Himeros enhances Aphrodite's purpose in this context, often with Peitho's help, which is to prepare the bride for her initiation into sex. In Helen's case, as she is not here a virgin bride, initiation into sex is irrelevant, but initiation into sex with a new groom whilst already married to another man may cause its own similar anxieties for which Aphrodite's guidance and Peitho's persuasions may be especially needed.

For the Makron skyphos and the Heimarmene Painter amphoriskos, the specific functions of each vase type would have affected the reception of these paintings for their respective user audiences. The skyphos was used in several settings due to its versatility as a deep drinking cup. In the Makron skyphos, although it is dominated by female figures, Paris stands out as an example of male dominance which, in accordance with the Mulvey model, male viewers could regard as an affirmation of expected social and gender roles in relation to women. Here, Paris takes the lead and guides his new bride, reinforcing male/groom/husband behaviours by which he is expected to take over as guardian and protector of his dependent wife. For a male spectator, Paris is an exemplar whose actions reflect real life expectations and with whom the spectator can self-identify. But the predominance of female figures depicted in this scene also suggests female spectators as a potential viewing audience, albeit a secondary one if the skyphos was used in a symposium context where any female attendants likely would have been servants and/or entertainment. Aphrodite and Peitho act as bridal attendants and they not only facilitate the bride's (Helen's) transition to the subordinate position of wife but also encourage Paris leading Helen away. A female spectator may

[104] As Shapiro notes, Helen's dubious responsibility in the events that unfold emphasizes a "deeper issue which Greek tradition often saw exemplified in the myth of Helen: the problem of human responsibility for actions compelled by a god or dictated by date," (1986, 14).
[105] Rosenzweig (2004), 20-21.
[106] Cf. Sutton (1997/98), 38.

internalize divine affirmation of the bride's social and gender role relative to the groom's in a manner similar to what Mulvey suggests when a female film viewer internalizes the social behaviours portrayed by the main female on screen as indicative of how gender roles function in reality. In identifying with Helen, the female spectator assumes the responsibilities of the new bride, one of which is to be submissive to her husband.[107]

The Heimarmene Painter amphoriskos was a variation of the amphora, miniature in size and used as a perfume vessel. As an item designed for a woman's toilette which could be held close to the viewer's face, the scene depicted thereon would enhance the item's intimate personal use. A female viewer would most likely identify with Helen, perhaps as a soon-to-be bride herself in need of reassurance before embarking on the next chapter of her life in a new household under the social control of a new male.[108] Aphrodite, acting in a motherly role, offers comfort to the nervous Helen; she conveys to the female viewer the divine assurance of conjugal success. That the scene is depicted on a perfume vessel, the contents of which are used to heighten a woman's desirability, reiterates the physical intimacies resultant of the impending wedding ceremony and Aphrodite's role in the success of this aspect of marriage. As many marriage scenes depicted during this period are private scenes of bridal preparations before the ceremony itself (but made public by the vase depiction), the emphasis is frequently on enhancing the bride's desirability to her groom. As Lee recently analysed, the exotic and the erotic connotations of perfume in association with its use by women are well attested in ancient literature.[109] Two examples come from Aristophanes. In *Lysistrata*, the character Myrrhine frustrates her husband Cinesias by delaying their physical relations in search of the appropriate scent with which to anoint herself.[110] In *Ekklesiazousai*, Blepyrus, Praxagora's husband, suspects his wife of infidelity to which she asks if he can smell perfume on her head, and in response Blepyrus questions whether or not a woman has to be wearing perfume

[107] It is unlikely that a female spectator would identify with Paris, as Mulvey might suggest based on her "Afterthoughts" analysis. Paris included in a pre-wedding context, depictions of which usually isolate women with the exception of Eros, may suggest that Helen, during this uncertain time, is to take comfort from the fact that her new husband is a young, handsome prince, likely a virile one too if Eros in close consultation with Paris is any indication. But to suggest Helen would identify with the male figure in a pre-Oedipal/phallic imitation of shared active masculinity is erroneous for its disregard of culturally defined gender dynamics present during this period, which sharply divide male and female autonomies.

[108] As discussed later in this chapter, Helen herself is not technically a new bride as she is still the wife of Menelaus when she is compelled to marry Paris. Helen can still resonate with new brides, but as will be discussed, she can also resonate with brides entering a marriage which is not their first. On Helen as the paradigm for Athenian brides, cf. Sutton (1997/98).

[109] Lee (2015a), 62-65. Oakley & Sinos (1993), 16 also note the use of perfumes by brides.

[110] Ar. *Lys.* 938-947; Perfume was also used as a sexual lubricant in Greece; cf. Henderson (1972), 137. Lee notes that Myrrhine's name is particularly appropriate in this context as it means "little myrtle", and the myrtle is a plant associated with Aphrodite and was used in women's perfumes; cf. Lee (2015a), 258 n.94.

in order to engage in sexual relations: "What? Can't a woman get fucked even without perfume?"[111] By virtue of the item's function, the amphoriskos reiterates one of the means by which a bride (or wife) is to make herself attractive/enticing to her groom (or husband). Even if the amphoriskos owner was an already married woman, the message remains the same. In order to maintain her desirability to her husband and therefore to attain, or to continue to attain, the desired outcome of conjugal relations, the wife must keep her husband's interest by maintaining her toilette, including the use of alluring perfumes.[112] With Aphrodite's specific presence in the scene of the amphoriskos, these notions of female desirability are presented in relation to the epitome of female desirability, suggesting that the function and content of this vase correlate with characteristics of the goddess of sex and seduction.[113]

Aphrodite Pandêmos & Red-Figure Wedding Scenes

Aphrodite's presence in nuptial scenes is a notable departure from the previous era of erotic vase painting where she did not make a personal appearance in any of the explicit depictions. Wedding preparations are a more appropriate setting in which Aphrodite would appear, her prominence as a marriage goddess in Classical Athens facilitating the frequency with which she appears in related depictions. In nuptial vase paintings, those involving mythological figures and those involving mortal women, it is debatable whether it is Aphrodite's *Pandêmos* persona being represented, especially as Aphrodite *Pandêmos* has no known identifying features (although none of Aphrodite's other Athenian personae do either). But in the fifth century red-figure vases depicting various stages of the wedding ritual where Aphrodite is included, the identification specifically of Aphrodite *Pandêmos* may be more plausible. Several examples from the school of the Meidias Painter depict different stages of

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[111] Ar. *Eccl.* 523-525; trans. Henderson (2002). Perfume was not limited to women; Greek men also used perfumes, particularly in symposium contexts; cf. Lee (2015a), 64. For example, the herald in *Assemblywomen* calls the men to gather for the symposium and notes that the "scent girls" are standing by, evidently ready to perfume the male symposiasts when such services are required; cf. Ar. *Eccl.* 841-842. For further discussion on men's perfume, cf. Bodiou & Mehl (2008); Lee (2015a).

[112] Perfumes also reflected different stages of aging and one's age identification (childhood, youth, adulthood) could be determined by the use (or discontinued use) of perfumes. Cf. Lee (2015a), 66; Bodiou & Mehl (2008), sec. 14-16. Adulthood was marked by added adornment including perfumes, but while men were discouraged from using such adornments in excess, women were restricted to this extent by their age. Athenaeus records that the poet Archilochus first used the word μύρον (perfume) in the following manner: "you, an old woman, would not be anointing yourself with perfume"; cf. Arch. fr. 205 Epode 67, quoted by Ath. *Scholars at Dinner* 15.688c; trans. Gerber (1999). While perfume was appropriate for women of a certain younger age (such as, we might imagine, brides), it was less appropriate for women of an older age (such as wives for whom perfumes were no longer necessary if the marriage had already successfully produced children).

[113] As Sutton (1997/98, 31-32) notes, "Classical artists expanded the nuptial repertoire" by turning to the bride's toilette with scenes commonly showing "a seated bride surrounded by companions holding mirrors, perfume bottles, cosmetic chests, headbands, and wreaths"; these beautification items are doubly eroticized with the inclusion of Eros/Erotes as a helper in beautifying the bride for her groom.

the ceremony which include Aphrodite.[114] One example is a red-figure squat lekythos c. 410 BCE depicting Chrysippos with Aphrodite, Eros, and Pompe (fig. 3.4); Aphrodite sits with a box at her side upon which a pair of shoes has been placed, likely the *nymphides*, the shoes given to the bride.[115] Another example, a red-figure squat lekythos by the Meidias Painter c. 410 BCE, depicts two women approaching a statue of Aphrodite who holds out a phiale in each hand, and an Eros stands beside the incense burners on either side of the statue (fig. 3.5a-c). The women may be a future bride (the figure on the right with unbound hair) with her mother visiting Aphrodite *Pandêmos* in the goddess's southwest slope sanctuary, seeking her blessings for the forthcoming wedding.[116] During the *proteleia*, the prenuptial sacrifices, the bride made sacrifices to several deities, including Aphrodite.[117] While most vase paintings which depict offerings focus on the interaction between the worshipper and the deity without the occasion being specified, in some cases the wedding is a "strong possibility, because the worshiper seems to be a marriageable girl and the divine recipient is one of the goddesses who receive prenuptial offerings."[118] The inclusion of two Erotes on either side of the statue also makes it more likely that the statue represents Aphrodite.[119] Beazley suggests that the mother and daughter are visiting the North Slope sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros; however, Rosenzweig argues for the southwest slope sanctuary based on the (mostly unpublished) black-figure vases found at the *Pandêmos* sanctuary site which depict Judgment of Paris scenes.[120] Rosenzweig contends, "In view of the way in which depictions of Paris and Helen became the paradigm for depictions of Athenian brides and grooms and the appearance of Aphrodite and Peitho in these scenes, it seems likely that the southwest slope sanctuary is the site that the mother and daughter visit."[121] The Meidias skyphos is an example of one of these vases where the wedding is the likely occasion for the offerings being made to Aphrodite.

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[114] On the Meidias Painter's depictions of Aphrodite and her entourage, cf. Burn (1987), 26-44.

[115] *LIMC* 11231; *AVI* 5593. On fig. 3.4, cf. Burn (1987), 30; Rosenzweig (2004), 21.

[116] On fig. 3.5 and Aphrodite's identification as the statue, cf. Beazley (1967), 81; Oakley & Sinos (1993), 14, 53; Foley (2003), 126-127; Rosenzweig (2004), 22. Cf. *LIMC* 37924, "Aphrodite 44".

[117] Smith (2005), 4. See also Oakley & Sinos (1993, 11-12), who note that Aphrodite is "mentioned often as a recipient of wedding sacrifices" including in Homer (*Il.* 5.429) and Diodorus Siculus 5.73.2. Brides first had to sacrifice to Artemis before completing their passage into the realm of Aphrodite; offerings to the former as "compensation for the coming marriage reunion" earned Artemis's acquiescence in order to "depart safely from her sphere to the sphere of sexuality belonging to Aphrodite" (Oakley & Sinos 1993, 12).

[118] Oakley & Sinos (1993), 14.

[119] Burn (1987), 26.

[120] Beazley (1967), 81; Rosenzweig (2004), 22.

[121] Rosenzweig (2004), 22 n.41. Shapiro (1989), 118 also notes that one of these unpublished vases depicts Aphrodite *Koutrophoros* (holding a child in each arm), and since Pausanias remarked that the Aphrodite *Pandêmos* sanctuary was near that of Ge Koutrophoros, "one may again prefer the southwest slope site in interpreting these images" (Rosenzweig 2004, 22 n.41). The statue of Aphrodite in figure 3.5 also echoes the representation of Aphrodite on an Athenian red-figure hydria c. 420-400 BCE which shows a similar archaic figure standing between the chariots of the Dioskouroi; Aphrodite herself also appears in person below the

Fig. 3.4: Athenian red-figure squat lekythos; Boeotia c. 410 BCE; Wedding Preparations, Aphrodite seated; attributed to the Meidias Painter; MET 11.213.2, Beazley 220601.

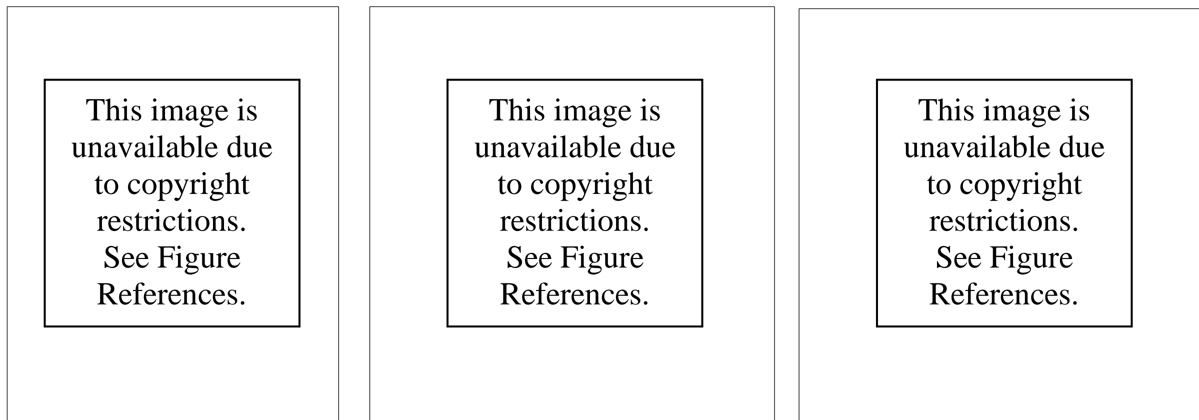

Fig. 3.5a-c: Athenian red-figure squat lekythos; c. 410 BCE; Bride and Mother approach Aphrodite statue flanked by Erotes and Thymiateria; attributed to the Meidias Painter; Ashmolean Museum 1966.714, Beazley 220605.

The inclusion of certain attendant personifications, specifically Peitho, enables us to identify more plausibly when Aphrodite appears as *Pandêmos* in wedding ritual depictions, especially given their close association and dual worship as goddesses of union, both in public and private contexts. Wedding preparation scenes are especially emblematic of Aphrodite's role in bringing people together, a characteristic specific to her *Pandêmos* persona, and Peitho is Aphrodite's most frequent companion in wedding scenes.[122] Eros also frequently appears in these scenes with Peitho and Aphrodite, the three working together to prepare the bride for her initiation into Aphrodite's realm. Other attendant personifications

statue, leaning against her altar, making it more probable that the cult statue is meant to represent her; cf. Burn (1987), 26, Beazley 220497/British Museum 1772,0320.30.

[122] Cf. Rosenzweig (2004), 22-25. See also Oakley & Sinos (1993), 14-17.

which may indicate Aphrodite *Pandêmos* in nuptial vase paintings are those associated with good fortune and prosperity, including Eunomia (Good Order), Eudaimonia (Happiness/Good Fortune), and Hygieia (Health), among others.[123] While these personifications may suggest a more general sense of gaiety rather than indicating a specific cult, especially of Aphrodite, the personifications may also reflect the ideals of good fortune and happiness associated with a new (marriage) union, both personally and civically beneficial, and therefore relate more to Aphrodite *Pandêmos*. As Smith notes, "Aphrodite's double role as a civic protector and patron of erotic love is expressed through her association with civic virtues in nuptial imagery, and the significance of her attendants as both marital and civic virtues reinforces her two spheres of involvement."[124] While Aphodite is never labelled as Aphrodite *Pandêmos*, "in her appearances amid these civic personifications, the allusion to her civic nature must have been obvious to the Athenians who had worshipped her in this role from at least the sixth century."[125] In her civic persona, Aphrodite is most closely associated with marriage, enabling us to more securely identify her as Aphrodite *Pandêmos* in vase paintings with nuptial connotations, especially those which also feature Peitho, and Peitho and Eros.

Our primary example, not attributed to the Meidias Painter, is a red-figure pyxis c. 420-400 BCE depicting Aphrodite present at the bridal preparations (fig. 3.6a-b).[126] This frieze as a whole is a step-by-step depiction of the bride's preparations for the main ceremony. From left to right, the nude bride has her ritual bath, then appears loosely enrobed and being led by Eros to the next stage of preparations while two women decorating a lourotrophos also assist, whereupon the bride begins binding her hair. The last stage portrays an indoor scene: the bride is dressed and sitting on a klismos with Eros on her lap while in the centre a female figure wearing a crown and lifting her garment from her shoulders gazes at the bride. This central figure is Aphrodite while the standing figure next to her may be Peitho, who along with Eros aids in the bridal preparations. Aphrodite's plausible identification is based on the crown she wears and the private attendance with Eros, Peitho, and the prepared bride, while Peitho as previously noted is the most likely candidate for the identification of the unnamed female companion in close attendance with Aphrodite.[127] Aphrodite also

[123] Rosenzweig (2004), 23-25. On the Meidian personifications, cf. Burn (1987); Shapiro (1993); Stafford (2000); Borg (2005); Smith (2011).
[124] Smith (2005), 24.
[125] Smith (2005), 24.
[126] *LIMC* 36430, "Eros 651", "Aphrodite 987". On fig. 3.6, cf. Sutton (1992), 25; Oakley & Sinos (1993), 17, 62; Rosenzweig (2004), 22-25; Lee (2015), 209.
[127] Oakley & Sinos (1993), 17.

appears to have her left breast exposed. This pyxis portrays not only the preparations for marital union but also the union of mortal and immortal in facilitating the wedding ritual.

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Fig. 3.6a, left: Athenian red-figure pyxis; c. 420-400 BCE; Stages of bride's wedding preparations, with Aphrodite before the seated bride; the Meidias Painter; MET 1972.118.148; Beazley 44750.

Fig. 3.6b, below: Drawing of 3.6a band; D. von Bothmer, *Ancient Art in New York Private Collections*, New York 1961, pl. 91, no. 243.

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The pyxis is similar in function and usership as the amphoriskos discussed earlier. The pyxis, a cylindrical box with a lid, was used as a container for various items, a number of which relate to women's toilette, including cosmetics, incense, and jewellery, or medical ointments.[128] In figure 3.6, a lekythos appears above the bride's head, alluding to the forthcoming use of its perfumed contents. As with perfume, cosmetics and jewellery were used both to create and to substantiate gender identification. In the case of cosmetics, our literary evidence is limited but even so it generally paints a derogatory picture with women trying to appear younger than they are, particularly for the sake of attracting (or sustaining) the attention of a younger man. For example, in *Plutus* the main character Chremylus says of

[128] Clark et. al (2002), 134.

the Old Woman to her Young Man: "If that rouge were washed off, you'd see the tattered remnants of her face."[129] Archaeological evidence, however, attests to the widespread use of cosmetics. Ceramic boxes, including the pyxis type, containing white lead carbonate and red alkanet appear frequently in women's graves, along with cosmetic spoons and ivory or bronze applicators.[130] When cosmetics were used by women, the literary evidence also suggests that such beautification was an extension of women's propensity for being deceptive. Powders and rouge were considered potential indicators of the woman having committed an affair, such as is the case in Lysias's speech *On the Murder of Eratosthenes* (1.14); Euphiletus's wife is suspected of adultery by her husband based on her having left their house wearing face powder when she was supposed to be in mourning for her recently deceased brother. But while the literature disapproves, the archaeological evidence suggests that the use of cosmetics by women was much more commonplace and acceptable. Cosmetics enhanced a woman's beauty and further indicated high social status. If the pyxis featuring bridal preparations with Aphrodite overseeing the events contained cosmetics, then this scene follows the Mulvey model in perpetuating ideals of feminine desirability for the sake of male sexual interetest. This scene, depicted on a container holding female cosmetics, suggests to a female viewer and/or the pyxis owner that the bride's (or wife's) attractiveness to her future groom (or current husband) is reliant in part upon appearing youthful.[131] In ancient literature, jewellery similarly enhances a woman's beauty but it also increases her powers of seduction. Pandora wears a golden crown and necklaces to seduce mankind, Hera earrings to seduce Zeus, and Aphrodite golden necklaces and earrings to seduce Anchises.[132] Depictions of bridal preparations often feature the bride receiving jewellery from the female attendants and/or the Erotes. As discussed later, in the epinetron depiction by the Eretria Painter (fig. 3.8a-b), Aphrodite holds a necklace for the bride, her daughter Harmonia.

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[129] Ar. *Plut*. 1064; trans. Henderson (2002). Negative connotations are also assocatiated with men using cosmetics to try to replicate tanned skin which athletes would acquire naturally, or with foreign men who wear cosmetics. Cf. Xen. *Oec*. 10.5; Hdt. *Hist*. 4.191, 4.194, 7.69; & Xen. *Cyr*. 8.1.41.

[130] Lee (2015a), 67. That these goods were discovered exclusively in women's graves suggests that cosmetics were likewise gendered feminine, particularly as the ideal skin color women aspired to have was white (as a clear sign of elite status); cf. Lee (2015a), 67.

[131] For a new bride, appearing youthful may have also helped to reiterate her virginal state, while for a wife, in order for her to retain that youthful vitality, she must make use of cosmetics. Smith (2005, 7) notes that these beautification tools "will sustain the bride's beauty and keep her husband as attracted to her as he is on the wedding night."

[132] Hes. *Th.* 578 & *WD.* 74; Hom. *Il.* 14.180-183; *Hom. Hymn Aph*. 5.65-163. Men who wear jewellery, much like men who wear cosmetics, are considered effeminate; jewellery on men is also considered an indication of their foreignness/Easternness; cf. Ar. *Eccl*. 632; Ar. *Nub.* 331–332; Thuc. *Hist*. I.6.3-4; Xen. *An.* 3.1.31. Lee also notes that although men wore rings, these were signet rings for administrative purposes, not for accessorizing; cf. Lee (2015a), 140.

Although the use of perfumes, cosmetics, and jewellery had the outward intention of appealing to the male gaze and of determining women's beauty by male standards, there is also the possibility that perfumes and cosmetics gave these women a sense of sexual agency, as is the case with Euphiletus's wife who has powder on because her lover is in the house. If the perfumes, jewellery, and cosmetics did not appeal to men, then women arguably would have no reason to wear them; but if men fall victim to women's "deceptions," then in a sense the women repurpose the ideals of feminine beauty imposed by patriarchal societal standards as "weapons" of feminine wiles. Aphrodite depicted on items such as perfume jars or cosmetic/jewellery containers reiterates this gender power inversion. Aphrodite is the goddess par excellence of seduction; her own beauty as well as her powers in attracting the male gaze and in inspiring sexual passions within men (towards her, or towards others) demonstrate the ultimate challenge to the concept of male dominance. Men are powerless to the beauty and seductive qualities by which they define Aphrodite. Aphrodite was occasionally depicted in vase paintings as white-figured, sometimes to the exclusion of other female figures, in order to isolate her image; in literature she dons perfumed garments and golden jewellery as part of her physical allure.[133] Aphrodite is held to a similar ideal of physical beauty as mortal women but she does not shy from this ideal. Rather the opposite, she uses it to her advantage as an extension of her seductive persona and in so doing exemplifies her role as Mulvey's "bearer of meaning" for women worshippers. As they perform the rituals which enhance their beauty and entice the male gaze, these women may emulate Aphrodite by following the beautification rituals she herself performs. In seeking Aphrodite's guidance in wedding ceremonies and in marriage, brides and wives alike take advantage of Aphrodite's powers knowing that with her aid they also can subvert male perceptions of superiority and standards of feminine beauty in order to gain their own personal ambitions (such as success in the marriage bed and physical beauty).

These wedding scenes demonstrate increased emphasis on *polis* unity and the idea of what a "good" or "proper" citizen of the *polis* not only looked like but also how he/she behaved (particularly a woman as the dutiful bride). My focus is on behavioural ideals disseminated by these scenes, in other words the ideology conveyed, not necessarily women's day-to-day reality since our evidence of women's lives is skewed by male authorship. The emphasis on women's importance to the perpetuation of the *oikos* and to the *polis* at large

[133] Cf. vase examples: Beazley 361, 230493, 5702, 171, 7952, 9007877. Cf. literary examples: *Hom. Hymn Aph.* 5.65-163; *Hom. Hymn Aph.* 6.1-10; *Cypria* fr. 6 (Athen. *Deipnosophistae* 15.682d-f).

was not strictly ideological but based on real practice. Athenian women, for instance, were not considered *politai*, "citizens," in the sense of possessing full political rights, a designation restricted to men; the term *astai* is instead applied to women, still translated for lack of a better equivalent to "citizens" indicating that they had civil rights but shared only in the religious, legal, and economic order of the Athenian *polis*.[134] Democracy, particularly Athenian, continued if not exacerbated the disparity between men and women, the former defined by action and public political presence, the latter by passivity and exclusion.

Nevertheless, the Periklean citizenship laws made a considerable difference to the way in which women were treated by men such that citizen women were considered vital channels through whom political and economic rights "were transmitted to the next generation of citizens."[135] Blundell, following Sutton, argues that nuptial vase paintings with adornment depictions, especially those including Eros, represented to female viewers a woman's "chief moment of glory" as well as "the most appropriate location for her sexual attractiveness."[136] These images may have "bolstered a woman's sense of her own sexual and social identity," however, "they would have done nothing to dispel her awareness of the matrimonial framework in which this identity was to be achieved," this framework being the patriarchal *polis*.[137] This framework also epitomizes the patriarchal order Mulvey identifies as responsible for creating an image of women conducive to male sexual gratification and to alleviating male sexual insecurities. While nuptial vase paintings appealed on social and sexual levels to female viewers, they also helped to perpetuate the institution for which women were largely pawns in the political machinations of men in service to the social stability of the *polis*. In spite of this, while wedding scenes are highly idealized, this idealization provided "positive role models with which the young bride could identify as she was led off to a strange house by a virtually unknown man, and the increasingly erotic tone that is found suggests that…citizen woman of ancient Athens had high hopes of affection and sexual fulfillment."[138] Men, in turn, in viewing the eroticism suggested in nuptial depictions on wedding vases and other vases used by women, may have directed "their erotic energies more exclusively to engendering future citizens."[139] Even if women were social and political pawns and even if the nuptial vase paintings allude to this as practice, the focus on female

[134] Blundell (1995), 128.
[135] Blundell (1995), 129.
[136] Blundell & Rabinowitz (2008), 130. Cf. Sutton (1997/98), 27-48. See also Stafford (2013), 203.
[137] Blundell & Rabinowitz (2008), 130-131.
[138] Sutton (1992), 33.
[139] Sutton (1992), 33.

sexuality in these depictions demonstrates a reevaluation of women's interests and desires which in turn may have affected men's perceptions of women's importance to the *polis*.

The symposium erotica of the previous era did not fit the new image the Athenians in particular desired to portray of themselves. Erotica became more nuanced. In wedding scenes, eroticism is implied or subtly suggested through the inclusion of certain figures. We can also include adornment scenes, with their frequent nuptial references, as further indicative of erotic implications by virtue of the bride enhancing her allure for the sake of sexually attracting her groom. However, as Rabinowitz points out, "though women are often shown bringing gifts to the bride or adorning her for marriage, it is over-reading to take every individual element shared between marriage and adornment as evidence of marriage," but even still, "in the pots manifestly about marriage, homosocial relationships are prominent. Women gathering together to dress the bride create an occasion for women's intimacy with other women".[140] Eros depicted amongst women in these contexts may be indicative of the desire shared between women even as these women married men; as Rabinowitz further argues, "The god Eros (unlike Aphrodite) involved himself in male pursuit of other men as well as of women…there is at least the possibility, then, of his signifying desire between the women he accompanies as well as his making them desirable for the groom to come."[141] Nuptial vase paintings can thus portray a different type of intimacy, one shared amongst women in their private world.

Scenes which include other specific persons besides the bride's attendants are more overtly erotically suggestive, such as those which feature the groom and/or Aphrodite and Eros. By their inclusion, the scenes encourage the viewer to consider the inevitable conclusion to the wedding ceremony: the groom's initiation of his new bride into the physical aspects of marriage. The modest bride preparing for her wedding night also provides a subtle stimulation that fantasizes the ideal bride as demure, youthful, and fertile. When the groom is included in the scene, he too represents an ideal partner for the young bride, himself depicted as youthful and gently persuasive in his bride's initiation. On Eros in relation to the groom, Sutton further suggests that, "to some painters Eros operates in both an active and passive sense, expressing both the emotion felt by the bride and the feeling she engenders in the

[140] Blundell & Rabinowitz (2008), 132, 135. See also Sutton (1997/98), 31-33.
[141] Blundell & Rabinowitz (2008), 135. See also Shapiro (1992) & Montiel (2002). Rabinowitz notes that love between women is difficult to document with virtually nothing contemporary to the Classical period, Athenian nuptial vase paintings, save possibly references to relations between women in Plato's *Symposium* (191e) and Aristophanes's *Lysistrata* and *Ekklesiazousai*. But in other periods, and in places outside of Athens, there is more evidence, notably in the poetry of Sappho and Alcman. Cf. Blundell & Rabinowitz (2008), 134-135.

groom."[142] To this observation Stafford adds, "It is certainly notable that these scenes often feature a youthful, beardless bridegroom, making the couple much closer in age than the traditional 'ideal' allows, and thereby removing one of the most commonly cited obstacles to romantic reciprocity in ancient Greek marriage."[143] The youthful groom's inclusion heightens the eroticism and with Eros also included the depictions convey the mutual desire between the newlyweds. When included, Aphrodite and Eros thus manifest "the couple's desire in abstract terms" while the "overt nudity of the male Erotes" and the "shapely forms of female bodies visible through their added drapery" invite male and female viewers to "react directly to the image with unmediated erotic response."[144] It is no longer necessary to depict explicitly the sexual engagement between couples when the inevitable consummation of their marriage is tantalizingly implied.

The virtue of the newly married couple also supersedes the dignity (or lack thereof) of the (heterosexual) couples portrayed in earlier erotica. The portrayal of the couple's physical relationship requires a more dignified execution, one which nevertheless conveys the intimacy necessary between them. As previously discussed in relation to the Makron skyphos (figure 3.2), in the Classical period red-figure painters depicted the motif of the groom leading his bride or holding her wrist as indicative of their impending intimacy. One example is a red-figure loutrophoros c. 430-420 BCE portraying the bridal procession, including the bridegroom turning back to look at his new bride and holding her by the wrist as he leads her toward his house (fig. 3.7).[145] These scenes represent the bride's transfer from the guardianship of her *kyrios* to that of her new husband, and through the gesture of the groom holding the bride's wrist and looking back at her these scenes suggest both the husband's dominance in the new relationship as well as his assuming responsibility for the care and protection of his new wife.[146] Figure 3.7 depicts the bridegroom shaking hands with his father-in-law in agreement of the engagement, further reiterating the bride's transfer from one male guardian to another. The groom also leads his bride into the physical side of marriage and with that the eroticism is still present but is now more subtly implied. The care which the bridegroom demonstrates additionally reiterates the renewed emphasis on women's roles in

[142] Sutton (1992), 27.
[143] Stafford (2013), 205.
[144] Sutton (1997/98), 43.
[145] *LIMC* 36404. On fig. 3.7, cf. Keuls (1985), 118, fig.102; Sutton (1992), 27; Oakley & Sinos (1993), 51, 109-111, figs. 1, 105-107; Fantham et. al (1994), 102, fig. 3.16; Reeder (1995), 165-166; Kondoleon et. al (2011), 70-71; Lee (2015a), 210, fig. 7.8.
[146] Sabetai (2008), 294.

the Periklean era of citizenship laws.[147] Perikles instituted a law c. 451/450 BCE stipulating that citizenship was only conferred to children whose parents were both Athenians. This law was reinstated c. 403/402 and eventually it became illegal for an Athenian citizen to marry a non-Athenian. The law shaped Athens as an officially endogamic *polis*, perhaps instituted for the sake of limiting aristocratic familial influence on foreign policies by preventing dynastic alliances with other states, or for the sake of creating an "exclusive and limited citizen body at a time when citizenship carried considerable privileges within the democratic state."[148]

With this legally sanctified emphasis on a cohesive Athenian state, a woman's role in perpetuating this state was that much more vital. The transference of full citizenship rights was only possible through marriage to an Athenian woman and through her own transference from one *oikos* to another, her person facilitated alliances between Athenian *oikoi*.[149] Women as conferrers of citizenship were held in high esteem, the famous case against the Corinthian courtesan Neaera c. 340 BCE attesting to this perspective.[150] This case, in a speech attributed to Demosthenes, features Apollodorus and his brother-in-law Theomnestus bringing an indictment against Neaera claiming that she was an alien living as a wife with Stephanus, an Athenian citizen, thereby disobeying Athenian law, and furthermore that Stephanus was claiming Neaera's alien children as his own and had twice given her daughter to an Athenian man in marriage such that any children borne from that marriage were fraudulently claiming citizen rights. Through this speech, the privilege of citizenship is unmistakable, but more relevantly the actions of Neaera and Stephanus are described as most threatening to Athenian women. As Apollodorus proclaims, Athenian wives/mothers/daughters in the interest of the state ought not to be on equal footing with a "whore" ("*pórne*").[151] An Athenian woman's privilege and sacred responsibility to bear Athenian citizens is put at risk by non-Athenian citizen women who try to claim the same privileges; to permit a woman such as Neaera to comport herself thusly degrades both the Athenian citizen woman and the Athenian state. The dignity of the woman's position in, and her importance to the continuation of the Classical-period *polis*, particularly as evidenced by the Athenian political structure, required that scenes symbolic of intimate relations between male and female couples did not portray unrefined intimacy. Explicit eroticism degraded the gravitas of the cohesive state.

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[147] Sabetai (2008), 294.
[148] Blundell (1995), 121.
[149] Sutton (1992), 24-27, 33-34; Just (2004), chapter 4.
[150] Dem. 59.
[151] Dem. 59.114; trans. Bers (2003).

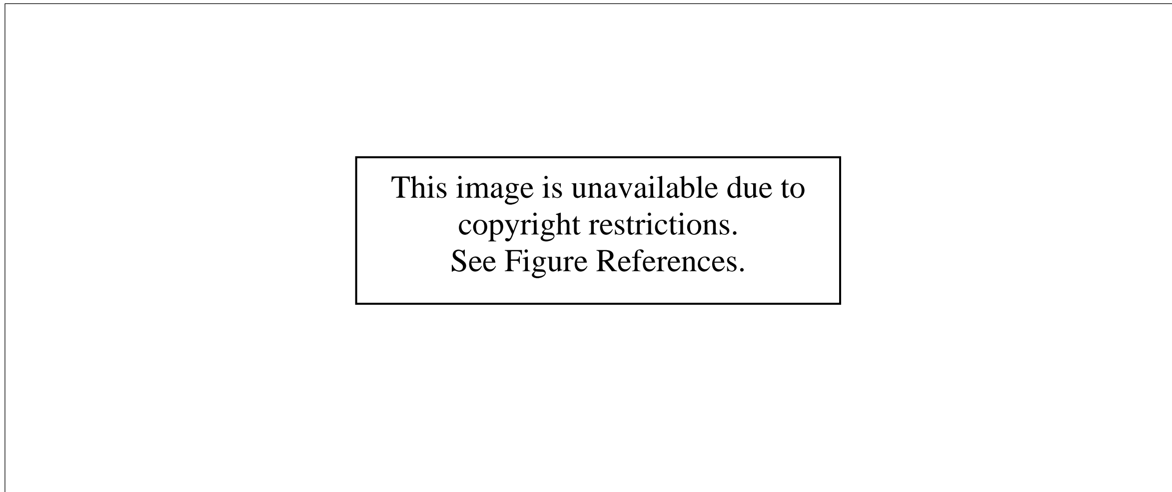

Fig. 3.7: Athenian red-figure loutrophoros; Attica c. 430-420 BCE; Bridal procession, bridegroom leading bride by the wrist; Boston MFA 03.802; Beazley 15815.

For the new bride, the marriage and the wedding ceremony had the potential to be a traumatic experience.[152] The *gamos*, the wedding ceremony, emphasized the bride's transition by alienating her. Having been veiled, the bride is "converted into a non-person in her old home so that she could be reborn as a married woman in the new one," and she experiences an "abduction" at several points of the ceremony: when the groom lifts her onto the nuptial chariot, when he leads her by the wrist into her new home, when he conducts her around the hearth by the wrist, and when he leads her into the bridal chamber.[153] This behaviour is indicative of the groom's control and possession of his new wife and further suggests the bride's powerlessness in determining her future. Several scholars have also noted that the wedding rituals parallel funeral and sacrifice rituals, and this equating of marriage to death is echoed in literature.[154] Sorrow and loss accompany the bride as she loses her former life under the care of her *kyrios* and as she loses her status as maiden by virtue of the marriage consummation; there is sorrow for this part of her life ending, particularly without any personal autonomy in the transition. Because of this trauma, especially the physical trauma, Aphrodite's presence would be especially soothing. Scenes in which Aphrodite appears as the *nympheutria*, the bride's special attendant (fig. 3.3), are noteworthy for conveying seduction and persuasion in contrast to and in balance of the potential trauma caused by the consummation of the marriage and the loss of virginity.[155] The fear of the

[152] On the parts of the Athenian wedding ceremony, cf. Garland (1990), 217-225; Blundell (1995), 122-123; Just (2008), 34. See also figure 3.7 in this chapter for a depiction of the bridal procession.
[153] Blundell (1995), 123; cf. Garland (1990), 221-222.
[154] For example, Soph. *Ant.* 816, 891. Cf. Alexiou (1974); Foley (1982); Redfield (1982); Jenkins (1983); Seaford (1987); Golden (1988); Dowden (1989); Holst-Warhaft (1992); Rehm (1994); Blundell (1995).
[155] Sabetai (2008), 295.

intimate unknown combined with the ritual (and literal) transfer from one *oikos* to another under the guardianship of a new male dominant is mitigated by the direct presence of Aphrodite, with Peitho usually in close proximity.

These wedding scenes do not necessarily have to portray "first" marriages. Although the general assumption is that they portray the maiden transitioning into a wife, there is no specific reason why these scenes could not also resonate with women experiencing remarriage and therefore also appear on vases given as wedding gifts to previously-wed women, be they widows or divorcées.[156] As far as divorce in Athens, it appears to have been accomplished without much difficulty and it was marked by the wife's removal from the husband's *oikos*. Regarding grounds for divorce, Cohn-Haft notes that, with the exception of the law of adultery, we do not have evidence of an Athenian legal concept which specifies adequate justification(s) for separation; furthermore, "Although a man could divorce his wife for any reason whatsoever simply by sending her back to her father's house, and although a father could apparently reclaim his married daughter equally cavalierly, the pressure of social custom rather than law surely restricted them."[157] But since marriage was of personal and communal importance for the perpetuation of the *polis*, we might expect that a common motive for the separation was likely childlessness, although we have only one documented case of divorce for this explicit reason.[158] Regardless of the reasons for divorce, Thompson, analyzing fifth and fourth century evidence, notes that there are over fifty-three surviving references to remarriage, thirty of which refer to women's remarriages.[159] As Just notes, despite the importance placed on a bride's virginity, the lack thereof in a remarried woman was not a detriment: "Provided that a woman had been a chaste and virtuous wife the fact of previous marriages in no way diminished the possibility of her being contracted into further *oikoi* by her *kyrios* to produce further legitimate children."[160] Though child-bearing was thought to be personally fulfilling for a woman, "it was still a woman's ability to produce legitimate children for any *oikos* into which she was contracted that explains the frequency of

[156] Spinsterhood was a relative rarity and according to some of our sources also a particular tragedy; cf. Isager (1981), 81-82; Foxhall (1989), 28-29. Cf. Dem. 45.74, 59.113; Hyperides, *Lyc*. 13; Lys. 12.21, 13.45; Isae. 2.7, 22; Ar. *Lys*. 493.
[157] Cohn-Haft (1995), 9.
[158] Cf. Cohn-Haft (1995), 9-10, related to Is. 2.7-12. Cf. also Aristot. *Nic. Eth*. 8.1162a: "And children seem to be a bond of union (which is the reason why childless people part more easily)"; trans. Ross (1980).
[159] Thompson (1972), 211-225. Thompson analyses oratory and literary references to remarriages, including examples from the *Corpus Demosthenicum* (such as Dem. 57.20, 37, & 40-41), Lysias (such as Lys. 32.7, 12, & 17), Isaeus (such as Isae. 2.4-9), and Plutarch (for example: *X orat*. 839B-D, *Them*. 32, & *Phoc*. 19).
[160] Just (2008), 47.

remarriage."[161] In the speech against Neaera, marriage is described as follows: "For this is what living with a woman as one's wife means—to have children by her and to introduce the sons to the members of the clan and of the deme, and to betroth the daughters to husbands as one's own."[162] This definition of what having a wife entailed was the primary motivation behind first marriages and subsequent marriages alike.

Divorce or widowhood did not lessen the significance placed upon women marrying, particularly while still in their child-bearing years and for the sake of continuing the *oikos*. Remarriage was not uncommon and because of the emphasis placed on bearing legitimate citizen children, the qualities which ideologically define the Athenian wife do not change whether the woman is getting married for the first time or the second, etc. I would suggest that in the case of divorced women, or widows who bore no children from the previous marriage, or women who in the role of *epikleroi* are expected to continue the *oikoi* of their fathers, the pressure to bear children in the new marriage is that much more emphatic.[163] Consequently, wedding scenes, especially on women's personal items used to hold beautification tools (cosmetics, jewellery, perfumes), reiterate to an experienced bride the importance of being desirable to one's husband so that the new marriage bed is successful. As with the Mulvey model, a woman need not identify specifically with the role which the film's primary female character portrays on screen (the seductress/femme fatale, the virgin, etc.) in order to internalize the male-constructed feminine ideals the female character represents. A woman getting remarried may not be a blushing bride, but perhaps her anxiety is even greater given that previously she may have been unsuccessful in fulfilling her role as a child-bearing wife or the continuation of her father's *oikos* is now dependent upon her. In this new marriage the weight of familial and societal expectations is greater. The age and experience gaps between a wife and her second husband may also have been less significant. For a sexually experienced bride, Aphrodite perhaps may have resonated differently; this bride is familiar with the world of Aphrodite and with experience she enters into the new marriage less naïve but more knowledgeable about the sexual dynamics between husband and wife. Viewing Aphrodite in the context of marriage-themed settings reassures

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[161] Just (2008), 47. Cf. Thompson (1972); Sallares (1991), 148; Demand (1994), 26-32; Blundell (1995), ch. 11.
[162] Dem. 59.122.
[163] A man with no sons could continue his *oikos* through his daughter who would become an *epikleros*. Although misleadingly translated as "heiress", it literally means "with the property"; the daughter does not inherit her father's property, but she could not be separated from it. No man could take over the property without marrying her, not even an adopted son. The *epikleros* was given to the first eligible male among the *anchisteia* (the relative group). A woman could become an *epikleros* after already being married to another, in which case her current husband would be obliged to divorce her. Cf. Pomeroy (1988), 1340; Blundell (1995), 117, 127; Just (2008), ch. 4 sec. II.

the current (or future) bride that Aphrodite, both in her role as Aphrodite *Pandêmos* and through her influence in matters of sex, will be a driving force behind creating a union politically and socially productive. For experienced brides, however, Aphrodite perhaps represents a second chance as well as a "familiar face" in new surroundings.

It is worth noting that in marriage scenes featuring Helen, Helen herself is not a new bride. Granted, Helen is not a divorcée or a widow, but her wedding with Paris is her second and yet her iconography appears to present her as the nervous, first-time bride (fig 3.3). Depicting Helen as a "new" bride may be more relevant to women who are re-marrying. Helen might be considered a mythical precedent for remarriage and she too is still unsure of herself and at the mercy of the men determining her future. The second marriage does not succeed, and Helen's Trojan War experience is a cautionary tale for women who contemplate going against their husbands. But if we focus on Helen strictly as a bride, she is emblematic of a woman's experience in becoming a wife as being emotionally and physically traumatic whether it is her first or second marriage, etc. The expectations placed on the bride in terms of desirability and complaisance are unchanging. Perhaps even when considering Helen's second marriage as a cautionary tale, we can infer that for a woman getting married again, Helen also represents the importance of not failing in one's remarriage. The pressure to have a successful new marriage, namely by virtue of producing children, is more dramatic, the stakes higher. Aphrodite comforting Helen in her marriage to Paris reiterates the need to have divine aid whether the marriage is mythical or real, first or not.

Aphrodite further appears in a famous mythical wedding scene depicted on an epinetron painted by the Eretria Painter c. 425 BCE (fig. 3.8a-b).[164] The epinetron is a shape-type women wore over their knees and thighs and was used to card wool. The Eretria Painter's epinetron may not have been used practically as it remains in excellent condition and its size is too small to be used for its intended purpose; figured epinetra also could have been used as wedding gifts, funerary offerings, or votive objects.[165] As a votive, epinetra could be dedicated at a goddess's sanctuary as a gift from a new bride to mark the occasion of her wedding and to seek the goddess's beneficence. It is tempting to imagine that this epinetron could have been placed in a sanctuary of Aphrodite *Pandêmos* given the scene's specific relevance to Aphrodite both as a goddess of marital and sexual union and as the mother of this bride, Harmonia. Given this item's condition, its elaborate decorations, and its

[164] *LIMC* 9877, "Peitho 6", "Himeros, Himeroi 13", "Harmonia 12", "Aphrodite 1114, 126, 1517". *AVI* 804.
[165] Clark et. al (2002), 88; Kousser (2004), 97-98; Bundrick (2005), 194; Barringer (2014), 260.

size, it is more likely that it was not used in practice but rather as a wedding or funerary gift or as a votive object. Even if not used for its practical purpose, the epinetron's depictions should be analysed with the intended user's physical connection to the object in mind; as this item would have been in direct contact with the user, its imagery would resonate more clearly and more tangibly with a female owner. The object itself implies a physical connection with a woman and its imagery bridges reality and visual metaphor much like the bride Harmonia stands between two worlds. This epinetron depicts three distinct friezes which taken together represent the stages of courtship, bridal preparation, and marriage. Thetis's abduction by Peleus is depicted above the female bust on the epinetron's rounded end; this curved frieze portrays the courtship stage.[166] On the right side, the central scene depicts Harmonia's bridal preparation for her wedding to Cadmus, the legendary founder of Thebes. On the left side, the third frieze depicts the newly married Alcestis receiving gifts during the *epaulia*, the ritual gift-giving ceremony which followed the day after the wedding. The second frieze, pictured below, here bears the most relevance. Every figure in the epinetron is labeled and of the second frieze the centre features seated Harmonia, Peitho to Harmonia's right standing and admiring herself in a mirror, and Kore to Harmonia's left leaning on her shoulder. Figures flank the central group of three: Eros on the left stands before the seated Aphrodite and to the right Hebe stands with a seated Himeros. This was the first occasion on which a mortal's wedding was attended by all of the Olympian deities; Aphrodite is the mother of the bride and holds a necklace with which to gift her daughter, further emphasizing the use of jewellery as women's adornment. With it being her own daughter's wedding, it is unsurprising to find Aphrodite in close attendance during the wedding rituals but more than that she is an important element in reaffirming contemporary marriage ideals. Of the women depicted in this scene, the drapery styling on Aphrodite, Harmonia, and Hebe most notably emphasizes their breasts, with Hebe's garment appearing transparent over her chest.

[166] Shapiro (1986), 15.

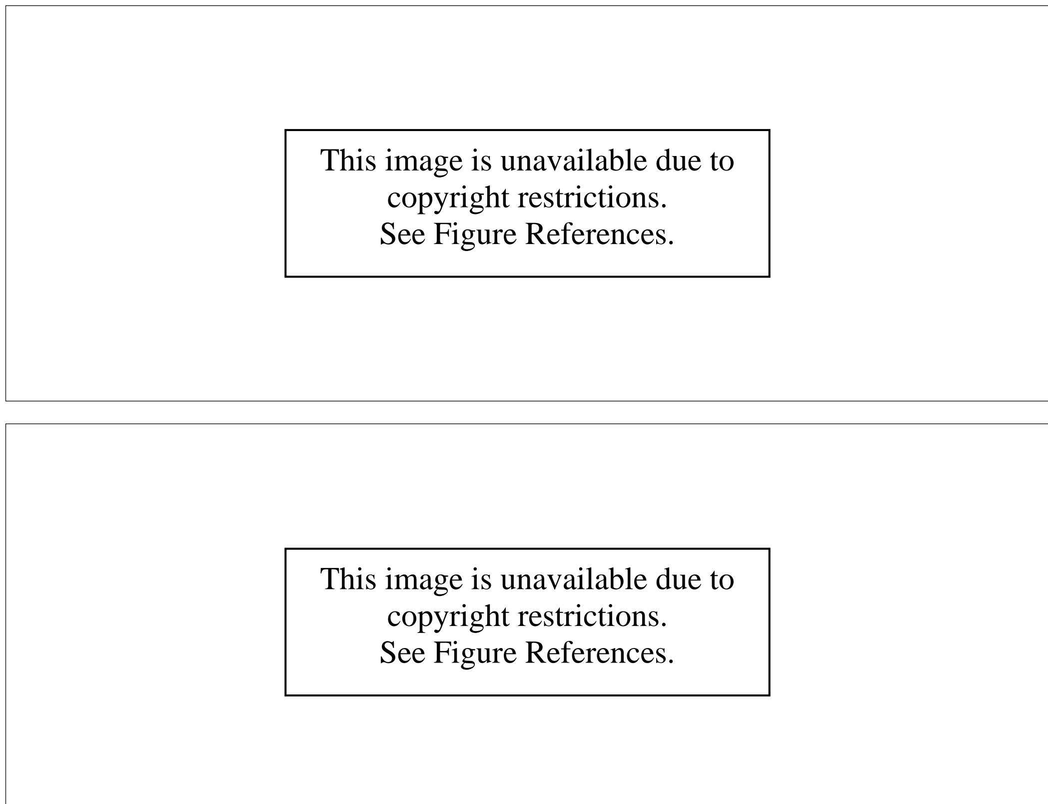

Fig. 3.8a-b: Athenian red-figure epinetron; Eretria c. 425 BCE; Wedding preparations, Marriage of Harmonia and Cadmus; attributed to the Eretria Painter; Athens National Museum 1629, Beazley 216971.

The epinetron's depictions have long been considered an allegory for the role of marriage in cementing order and stability in the *polis* of fifth century Greece.[167] With the exception of Aphrodite, the other figures represent specific personifications with Harmonia representative of two antithetical forces, her mother Aphrodite and her father Ares. Harmonia joins together the forces her parents embody and mediates their forces as one, a feat implied by her name (from *harmózō*) which in the fifth century BCE also meant "to betroth" or "to marry" such that *harmózō* symbolizes marriage and Harmonia is the embodiment of every bride.[168] Harmonia further relates to the discussion in chapters one and two where Aphrodite is commonly a foil to violence. Aphrodite's intervention often successfully prevents further violence, as is the case when Helen and Menelaus are reunited. That Harmonia is the

[167] This epinetron and its allegorical interpretations have been discussed at length by numerous scholars. Select examples include: Buxton (1982), 45; Lezzi-Hafter (1988) pls.168-169, no.257; Shapiro (1986), 14-22; Shapiro (1993), 105-106, 117-118, 206, 240, 247; Oakley & Sinos (1993), 127-129; Fantham, et. al (1994), 101; Icard-Gianolo (1994), 244; Barringer (1995), 34, 88, 93, 199; Oenbrink (1996), 89, 97; Sparkes (1996), 71; Tiverios (1996), 184-185; Stafford (2000), 137-138; Boardman (2001), 267; Borg (2002), 76-79, 83, 88, 223; Kousser (2004), 110-112; Rosenzweig (2004), 22-24; Bundrick (2005), 193; Smith (2005), 8, 19; Smith (2011), 34, 58, 61, 68, 156; Barringer (2014), 259; Woodford (2015), 143.

[168] Shapiro (1986), 17. On *harmózō* [*ἁρμόζω*] cf. Hdt. *Hist.* 5.32 & 9.108; Pind. *Pyth.* 9.117.

offspring of Aphrodite and Ares may further support the "love conquers war" cliché; Aphrodite's powers appear to have had more impact than Ares's on their daughter. But Harmonia as representative of every bride imbues the epinetron with a solemnity by which any young maiden viewing the scene can identify with the figure of Harmonia and can recognize the implications of the scene's context as emphasized by the other figures. The bride's marriage is a social and political tool in strengthening the *polis* as well as the *oikos*, however, even a divine bride like Harmonia gets the pre-wedding "jitters." Harmonia's positioning in the middle with Aphrodite, Eros, and Peitho on one side and Hebe and Kore on the other has the bride physically and symbolically situated between two worlds. To the right is the world of Aphrodite and the passage into womanhood. Peitho and Eros further soothe the likely nervous bride as she prepares herself for the sexual union which will signify the end of her maidenhood and the new responsibilities and expectations of being a wife. To the left is the world of adolescence/girlhood, with Hebe and Kore representing the life Harmonia is leaving behind. With Himeros at the end, Aphrodite's son associated with strong physical desires, one may be able to infer that although at the threshold between two worlds, Harmonia ultimately will cross into Aphrodite's, her first step being the physical consummation of her marriage, marking her transition from maiden/youth to wife/woman. While there is certainly reason for any new bride to feel anxious, the presence of Aphrodite (along with Peitho, Eros, and Himeros) invites the maiden to embrace the pleasures to be found in the physical intimacy between husband and wife. In keeping with the political atmosphere of the period, the harmony achieved by this wedding reflects the belief in marriage as the ultimate stabilizer, and Aphrodite's prominent presence both as the mother of the bride and as a wedding attendant reflects the goddess's significance to the successful fulfillment of this stability.

Chapter Conclusion

The Eretria Painter's epinetron encapsulates the relationship between the cult and iconography of Aphrodite *Pandêmos* and her contemporary Athenian audience's related experiences of *ta aphrodisia* during the Classical period. That Harmonia and Cadmus's marriage is depicted on a vessel made for and used by women emphasizes the significant social shift in spectatorship which occurred during this period in Athens. Consequently, a change in which types of images grew in popularity can be discerned. Depictions of symposia, particularly those which favoured the male gaze, are outshined by the stronger

market for themes which concerned public viewership, inclusive now of the female gaze, and for depicting images which reflect public social ideals, especially the wedding ceremony. Such nuptial vases represent a new type of erotica, one which favoured allusive, suggestive erotica in contrast to the previous era of more explicit depictions. Nuptial vase paintings also highlight the world of women in keeping with the heightened emphasis on women's roles in contributing to the perpetuation of the Athenian *polis* through marriage alliances and the reproduction of citizen children. With Perikles's citizenship law of 451 BCE, the stability of the *polis* through its citizen body relied in part on the successful marriages of Athenian citizen men with Athenian citizen women. The popularity of nuptial vases visually confirms the public, social concern for marking the occasions which helped to ensure this continued stability. With nuptial vase paintings, the private world of women and the private relationship between the groom and bride merge with the social and political priorities of the *polis* at large, marking marital unions as both private and public affairs with visual appeal to both types of viewer in visual representations thereof.

Marriage was not only of increased importance to the Athenian *polis* as it also marked the most significant transition in an Athenian woman's life. Her husband had already experienced the transition into adulthood several years earlier by means of becoming an *ephebe*, whereas for the young girl her marriage marked this transition to adulthood. Unlike the man, however, the girl's transition was more "traumatic" as previous scholars have noted, for both the physical union following the wedding and the marriage itself involving the loss of her virginity and her childhood. For her part, Aphrodite *Pandêmos* represents both the bride's private world and the public world of the *polis*.[169] In the context of nuptial scenes, Aphrodite now more relevantly is, for female spectators, the model for the traits which embody the contemporary and idealized citizen wife. For females viewing artistic depictions of bridal preparations and marriages, with or without Aphrodite being present herself in the scene, the messages remain clear: in the public sphere, they will represent union, harmony, and stability. In the private sphere, they will embody the sexually awakened, and more importantly fertile, wife. The nuptial vase paintings furthermore exemplify the Mulvey model in their structuring of female sexuality and desirability as determined by male interests and in relation to women's place in patriarchal societies. The epinetron allegorically conveys *harmonía* of both the *polis* (public sphere) and of the *oikos* (private sphere) as dependent

[169] Shapiro (1986), 18, 22.

upon marriage and the production of legitimate children.[170] That Aphrodite *Pandêmos* played one of the most significant roles in this stability is undoubtedly confirmed by her presence in scenes such as this one and others previously discussed. Through her role as Aphrodite *Pandêmos* she bears several meanings: women's sexual awakening, wives' reproductive success, and harmonious marriages, all of which combine to represent the political and social unity of the *polis*.

As chapter three has shown, Aphrodite's cult and iconography in Classical period Athens in relation to contemporary erotica and associated notions of sexuality and desirability continue to exemplify the relationship between the divine and mortal as mutually informative. This third chapter focused on Aphrodite *Pandêmos*, the civic manifestation of the goddess worshipped prominently in Athens during a period of significant social and political changes. Her iconography during this period and the ways in which she is worshipped correlate with the heightened emphasis on marital unions. Herself a goddess of marriage, Aphrodite *Pandêmos*, often with the aid of Peitho, was considered a critical divine ally in aiding in the success of marital unions for the sake of the continuation of the *polis* through its growing citizen body. The nuptial vase paintings of fifth century Athens represent a stylistic development in erotic depictions relevant to the new viewer and consumer market for public-appropriate, visible manifestations of *polis* ideals. As the persona of Aphrodite most relevant to these nuptial vase paintings, Aphrodite *Pandêmos* and her discernible representations in nuptial-themed vase paintings (thanks most often to Peitho's additional presence) further demonstrate the continued parallel developments in Aphrodite's cult with the related, contemporary explorations of *ta aphrodisia* experienced by her worshippers in Classical Athens. Chapter four will continue to examine this phenomenon in Classical Athens with a focus on two more of Aphrodite's prominent personae worshipped during this period, Aphrodite *en Kêpois* and Aphrodite *Ourania*.

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[170] This is in contrast to the narratives of sexual violence in war discussed in ch. 2 which symbolized the total destruction of a city and its future. The epinetron emphasizes the opposite: the importance of harmonious marriages to the lived fabric of a stable society.

Chapter Four

The Classical Period & Athenian Weddings: Aphrodite en Kêpois & Aphrodite Ourania

In Athens during the Classical period, two additional personae of Aphrodite are notably prominent, and both further relate to fifth century Athenian ideals of marriage and female sexuality: Aphrodite *en Kêpois* ("in the Gardens") and Aphrodite *Ourania* ("Heavenly Aphrodite"). This chapter begins with an analysis of the cult of Aphrodite *en Kêpois* and how this persona relates to Aphrodite's role in human fertility as evidenced by her three sanctuaries in Athens and the archaeological remains and votives found at these sites. I then examine the cult of Aphrodite *Ourania* and the *Adonia* festival as well as related vase paintings as emblematic of the idealization of the young, male lover from the perspective of soon-to-be brides and married women, in contrast to the traditional Athenian marriage custom whereby the groom was typically older than his bride and not uncommonly a stranger to her.[1] This chapter is a continuation of chapter three's focus on Classical Athens with further analysis of the relationship between divine and mortal through the parallels between Aphrodite's Athenian cults and our evidence for the human experiences relevant specifically to these cults. In the previous chapter, the Athenian wedding provided a well-evidenced case study of this relationship between Aphrodite and her worshippers. With its continued abundance of evidence and for its relation to socio-political developments in Classical Athens, marriage continues to play a significant role in informing how Aphrodite's *en Kêpois* and *Ourania* personae are worshipped and in what ways both personae correlate with the relevant lived experiences of her worshippers.

The evidence discussed in this chapter, including additional nuptial vase paintings, further demonstrates Aphrodite's prominence as a goddess of marriage in Classical Athens. However, the personae analysed in chapter four situate Aphrodite's importance to successful marriage unions in more selective lights in comparison to her *Pandêmos* cult. Aphrodite *Pandêmos* is the civic persona of Aphrodite which focuses on Aphrodite's specific role in the *synoikismos* of Athens; by virtue of her part in facilitating the political unity of Athens, Aphrodite *Pandêmos* facilitates the marital unions which contribute to the stability and the continuation of the Athenian *polis*. Aphrodite *Pandêmos* broadly encapsulates the ways in which Aphrodite contributes to successful marriages through inspiring sexual desire between

[1] See discussions later in this chapter for exceptions.

the husband and wife so that the marriage results in (citizen) children. Aphrodite *en Kêpois* and Aphrodite *Ourania*, the latter with respect to her relationship with Adonis, instead focus more narrowly on Aphrodite as a goddess of marriage in terms of her role in reproduction and in her embodiment of the idealization of a sexually awakened bride, respectively.

Aphrodite en Kêpois

Aphrodite *en Kêpois*, "in the Gardens," is an homage to the goddess's role in human fertility. Her associations with sex and human fertility also extend to nature's fecundity and this relationship can be inferred in the representations of bridal preparations and wedding rituals. As evident through the Eretria Painter's depiction, marriage is a ritual particularly consequential for the bride as she transitions from virgin to bride/wife, from inexperienced girl to sexually awakened woman; this new identity falls under Aphrodite's domain where desire and eroticism together with beauty and adornment foster an atmosphere of blossoming. The transition from maiden to bride is a sexual ripening, comparable to seasonal fertility. For both, Aphrodite plays a significant role, one which found notable representation in the Classical period not only in wedding depictions but also in depictions of Aphrodite in "paradise gardens."[2] In vase painting, the Meidias Painter frequently depicts Aphrodite as Aphrodite in the Gardens, reiterating the literary and epigraphic sources which link Aphrodite with nature.[3] The Meidias Painter often depicts Aphrodite seated on the ground, emphasizing her literal close connection to nature, and she often has leaves in her hair or holds a wreath while still more wreaths may hang above her head; her companions and Erotes sometimes offer her trees and branches or fruit, and trees, bushes, flowers, and tendrils decorate the scenery.[4] The Meidian scenes also reiterate Aphrodite's connection to weddings as seen in figure 3.5.[5] Literary descriptions of Aphrodite in this setting emphasize her connection to nature. An early example from the *Cypria* is a passage rich with lush garden imagery:

> She clothed her skin in the garments the Graces and the Seasons made for her and dyed with spring flowers of the sort the changing seasons produce—with crocus, and hyacinth, and flourishing violet, and lovely rose-petals, sweet as nectar, and with the bright, immortal

[2] Rosenzweig (2006), 29. See also Burn (1987), 26ff. on Aphrodite's inclusion in all but a few of the Meidian paradise gardens, nearly all of which depict Aphrodite "sitting in the open air, either on the ground or on a chair, with the outdoor setting indicated by trees, shrubs, and plants, wavy ground lines, or heaps of rocks, or simply by the fact that the goddess is clearly sitting on the ground" (1987, 26). Examples of the "paradise garden" motif include Beazley 220599 & 9026445.
[3] Burn (1987), 29. See also Delivorrias in *LIMC* ii s.v. "Aphrodite".
[4] Burn (1987), 30.
[5] Burn (1987), 30-31.

> blossoms of fragrant narcissus. Thus Aphrodite clothed herself in garments that bore the scent of every season…Smile-loving Aphrodite and her attendant goddesses, wearing silky head-scarves, wove fragrant garlands from the meadow flowers and placed them on their heads, nymphs and Graces, and golden Aphrodite together with them, singing beautifully upon the slopes of Mt. Ida with its many springs.[6]

This passage denotes a vivid connotation between Aphrodite and various symbols of fertility and abundance. There is the logical connection between reproductive fertility and fertility in nature; however, Aphrodite's associations with the environment's own potency extend beyond this relationship and relate as well to her ANE progenitresses and Cypriot beginnings. Broneer, discussing the early 1930s excavations at the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite on the north slope of the Athenian Acropolis, notes that in Paphos she had already been worshipped as Aphrodite *Hierokepia*, the equivalent to the Athenian *en Kêpois*.[7] The worship of Aphrodite *en Kêpois* on the northern slope should not be considered merely a reflection of the sanctuary's location. As Broneer explains, "There can be little doubt that the latter [*en Kêpois*] is merely a cult name rather than a descriptive term applied to the goddess because her temple was located in a district known as the Gardens."[8] This discussion relates to Parker's description of topographic epithets. If the area already featured gardens and was called the Gardens before Aphrodite's cult, then the cult may have been situated there as it was a fitting location for Aphrodite *en Kêpois*. The attribute "*en Kêpois*" preceded the sanctuary's establishment in this geographical place.

This persona further echoes powers attributed to Aphrodite's ANE progenitresses and demonstrates another aspect of the legacy Aphrodite inherited from these predecessors.[9] Inanna/Ishtar and Astarte likewise presided over nature's fertility. Inanna was often identified with crops, grains, apples, lettuce, and full store-houses while Ishtar was frequently connected with trees and tree-worship.[10] Their impact on the natural world extended beyond the environment's ability to thrive. Not only did they affect the environment's fertility, but they also had the immense power of affecting the natural order of the world by causing natural disasters. As easily as they could protect nature's fecundity, they could destroy it in one fell swoop given provocation. One demonstrative example of this influence is the myth of Inanna

[6] Quoted by Ath. *Deip*. 15.682e-f; trans. Olson (2012).
[7] Broneer (1932), 53 & (1935), 126.
[8] Broneer (1935), 126.
[9] Burn (1987), 29.
[10] Burn (1987), 29.

and Shukaletuda. In this poem, the partially blind and unskilled gardener Shukaletuda rapes Inanna upon finding her sleeping under his poplar tree and then swiftly leaves the scene of his crime.[11] Upon awakening and realizing what has occurred, the enraged goddess unleashes three plagues in the hunt for her violator.[12] The first plague turns the waters into blood, the second plague is an immense storm of dust, and the third plague (for which the details are unclear given the fragmentary evidence) appears to have been some sort of obstruction which blocked the roads and impeded movement throughout the land.[13] This myth well demonstrates the destructive power that Inanna could wield against nature as well as her power over life and death amongst humans (unsurprisingly, Shukaletuda does not survive the myth) and within the natural world. In the Hellenic world, such powers belong to Demeter, but Aphrodite nevertheless retains influence in matters relating to fertility, both human and natural. This aspect of her identity becomes more apparent during the Classical period during which her *en Kêpois* manifestation gains notable cultic prominence.

The Athenian Sanctuaries of Aphrodite en Kêpois

There are three Athenian sanctuaries to the cult of Aphrodite *en Kêpois*: on the Ilissos, the North Slope Acropolis sanctuary, and at Daphni. Several similarities between the North Slope and the Daphni sanctuaries lend credence to the theory of duplicate sanctuaries, which holds that it was not unusual to find more than one sanctuary "dedicated to a deity within a defined area, such as a city or polis, where the god received identical votives, the sanctuary possessed similar topography, and the god was known by the same epithet."[14] These similarities are manifest between the North Slope and Daphni sanctuaries. Based on their similarities we may be able to infer more details regarding the unrecovered Ilissos sanctuary.

The Ilissos sanctuary is described by Pausanias and the supposed location noted by Thucydides. According to Pausanias, "About the place called the Gardens and Aphrodite's temple, no story is told, nor about the Aphrodite standing near the shrine. She has a square shape like the Figures of Hermes, and the inscription says 'Heavenly Aphrodite is the oldest of the Fates'. The statue of Aphrodite in the Gardens is by Alkamenes and among the best

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[11] ETCSL 1.3.3.
[12] Pryke (2017), 71-72.
[13] Pryke (2017), 72-73.
[14] Rosenzweig (2006), 30-31. This theory is not new but rather dates back to the debate regarding the locations of the Temple of Olympian Zeus and Pythian Apollo per Thucydides 2.15 and Strabo 9.2.11 and as introduced by W. Dörpfeld in his excavation reports of the location of the Olympeion on the Athenian Acropolis (1895). See Rosenzweig (2006), 115 n.6 for further referencing.

sights of Athens."[15] The statue of Alkamanes will be discussed later; however, it is worth highlighting that as this passage reflects, the sanctuary is further connected to Aphrodite *Ourania*, linking multiple facets of Aphrodite's persona. The sanctuary was said to have been located outside Athens's city walls in the area of the Ilissos on the river's right bank and beneath the *peribolos* of the Olympieion, but the sanctuary has yet to be recovered.[16] It is, however, connected to a site which according to Thucydides was also one of the most ancient sites in Athens. On the Enneakrounos fountain, formerly named Callirrhoe, Thucydides remarks, "Because of its proximity the Athenians in the past used this spring on the most important occasions, and from the old days there survives to the present time the custom of using its water before marriages and in other religious ceremonies."[17] The sanctuary's location is as of yet unclear since our information comes from Pausanias whose account is more a sequence of monuments than a strict topographic description. But if we accept Pausanias's sequence, then the Ilissos sanctuary would have been on the river's north bank southeast of the Olympieion and possibly a neighbour of the Artemis Agrotera sanctuary which was located on the other side of the river on its south bank at the base of the Ardettos Hill.[18]

The most striking element of the Ilissos sanctuary would have been the now-lost, cult statue. This marble statue, sculpted by Alkamenes, a student of Pheidias, was noted to have been one of particular beauty by several sources including Pausanias, Pliny, and Lucian.[19] Although the original is lost, through a substantial number of Roman sculptures which plausibly draw inspiration from Alkamenes's "Aphrodite of the Gardens," we may be able to construct a close likeness of Alkamenes's statue (fig. 4.1).[20] This statue captures Aphrodite's vivid sensuality in its technical rendition and styling and in her body language. The draping of the chiton and robe, the deep contrapposto, and the prominent bust encapsulate more than amply what one imagines an erotically-charged *en Kêpois* goddess would look like. The Ilissos statue can perhaps be further reimagined through fragments of the cult statues from the North Slope and the Daphni sanctuaries. These two sanctuaries and their respective votives are discussed in detail below as they further help us to understand the character of the *en Kêpois* goddess.

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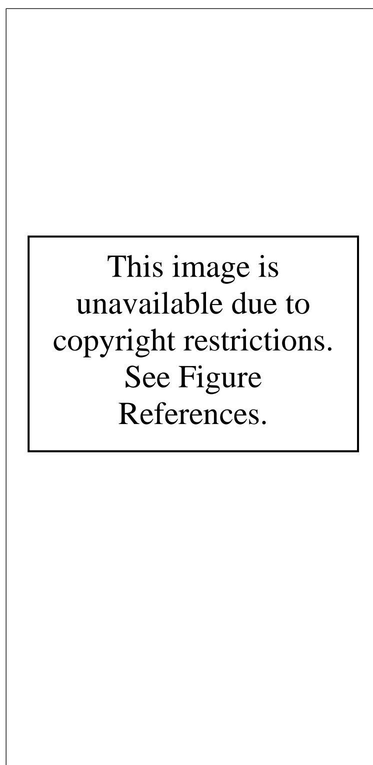
[15] Paus. 1.19.2; trans. Levi (1971).
[16] Paus. 1.19.5-6.
[17] Thuc. 2.15.5-6; trans. Hammond (2009). Cf. Delivorrias (2008), 108-109.
[18] Rosenzweig (2006), 32-33.
[19] Paus. 1.19.2; Plin. *HN* 36.15; Lucian *Imagines* 6.
[20] *LIMC* 38125, "Aphrodite 196". Cf. Delivorrias (2008), 109. The use of Roman copies for reconstructing images of original Greek sculptures is discussed in chapter 5, as well as Roman-period imitations of Alkamenes's statue.



This image is unavailable due to copyright restrictions. See Figure References.

Fig. 4.1: Roman marble copy of "Aphrodite leaning against a pillar" after Alkamenes's "Aphrodite of the Gardens" c. end of 5th cent. BCE; Roman, Imperial; 2nd century CE (?); Louvre MR 181.

The North Slope & Daphni Sanctuaries

Excavations on the lower northern slope of the Acropolis revealed an open-air sanctuary where a goddess *en Kêpois* was worshipped together with Eros. Two inscriptions identify this sanctuary as dedicated to Aphrodite and Eros, one dating to c. 450 BCE which says simply "to Aphrodite" and a second mid-fifth century inscription noting the "inception of a festival of Eros held on the 4th of Mounichion."[21] While there are no other references to the festival of Eros and so no details of its rituals nor any explanation for why the inscription was set up at this particular time, the second inscription "points to the cult of Eros either having been established at this date in the sanctuary, previously dedicated to Aphrodite, or else having been revived at this period."[22] The North Slope sanctuary is likely older than the inscriptions although most of the archaeological data cannot be dated firmly to any time before the Archaic period.[23] However, Aphrodite and Eros were present on the Acropolis by at least the early-Archaic period. As previously discussed in chapter one, a black-figure pinax fragment with Aphrodite holding Himeros in one arm and Eros in the other, both of whom

[21] Stafford (2013), 190. See also Parke (1977), 143.
[22] Parke (1977), 143.
[23] Rosenzweig (2006), 37.

identified by inscriptions, dates to c. 560-550 BCE and was found on the Acropolis, giving us the early-Archaic approximation of her Acropolis sanctuaries (fig. 4.2).[24]

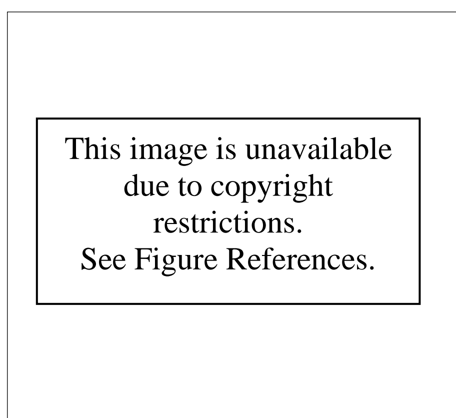


Fig. 4.2: Athenian black-figure pinax fragment, Athenian Acropolis c. 560-550 BCE; Aphrodite holding Himeros (left) and Eros (right) in her arms, both identified by inscription; Athens National Museum 15131, Beazley 950.

This North Slope sanctuary and the Daphni sanctuary, the latter located about ten miles northwest of Athens along the Sacred Way to Eleusis,[25] both lack formal architecture and instead are more rustic, outdoor sanctuaries with natural boundaries. They both feature niches carved into the rocks as placeholders for votive offerings (figs. 4.3 & 4.4), and they both have a processional frieze featuring Erotes carrying ritual vessels including incense burners and *oenochoai* (fig. 4.5).[26] The frieze from the North Slope (fig. 4.5), on a relief plaque of pentelic marble preserved nearly intact, was together with another similar example and another plaque fragment part of the revetment of the *temenos* wall.[27] The plaque's original placement is known based on there being "two rectangular mortises on the upper horizontal surface, which were used for inserting a crown of some kind, and of one rectangular mortise near the right edge, to receive a *pi*-shaped clamp" as well as there being on both sides "*anathyrosis,* a means of placing vertical joints of masonry to insure a close fit with the adjacent plaques."[28] The excavator of the North Slope sanctuary, Broneer, dates the plaques to the second half of the fourth century BCE based on an inscription featured on a sculptured base now in the Athenian Acropolis Museum which dates to c. 323 or 329 BCE, possibly c. 366 BCE, and which features a nearly identical processional representation.[29] The North

[24] *LIMC* 20900, "Himeros, Himeroi 8", "Aphrodite 1255", "Eros 1007". *AVI* 1182. Cf. Ch. 1, fig. 1.16.
[25] Rosenzweig (2006), 40.
[26] Delivorrias (2008), 109. *LIMC* 35536, "Eros 447".
[27] Kaltsas (2002), 289; Delivorrias (2008), 121.
[28] Delivorrias (2008), 121.
[29] Broneer (1935), 147.

Slope plaque fragments resemble another more fragmentary plaque found in the Daphni sanctuary, this one featuring Erotes holding incense burners and advancing to the right.[30]

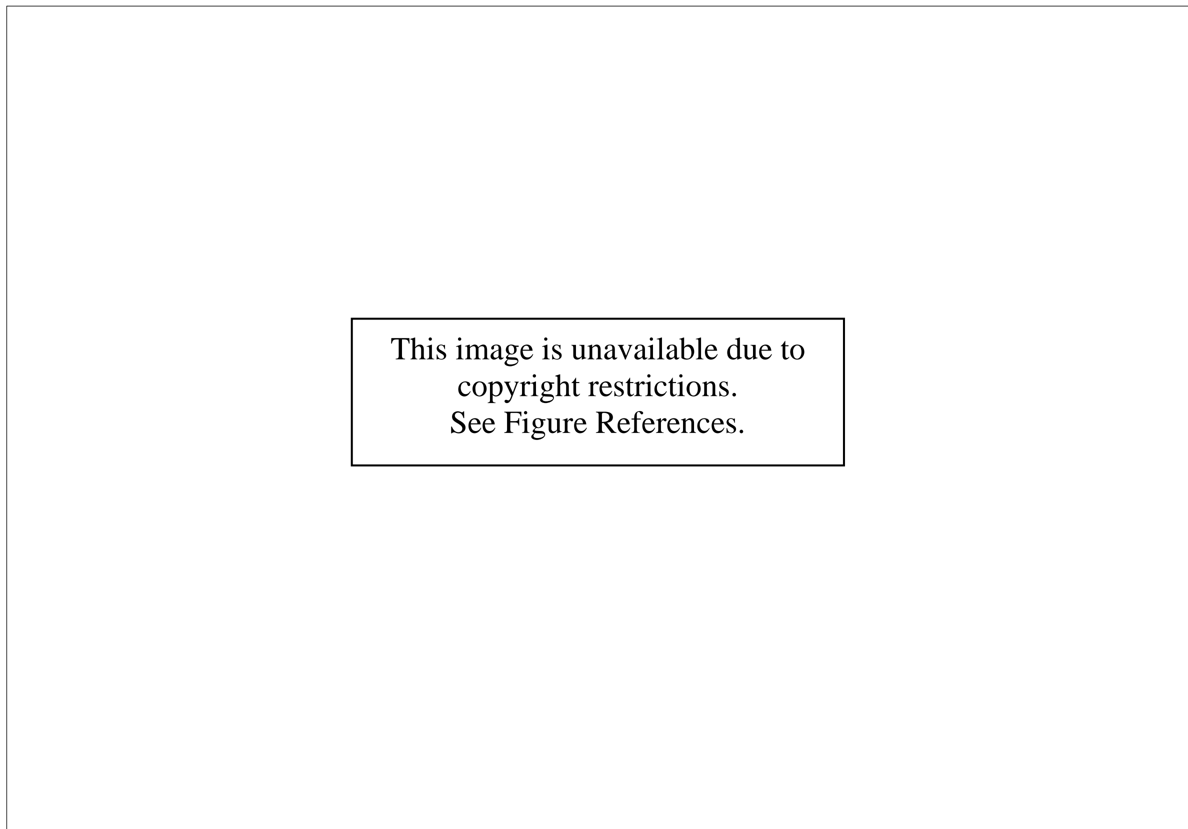


Fig. 4.3: Eastern view of the niches carved into the rock-face of the North Slope Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros; Athenian Acropolis; ASCSA Collection, No. AK 0870.

[30] Kaltsas (2002), 289; Delivorrias (2008), 121.

This image is unavailable due to copyright restrictions.
See Figure References.

Fig. 4.4: Votive niches carved into the rock-face of the Daphni Sanctuary to Aphrodite; Photo @ The Archaeological Society at Athens.

Fig. 4.5: Erotes frieze from the North Slope Sanctuary, Athens.

In the frieze featured in figure 4.5, five nude Erotes stride to the left, right legs advanced and left feet raised on their toes. Their bodies are in three-quarter stance while their heads are in profile; a ribbon keeps their short hair in place. The first and fourth Erotes each hold a tall incense burner (thymiaterion) in their outstretched right hands while their left hands carry close to their chests a libation bowl (phiale). The remaining Erotes hold a phiale in their left hands but in their right hands they carry an oinochoe. The Erotes are depicted partaking in the rituals regularly performed in a sacred space, specifically in this case the Aphrodite *en Kêpois/*Eros North Slope sanctuary. The objects they carry signify the performance of rituals including wine libations in honour of the deities and incense burning as further divine

offerings. As Broneer suggests, the reliefs were most likely to have been placed leading towards the sanctuary's interior; were they placed on the outside the figures would appear to be walking away from the sanctuary.[31] The direction in which the figures process and the ritual objects they carry indicate that they are proceeding towards the area within which the rituals will be performed, the *hieron*. Given its placement leading into the sanctuary and the figural representation's specific content, the plaque(s) would have been visible to visitors of the sanctuary and would have served as visual confirmation of which deities the sanctuary honoured and which rituals were expected to be performed. Further amplifying these visual messages are the figures of the Erotes themselves, making it undeniable with whom the sanctuary is associated and for what reasons their beneficence would be supplicated. Aphrodite *en Kêpois* (and Eros) would both be supplicated for aid in matters of sexual maturation, reproduction, and childbirth. This association is reflected in the votive remains found at both sanctuaries. Both the North Slope and the Daphni sanctuaries featured the iconographical presence of Eros and both had kourotrophic connotations indicative of Aphrodite's role in fertility in its several variations including in rites of passage.[32] The votives discovered at both sites include doves, a bird sacred to Aphrodite (fig. 4.6), and votives in the form of both male and female genitalia, including marble phalloi and vulvae, indicative of supplications for Aphrodite's aid in reproduction and childbirth (figs. 4.7-4.9).[33] The votive genitalia may also link Aphrodite to supplications for aid in healing. Prior to Asklepios gaining popularity in Athens c. 420/19 BCE, Aphrodite may have been the deity for whom those experiencing issues of infertility sought healing aid, and votives of reproductive organs evidence the physical sources of the supplicants' sufferings.

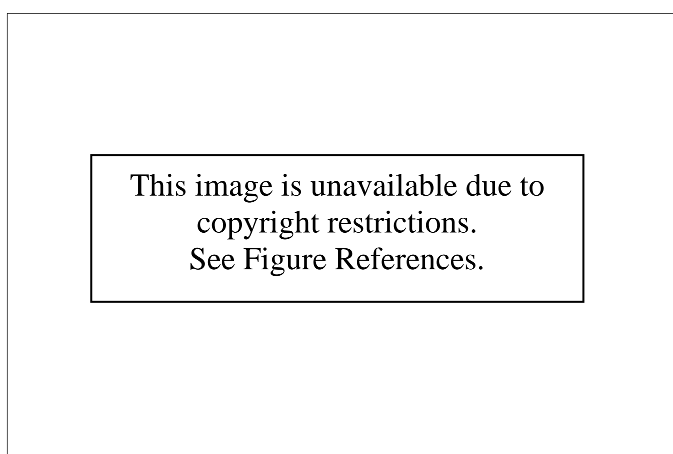


Fig. 4.6: Votive doves from the Daphni Sanctuary, Athens; National Archaeological Museum; Photo Credit: Giovanni Dall'Orto 2009.

[31] Broneer (1935), 147.
[32] Pala (2010), 216.
[33] Fig. 4.7, *LIMC* 203039; fig. 4.8, cf. *LIMC* 50804 for similar votive. Parker (2005), 412; Rosenzweig (2006), 37; Broneer (1933), 334-348.

This image is unavailable due to copyright restrictions. See Figure References.

Fig. 4.7: Votive phallos from the North Slope Sanctuary; Athenian Acropolis; ASCSA Collection, No. AK 1034.

This image is unavailable due to copyright restrictions. See Figure References.

Fig. 4.8: Marble plaque depicting a vulva from the Daphni Sanctuary; Athens National Archaeological Museum 1594.

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Fig. 4.9: Marble phallos from the North Slope Sanctuary; Athenian Acropolis; ASCSA Collection, No. AK 0918.

The en Kêpois Goddess: Worship & Representation

The votives found in Aphrodite's *en Kêpois* North Slope and Daphni sanctuaries most distinctly evidence Aphrodite's role in the primary goal of a new marriage, the begetting of children. As Aphrodite *en Kêpois*, Aphrodite's influence over matters of fertility naturally extends to human fertility. But unlike other goddesses who preside over marriage and children (such as Hera, Artemis, or Demeter), Aphrodite as a goddess of human fertility combines the realms of desire with the realms of reproduction. In worshipping Aphrodite as a goddess presiding over marriage and children, as well as the goddess of sex/desire, the success of the former relies in part on the creation of, and continuation of the latter within the marital relationship (or more pointedly, in the marital bed). Maintaining one's allure to one's husband by beautification was just one aspect of ensuring the husband would not lose interest in the

marriage bed, reducing the wife's frequency of pregnancy. The more desire between the couple that existed, presumably the more likely children would result from the marriage, and when revered appropriately, Aphrodite (unlike other marriage and fertility goddesses), had the divine power to influence positively both elements within the marital relationship.

Terracotta statuettes attesting to Aphrodite's role in protecting children have been found in several of the goddess's sanctuaries. Three statues of young boys (two completely nude, one with the left arm covered by a himation) aged approximately three to five years old were recovered at the Daphni sanctuary (c. 4th cent. BCE) (figs. 4.10-4.12).[34] Although the statues are nude and were found within the context of a sanctuary partially dedicated to Eros, the identity of the boys is unlikely to be Eros himself; the figures all have soft, round bellies and chubby limbs suggesting that they are within the same young age range, while their rigid postures combined with their child-like renderings imply that the figures are meant to be votives symbolic of child protection under Aphrodite.[35] From the North Slope, plaques and terracotta figurines were uncovered which Broneer dated to the late third/early second century; among these figurines were representations of draped maidens, small boys, and a sleeping baby (figs. 4.13 and 4.14).[36] The draped maidens may be representative of young women who are either on the verge of marriageable age or who are new brides seeking guidance and protection from Aphrodite as they transition from maidens to brides/wives. This guidance and protection would take the form of success in the marriage bed, both from a practical, biological perspective (being fertile) and from a more intimate perspective, being desirable to one's husband and there being a requisite passion in the relationship to foster reproduction. However, given the iconography of the Erotes procession, the statues of the young boys, and the sleeping baby votive, I do not think it implausible that these items are deliberately reminiscent of Eros as a further means of connecting the cult deities with the cult worshippers. In echoing images of Eros, a dialogue between the supplicant and the deity becomes more tangible in that the protection which the supplicant seeks (protection for the child/children) is more likely to be granted when the votive offering itself mirrors the deity directly and/or mirrors the deity's own offspring. In seeking protection for one's children from Aphrodite, it would serve the supplicant well to remind the goddess of her own children

[34] Bobou (2015), 63-64
[35] Bobou (2015), 64. Bobou suggests this interpretation in response to Machaira's description of portrayals of Eros in the Daphni sanctuary; Machaira notes that the portrayals are of a child-Eros; however, the procession portrayals are of Eros in adolescence, not young childhood. Cf. Machaira (2008).
[36] Broneer (1933), 334-338.

and to appeal to her motherly instincts. This deliberate evocation would explain the sleeping baby which lacks Eros attributes but would still appeal to Aphrodite's maternal persona.

The votives from the North Slope and Daphni sanctuaries demonstrate the malleability of Aphrodite *en Kêpois*.[37] Whereas the Ilissos sanctuary may have been more focused on her role in nature's fertility, the North Slope and Daphni sanctuaries extended this fertility aspect to Aphrodite's role in rites of passage and to human fertility, both of which are connected to her role as a marriage goddess. It is unsurprising that these sanctuaries would revere the goddess in these related personae given that successful marriage unions were on the one hand preceded by rites of passage into adulthood and the attainment of desirability (more so of the future bride, at least), and on the other followed by the begetting of children. As the nuptial vase paintings demonstrate, the wedding rituals stress the adornment of the bride as a critical prelude to the marriage consummation, suggesting both that the bride's physical/sexual appeal to her new groom is dependent upon the performance of these wedding rites and that this appeal is paramount for the successful sexual union of the new couple. Those scenes which include Aphrodite further emphasize the bride's transformation from maiden to experienced woman. Now the bride enters the world of Aphrodite, unique to this goddess in her reign over sex, passions, and desires. This is a new realm in which other goddesses, notably Artemis, Hera, and/or Demeter, cannot offer guidance, and to whom the bride must turn to Aphrodite for aid in completing her transition into a woman through the act of sexual union.

[37] Aphrodite *en Kêpois* is frequently linked to Athena Polias' *Arrhephoria*. Her specific role in this festival and whether or not her Ilissos sanctuary was part of the ritual procession are still under debate. For further discussion, cf.: Parke (1977); Simon (1983); Burkert (1983); Hurwit (1999); Budin (2003); Parker (2005); Rosenzweig (2006); Delivorrias (2008); Pala (2010); Stafford (2013).

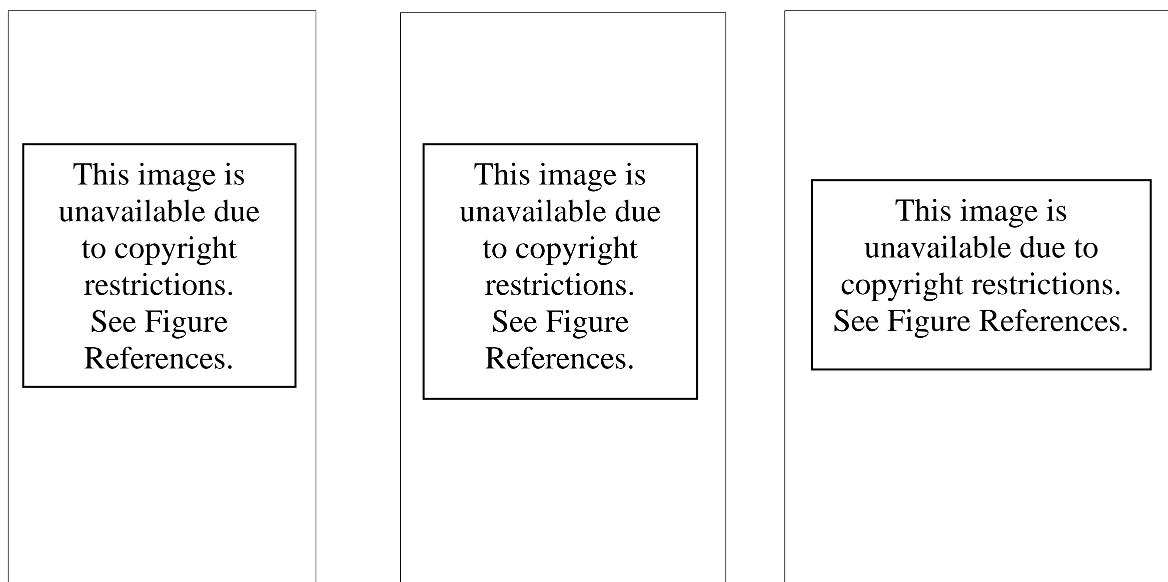

Fig. 4.10, left: Nude terracotta statuette of young boy, from the Daphni Sanctuary, c. 4th cent. BCE (?); Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1602.
Fig. 4.11, centre: Nude terracotta statuette of young boy, from the Daphni Sanctuary, c. 4th cent. BCE (?); Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1603.
Fig. 4.12, right: Nude terracotta statuette of young boy with himation, from the Daphni Sanctuary, c. 4th cent. BCE (?); Athens, National Archaeological Museum

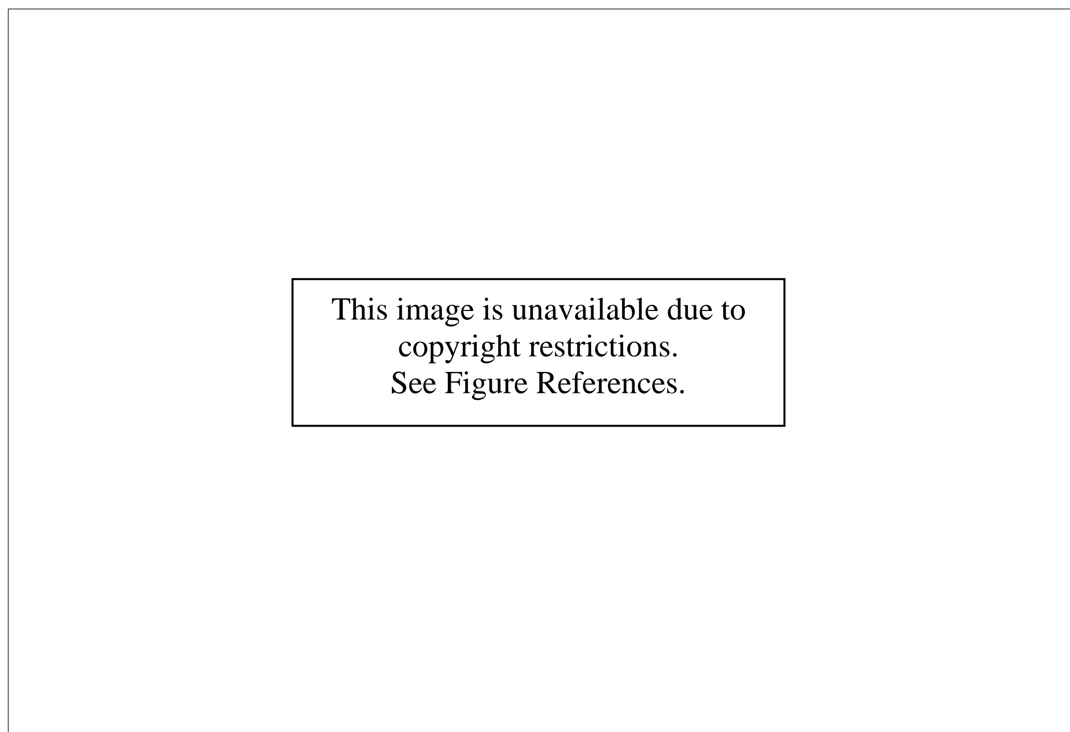

Fig. 4.13: Terracotta figurines from the North Slope Sanctuary (most are boys, some are draped females); Athenian Acropolis; ASCSA Collection, No. AK 0932.

This image is unavailable due to copyright restrictions.
See Figure References.

Fig. 4.14: Figurine of sleeping baby from the North Slope Sanctuary; Athenian Acropolis; ASCSA Collection, No. AK 0802.

What image of Aphrodite were these sanctuary supplicants worshipping? Recovered from both sanctuaries are torso fragments of the respective cult statues which may shed light on Alkamenes's famed cult statue from the Ilissos sanctuary.[38] These representations are revealing for their rendering of Aphrodite's body shape and the contouring of the drapery as well as for the inclusion of a body support. The Daphni sanctuary statue appears to represent Aphrodite leaning against a tree trunk, a motif which is duplicated in the fragment of the marble statue from the North Slope sanctuary (figs. 4.15 & 4.16).[39] The tree likely functions primarily as a support for the marble sculpture, although it is not implausible that the choice of rendering the support as a tree is a deliberate allusion to Aphrodite's *en Kêpois* persona with its garden connotations. The support may also have been intentional in emphasizing Aphrodite's *contrapposto* pose to accentuate her curves, made even more explicit by the rendering of the drapery. Of the Daphni fragment, the head is missing as are the arms below the elbows; what remains includes the upper torso draped from the shoulders to right below the breasts. The heavy mantle drapes over the left shoulder, slipping off of the right and staying just above the breast; the sloping shoulders, with the left higher than the right, indicate that the figure leans to the left, with the left arm likely bent and propped horizontally, while the bunching drapery below the left shoulder blade indicates that there had been a support on which the goddess was leaning, plausibly the tree.[40] From the Daphni sanctuary, a votive relief was also discovered that appears to corroborate the Aphrodite-leaning-against-a-tree

[38] Also found at the North Slope sanctuary were small-scale sculptures likely representing Aphrodite; these fragmentary sculptures date to the late Hellenistic/Roman period and bear resemblance to well-known Aphrodite types, such as the Knidia and the Fréjus; cf. Rosenzweig (2006), 37; also Glowacki (1991).
[39] *LIMC* 38129, "Aphrodite 200"; *LIMC* 38134, "Aphrodite 203".
[40] Rosenzweig (2006), 42.

motif. The relief, known as the "Theogenes' Son's Relief" (fig. 4.17), dates to the early fourth century and is so-called because of the accompanying inscription which preserves the dedicator's patronym and Aphrodite's name.[41] In the relief, Aphrodite faces right while her torso remains frontal. She leans against a tree, the branches of which extend above her head, her right hand is outstretched as she pours a libation from a phiale, and a suppliant (likely meant to be Theogenes' son) approaches Aphrodite from the left. Aphrodite's pose parallels the torso fragments of the cult statues, supporting the argument that the relief is a representation of the Daphni cult statue and that the torso fragment is the sanctuary's cult statue.[42] With the torsion of the body and the figure-hugging, revealing drapery, the sensuality of Aphrodite is distinctive. Alkamenes appears to have had an artistic predilection for depicting Aphrodite leaning against a tree, supporting the belief that the Daphni (and North Slope) cult statues resembled if not duplicated the Ilissos sanctuary cult statue.[43] The styling of these statues, with the effects of the drapery and poses emphasizing Aphrodite's feminine attributes and sensual nature, is similar to the Classical period sculptures discussed in the next chapter, those which preceded Praxiteles's Aphrodite of Knidos. The marble support has a practical function as well as an aesthetic one: by portraying Aphrodite leaning against the tree support, the pose of her body is rendered provocatively; her *contrapposto* posture must conform to the way in which her body leans on the support, and in doing so the contours of her body, particularly her chest/breasts, lower torso and hips, are focalized. The effects of the drapery add further depth to this contouring. The body language invites viewer appreciation and draws attention specifically to the figure's feminine assets. The image created is unmistakable as representative of Aphrodite as opposed to other goddesses because of its explicit emphasis on the feminine form through a deliberately seductive rendering.

[41] Rosenzweig (2006), 42. *LIMC* 38130, "Aphrodite 201".
[42] Rosenzweig (2006), 42; cf. Delivorrias (1968).
[43] Another statue credited to Alkamenes is the Hephaisteion base depicting the birth of Erichthonios, a scene reconstructed from fragments of Neoattic reproductions which includes Aphrodite leaning against a tree. Cf. Harrison (1977a); Simon (1983), 43.

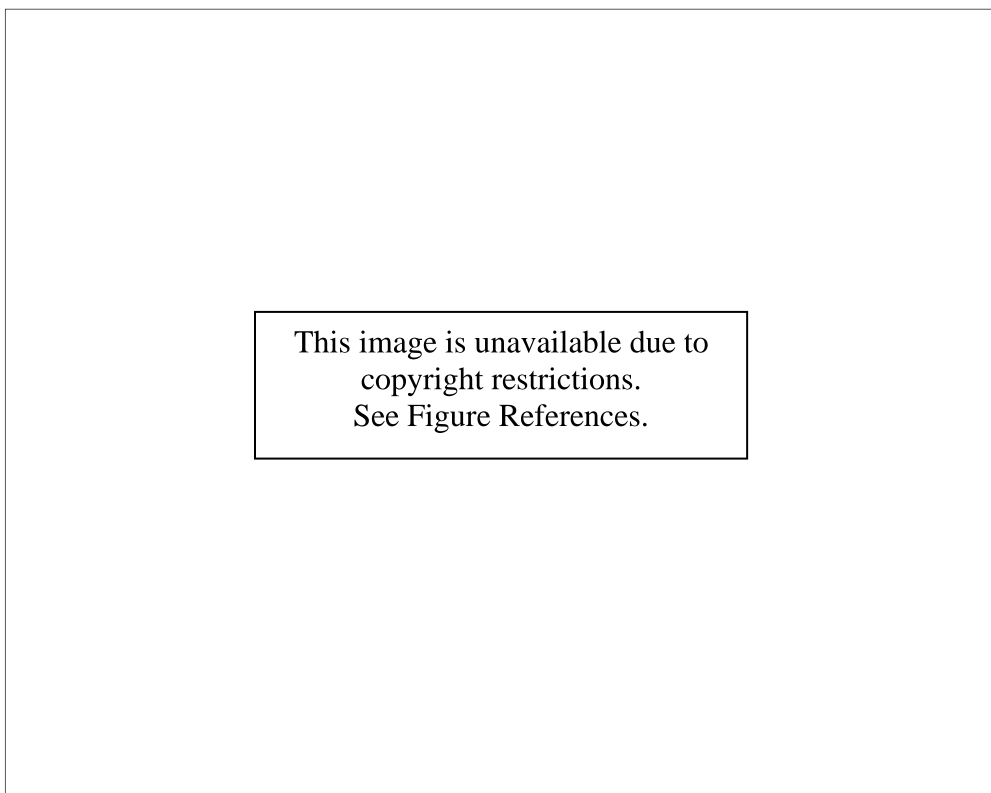

Fig. 4.15: Torso of the cult statue of Aphrodite from the Daphni Sanctuary c. 420 BCE; Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1604.

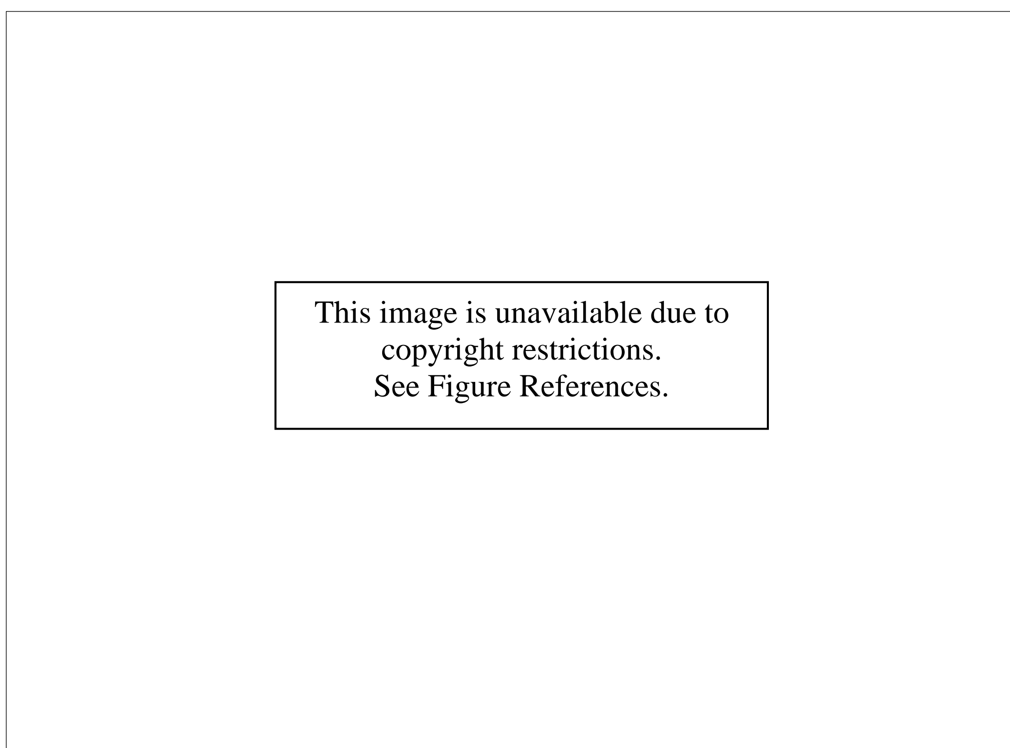

Fig. 4.16: Torso of the cult statue of Aphrodite from the North Slope Sanctuary, Classical Period; Athenian Acropolis; Acropolis Museum 2861.

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See Figure References.

Fig. 4.17: "Theogenes' Son's Relief"; Votive relief from the Daphni Sanctuary; Composite image of relief and drawing after Delivorrias 1968, fig. 1; Athens National Archaeological Museum 1601.

Aphrodite Ourania, Adonis, & the Adonia

Another significant aspect of Aphrodite which comes to the fore in Athens during the Classical period is her persona as Aphrodite *Ourania*. Long known as and referred to as Aphrodite *Ourania*, the goddess's cult in honour of her heavenly persona included a festival commemorating the death of Aphrodite's beloved mortal lover, Adonis. It is Aphrodite as "Aphrodite *Ourania*" in particular with whom Adonis has a relationship, as the lovers were connected in Aphrodite *Ourania*'s Cyprian cult.[44] Adonis has long been recognized as the West Semitic title "*adôn*" or "*adōnî*," translating as "(my) lord."[45] The pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue* gives Adonis a Levantine provenance, making him "a son of Phoenix, the eponymous Phoenician."[46] Aphrodite's relationship with Adonis parallels the relationship between the goddess Inanna/Ishtar and her male consort, Dumuzi/Tammuz, who was associated with shepherding. Adonis and Aphrodite resemble Inanna/Dumuzi, Ishtar/Tammuz in several ways, including the goddess's mourning over the death of her mortal lover and the couple's story serving as a ritual etiology, the summer date for said ritual, and the ritual

[44] Rosenzweig (2006), 65. See also Simon (1983), 43-44, 51; Parker (1996), 160, 196-198; Larson (2007), 116.
[45] Reitzammer (2016), 27; Cyrino (2010), 97; West (1997), 57.
[46] West (1997), 57.

element of weeping women.[47] The conflict between Persephone and Aphrodite over Adonis echoes the Sumerian myth where Dumuzi spends half the year with the Mesopotamian underworld queen goddess, Ereshkigal, and the remaining half with Inanna.[48] These parallels demonstrate the Athenians' adaptation of known personae related to Aphrodite's ANE parallels. As Parker notes on "Heavenly Aphrodite," she was "perhaps oriental in origin, and was certainly the form of Aphrodite who was felt by Greeks most to resemble the comparable figures they encountered in the east."[49] In its Athenian context, Aphrodite's relationship with Adonis becomes a divine model of the Greek woman's ideal lover while the *Adonia* becomes an opportunity for women to express openly their usually repressed love and/or desire for a youthful male lover.

Aphrodite's relationship with Adonis and his death are immortalized in the festival of the *Adonia*. The celebration and rituals of the *Adonia* connect the doomed youth to the ideals of a young, male lover which many Athenian young brides (and wives) may fantasize about, although likely never attain for themselves. The tragic love story of Aphrodite and Adonis is recounted in several Greek sources although the myth is late in its appearance in literature (beginning primarily in the first century BCE/first century CE). Several versions exist with variable details, including Adonis's true parentage; for example, he is the son of Cinyras of Cyprus or alternatively the son of Thias, the king of Assyria, and his mother is named either Smyrna or Myrrha.[50] Another detail that appears in some sources but not in others includes who is responsible for the boar attacking Adonis and consequently ending his life; some say Artemis sent the boar, others say a jealous Ares.[51] Laments for Adonis and sources which reference the *Adonia* specifically do appear earlier than the first century BCE, although these sources are often brief in their descriptions of the festival activities; generally, they give a picture of men's confusion regarding women's behaviour during the festival.[52] But even with these later sources and their variations, an overall picture can be extrapolated, and the most detailed account comes from Ovid in book ten of his *Metamorphoses* with added details from Apollodorus, such as the contest between Aphrodite and Persephone for Adonis.[53] Zeus

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[47] Parker (2005), 284; Reitzammer (2016), 27. The rooftop lament appears to be inherited from ANE practice.
[48] Reitzammer (2016), 28.
[49] Parker (1996), 196-197. Parker notes that a recently discovered altar in the Aphrodite *Ourania* Agora shrine evidences that *Ourania* received public cult in Athens c. 500 BCE. On the altar, cf. Shear Jr. (1984), 24-40.
[50] Select examples: Ov. *Met*.10.503-559, 708-738; *Hymn. Orph*. 56; Apollod. *Bibl*. 3.183; Ant. Lib. *Met*. 34; Ps.-Plut. *Parallela Minora* 22; Paus. 6.24.6; Ael. *NA* 9.36.
[51] Apollod. *Bibl*. 3.14.4; Nonnos, *Dionysiaca* 41.204-211.
[52] Select examples: Sappho fr. 140a; Pl. *Phdr.* 276B; Ar. *Lys.* 387-396; Men. *Sam.* 35-50; Theoc. *Id.* 15; Bion *The Lament for Adonis*.
[53] Ov. *Met*.10.503-559, 708-738; Apollod. *Bibl*. 3.183.

determined Adonis would spend a third of the year with Persephone, a third with Aphrodite, and the remaining third with the goddess of his choice; Adonis chose Aphrodite. Their love and time together were not to last long. Adonis was gored by a boar during a hunt, dying in the goddess's arms, upon which Aphrodite decreed that a festival would be held to commemorate her lover's death. On the *Adonia*, Reitzammer argues that the festival's usual characterization in contemporary and ancient sources as "marginal"[54] misrepresents the *Adonia*'s intimate connections with important social and personal political events, such as weddings and funerals.[55] As Parker further notes, although the *Adonia* did not have a public component and that the celebrations were privately organized, what is "singular and remarkable" about the *Adonia* is that, "in contrast to other such rites, usually known only from fugitive allusions and probably celebrated irregularly according to individual inclination, the *Adonia* had not just a name but also a recognized if informal place among the festivals of the state…The natural inference is that it was celebrated on a fixed date or at least during a fixed period (which is, however, much debated) every year."[56] The present discussion likewise considers the importance of the *Adonia* to weddings, but more specifically on how the ideal bride and groom envisioned in Classical vase paintings are mirrored in images of Aphrodite and Adonis, and more pointedly how the image of the ideal young bride is echoed in the image of the ideal young would-be-groom, Adonis.[57] Through this mirroring, Aphrodite's relationship to performative ritual becomes clearer, her role as the ideal bride representative of the ideal her female worshippers would aspire to emulate. As for Adonis, a consequence of his death is his failing to fulfill the groom's role, but through this lack of fulfillment his death reiterates the reality of women's lack of autonomy in choosing their grooms.

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[54] The *Adonia* is considered "marginal" for its being unofficial and unfunded, its relatively short duration, and its loose structure of rituals. I suggest the *Adonia* is not marginal in the sense of lacking importance or recognition. The *Adonia* was private in the sense of it being limited to women's participation and in its not being state funded; however, it was not restricted to a particular population of women, such as Athenian citizen women, and it held significance for women's social and ritual identities.

[55] Reitzammer (2016), 3. "Personal" politics i.e. marriages being used as strategic familial unions, particularly among Athenian elite families. Although Reitzammer is right to draw attention to the importance of the *Adonia* to these personal and social experiences, the *Adonia* was nevertheless unofficial in nature, having been privately funded and not part of the state calendar. Cf. Reitzammer (2016), 23, 23 n.84 on scholion *Lysistrata* 389 on the *Adonia* sacrifices not being at public expense.

[56] Parker (2005), 284. Cf. Parker (2005), 283-288 on the *Adonia*.

[57] As the vase paintings discussed in the remainder of the chapter are Athenian, the Athenian bias of the evidence needs reiterating. Cf. Introduction n.4 on Athenocentrism: vase paintings with a foreign find context are often analysed through an "Athenocentric" perspective, especially with regard to iconographical analysis which attempts to reconstruct societal/cultural ideals and/or norms relevant to a specific region; alternatively, Athenocentrism relates to Athenian materials discussed as representative of social/cultural norms/ideals of other *poleis*. As discussed, this issue can be partially resolved by the fluidity and mutability of Greek images, in local and/or foreign viewing contexts.

The Adonia as a Women's Festival: A Critique of Modern Interpretations

During the *Adonia*, which occurred midsummer (June or July), Athenian women planted "Gardens of Adonis" consisting of swiftly sprouting and just as swiftly dying plants such as wheat, barley, lettuce, and fennel, in small pots or baskets. The women would climb ladders to their rooftops and there place their "gardens"; like the beautiful Adonis, whose life was cut tragically short, the gardens would quickly wither and die in the heat, and the women would mourn Adonis's death. The festival was "heady with wine and incense, and noisy with yelling, as the women imitated Aphrodite"; the rooftop ritual was primarily performed within the city, but it could also extend to the Aphrodite sanctuary on the Akte of the southwestern Piraeus peninsula.[58] The festival's extension to the Piraeus is dependent upon the ritual participants themselves. The *Adonia* spread over a wide geographical area and was not an official state festival, nor funded by the state, nor strictly a private foreign cult, and consequently various aspects of the festival either did or did not resonate with particular audiences. The Athenians, for example, did not incorporate the procession through the streets and down to the water to bury the gardens at sea whereas this part of the festival was customary in Cyprus and subsequently performed by Cypriots living in the Piraeus.[59]

Several scholars have previously noted that the *Adonia* festival held particular appeal for women due to it enabling of a strictly female space.[60] But on the *Adonia*'s significance for women, Detienne offers an interpretation which unfortunately privileges a masculinist perspective, and which also eliminates female agency within what is supposed to be a female-centric environment.[61] Detienne compares the *Adonia* to the *Thesmophoria* by establishing an

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[58] Rosenzweig (2006), 64; Burn (1987), 41; Garland (1987); 147, 150. As Garland notes, there are three testimonia to Aphrodite having been worshipped in the Piraeus: 1) Ammonius states that Themistokles dedicated a shrine to the goddess after the Battle of Salamis (*Rhet. gr.* VI); 2) Pausanias states that Kolon built a sanctuary to Aphrodite Euploia after his victory at Knidos in 393 BCE (1.1.3); 3) an inscription found in Plateia Vasilias Amalias recording a dedication to Aphrodite Euploia by a strategos of the Piraeus c. 97/6 BCE (*IG* II^2 2872). The evidence suggests two sanctuaries existed in the Piraeus, although it has also been suggested that Konon enlarged the previously existing sanctuary dedicated by Themistokles.

[59] Simms (1998), 125-129; Reitzammer (2016), 28-29. Two inscriptions from Piraeus, *IG* II^2 1261 and *IG* II^2 1290, suggest that two groups of metics or foreigners were celebrating the *Adonia* during the fourth and third centuries BCE. *IG* II^2 1261 records three decrees of the *thiasôtai/koinon* of Aphrodite honouring Stephanos, son of Mylothros, for his organization of the *Adonia* procession "according to ancestral practice"; Stephanos's origins and those of the *thiasôtai* are not specified. *IG* II^2 1290 is a decree of the Salaminians of Cyprus (mid. 3rd cent. BCE) honouring an *epimeletes* for his involvement with the *Adonia*. Based on another inscription from the Piraeus, we know a Cypriot-Phoenician cult to Aphrodite was active in Athens during this period (*IG* II^2 337). As both Simms and Reitzammer note, there is no evidence for a connection between the more formalized festival celebrations, including the procession to the Piraeus performed by foreigners in Athens, and the less formalized Athenian festival. In a variation, the Athenians may have "buried" the Adonis gardens in springs; as Winkler notes, the format of the *Adonia* followed a general course of events but variations in conduct/style were permissible. Cf. Winkler (1990a), 188-193; Simms (1998), 125 n.24, 129 n.36; Reitzammer (2016), 28-29.

[60] Select examples: Detienne (1977); Winkler (1990a); Simms (1998); Parker (2005); Reitzammer (2016).

[61] Detienne (1977).

oppositional framework. The gardens of Adonis only last eight days and are improperly and inopportunely planted; the *Thesmophoria* inaugurates the eight-month period during which the grains will grow properly; the *Adonia* is fanciful, the *Thesmophoria* serious; the *Adonia* is a courtesan's festival which could include men invited at their mistress's discretion, the *Thesmophoria* was for citizen wives only; the *Adonia* symbolizes unfruitful agriculture and illicit sexual activities while the *Thesmophoria* symbolizes legitimate sexual activities and successful agriculture.[62] Winkler takes exception to Detienne's theory, namely the questionable use of limited evidence which leads to even more questionable conclusions. I refrain from repeating Winkler's criticisms in full, but it will suffice to reiterate that Detienne's conclusion that the *Adonia* is a courtesan's festival is ill-reached based on slim evidence from Athenian comedy which does not suggest courtesans were the primary participants but rather uses courtesan characters or courtesan characterizations in the context of describing the *Adonia*.[63] More alarming, however, are Detienne's conclusions regarding what the *Adonia* specifically meant to its female participants. Detienne equates the *Thesmophoria* with men as successful agriculturalists and the *Adonia* with lascivious women; both festivals were celebrated primarily if not exclusively by women, the implication being that women gathered for these festivals to celebrate men's excellence in farming and to reiterate women's libidinous natures. [64] This interpretation is counter-intuitive to the structure of the festivals which emphasizes female community and the significant impact women have on the realization of a fruitful agricultural season. The festivals are in celebration of Demeter and Persephone and Aphrodite and Adonis respectively; they are not in celebration of men. The motivation behind the festival activities is not recognition of male excellence nor is it to distinguish fertility as male/good and female/bad. This reading of these festivals reveals a distinctly masculinist appropriation of autonomous female agency and activity.

Winkler, on the other hand, offers a much more progressively feminine perspective on the *Adonia* which he derives from an examination of those myths which feature a goddess seducing a mortal man, often to the man's eventual detriment. Winkler examines evidence from Hesiod, Homer, Attic comedic poets, and Sappho (to whom he gives special attention) which describe the myths of such couples as Aphrodite and Adonis, Eos and Kleitos, Eos and

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[62] Detienne (1977), 78-123.
[63] Detienne (1977), 78-123; for Winkler's analysis of Detienne's use of evidence, cf. Winkler (1990a), 198-202. Parker also notes that all women could participate in the *Adonia*, courtesans and citizen women alike, with evidence of their working together to conduct the rituals (2005, 283-284).
[64] Detienne (1977), 104-112; 123-131.

Kephalos, Eos and Tithonos, Selene and Endymion, and Aphrodite and Phaon.[65] The pattern that emerges in all of these myths is that of a goddess falling in love with a mortal man and thereafter the man becoming either eternally young and helpless, like Endymion, or eternally old and helpless, like Tithonos.[66] On Adonis and Aphrodite, Sappho relates that Aphrodite laid out the dead Adonis in a bed of lettuce,[67] and in doing so consigned Adonis to a similar fate as that of Tithonos, et. al. More pointedly, as Winkler explains: "Like Tithonos, Endymion, and Phaon, Adonis' essential fate is to be no longer erect, decisively and permanently so…He whom a goddess loves ceases to be a phallic man, enters instead a state of permanent detumescence."[68] Winkler concedes that Detienne is right to contrast the eight-months labor following the Thesmophoria with the eight-day shriveling of the Adonis gardens. Winkler, however, suggests that both of the festivals reiterate men's role in plowing and planting the seeds but that they also emphasize the female (either Mother Earth or the human mother) as the one who carries the greatest and longest burden, that of natural or human reproduction. Therefore, "If any contrast is to be drawn between the respective roles of the sexes in cultivating these natural processes, men must be placed squarely on the side of Adonis, Aphrodite's eager but not long enduring lover."[69] The quickly rising and quickly wilting gardens represent the minor role men play in agriculture and in human reproduction.

The humor in this scenario is a sexual joke discernible in other women's festivals by which one can detect "a small gleam of misandric humor about men's sexuality as a thing which disappears so suddenly."[70] As evidenced by the goddess/male mortal lover myths and as plausibly actualized in women's festivals such as the *Thesmophoria* and the *Adonia*, there is a knowledge being shared between women that goddesses and women are the primary and fundamental controllers of production and reproduction, both agricultural and human, and that the joke is on the men whose virility leaves much to be desired. Winkler's interpretation is far preferable to Detienne's, although in its focus on women's secret, shared amusement at the expense of men's sexual prowess, I suggest that it emphasizes disproportionately the levity of the *Adonia* festivities, detracting from the solemnity of the occasion. Sappho describes a dialogue between Aphrodite and her worshipers, which I argue captures the intended overall tone of the *Adonia*: "Delicate Adonis is dying, Cytherea; what are we to do? 'Beat your

[65] Winkler (1990a), 202-209.
[66] Winkler (1990a), 203.
[67] Sappho fr. 211bii-iii.
[68] Winkler (1990a), 204.
[69] Winkler (1990a), 205.
[70] Winkler (1990a), 205-206.

breasts, girls, and tear your clothes'."[71] Adonis's death and Aphrodite's clear grief are meant to mark a festival during which the women share the burden of Aphrodite's mourning. The more light-hearted effects of the women joining together are secondary to this lamentation.

Surprising is Detienne's apparent staying power in more recent scholarship on the *Adonia* (with exceptions, including Reitzammer). Goff parallels the dying gardens of Adonis with women's productivity in domestic work, suggesting that it is plausible to read the *Adonia* as affirmation of women's inability to perform effectively within their own domestic sphere. These women grow their gardens in the incorrect containers, abandon their work, then allow the gardens to die in the hot sun, and these "failures" during the *Adonia* therefore indicate "the necessity for all the other inculcation of toil that takes place in the ritual sphere and, of course, in daily life";[72] Goff seemingly forgets that these "failures" are in fact established ritual activities specific to this festival and not reflective of women's actual domestic work or skills. Nevertheless, according to Goff the *Adonia* confirms women's inadequacies, a point of view which is in stark contrast to Winkler's proposal that the *Adonia* emphasizes those of men. However, Dillon would likely agree with Goff. Dillon reviews *Adonia* theories set forth by previous scholars, including Detienne and Winkler, and his argument is worth quoting in full here for its rather uninspiring conclusions:

> All of these explanations are too ingenious, and dress up the evidence in interpretations too complex for the women at the Adonia to have understood. They celebrated the Adonia because the cult of Aphrodite and Adonis entered Greece, just like those of Cybele and Sabazios. What attracted women to the cult might seem rather banal. Here was a cult of Aphrodite, a goddess attractive by her very nature to women, which gave them a chance to let their hair down in private on the rooftops…Women empathise with the goddess in her mourning. They are not mourning Adonis as their lost lovers, the love they never found or the like, but because this was the way they found the cult; the goddess mourns and so her worshippers mourn…The Adonia's appeal lay in its establishment, as with other women-only festivals, of temporary communities of women set apart from men, who engage in activities that only they understand.[73]

Not only then does the *Adonia* prove women's inadequacies within their own spheres of skill and knowledge, women apparently did not even comprehend the nuances of their actions

[71] Sappho fr. 140a; trans. Campbell (1982).
[72] Goff (2004), 58-60. Goff admits that her reading is not exhaustive of the festival's significance.
[73] Dillon (2002), 166-167. Dillon acknowledges that there is something about the *Adonia* which marks its importance, that being the women's ability to choose with whom they celebrate.

during the *Adonia* festival; but at least it gave them a chance to "let loose" like Aphrodite. They do as Aphrodite does with evidently no personal or even communal motivations. As far as the women being the only ones to understand the activities, literary evidence emphasizes the secrecy of women's rites and occasionally parodies women's festivals, but this perspective is from a limited, occasionally comic, male point of view and also disregards the community-wide acknowledgement of the importance of these festivals.[74] The proper performance of the *Thesmophoria* rites, for example, was considered by women and men alike critical to the successful fertility of the agricultural territory. The *Adonia* may not have had as critical an impact on the community if not performed correctly, but I would suggest, permitting speculation, that there was a similar impetus in the proper performance of rites associated with Aphrodite. As Demeter could retaliate for the women failing to fulfill the *Thesmophoria* rites by curtailing agricultural fertility, so too could Aphrodite impose negative impacts on the community for not fulfilling the *Adonia* rites, and perhaps her retaliation, in keeping with her own spheres of influence, could take the form of sexual impotence or infertility, unsuccessful political and/or marital unions, etc.[75] That "the cult of Aphrodite and Adonis entered Greece" is not a sufficient reason for women to participate. If one adheres to the cult of Adonis having roots in the ANE, then one also has to consider that the Athenians did not copy/paste foreign practices or divinities, and that they did not adopt these practices or divinities without reason and/or adaptation.[76] Aphrodite is a prime example of this long-term adaptation of divine personae from the ANE but as we have seen, she was not worshipped simply because she "washed up" on Greek shores. Likewise, the *Adonia* was not performed in Athens simply because it was already an "establishment." The *Adonia* held special appeal for women, Athenian and foreign alike: the space it created exclusively for women, the bonding through lamentations, and the figurative experience of ideal love ended by tragedy for Aphrodite and by reality for the women as discussed further below.

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[74] Examples parodying and/or alluding to the secrecy of women's festival rites: Ar. *Thesm*; Eur. *Bacch.*; Ael. *Fr.* 47; Hdt. 6.134.1-135.3.

[75] Ancient literature is ripe with examples of Aphrodite's well-known wrath against those who fail to exhibit proper worship; her vengeance in these stories often takes the form of sexual perversions. A few examples include: 1) Aphrodite cursed Myrrha to lust after her own father after Myrrha failed to worship Aphrodite (Ov. *Met.*10.503-559, 708-738; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.183); 2) in Euripides's *Hippolytus*, Hippolytus refuses to revere Aphrodite, so she inspires his stepmother Phaedra to fall in love with him, and the consequences that follow lead to Hippolytus's death; 3) Aphrodite punished Hippomenes for not thanking her after helping him win the race for Atalanta's hand in marriage. She drives him to inflamed passions and he has intercourse with his wife in the temple of Rhea; Rhea transforms them into lions for dishonouring her sacred space (Ov. *Met.* 10.681).

[76] As we have already seen from the Piraeus inscriptions (cf. n.59), the Athenians were not following *Adonia* rituals to the letter; if the women were performing the *Adonia* simply because it entered Greece and if they were just following Aphrodite's lead, then they would have performed all of the rituals that "entered Greece" with the festival, including the procession.

These readings, following in Detienne's footsteps, hardly do justice to the women, nor for that matter to Aphrodite. They disregard the female community bonding the *Adonia* fosters through several means including collective mourning, itself reflective of Aphrodite's deep sorrow and the impetus behind the festival celebration. As Winkler convincingly posits, with the lamenting there could also be merriment, and the *Adonia* provided another outlet for women to have a shared experience and to bond through laughter and tears. To suggest with Goff that these women were celebrating the *Adonia* in order to reiterate (to themselves and to the community at large) the inadequacy of their ritual and/or domestic skills, or to suggest with Dillon that these women simply celebrated the festival because it happened to be there and let them imitate the attractive Aphrodite, invalidates the female perspective altogether, a peculiar practice considering the *Adonia* is a women's festival. Therefore, the remaining analysis focuses on attempting to reconstruct the female perspective of the *Adonia*.

The Adonia: Aphrodite & Adonis & Women's Sexual Autonomy

Winkler sets the *Adonia* in this feminine perspective with his focus on the festival as reflective of an "inside joke" amongst women which scoffs at men's pretensions of importance in matters of natural and human fertility. Rosenzweig, on the other hand, devotes a chapter to Aphrodite *Ourania* with a notable focus on the goddess's relationship with Adonis and the *Adonia*. Rosenzweig analyses nuptial iconography paralleled with *Adonia* representations.[77] Rosenzweig's focus, however, is to isolate a clear iconography of Aphrodite *Ourania* that is distinguishable from images of the goddess in her *Pandêmos* or *en Kêpois* personae. As discussed previously, Aphrodite *Pandêmos* is distinguished when the goddess is accompanied by attendants such as Peitho, while Aphrodite *en Kêpois* is distinguished by the image of the goddess leaning against a tree; but the attribute which distinguishes Aphrodite *Ourania* is the inclusion of the ladder which connects both wedding rituals and *Adonia* rituals.[78] While Peitho corroborates the distinction of Aphrodite *Pandêmos* from her other personae, Peitho herself is a goddess associated with marital and civic unions and she is frequently depicted in company with Aphrodite in the context of marital unions (mythical and non-mythical); I think it is more accurate to say that Aphrodite *Pandêmos* is distinguished in iconography by Peitho being depicted in her company in the specific context of nuptial rituals/celebrations. Nevertheless, Rosenzweig concludes based on this ladder iconography in

[77] Rosenzweig (2006), 59-68.
[78] Rosenzweig (2006), 63.

association with wedding ritual depictions that Aphrodite *Ourania* was likewise a marriage goddess. I later discuss the ladder as emblematic of Aphrodite *Ourania* in connection with the *Adonia* rituals, but the intention will not be to use the rituals featured in the *Adonia* as a method of isolating Aphrodite *Ourania* iconography. Rather, I focus on the Aphrodite/Adonis relationship as emblematic of idealized (but doomed) love, and the ladder becomes relevant when considered symbolic of Aphrodite bridging the fantasy of feminine sexual autonomy and the reality of contemporary women's sexual freedoms.

Reitzammer, however, in part focuses on the *Adonia* and the relationship between Aphrodite and Adonis as emblematic of a commentary on contemporary marriage unions, arguing that the death of Adonis parallels the "death" of the bride. Her reading of the *Adonia* as an inversion of gender roles is based on similar precedents of relationships between goddesses and male mortal lovers which Winkler examines. Aphrodite presents a threat to these young heroes in her ability to unman them and to situate them within the role of powerless bride. "Ancient marriage," Reitzammer contends, "operates as a kind of ritualized abduction, a symbolic death from the young girl's point of view. Like Persephone, the bride dies with regard to her former life, leaving the company of her friends and frequently moving far from home."[79] Wedding iconography, particularly vase scenes which show the groom gripping the bride's wrist to lead her away, reiterates the notion of the bride being led into a new life following the death of her former life. Reitzammer also examines vase paintings portraying women climbing up/down ladders, sometimes with an Eros in attendance, and notes that previous scholarship has identified such scenes as either wedding depictions or *Adonia* depictions; as an alternative, Reitzammer argues that a differentiation need not be made and that such scenes may evidence a social commentary on wedding practices as performed by women in the *Adonia*. The ascending or descending of the ladder may be the transferring of ritual wedding objects which are in turn representative of Adonis being carried up a heavenly ladder.[80] These scenes may evidence the women of the *Adonia* identifying with Aphrodite and manipulating nuptial elements for their own purposes,[81] to contextualize the *Adonia* as a dual commemoration of the bride's death and Adonis's. While Reitzammer discusses the *Adonia* in the context of a "dying" bride, I focus on the *Adonia* as symbolic of the "death" of an idealized vision of the relationship between the bride and her chosen lover, where this lover is the antithesis to the groom she is far more likely to marry, and Adonis's

[79] Reitzammer (2016), 39.
[80] Reitzammer (2016), 58.
[81] Reitzammer (2016), 58.

death is symbolic of the impossibility of women pursuing relationships with younger men who demonstrate a vulnerability requiring their caretaking. In imitating the mournful Aphrodite, the women mourn with Aphrodite for Adonis while simultaneously mourning the reality of their private desires being suppressed by traditional marriage customs.

Adonis, in his youth and beauty, represents for Athenian brides (and wives) the type of lover they can never have based on the social and political arrangement of marriages on one hand, and the highly contrasting standards Athenian men were held to compared to women (especially wives) in terms of social (and sexual) freedoms on the other. It was common for a young Athenian girl to be married to a paternal uncle or cousin, possibly even to a half-brother from a different mother; much like elsewhere in Greece, such as in Sparta, endogamy was a means of ensuring that inheritance/property remained within the father's bloodline.[82] (Exogamy could, however, be used to secure alliances.) The bride was usually under fifteen years old and inexperienced (if it was her first marriage), while the groom was around thirty years old (although he could be older) and at that point already a fully-integrated member of the economic/political community.[83] This comparatively large age difference in part established the husband's authority in the relationship and his status as head of the *oikos*. Although Athenian marriages appear to have been arranged in the interests of the men with little concern for the girl's wishes, a prospective groom could likewise have his best marriage interests determined by his father. Ancient accounts of fathers seeking a bride for their sons suggest that the father's motivations revolve primarily around the begetting of heirs, and these accounts also suggest that the son was consulted on the decision and persuaded to agree, rather than being told whom he would marry as a daughter would be.[84] But given the narrow circle of men from which a girl's future husband would be chosen, it is perhaps not unlikely that the bride and groom would have had a passing acquaintance prior to the wedding; a girl would likely have been married to an extended member of her family, or a member of a neighbour's household, or married to a member of a close family friend's family in order to further cement the relationship between the families.[85] Nevertheless, the chief objectives of marriage were transmitting social identity and status, maintaining or creating social alliances, and producing children, all of which would have been arranged in a transactional sense by the

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[82] Robson (2013), 5.
[83] Glazebrook & Olson (2014), 70.
[84] Select examples: Isae. *On the Estate of Menecles* 2.18; Dem. *Against Boeotus II* 40.12.
[85] Cox (1998), 10, 27, 38-67. Select examples: Hesiod *Works and Days* 695-705; Isae. *On the Estate of Menecles* 2.3-4; Dem. *Against Aphobus I* 27.4-5; Dem. *Against Eubulides* 57.20.

bride's *kyrios* and her future husband. The personal desires of the bride-to-be were hardly consequential.

In Adonis's death, there is also the death of an emotional and sexual freedom never granted in the first place. His death reiterates the social and cultural restrictions placed upon women during this time period and not even Aphrodite is immune to these restrictions, a consequence which reaffirms Aphrodite's identity as Mulvey's "bearer of meaning" by which the goddess represents the reality of women who ultimately cannot have the young, male lover they desire. Male deities are also described determining how Aphrodite and Persephone are to pursue their respective relationships with Adonis, and further still according to some sources it may even have been a male deity (a jealous Ares in disguise, perhaps) who ends Adonis's life and ends Aphrodite's relationship with her lover of choice.[86] An element of personal sexual agency is eliminated by a higher male power, much like a woman's sexual behaviour is controlled by the dominant male in her life, be it father or husband. Since men were considered to possess an innate self-control while women did not, and women could not control their desires, men had to control women's sexuality via guardianship and marriage, and by strict codes of behaviour imposed upon women. In the marital relationship, the wife's virtue was of utmost importance because of the emphasis placed on legitimate heirs. It was considered a serious transgression for the wife to engage in sexual activity outside of her marriage, whereas for her husband, his sexual activity could include relations with slaves, prostitutes, and citizen boys.[87] Faithfulness in marriage was an expectation only for the wife. As discussed in chapter two in the discussion on rape and consent, the closest ancient equivalent to the modern concept of adultery is *moicheia*, although the meaning was distinctly different under Classical Athenian law to what the modern term implies. *Moicheia* was a crime by which a woman had sex with a man without the permission of her legal male guardian, her *kyrios*. Were a woman to transgress, she risked losing citizen rights (by implementation of *atimia*), which would then deprive her of her home, citizen wife status, and social life including participation in religious festivals.[88] Needless to say, as a goddess

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[86] Nonnos, *Dionysiaca* 41.204-211.
[87] Glazebrook & Olson (2014), 71.
[88] Robson (2013), 98. Although the sources on the legal provisions which describe the different punishments a *moichos* could face are not precise or entirely clear, they do suggest that a man who committed *moicheia* faced imprisonment, financial reparation, and/or physical retribution by the wronged male party. *Moicheia* was routinely condemned and men who committed *moicheia* were considered effeminate and weak. *Moicheia* was both a private and a public affair (the *graphē moicheias*, "adultery indictment", allowed for public prosecution), and to make it known risked public speculation about the paternity of one's children, public shame (for both the husband and the wife), and private dissolution of the *oikos*. For further discussion on the meaning of *moicheia* in Classical Athens, as well as the applicable legal provisions, cf. Robson (2013), 90-102.

Aphrodite is exempt from the normal risks and/or consequences a mortal woman would face for transgressing her strict societal boundaries, and Aphrodite's sexual freedom (generally speaking) is never questioned or restricted outright.[89]

Vase paintings featuring intimate scenes of Aphrodite and Adonis together as well as images of Aphrodite appearing to take part in the *Adonia* herself reiterate the projection of both the enviable couple in love and of Aphrodite as the epitome of the grieving woman honouring the life of her deceased beloved.[90] One example of Aphrodite participating in the *Adonia* is a red-figure scene depicted on a late-Classical squat lekythos from the Meidias Painter's circle (c. 390 BCE) (fig. 4.18a-c).[91] The scene may in fact be a depiction of the first *Adonia* with Aphrodite performing the inaugural rituals and demonstrating to the female attendants how the rituals should be performed in future. Aphrodite, white-skinned and nearly nude (her robe strategically draped just so), ascends a ladder and reaches for an upside-down, broken pithos being handed to her by Eros. The broken pithos contains plants/flowers, having been used as a vessel for the "gardens of Adonis," the seedlings visible by the white painted dots; other similar vessels are on the ground on either side of Eros, to be placed on the rooftop above Aphrodite.[92] Two attendant women stand on either side of Aphrodite and Eros. Although the identity of the woman ascending the ladder is not identified by inscription, there can be little doubt that Aphrodite is the intended figure. She is vividly differentiated from the

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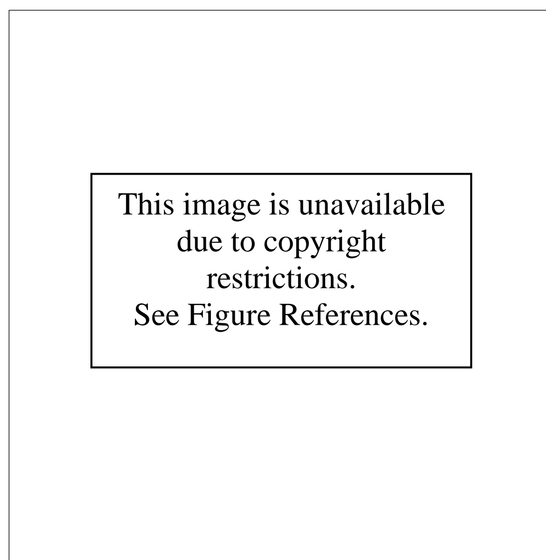
[89] An exception being the affair between Anchises and Aphrodite recounted in the *Hymn to Aphrodite*; Zeus turns the tables on Aphrodite and makes her fall in love with a mortal man so that she can no longer boast about her ability to kindle affairs between the other gods and mortals. Aphrodite's tryst with Ares is discovered by her husband Hephaestus, for which she and Ares are humiliated in front of the other Olympian gods by Hephaestus's trap, although Aphrodite suffers no more than passing embarrassment. (cf. Hom. *Od.* 8.266-366).

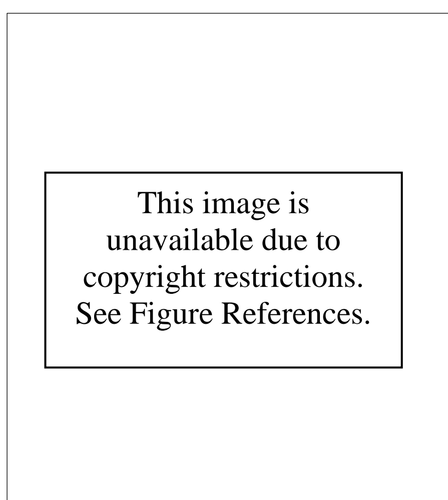
[90] On Meidian scenes of Aphrodite and Adonis (and Phaon), cf. Burn (1987), 40-44.

[91] Another example of an *Adonia* scene in which Aphrodite appears is a red-figure hydria attributed to the Apollonia Group, c. 360-350 BCE (Beazley 230493); Aphrodite (painted white, half-nude) descends a ladder sprinkling incense into a thurible held by a maiden while other *Adonia* participants including Eros attend the ritual proceedings. A late fifth century, red-figure squat lekythos also attributed to the Apollonia Group depicts this same scene (Beazley 230497). Fig. 4.18, cf. *LIMC* 44952, "Adonis 47"; *AVI* 4042. On fig. 3.26, cf. Fantham et. al (1995), 92; Reeder (1995), 237-238; Rosenzweig (2004), fig. 46; Parker (2005), 285; Smith (2016), 166.

[92] Stafford (1997) draws attention to another lekythos, a red-figure acorn lekythos by Aison (c. 425-420 BCE) found near Syntagma Square (Beazley 215567/Acropolis 6471), which appears to fit the "persuasion of Helen" typology and which may also allude to the *Adonia*. Acropolis 6471 features a scene reminiscent of the Heimarmene amphoriskos, with a central grouping of two female figures seated together (Aphrodite and Helen?), another female standing behind in attendance, Eros to the right attending a naked youth, and two female figures framing the scene, one on either side. The left-side female figuring is watering plants, which may refer to the "gardens of Adonis." The gardens were usually watered on the rooftops and a ladder is usually also to be found in such watering scenes; Acropolis 6471 appears to take place outdoors but there is no indication of the *Adonia*'s normal setting nor any ladder. The plant pots, however, "are of unusual shape, the middle one having very oddly placed handles, and they make most sense as the up-ended necks of broken amphorae, just such as those depicted containing gardens of Adonis on a lekythos in Karlsruhe," (Stafford 1997, 202). As such, Stafford maintains that "a reference to this cult should be understood, especially given the vase's date in the last two decades of the fifth century, consonant with our scanty sources on the date of the Adonia's introduction to Athens," (1997, 202). On Beazley 215567/Acropolis 6471, see also Beazley (1963), 1175.11; Sutton (1997/98), 42.

other females in the scene by virtue of her stark white skin in contrast to their red-toned figures, and unlike the other females who wear *peploi*, the woman ascending the ladder is depicted almost completely nude. The fact that the semi-nude, white female figure receives the gardens of Adonis directly from Eros also hints that she is intended to portray Aphrodite. The goddess's son and frequent companion likewise participates in the festival and given his mother's involvement, would take a lead role in the ritual activities.





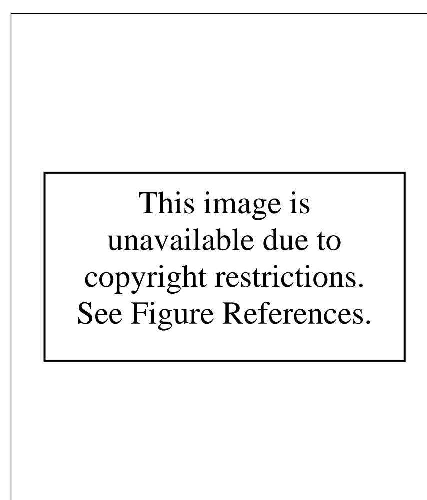


Fig. 4.18a, top: Athenian red-figure, squat lekythos c. 390 BCE; *Adonia* preparations: Aphrodite receiving "gardens of Adonis" from Eros; circle of the Meidias Painter; Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, Inv. B29; Beazley 361.

Fig. 4.18b-c, bottom left & right: as above; Female *Adonia* attendants on either side of Aphrodite (left) and Eros (right).

The Adonia & Athenian Nuptial Iconography

These images of Aphrodite participating in the festival feature an important object featured in the *Adonia* ritual and one which bears relevance to depictions with nuptial themes: the ladder. A bridal scene on a red-figure lebes gamikos attributed to the Painter of Athens 1454 (c. 420 BCE) depicts an *epaulia* and just visible in the scene is a woman ascending a ladder (fig. 4.19a-b).[93] The image shows a procession of women carrying baskets, alabastra, and chests; this procession leads to the figures in the least fragmentary part of the central scene where the bride sits on the lap of another woman. This woman may be Aphrodite crowning the bride with a stephane, as Eros flies above them and holds wreaths over their heads.[94] To the right of the bride, three attendant women stand by and just past the third woman the legs of a *klismos* are visible, upon which the lower half of another woman sits; before this seated woman is a lebes gamikos on the ground, near which appears the lower half of a woman holding a chest in one hand and another lebes gamikos in the other, and approaching this woman from the right is a winged deity carrying a basket and fillet with a kalathos set on the ground in front of her.[95] With the second seated female figure being approached by women carrying common *epaulia* gifts, this figure must also be a bride and the central scene between the handles of the lebes gamikos actually depicts two scenes of seated brides being attended to by other women,[96] one of the brides possibly being attended to by Aphrodite. Given the previously discussed nuptial scene on the amphoriskos by the Heimarmene Painter (fig. 3.3), where the bride Helen sits on the comforting lap of Aphrodite while Eros is in close proximity, the suggestion that the figure crowning the first bride is the goddess herself is not without precedent. Notably, between the depictions of the brides in the centre of the scene, the fragmentary remains of a ladder are just visible (specifically the lower rungs); the lower half of a woman faces the ladder and above the second rung of the ladder the lower part of another woman can be discerned, standing on the ladder.

[93] Two additional nuptial scenes which incorporate the ladder are featured on another lebes gamikos (fragmentary) (Beazley 215618), and a red-figure vase fragment (Beazley 275774). On fig. 4.19, cf. *LIMC* 52099. On fig. 4.19, cf. Beazley (1963), 1178.1, 1685; Boardman (1989), fig. 298; Oakley & Sinos (1993), 39; Kouser (2004), fig. 8.8; Smith (2005), 5; Rosenzweig (2006), 65. On the ladder's inclusion in nuptial vase paintings, and its function as a linking device to other cults of Aphrodite, cf. Oakley & Sinos (1993), 39-40, 46. On ladders as a nuptial motif, see also: Edwards (1984), 59-72; Rosenzweig (2006), 63-68.
[94] Rosenzweig (2006), 65.
[95] Oakley & Sinos (1993), 39.
[96] Oakley & Sinos (1993), 39.

Fig. 4.19a: Athenian red-figure lebes gamikos, c. 420 BCE; Epaulia scene, with Aphrodite(?) crowning the bride who sits on her lap with a stephane, Eros hovering above, and surrounded by female attendants, one ascending a ladder; attributed to the Painter of Athens 1454; Athens National Archaeological Museum 1454, drawing after AM 32 (1907) pl.5.2, Beazley 215616.

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See Figure References.

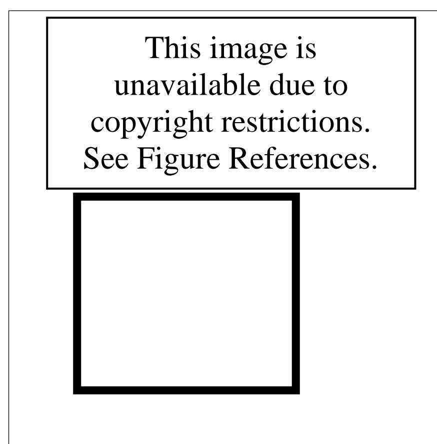

Fig. 4.19b: Close-up of fig. 4.19a highlighting the ladder; Lower half of female attendant faces the ladder (lower rungs visible); Above the second rung the lower part of

The ladder's relevance to these nuptial scenes and subsequently to the *Adonia* is still under debate. The ladder may provide access to the second story of a house where the sleeping quarters might have been located; the ladder may be a reference to what followed the wedding ceremony, the physical consummation of the marriage, assuming that the ladder leads to the *thalamos*, the bridal chamber.[97] While some houses may have featured the bridal chamber on the second floor, the chamber may have been more accessible given descriptions of the *thyroros* guarding the door and/or of attendants knocking on the chamber door.[98] As Nevett has discussed, however, there is limited evidence for a second floor women's chamber, or a first floor segregated women's space. This assumption has been made based on ancient texts which describe the *andron*/*andronitis* (the men's area) as being separated from the *gunaikon*/*gunaikonitis* (the women's area); the *gunaikonitis* is described either as being next door to the *andronitis*,[99] or it is situated above the *andronitis*,[100] although even these descriptions give perhaps a more binary picture of the household arrangement than similar texts convey by which there is overlap in the usage of both spaces.[101] These sources are also written from an elite male perspective and most from within the geographical context of Athens; the literary sources are problematic for reconstructing the reality of both elite and non-elite women's spaces and range of movements within the *oikos*.[102] Further complicating

[97] Oakley & Sinos (1993), 39-40; Edwards (1984), 63-64. An Athenian red-figure loutrophoros c. 430-420 BCE offers a glimpse of the *thalamos* and is featured in chapter three, figure 3.7. The scene depicts the *anakalypteria dora*, or gifts procession, followed by the *nympheutria*, assisted by Erotes, adjusting the bride's veil; the groom holds the bride by her wrist, leading her to his house ahead of them where Eros and the mother-in-law are waiting to welcome the couple. The *thalamos* can be seen through the partially opened door of the house. Cf. Beazley 15815, Boston MFA 03.802; see also Oakley & Sinos (1993), 51; Smith (2005), 7.
[98] Oakley & Sinos (1993), 39.
[99] Xen. *Oec*. 9.
[100] Lys. 1.9-10.
[101] Xen. *Symp*. 1.13.1; Xen. *Oec*. 9.5; Ar. *Eccl*. 675-676; Vitr. 6.7; Lys. 1.10. Cf. Nevett (1994) & (1995).
[102] Nevett (1994), 90; Nevett (1995), 364.

the architectural reconstruction of a men's versus a women's space is the lack of achaeological remains. While the *andronitis* has been identified on the first floor of architectural remains at various sites (such as Olynthos, Eretria, and Halieis) based on remaining couch arrangements, decorated mosaic floors and plaster walls, the lack of upper floor remains inhibits verification of there being a separate women's chamber upstairs, and even in single-storey constructions, a verifiable *gunaikonitis* also has yet to be identified.[103] Whether we can say the ladder in nuptial scenes represents access to the women's upper chambers is tentative at best, although perhaps the intention is not to represent architectural reality but rather metaphorical transition and/or separation. Rosenzweig, for instance, makes a compelling argument for considering the ladder symbolic of the bride's transition from maiden (*parthenos*) to bride (*nymphe*), and eventually, following the birth of her first child, to woman (*gyne*); Rosenzweig's perspective is nevertheless reliant upon the ladder indicating access to the bride's new quarters on the second floor.[104] But if the ladder is not meant to depict reality, then this transformation, particulary its occurrence during the wedding night when the groom initiates his virgin bride to the physical side of marriage, is one which Aphrodite specifically oversees and the ladder may therefore symbolize the figurative means by which the bride enters the world of Aphrodite. This metaphor then parallels the figurative meaning of the ladder to *Adonia* scenes: in wedding scenes, the ladder is a bridge to Aphrodite's domain within the context of the marriage union, and in *Adonia* scenes it is symbolic of Aphrodite's role in bridging the gap between women's fantasized sexual autonomy and the reality thereof. In both cases, the ladder represents women's sexual experiences as being mediated through Aphrodite.

Significant too is the fact that a number of these nuptial/ladder scenes appear on a vessel type integral to the wedding ceremony, the lebes gamikos. This vessel, which means "nuptial lebes"/"marriage bowl," carried the water which would be ritually sprinkled on the bride during her bath before the wedding; when used in this context, the bowl would have been handled exclusively by women during the preparational stages preceding the marriage ceremony during which the bride was purified. The lebes gamikos is closely associated with its predecessor, the loutrophoros, which was likewise used to carry the water for carrying the ritual bath water. The loutrophoros was used in the wedding ritual or given as a wedding gift; however, it could also be used in a funerary context as an offering to an individual (not just a

[103] Nevett (1994), 93.
[104] Rosenzweig (2006), 66.

maiden) who died unmarried and thus also unbathed and without children.[105] Similarly, the lebes gamikos could be used in this funerary context, highlighting the tragedy of an individual dying without ever having produced offspring to the benefit of his/her *oikos* and to the benefit of the citizen body (provided the individual had citizen status); in the case of the individual being a maiden, the tragedy is two-fold in that the maiden never attained womanhood through the act of becoming a wife. The lebes gamikos could also have been used by the groom during his own ritual bath, but the lebes gamikos highlighted here, which depicts only women and specifically bridal wedding preparations, would likely have been handled/viewed by women, including a new bride. The water for the ritual bath was drawn from a prescribed sacred source, usually a river or spring.[106] Athenian brides and grooms were given their ritual baths with water drawn from the Kallirhoe spring; during the Peisistratid tyranny a fountain house called the Enneakrounos was built over it.[107] Rivers were thought to have particularly strong effects on fertility and were often represented as bull-headed men with serpent bodies from the waist down or as man-headed bulls, symbolizing male virility and rivers as sources thereof.[108] For the groom, the water would enhance his own virility, further preparing him for his new role as husband and expected father-to-be. Bathing with the water drawn from such a source was thought to have symbollically cleansed the bride of her maidenhood, although I question this interpretation.[109] Cleansing the bride of her maidenhood implies she loses her purity and as her purity was of paramount importance in her first marriage, especially in terms of ensuring future children were legitimate citizens, I doubt that the bath was meant to preemptively divest her of her purity, even symbollically. The taking of her purity, literally and figuratively, was the groom's privilege on the wedding night.

The ritual bath has a close connection with Aphrodite and this association more aptly illustrates how the bride's bath can be interpreted. An image of a goddess particularly fond of water and bathing emerges from the literary sources; Aphrodite was born of the sea after all, according to Hesiod.[110] Ritual bathing of her cult statue was a critical element in her cult worship much like the ritual bathing of other deity cult statues; a Hellenistic inscription from the sanctuary of Aphrodite *Pandêmos* describes preparations for the previously discussed

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[105] Håland (2009), 123. In Demosthenes's *Against Leochares*, the Athenian Archiades dies without issue, the proof being the loutrophoros having been placed on his tomb (44.18-19).
[106] Oakley & Sinos (1993), 15. Smith (2005), 4.
[107] Thuc. 2.15.5; Cf. Aesch. *PV*. 555-556, Ar. *Lys.* 378, Eur. *Phoen*. 347-349. Cf. Larson (2001), 127; Håland (2009), 123.
[108] Vase examples: Beazley 302117, Beazley 301996, Beazley 200437, Beazley 411052, & Beazley 6911. Literary examples: Hom. *Il*. 21.211, Strabo 10.2.19; Nonnos, *Dionysiaca* 12.123, 19.158, 41.264.
[109] Oakley & Sinos (1993), 15.
[110] Hes. *Th*. 188-189.

festival, the *Aphrodisia*, including "the purification of the sanctuary with a dove sacrifice and the washing of the statues."[111] Aphrodite's birth at sea enhanced the significance of her statue's bathing. This fondness for bathing often emerges in the context of rejuvenation before or after a sexual encounter. After her tryst with Ares as described by the singer Demodocus in the *Odyssey*, Aphrodite returns to her sanctuary at Paphos where the Graces bathe and anoint her.[112] Aphrodite also bathes as part of her toilette in preparation for seducing Anchises, drawing a direct connection between the effects of bathing on increasing one's desirability and seductiveness.[113] While the bath did not have a ritual purification effect or a symbolic deflowering effect on Aphrodite, it did have a restorative and/or rejuvenating effect which heightened her physical beauty and allure. In bathing before the wedding ceremony and before she becomes intimate with her groom, the bride imitates Aphrodite by intensifying her own physical allure. This imitation emphasizes Aphrodite as the model of female desirability for maidens seeking to enhance their desirability for the sake of enticing the groom. In her role as a marriage goddess and through depictions of her participation in wedding rituals, Aphrodite imbues the bride's pre-wedding bath with sexual connotations exclusive to the goddess's sphere of marital influence.

The combination of an image created specifically with female spectatorship in mind and its depiction on a vessel used by women in a wedding context achieves three aims. First, it celebrates a bride's transition into the world of Aphrodite with the help of the women in her life as well as with the help of the goddess herself. Secondly, it is a visual reminder, thanks to the cue provided by the ladder, of the closely connected women's-only festival, the *Adonia*. Lastly, because of its connection to the *Adonia*, the scene emphasizes the relationship at the basis of the festival, Aphrodite and Adonis. The emphasis on this relationship is further substantiated by the ladder motif. As the ladder physically transported the women to their rooftops, it simultaneously symbolized a passage from their quotidian realities to the cultic realm of Aphrodite and Adonis; Aphrodite, in her *Ourania* persona and worshipped as a goddess of unity, bridged the gap between reality and fantasy and the ladder symbolizes this unification. Aphrodite as the bridge between the realms supports the portrayal of Aphrodite as Mulvey's "bearer of meaning" for women viewing these depictions, particularly on these

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[111] Larson (2007), 118. Cf. *IG* II^3 1 879. Cf. Havelock (1995), 23-24; Lee (2015a), 220. On the ritual bathing of cult statues, cf. Nilsson (1906), 44-45, 48, 255-256; Elderkin (1940), 395; Frischer (1982), 114, 114 n.78; Simon (1983), 48-49; Mansfield (1985), 438ff.; Cole (1988), 161-165; Patton (2007), 66; Collins (2008), 8; Dunant (2009), 278; & Lee (2015a), 220.

[112] Hom. *Od*. 8.362-366.

[113] *Hom. Hymn Aph*. 5.65-163.

vessels intended for female use. The women participating in the *Adonia* envision themselves as Aphrodite in her relationship with a young, beautiful male lover, and yet they must also mimic Aphrodite in the mourning of her beloved as well as the mourning of the sexual and emotional freedoms denied to them. Adonis is symbolic of the ideal lover, but not in the sense of vigor, virility, or prowess. Rather, he is the ideal in youth, beauty, and vulnerability. As previous scholars have noted, this lover's stamina is short-lived.[114] Tithonos becomes reliant upon Eos, Endymion upon Selene, and at his death Adonis upon Aphrodite. This lover cannot last, corroborating the reality of women's autonomy in choosing lovers/husbands; this ideal lover's existence remains in the realm of myth and ritual, and even within the mythical/ritual context, his role as the perfect lover is fleeting. Aphrodite bridges the gap of Athenian women's realities versus their personal desires: she represents what they want but ultimately, like the goddess herself in this case, what they cannot have. In imitating Aphrodite, the participants experience her grief, and for them personally the grief is symbolic of the death of their fantasy wherein the choice of lover belongs to them as it did to Aphrodite.

It is not surprising that *Adonia* images relate to nuptial iconography given that Adonis and Aphrodite represent an ideal of the bride and would-be-groom. Scenes featuring the couple together are notably affectionate and portray an idealized relationship between a man and woman where mutual love is apparent. Peitho even appears with Aphrodite and Adonis in a scene featured on a red-figure Kerch relief chous c. 410-400 BCE, adding a nuptial connotation to Aphrodite and Adonis's relationship.[115] One example is a red-figure hydria attributed to the Meidias Painter c. 410-400 BCE depicting Adonis and Aphrodite in an intimate scene (fig. 4.20a-b).[116] Adonis with his lyre rests in Aphrodite's lap, gazing above at Himeros, all three identified by inscription. Aphrodite's head is titled down as she focuses her gaze on her beloved and her arms are draped around his neck and over his shoulders, holding him in a close embrace as he relaxes against her. Aphrodite's breasts and nipples are visible through her transparent dress. Himeros suggests the physical intimacy and the strong, mutual desire between the lovers. Not to be left out, Eros is also depicted multiple times, playing a iynx, chasing a hare, or facing an unnamed female figure who plays the cymbals. The several inclusions of Eros imply the complement to the uncontrollable desire Himeros represents, that

[114] Winkler (1990a); Stehle (1996).
[115] *LIMC* 7967, "Aphrodite 1267", "Adonis 9", "Peitho 20"; *AVI* 7338; Beazley 9976, St. Petersburg State Hermitage Museum 108K. Cf. Smith (2005), 15.
[116] On fig. 4.20, cf. *LIMC* 3904, "Aphrodite 1266", "Adonis 10", "Eros ad 285", "Himeros, Himeroi 5"; *AVI* 3608. On fig. 4.20, cf. Beazley (1963), 1312.1; Burn (1987), 27-29, 40-44; Boardman (1989), 146; Robertson (1992), 239; Shapiro (1993), 63, 86, 70, 129; Stafford (2000), 161-162; Borg (2002), 172-178, 182-185; Smith (2011), figs. 5.1-5.2, 5.11, 8.3.

is, the physical intimacy and its more emotional effects (especially love) between Aphrodite and Adonis. Also featured in this scene and identified by inscription are several personifications, a number of whom are often found in Aphrodite's company: Eurynoe (goddess of water-meadows and pasturelands, to the left of Himeros and holding a sparrow), Eutychia (Happiness, holding/gazing into a mirror), Pannychis Eudaimonia (Festivities/Prosperity, seated near Eutychia), Chrysothemis (Golden Justice/Custom, seated, engaging with an Eros), Paidia (Play, in Hygieia's lap), Hygieia (Health, with Paidia in her lap), and Pandaisia (Banquet, resting near to Paidia and Hygieia).[117] The personifications in this scene, of the Meidian personifications, firstly have a decorative function. But as Burn notes, "if this were their sole purpose, there would be no need to distinguish them as personifications—beautiful anonymous women would have sufficed."[118] Burn suggests that another, likely more significant function is explanatory in nature, that they enable the painter to make use of an "effective shorthand" for conveying ideas otherwise "difficult, if not impossible, to express."[119] All of these personifications are "elements of a great Aphrodisian harmony which extends through every sphere of life—political and religious, public and private." [120] Aphrodite is at the centre of this harmonious existence, not unlike Empedocles's envisioning of her role in the harmony of the universe.

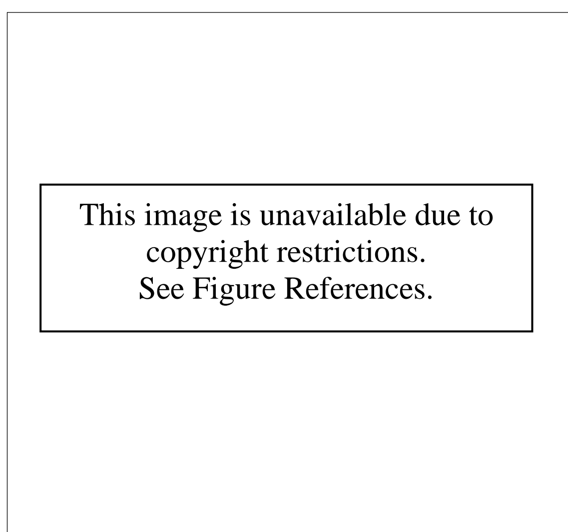

Fig. 4.20a: Athenian red-figure hydria, c. 410-400 BCE; Adonis, with lyre resting in Aphrodite's lap, gazing up at Himeros; attributed to the Meidias Painter; Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 81948, Beazley 220493.

[117] Smith (2011), 62.
[118] Burn (1987), 35.
[119] Burn (1987), 35.
[120] Burn (1987), 35. Borg (2005, 198) considers these personifications to comprise an allegorical comment "on the ideas and concepts personified and on the pleasures and limits of the *aphrodisia*", although as Smith (2011, 51) notes, "Borg concentrates on the private aspect of these virtues that ignores their civic relevance." See also Stafford (2000), 162-63 for Hygeia's specific inclusion in Aphrodite's retinue of Meidian personifications.

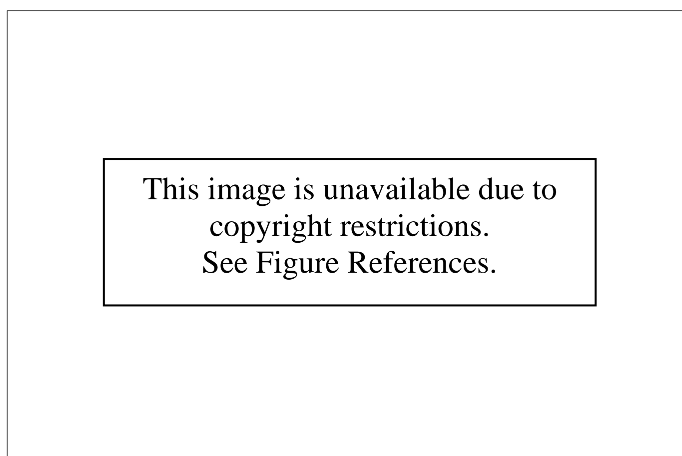

Fig. 4.20b: Detail of 4.20a, Adonis and Aphrodite, with Himeros above Adonis and Eurynoe to the left of Himeros; Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 81948, Beazley 220493.

The nucleus of this scene, Adonis and Aphrodite, captures the essence of their relationship as its viewers may have understood it, particularly female viewers. [121] When taken in the context of *Adonia* representations and/or nuptial imagery, depictions of Aphrodite with Adonis embody the ideal, loving couple. The man is young, handsome, and nubile, the woman is free to indulge both him and her love for him. But as with any ideal, the reality for these female spectators is far different. They can project themselves into the image of Aphrodite; in these scenes, the goddess represents a woman without a *kyrios* determining her relationships with other men, a woman who can freely desire a beautiful, young man (just as a man is free both to take a young bride, and to engage in physical relationships with other women). However, there is a sense of inevitability in these scenes featuring Aphrodite and Adonis; the tragic end of their love was widely known and the *Adonia* was celebrated specifically to honour Aphrodite's deceased beloved. Even in viewing images of Aphrodite and Adonis basking in their loving relationship, the spectator knows that the love will not and cannot last. This realization and acceptance reflect the image of Adonis (and other mortal males beloved by goddesses) as the embodiment of women's sexual freedom restricted by the contemporary marriage customs by which the *kyrios* determined a woman's marital fate. Adonis would have made the ideal husband if only he himself as an emblem of women's sexual agency were sustainable. However, women did not have the agency of choosing their husbands or of having lovers, and Adonis's death is representative of this ideal scenario not existing within the realm of reality. This scene is depicted on a common-place vessel, the hydria, regularly handled by women, and so the scene's implications are both familiar in their

[121] Other examples of scenes featuring Aphrodite and Adonis include: Wurzburg, Universitat, Martin von Wagner Mus.: H5333 (Beazley 1282); Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum, 87.AE.93 (Beazley 44230); Paris, Musee du Louvre: MNB2109 (Beazley 215563); and London, British Museum: E699 (Beazley 220600).

reiteration and unmistakeable in their meaning. The ideal depicted remains feasible only in vase paintings. For Athenian women of the Classical period, their relationships with men, particularly their husbands, were determined for them.

Chapter Conclusion

Continuing from chapter three, this chapter has further demonstrated the parallel developments in Aphrodite's cults in Classical Athens with the mortal explorations of *ta aphrodisia* relevant to Aphrodite's *en Kêpois* and *Ourania* personae. Both personae, following in the same vein as Aphrodite *Pandêmos*, play important roles in the heightened emphasis on marriage which resulted in part from the new social and political environment which took shape in fifth-century Athens. As with the nuptial vase paintings examined in the previous chapter, the evidence discussed in chapter four continues to highlight the shift from more privately inclined viewership to more public spectatorship. The Athenian *en Kêpois* sanctuaries were publicly shared, sacred spaces and the recovered votives, such as the marble male and female genitalia, as well as the recovered terracotta statuettes of young boys, draped maidens, and the sleeping baby, all allude to Aphrodite's role as a goddess of marriage particularly concerned with rites of passage and the successful production of children. Aphrodite's worship as the *en Kêpois* goddess draws attention to her role in the rites of passage into adulthood which usually preceded marital unions, with the wedding ceremony marking the bride's transition into womanhood, as well as her role in what followed the marital union, the begetting of children. This public-facing manifestation of Aphrodite emphasized the ways in which her sexual powers were considered critical to matters of marriage and children, such that the existence of sexual attraction within a marital relationship enabled the success of the union itself as well as the successful creation of children, especially as Aphrodite *en Kêpois* appears to have been supplicated for aid in producing children and for the protection of children.

Still further exemplifying Aphrodite's role in Athenian weddings and marriages is her persona as Aphrodite *Ourania*, specifically with respect to her relationship with Adonis as commemorated in the *Adonia* festival. Athenian vase paintings, often with nuptial overtones, featuring Aphrodite and Adonis portray them as the ideal bride and groom although with a distinct twist. Aphrodite is an idealized bride, a woman with sexual autonomy, while Adonis represents the young, handsome groom an Athenian bride may long for but likely never have for herself due to the social environment in which she exists wherein her marriage was arranged by her *kyrios*, her groom chosen for her. The *Adonia* imitates Aphrodite's

bereavement following the death of her beloved, his tragically short life symbolic of the contemporary Athenian woman's inability to pursue personal sexual desires, especially if those desires were not compliant with the prevailing norms of marriage and sexuality. As Aphrodite *Ourania* mourning Adonis and taking part in the rituals of the *Adonia*, she is the bridge between divine precedence and mortal reality, where the former allows for female sexual autonomy and the latter reiterates the lack thereof. In either case, Aphrodite mediates the sexual experiences of women, guiding them as brides and helping to maintain their desirability for the sake of successful marriages.

Again in the Classical period, the overlap between the divine world and the mortal world is exemplified through the cults of Aphrodite and the ways in which her worshippers personally and publicly explored the related aspects of her domain. In Classical Athens, three personae in particular become markedly prominent: Aphrodite *Pandêmos*, Aphrodite *en Kêpois*, and Aphrodite *Ourania*. The Athenian wedding and fifth century Athenian marriage ideals together serve as an especially illuminating case study for examining all three personae as representative of the mutually informative relationship between Aphrodite's cults and the lived experiences of her worshippers in exploring various facets of *ta aphrodisia*. The next and final chapter continues chronologically, examining Aphrodite's cult and iconography in the late-Classical period with Praxiteles's Aphrodite of Knidos sculpture serving as a final case study. As the next chapter demonstrates, the Aphrodite of Knidos is the epitome of Aphrodite's sexual revelation, literally and figuratively, and with the near-full exposure of the goddess comes the full exposure of the nude, female form in Greek art.

Chapter 5

The Aphrodite of Knidos & Late-Classical Erotica

Beginning in the late-Classical period, representations of Aphrodite increasingly reveal the goddess's form, culminating in the fully nude figure of Praxiteles's Aphrodite of Knidos sculpture. This revelation coincides with changing attitudes towards the feminine nude. Although the nudity is not just present in Aphrodite, following her exposure these attitudes continue to find more ardent expression in a range of artistic media. My aim here is not to offer a new reading of the Knidian Aphrodite's right-handed gesture of covering her pubis, the "*pudica*" pose, and its original meaning or purpose. This topic has already been discussed at length by previous and current scholarship, resulting almost always in the inevitable conclusion that, bereft of Praxiteles's original sculpture and without any reliable, ancient attestation to the pose's meaning, never mind direct testimony from the sculptor himself, our conclusions can only ever be plausible conjecture at best. The same can be said of why Praxiteles chose to depict Aphrodite in the nude. Several theories have been put forth, including the famous courtesan Phryne having been the source of inspiration. Again, no theory can be proven definitively.

Instead, I offer a new reading on a different aspect of the Knidia, her nudity, from the perspective of the Mulvey model. The specific formulation of the male gaze in the Mulvey model suggests ways in which the Knidia may have been fetishized by male viewers and it also offers a means of considering how female viewers would have idolized Aphrodite through the Knidia. While some previous analyses of the Knidia still emphasize the goddess's shame and/or modesty through her right-handed gesture, and through this gesture the shame of female sexuality in general,[1] this discussion aims to read not the shame or modesty of the goddess, but rather the shame of the spectator. Frequently in analyses of the Knidia, there are two schools of thought: scholars argue for the sculpture's intended audience as primarily male, or scholars argue that the Knidia is actually more meaningful to female viewers.[2] I maintain that assigning a specific "intended" or "primary" audience to the Knidia is a fruitless endeavor. We cannot know with absolute certainty whom Praxiteles intended the Knidia to have a more significant impact on, men or women, and in attempting to determine

[1] Select examples: Havelock (1995), 36; Stewart (1997), 97-106; Salomon (1997), 204; Ludwig (2002), 292. These modern interpretations are based on the continued acceptance of J.J. Bernoulli's interpretation of the sculpture in his (1873) publication, *Aphrodite: Ein Baustein Zur Griechischen Kunstmythologie*.

[2] Cf. Osborne (1994); Havelock (1995); Stewart (1997); Salomon (1997); Seaman (2004); Kampen (2009); Lee (2015a&b).

one gender had a more consequential interaction with the sculpture than the other ultimately limits the otherwise broad impact the Knidia would have had. The ambiguity of the Knidia's pose and nudity should be evidence of the sculpture's original mutability. Instead of assigning a primary audience as either male or female, the primary audience should be considered to include both, and this becomes clearer through the Mulvey model. I concur that Aphrodite's pose renders her nudity a reflection of the dominance of the male gaze and how that gaze constructs the female form. Her pose implies a decidedly male-oriented interpretation. However, the Knidia also speaks to a female audience in its reiteration of the qualities which empower female desirability and enable women to emulate the divine model of feminine sexuality. Specifically in her *pudica* pose, when Aphrodite's body language is read not as a gesture of personal embarrassment or self-consciousness but rather as a gesture meant to censure the specifically male gaze for fetishizing a goddess, her nude form is isolated as an ideal of female beauty which previously had been held in comparison to the ideal beauty of the male nude and found inferior. The Knidia was a cult statue, an object of religious devotion not limited to a male or female audience, and therefore we should not determine that the Knidia was more impactful on one gender than the other.

This chapter also explores the parallels between the development of Aphrodite's iconography leading to the Knidia not just in sculpture but in vase painting as well, and the contemporary depictions of the female nude, especially in bathing contexts, in order to demonstrate further the relationship between Aphrodite's cultic representations and the concurrent attitudes towards sexuality and gender-specific idealizations of beauty and eroticism.[3] Previous analyses of the Knidia focus on Praxiteles's work in isolation, or focus on related discussions on the Knidia's place within Greek sculptural development and subsequent copies, or, as previously mentioned, they attempt to determine the intended audience.[4] My analysis includes a discussion on select sculptures preceding the Knidia in order to contextualize the Knidia's significance as a representational development. However, this analysis also incorporates contemporary vase paintings of Aphrodite in order to

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[3] Representations of the female nude and/or eroticized representations of women were not limited to Aphrodite. Cf. this chapter, n.28 & n.60.

[4] Havelock (1995) focuses on the Knidia in isolation as well as what we know of Praxiteles the individual/the artist; the majority of the main argument focuses on seven well-known Knidia successors to demonstrate that Knidia copies did not actually begin until the late Hellenistic period, and that the Knidia was relatively unknown until the late second century BCE. Select other examples of previous scholarship: Osborne (1994); Stewart (1997) & (2014); Salomon (1997); Ajootian (1999); Seaman (2004); Kousser (2008); Kampen (2009); Kleiner (2009); Spivey (2013); Lee (2015a&b); Davies (2018).

demonstrate how the Knidia is reflective of developments in other media which consequently affected depictions of nude women in an expanded setting.

Through the Mulvey model, the Knidia is the "bearer of meaning" for female nudity and its rendering by the male gaze which saw through the Knidia a reevaluated appreciation for the attraction of the opposite gender's physical appearance. Subsequent artistic renderings of the female nude, including of women in erotic-themed contexts, corroborate the effect which Aphrodite's revealed form had on this new attitude towards the idealization of the female body. This new attitude is further reflected in erotica, in which the depictions of intercourse are more focused on mutual engagement and pleasure, and an emotional connection between the lovers is implied. Women are still objects of viewing pleasure and the male gaze still retains the agency of exposure, but as will be demonstrated the female body is now not merely a tool for male physical satiation nor is its beauty a consequence of implied eroticism, such as that suggested by bridal imagery of the groom leading the bride into her new home, hinting at the impending post-wedding consummation. With the near-complete uncovering of Aphrodite, the enthrallment of the male gaze by the objectification of the female nude likewise becomes fully exposed and the feminine form is elevated to a new level of aesthetic appreciation and sexual attraction. But the Knidia is not the "bearer of meaning" from solely the male perspective. She is also the "bearer of meaning" with regard to women's control over their desirability.

I reevaluate the Knidia based on three primary analytical goals which, taken together, offer further insights regarding the influences behind the Knidia's creation and the effects of its creation thereafter. One, to examine how images of Aphrodite and of the female nude in bathing depictions contemporary to the Knidia demonstrate a reciprocal relationship resulting in an increased interest in depicting the private world of women and the desirability of the feminine form. Two, to reexamine the ANE precedents which were in circulation before and during the period of the Knidia's inception and how these precedents may have influenced Aphrodite's nudity. And three, to examine the Knidia's pose through the Mulvey model in order to understand further how the male, phallic-central gaze shaped two effects: 1) a male-oriented impression of the female nude/of Aphrodite, and 2) the realization of the feminine form as a new ideal of physical beauty and the emulative qualities of the Knidia which spoke to female spectators. However, I also use the Mulvey model to relate the Knidia to female viewers and female self-presentation, which subverts the male-centrism of the model and adapts it instead as female-centric. In examining these three areas, what becomes more obvious is that the atmosphere within which Praxiteles created the Knidia was brimming with

evolving (Greek) attitudes towards the female form and female sexuality and was inspired by foreign artistic representations of the divine, all coalescing to help create the most conducive environment from which Aphrodite could emerge in the nude.

Sculptured Aphrodite: The Mulvey Model & The Knidia

The spectator experience differs when viewing a sculpture in comparison to viewing a vase painting. Whereas a vase painting can be examined up-close and even touched, sculptures were meant to be viewed from a particular distance; vase paintings were small-scale, two-dimensional paintings while sculptures were three-dimensional, life-size representations which could sometimes be viewed in-the-round depending on their placement and/or location. Vase painters were more limited in the expression of movement and emotion but had more freedom in creating pictorial narratives, whereas sculptors had more freedom in executing life-like body movement and developing physical expressions but within a more limited narrative space. As discussed in the Introduction, when analysing ancient viewership of vase paintings Stansbury-O'Donnell envisions a "viewing matrix."[5] The cast of participants changes when the matrix is applied to sculpture: the nucleus of the painted image, the central focus, is now the sculpture; the spectators painted to the left/right of the nucleus are now the secondary figures in a sculptural grouping (where applicable, for example an Aphrodite and Eros pairing where Eros is the secondary figure); the vase viewer is now the sculpture viewer; the group, all those within the viewing field of the vase, is now the group within the viewing field of the sculpture. The above will be taken into account when I consider the viewing experience of the Aphrodite of Knidos.[6]

We are able to reconstruct the original viewing context of the Knidia because of accounts left to us including those of Pliny the Elder and Pseudo-Lucian.[7] This viewing context is analysed in more detail later, but it will suffice to note that the original Knidia was placed on a chest-high base in the centre of a round temple in Knidos, the reconstruction of which is still under debate. If not within this round temple, then the Knidia may instead have been placed in a rectangular temple in the lower town,[8] or it may have stood in the centre of a

[5] Stansbury-O'Donnell (2006), 70-71.

[6] As this analysis is specifically concerned with Aphrodite sculptures, the subsequent discussion will focus on the representation of the feminine form and less on the development of sculptural techniques. For more comprehensive analyses on the development of Greek sculpture generally as well as more specifically on sculptural techniques, materials, and functions, see the following select examples: Boardman (1985) & (1995); Stewart (1993) & (2014); Osborne (1998); Palagia (ed.) (2008); Neer (2010); Stansbury-O'Donnell (2011); Spivey (2013); Woodford (2015); Fullerton (2016).

[7] Plin. *NH* 36.20; Pseudo-Lucian *Amores* 13-17.

[8] Montel (2010), 267-268.

typical *tholos* since Pliny only stipulates that the sculpture was visible from all sides and angles.[9] Visible from all angles and sculpted nude, Aphrodite is here more tangible, her feminine attributes more clearly defined and visible, her innate sensuality given physical form. But as Havelock emphasizes, the Knidia was both created by a male artist and subsequently referenced by male writers; women very likely viewed the sculpture and may have possessed replicas in their own homes but the perspective that has come down to us is that of men,[10] although this perspective does not detract from the importance of female viewers as I later discuss. In Mulveyian terms, the male gaze shapes Aphrodite as the first female nude, creating the sculptural manifestation of Aphrodite as representative of male ideals of the feminine form. The Knidia enables a voyeuristic viewing experience which intensifies the aims of fetishistic scopophilia where the woman (here Aphrodite) becomes an object of fetish for the male gaze. The Knidia's pose, the way in which Aphrodite attempts to conceal her nudity, alleviates the "fear of castration" experienced by the male viewer by giving the male gaze the ability to take power away from the female figure. Claiming ownership of the goddess's nudity enables the male spectator to diminish the threat of her sexuality to his masculinity, but, as will be discussed, at the cost of a particularly dangerous voyeurism. Regardless of the type of spectator, male or female, the Knidia's impact was profound. Neer argues that, "the history of fifth-century sculpture becomes the story of an ongoing effort to meet the essential brief of the Greek artisan: to produce a *thauma idesthai*, 'a wonder to behold'."[11] The Knidia certainly continues this effort, achieving the effect of wonder more so than any of its predecessors first and foremost through the nude rendering of the goddess and as a consequence of this rendering, through its impact on the representation of the female nude in Greek art thereafter.

Roman Copies & The Classical Aphrodite Types

Before examining the Knidia, I focus on a select few examples of Classical Aphrodite sculptures, primarily those which originate in Athens and/or were created by Athenian sculptors, in order to contextualize the sculptural models which preceded the Knidia or were created approximately around the same time.[12] These examples of the main Aphrodite sculptural types demonstrate the progression to Aphrodite's nudity in the Knidia, a feature

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[9] Childs (2018), 197; cf. Plin. *NH*. 36.21.
[10] Havelock (1995), 3.
[11] Neer (2010), 4.
[12] For a comprehensive catalogue of late-Classical and Hellenistic Aphrodite sculptures from Athens/the Agora, see Stewart (2012).

which appears to have lacked Greek precedents for the sculptor to have drawn upon for artistic inspiration. In keeping with the representational motifs of Aphrodite in vase paintings of the Classical period, notably as they developed from early-Classical to late-Classical, the Aphrodite sculptures also adopt increasingly revealing representations. These representations are executed in several stylistic iterations until finally reaching their zenith in the Knidia. Before examining the Classical Aphrodite types, this analysis further requires a brief discussion of the use of Roman copies in analysing Greek precedents to the Knidia.

The terminology for discussing Roman sculptures modeled after Greek originals, "copies", recently has become problematic. Beginning as far back as the eighteenth century in the circle of German art historian J.J. Winckelmann, the term "copy" increasingly gained negative connotations, ascribing a lack of originality and artistic ability to the Romans as well as rudimentary reasons for their desiring Greek works (such as using them as social and economic status symbols redolent of the glorious past of their cultural predecessors).[13] During this period and thereafter, Greek and Roman artworks were discussed together as products of an "undifferentiated antiquity" and/or as "earlier and later versions of one continuous development."[14] "Greek" art was isolated as the preeminent, idolized art and failed to acknowledge Roman creative artistry and the more nuanced motivations behind Roman acquisition of Greek-style artworks. This attitude persisted to varying degrees into the twenty-first century as evidenced by scholarship which continues to discuss Roman sculptures based on, or reliant upon, *Kopienkritik*, the critical method of analysing copies for how closely they replicate "the" original, as first developed for artistic purposes by German archaeologist and art historian A. Furtwängler in 1893.[15] By this method, scholarship focused on the recovery of Greek originals through the survival of Roman copies; through the Roman system of measurement where copies could be reproduced exactly ("pointing"), the copies could be assessed as evidence for the presumed original.[16] However, as Ridgway points out,

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[13] More recent scholarship beginning primarily in the 1960s and 1970s challenges the term "copy" and its negative connotations. Cf. Bieber (1977); Vermuele (1977); Zanker (1978); Ridgway (1984); Bergmann (1995); Marvin (1993) & (1997); Gazda (1995) & (2002); Stewart (2003); Vout (2018). As the term is still widely used, "copy" will be maintained in this discussion.

[14] Gazda (1995), 124.

[15] Select examples which address this topic: J.J. Winckelmann (1775); Furtwängler (1893); Wickhoff (1900); Richter (1928 & editions through 1970); Brendel (1953); Stewart (1990); Boardman (1994).

[16] Gazda (1995), 127-128. For a discussion on *Kopienkritik* see also: Vermuele (1967) & (1970); Bieber (1977); Ridgway (1984); Marvin (1993) & (1997); Stewart (2003); Brilliant (2005); Anguissola (2015). Following this approach, Roman sculptures were split into two categories, historical and ideal, the latter from the German *Idealplastik*. Historical sculptures depict historical persons and events, such as public/private portraiture and narrative architectural reliefs; ideal sculpture depicts deities, mythological figures, personification, and allegories, and involves serial production to the point where a replica series can be identified based on a common prototype. Cf. Marvin (1997), 9.

if “copy” implies the exact duplication of a sculpture, in all details and dimensions, then very few Greek or Roman objects meet this criterion. What “copy” can instead mean in order to broaden the criterion is, “the reproduction of a work to such an extent that its similarity to the prototype is easily recognizable and, at least in the intention of the maker, the two pieces can be considered the same.”[17]

With the copy’s similarity to the prototype in mind, the pre-Knidia Aphrodite sculptures presented here which are categorized as Roman copies are considered representative of developments in Aphrodite’s Greek iconography. These sculptures reflect part of the large replica series specific to sculptures of Aphrodite. As Marvin suggests, large replica series represent a “tribute to the usefulness of the type in a variety of Roman sculptural programs,” and the survival in great numbers of certain subjects results from their sculptural types being capable of “conveying the desired meaning most clearly, those everybody knew.”[18] Aphrodite exemplifies one of these subjects since her role in both Roman public and private life fostered the large-scale production of her replicas, and a number of Roman copies preserved in resemblance the Greek originals considered masterworks integral to the classical tradition.[19] Aphrodite sculptures such as those discussed below can be described as emblematic of a statuary typology employed by Roman artists which preserved resemblance to the Greek original and subsequently demonstrate that the iconographic history of the image had likewise been preserved. Especially when analysing specific motifs in Roman art, the concern for iconographical consistency of a certain type becomes more evident even if the finer details are more loosely reproduced.[20] The repetition of particular elements distinguishes one type from another and while the elements which are repeated vary in number and in subtlety, the general schema of the prototype is nevertheless reproduced.[21] The salient features are preserved in order to convey the desired image of the subject matter and those features preserved of the originals distinguish the figure of Aphrodite from other goddesses, such as the drapery styling and the posture.

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[17] Ridgway (1984), 6. The Greeks themselves had been producing copies since the sixth century BCE, following a more “casual and systematic” production where copying was accomplished free-hand and the mechanics of creating bronze or marble originals on a large scale was not a primary concern, at least not to the artist. Cf. Vermuele (1967), 180.

[18] Marvin (1993), 170.

[19] Cf. as Brilliant contends, these copies are “shaped no less by the cultivation of Roman taste and its manifest preferences than by the precedental works themselves” (2005, 21). Gazda maintains that Roman copies of Greek originals, however allegedly faithful some are thought to be, should still be analysed as unique Roman images, but also that the “source image” should still be considered part of the “iconographic history and layered meaning of the copy or repetition and as a sign of the artist’s or patron’s historical awareness” (1995, 146).

[20] Stewart (2003), 239.

[21] Stewart (2003), 240.

In discussing the Classical Aphrodites, the “Greekness” of the sculptures need not be subsumed by Roman context. “Greekness” was a “visual language of power”[22] enabling the Romans to create spaces which conveyed the appropriate atmosphere and relevant function. Aphrodite is an ideal figure for conveying a desired public image while maintaining that which makes the goddess “Aphrodite”, and her image lends itself well to our inferring a Classical Greek image of the goddess based on Roman copies. The Venus Genetrix type, which was often used as the basis for portraits of elite Roman women, demonstrates how Roman copies would differ from the Greek prototype in order to conform to Roman representational preferences, but it also demonstrates the ways in which the copy maintained the crucial aspects of the original so that the figure’s identity would be unmistakable. The various copies of the Genetrix used specifically as portraits differ in the detail of the garment. The chiton or long, transparent himation would cover the breasts so as to comply with the “modest desires” of those Roman matrons whose heads replaced Aphrodite’s.[23] Venus, as the purported mother of the Julian Gens through her offspring Aeneas, and therefore the mother of the Roman people, had been portrayed in her cult image as Genetrix with similar modifications since this representation was created by the sculptor Arkesilaos for dedication at the temple of Venus Genetrix erected by Caesar c. 46/45 BCE and later completed by Octavian.[24] This alteration of a Greek prototype, a product of Alkamenes or Kallimachos c. 420 BCE and possibly related to the Borghese discussed below,[25] maintains the Greek stylization of Aphrodite in terms of her posture and in the execution of the form-fitting garments accentuating the hips, waist, and breasts. However, Roman visual standards are preserved by portraying a higher level of modesty suitable to the image of the mother of Rome and/or of the Roman matron by covering the breasts rather than leaving them partially or fully bared or by styling the drapery to be less transparent. The modesty preserved in the Roman copies may indicate that the Greek prototype, in contrast, was less modest and more revealing. The Venus Genetrix copies based on a Classical Aphrodite prototype demonstrate that through the Roman copy we can envision, albeit tentatively, an image of a Classical Aphrodite which retains pertinent qualities of the original.

[22] Vout (2018), 64.
[23] Vermuele (1970), 31.
[24] Vermuele (1970), 31.
[25] Vermuele (1970), 31.

The Classical Aphrodites

The Classical Aphrodite types demonstrate that Athenian free-standing sculpture favoured Aphrodite as fully or nearly fully-dressed. Although dressed, the goddess is nevertheless portrayed using a specific execution strategy capitalizing on the idea that the clothing defines and delineates the woman's body, and that which cannot be seen makes the woman's unseen nudity that much more appealing. As discussed in chapter three, Classical period artists of both vase painting and sculpture used drapery to accentuate body shapes. In depictions of women, garments and drapery were used to reconcile the traditionally non-ideal (nude) female form with the importance of women's bodies to biological and social reproduction.[26] Just as in vase paintings of the Classical period where women's drapery accentuated their reproductive parts, especially the breasts, sculpture of the Classical period demonstrates this same execution of illusory drapery to suggest transparency such that the garments and drapery are as erotic, if not more, than overt nudity. Experimentation with skin-tight drapery to emphasize the form beneath the garments, especially revealing of the legs, was already visible in some *korai* from the Athenian Acropolis c. 530-510 BCE; examples include Kore 670 and Kore 680.[27]

Later, the use of skin-tight drapery to create the illusion of nudity becomes a more frequently executed style as particularly evident in, although not limited to, Aphrodite sculptures.[28] The Ludovisi Throne, a marble relief c. 470-460 BCE likely depicting Aphrodite *Anadyomene* ("Aphrodite rising from the sea"), displays the drapery techniques artists used (fig. 5.1). This styling can likewise be applied to the High Classical Aphrodites where surface is thematized as drapery with the effect that beyond this surface/drapery, the goddess herself becomes visible.[29] The Classical Aphrodite types often overlap in stylistic execution with several types either borrowing features from earlier ones or echoing other contemporary types, enabling "type grouping." This type grouping, when based on a Roman copy of a Greek prototype, supports the theory that Roman artists had copy-books, or pattern-books from which they "must have routinely drawn upon repertoires of motifs" in order to foster

[26] Cf. figures 3.2, 3.3, & 3.8 for drapery that accentuates body shape and the female reproductive parts.
[27] Stewart (1990), 124; Stansbury-O'Donnell (2015), 196.
[28] Aphrodite is not the only mythical figure in the Classical/late-Classical period (and into the Hellenistic and Roman periods) to be sculpted with revealing drapery (wet-drapery styling, drapery which clings to the body, and/or drapery which slips off of the body). Other figures sculpted in this style include Paionios's Nike of Olympia (original, c. 425-420 BCE), the Nikai and bull from the parapet of the Sanctuary of Athena Nike (original, c. 420 BCE), the Wounded Amazon (Roman copy of Greek original c. 450-425 BCE), the Dying Niobid (original, c. 440 BCE), the original Nereids on the Nereid Monument (c. 390-380 BCE), and the Nike of Samothrace (original, c. 200-190 BCE). However, this chapter focuses strictly on sculptures of Aphrodite.
[29] Neer (2010), 129-131. Cf. *LIMC* "Aphrodite 1170" on the Ludovisi Throne.

"imitation and continuity which was only disrupted when a particular need for change arose."[30] The salient features are preserved through this method of imitation and continuity.

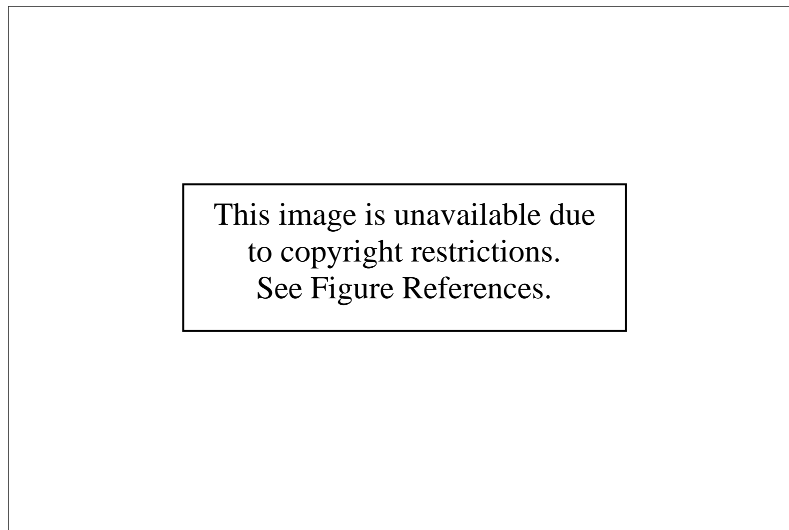

Fig. 5.1: Ludovisi Throne; Marble relief c. 470-460 BCE; *Anadyomene* of Aphrodite.

One type previously discussed is Alkamenes's Aphrodite *en Kêpois* from the Ilissos sanctuary. Another type which echoes this Aphrodite *en Kêpois* is the Borghese type (fig. 5.2). The Borghese type, the so-called Hera-Borghese, is a Roman copy of a Classical bronze c. 420 BCE. The goddess originally held a cornucopia in her left arm, an allusion to her role in fertility. This type copies the drapery representation of the *en Kêpois* style to an exaggerated degree; the thin, creased chiton emphasizes and reveals the curves of Aphrodite's breasts and her belly, while the voluminous himation, although shielding her hips and upper thighs, draws attention to the obscured genitalia. The chiton also slips strategically down her upper chest, nearly revealing the left breast. This styling is one reason to support the identification of the goddess as Aphrodite rather than Hera. The sculpture's eroticism, unmistakable in the wet-drapery styling which exaggerates the breasts and belly and draws attention to the pubic area, suggests Aphrodite, and the drapery which slips off the shoulders seductively is not characteristic of Hera representations and is more in keeping with Aphrodite models which frequently bare at least one shoulder.[31] The identification of the

[30] Stewart (2003), 240-241. As Stewart notes, although no copy-books survive, there is evidence for the accurate copying of models and/or originals. Classical literature, particularly Roman Imperial texts, often references *paradeigmata*, models or patterns used by artists and architects. One example is Plutarch's *An Vitiositas ad Infelicitatem Sufficiat* 3 (*Moralia* 498E). See also Pollitt (1974), 204-215, 272-293; Strong (1994), 21-24.
[31] Delivorrias (1995), 202-204; True (2003), 3; Moltesen (2003), 213-214; Neer (2010), 129; Childs (2018), 58. Cf. the Parthenon east pediment figure of Aphrodite and the Parthenon east frieze block VI Aphrodite.

Borghese as Hera was due in part to the raised right arm which was presumed to be holding the upright sceptre that has been restored in other versions of the statue type. However, the discovery of a votive relief from the sanctuary of Apollo on Aegina reproduces the same figure in pose, garments, and accoutrements (cornucopia), and the raised right arm does not hold a sceptre but rather an oar.[32] The figure represents Aphrodite in her *Euploia* manifestation, as the goddess of sea-faring who in this relief is meant to recall the Spartan victory over the Athenians at Aegospotamoi in 405 BCE, and the Borghese is based on a sculpture of Aphrodite *Euploia* also dedicated by the Spartans at the sanctuary in Amyklai and referenced by Pausanias as a creation of Polykleitos.[33]

The Borghese drapery style is repeated in another Aphrodite type, the Valentini. The Valentini Aphrodite (or alternatively the Valentini Ariadne) is datable to c. 400 BCE, and like the Borghese's elaboration of the Aphrodite *en Kêpois*, the Valentini capitalizes on drapery design (fig. 5.3).[34] The thin chiton and the heavy himation accentuate the goddess's physical feminine features.[35] The identification of Aphrodite is based on stylistic overlapping with other identifiable Aphrodite representations. The pose of the legs with the left leg advanced and the arrangement of the himation both point to an Aphrodite configuration which is mirrored in other sculptures discussed here such as the Doria-Pamphili and the Agora S 1882, and this configuration also echoes descriptions of the Aphrodite *Ourania* of Elis sculpture created by Pheidias (best represented by the Brazzà Aphrodite in Berlin).[36] The deliberately seductive rendering of the heavy himation stressing the figure's hips and upper thighs, and of the thin chiton stressing the breasts and belly, also strongly suggest the figure is meant to represent Aphrodite.[37]

Another notable type which demonstrates the sculptural, erotic aesthetic common to Aphrodite is the seated Aphrodite Olympias, or "Agrippina-Olympias", so-called for the numerous Roman replicas with portrait heads,[38] which survives in twelve Roman copies as well as two fragments from the original featured in the Athens Acropolis Museum (fig. 5.4).

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[32] Delivorrias (1995), 202.
[33] Delivorrias (1995), 202. Delivorrias contends that the Borghese is based specifically on this work of Polykleitos; cf. Paus. 3.18.8.
[34] Stewart (2012), 275.
[35] Related to the Valentini Aphrodite are two Classical statues originating from the Athenian Agora, Agora S 210 and Agora S 37.
[36] Cf. Paus. 6.25.1; Delivorrias (1991), 24; Lapatin (2001), 92; Stewart (2013), 626-627.
[37] While the male body in sculpture is defined by muscles, the female is sculpted to convey a softer figure, often with a rounded stomach and hips; on this stylistic convention in relation to the Knidia, cf. Seaman (2004) & Barrow (2018).
[38] Ridgway (2002), 209 n.22.

The identification and original location of this type are still under debate; the most likely possibility is the Aphrodite statue dedicated in the 440s by Kallias, sculpted by the elder Kalamis.[39] Aphrodite reclines on a *klismos* facing forward, left arm propped on the back of the chair and right arm and hand hanging limp at her side. The creased chiton conforms to her resting body, adhering to the planes of her torso and emphasizing her breasts. The figural composition shows the figure as "seated with unusual nonchalance—unusual, that is, apart from for images of Aphrodite,"[40] as during this period Aphrodite is represented in more relaxed poses than other goddesses, further evidenced as well by her Parthenon pediment sculpture. As Davies concludes, "the pose suggests someone who is aware of their superior status and who displays little of the subordinate, self-effacing body language expected in statues of Roman women."[41]

As we have already seen, this self-assurance is characteristic of Aphrodite in both her literary and artistic representations. The Parthenon east pediment sculpture of Aphrodite (figure M; fig. 5.5) mirrors the composition of the Olympias Aphrodite.[42] The pediment sculpture shows Aphrodite resting in the lap of another goddess, figure L, possibly her mother Dione or Artemis as discussed in chapter three. Both Aphrodite and L wear a girded, sleeved chiton and a himation. Aphrodite's shoulders are exposed and the draping of her chiton across her chest is similar to the rendering of her chiton in the Borghese and Valentini types where the drapery stretches strategically across her breasts so as not to reveal them outright but to give the impression that the covering rests ever so precariously. As discussed in chapter three, in the Parthenon's east frieze block VI, Aphrodite appears in a position which mirrors figure M. In the frieze, Aphrodite sits relaxed with her right forearm on Artemis's thigh, her other arm entwined with Artemis's; Aphrodite wears a veil, a short-sleeved chiton, and a himation. Her left arm stretches forward to rest atop Eros's shoulder, pointing at the procession. Like in the pediment sculpture, Aphrodite's chiton is loosely draped such that her shoulders are exposed as well as part of her chest. Also related to the Parthenon sculpture is the Doria-Pamphili Aphrodite known from several Roman copies,

[39] Stewart (2012), 270.
[40] Davies (2018), 230. Cf. also Boardman (1995), 232 fig. 219.
[41] Davies (2018), 230.
[42] An alternative identification of figure M is Thalassa (resting in the lap of Gaia, figure L); however, it is undoubtedly intended to be Aphrodite. As chapter three discussed, the identification of M as Aphrodite is considered secure in modern scholarship. The positioning of the body such that her feminine attributes are strongly emphasized, particularly her breasts and lower abdomen, and the "wet drapery" rendering of her chiton, leave little doubt as to who this figure is meant to represent. Figure M also reflects stylistic and representational elements of several other contemporary, Aphrodite sculptural types. While the viewing context of a pediment figure differs from that of a sculpture, the emphasis here is on the overlap in stylistic representation.

datable to the c. 420s BCE and frequently attributed to Agorakritos (fig. 5.6).[43] This type represents Aphrodite wearing a thin, short-sleeved chiton and a heavy himation; the rendering of the drapery suggests the wind is ruffling her garments, molding them to certain areas of her body and accentuating her feminine attributes. This styling as well as the slipped-strap over the left breast both recall the Parthenon pediment.[44] The windblown effect is further related to the Classical Aphrodite statue from the Athenian Agora (S 1882) (fig. 5.7). Agora S 1882, a headless statue c. 420 BCE, likewise features the flamboyant drapery styling of the Parthenon pediment and the Doria-Pamphili type. Both the Agora statue and the Parthenon sculptures are originals and as such we are not reliant upon Roman copies to comment on their original composition and styling. That these originals feature the same or at least very similar attributes as the Roman copies here discussed corroborates the validity of using these Roman copies to reconstruct plausible images of the Greek originals.

[43] Ridgway (1981), 217; Stewart (2012), 273.
[44] Ridgway (1981), 196.

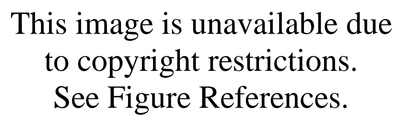

Fig. 5.2: Borghese Aphrodite ("Hera-Borghese"); Roman copy from the Palatine Stadium, Rome Antiquarium Palatino; formerly Museo Nazionale Romano 51.

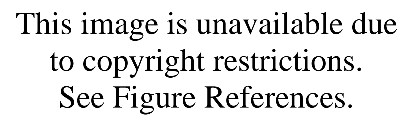

Fig. 5.3: Valentini Aphrodite (Valentini Ariadne); Roman copy (arms and head restored); Villa Papale, Castelgandolfo.

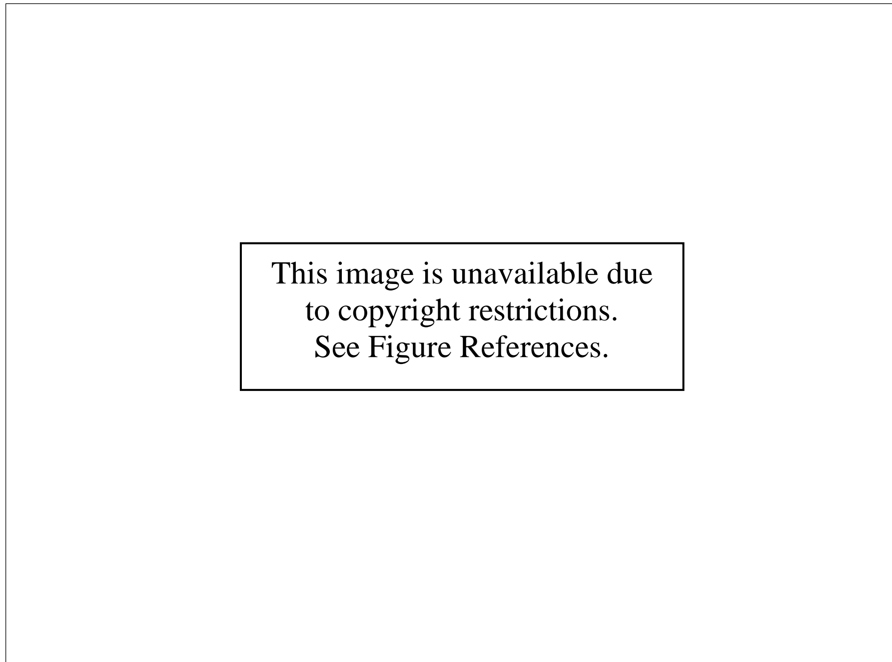

Fig. 5.4: “Olympias/Agrippina” Aphrodite; Roman copy from the Circus of Maxentius; Rome, Museo Torlonia.

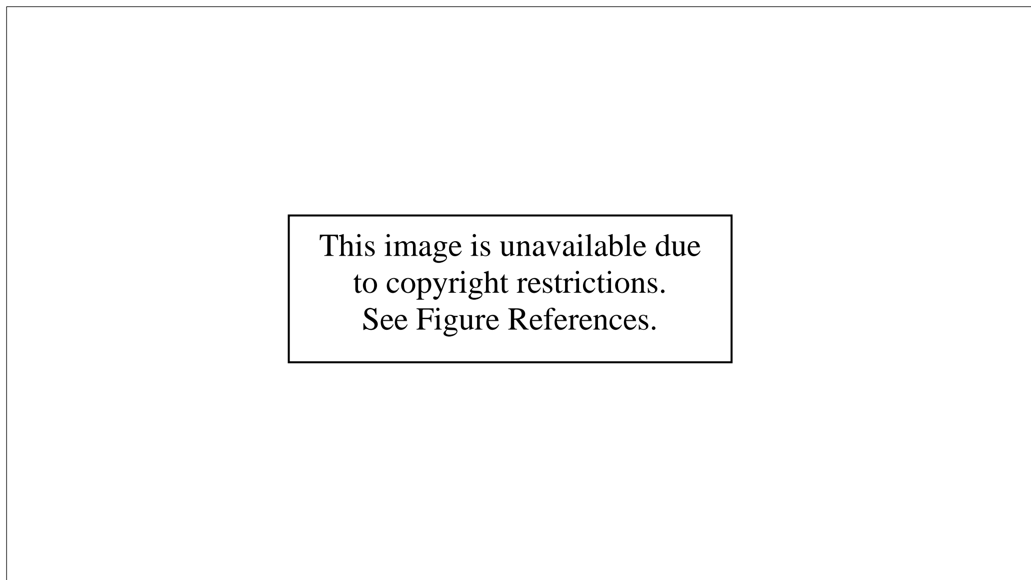

Fig. 5.5: Aphrodite (fig. M) resting in the lap of Dione (?) (fig. L); Parthenon East Pediment, c. 438 BCE-432 BCE; British Museum 1816,0610.97.

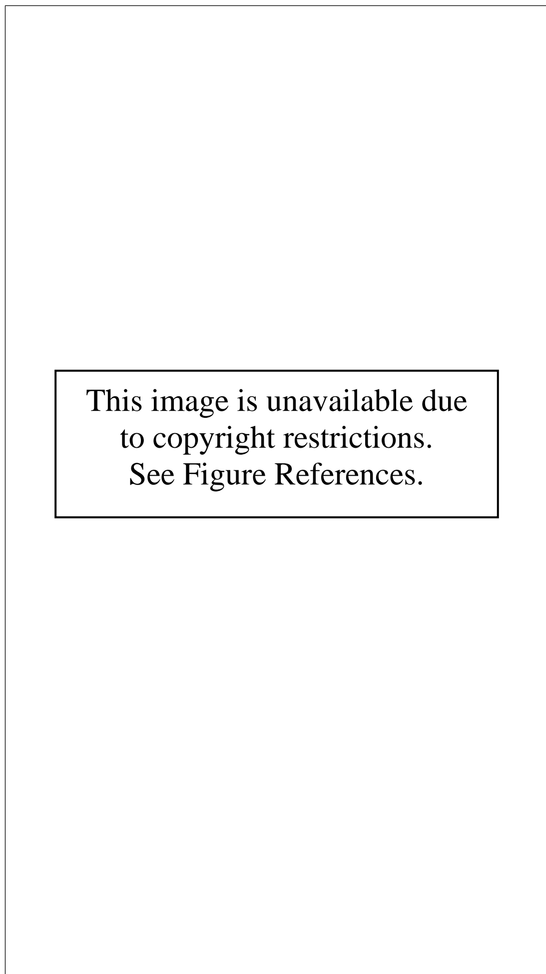

Fig. 5.6: Doria-Pamphili Aphrodite;
Rome; Palazzo Doria-Pamphili.

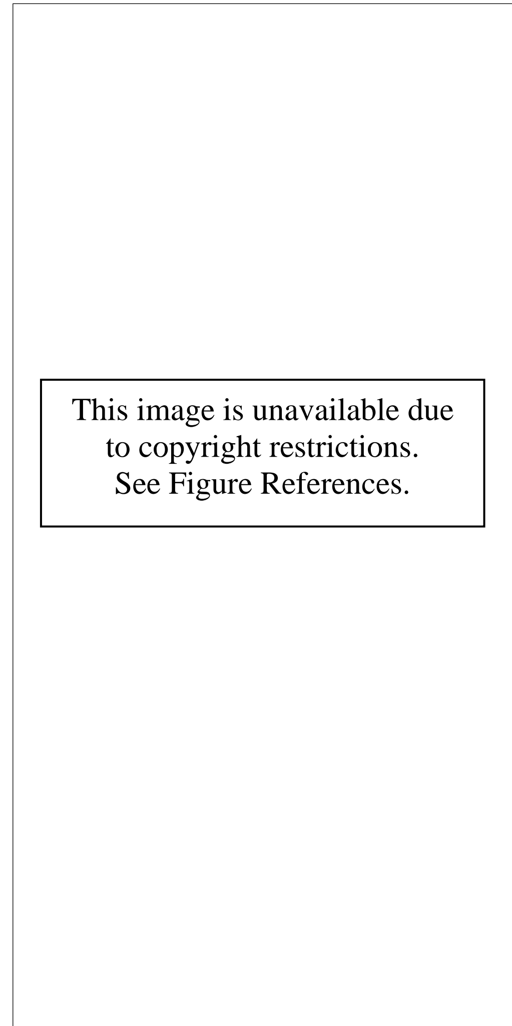

Fig. 5.7: Agora Museum S 1882; Athens.

The illusion of covering created by the effects of the tight chitons and heavy himatia on these Aphrodite types render the goddess eroticized by compelling the spectator to want to see more, to want to see beneath the drapery, such that it is overly simplistic to associate clothed forms with modesty and nude forms with the erotic. This illusory technique is echoed in vase painting of the same period where depictions of Aphrodite also portray the goddess in close-fitting garments which accentuate and/or reveal her breasts through transparency (cf. figures 3.3, 3.8, & 4.20). The accentuated female form tantalized viewers, but the garments enabled the goddess to retain one last (thin) protection against indecent exposure, indecent in the sense that mortal eyes were not free to view the goddess in her natural state. This thin covering also protected viewers from committing a transgression against the goddess, that of seeing her in her entirety, a sight never intended for or permitted for mortal eyes. In suggesting the nudity of the goddess through the illusory drapery, the Aphrodite sculptures epitomize the question of what the divine *eidos* (form/appearance) of Aphrodite actually

looks like. As V. Platt notes, on divine *eidê* the ancient poets are silent; for instance, the *Homeric Hymns* "dramatize the intensity and potential dangers of divine encounter," but "when they move from narrative to description and attempt to convey what their mortal protagonists see, they reach the edges of language."[45] The poets may give a general physical impression but any specific description of the deity's body is withheld, "and the audience is diverted instead to the materiality of substances that serve to conceal form."[46]

This withheld description and focus instead on material concealment is no less true for Aphrodite. In the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, Anchises gazes upon her, "wondering at her appearance [*thaúmainén te eîdós*], her stature, and her shining garments; for she wore a dress brighter than firelight, and she had twisted bracelets and shining ear buds. Round her tender neck there were beautiful necklaces of gold, most elaborate, and about her tender breasts it shone like the moon, a wonder to behold."[47] Aphrodite's stature, bodily shape, and the garments and jewellery she dons are what stirs wonder (*thauma*) in Anchises, and when the couple do progress their encounter to the bedroom, Anchises undresses Aphrodite bit by bit, teasing the reader/listener up to that final moment of complete revelation which ultimately is never described: "he first removed the shining adornment from her body, the pins and twisted bracelets and ear buds and necklaces; he undid her girdle, and divested her of her gleaming garments and laid them on a silver-riveted chair."[48] There the poet stops with the undressing, the next lines passingly confirming that Anchises lay with Aphrodite. When Aphrodite, now dressed, awakens Anchises, all he sees of her beauty is "the neck and lovely eyes" and when he saw these, "he was afraid, and averted his gaze, and covered his handsome face up again in the blanket."[49] Even this small glimpse of the goddess's true form is enough to frighten Anchises, his anxiety resulting from knowing that he has gazed upon and touched that which should not be seen freely by a mortal's eyes. The poet's reticence to describe Aphrodite's whole appearance parallels the reluctance of artists to reveal Aphrodite completely, and both poets and artists chose instead to describe or to depict Aphrodite's physical beauty and splendor as fully as they dared either through teasing descriptions of disrobing, or through torso-revealing painted images, or through sculpted, form-fitting garments.

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[45] Platt (2011), 68.
[46] Platt (2011), 68.
[47] *Hom. Hymn Aphr.* 85-90; trans. West (2003).
[48] *Hom. Hymn Aphr.* 160-167.
[49] *Hom. Hymn Aphr.* 181.

The departure from the traditional way of representing Aphrodite's form is one reason why Praxiteles's nude Aphrodite was such a shocking revelation despite the eroticism of the clothed forms discussed above. Perhaps Praxiteles sought to eliminate the thin barrier between what the ancient viewers could see and what they truly wanted to see of the goddess, a sort of inevitable conclusion to an increasingly revealed feminine form, a process which the sculptor chose to hasten. This selection of pre-Knidia Aphrodite sculptures has shown that the allure of the feminine form was being exposed at an increasing rate through advanced stylistic conventions of drapery and body language rendered in the goddess. The attitude towards the revealed female body was shifting from one which viewed it in opposition to the unhidden grace of the male nude form to one which viewed it as a more nuanced configuration of beauty in need of protection from plain sight but nevertheless desirable. Common to all of these pre-Knidia types is a concern with the tension between concealment and revelation, and the fragility or precariousness of that concealment.

The Knidian Aphrodite: Context & Precedents for Female Nudity

The Knidian Aphrodite joins the other Classical Aphrodite types but separates itself in spectacular fashion. The city of Knidos purchased the statue of Aphrodite sculpted by the Athenian artist Praxiteles c. 360-350 BCE. Pliny recounts how the statue came to be in the city's possession:

> There are statues by him at Athens in the Ceramicus. Superior to any other statue, not only to others made by Praxiteles himself, but throughout the world, is the Venus which many people have sailed to Cnidus to see. He had made two statues and was offering them for sale at the same time. One was clothed, and for this reason was preferred by the people of Cos who had an option to buy, although Praxiteles offered it at the same price as the other – this was thought the only decent and proper response. So the people of Cnidus bought the Venus when the Coans refused, and its reputation became greatly enhanced.[50]

It is unlikely that Praxiteles created the two statues and then offered them for sale, as our evidence suggests rather that Classical sculptors did not produce major works unless by commission.[51] Regardless, the statue found a home in Knidos where it was placed on a chest-high base in the centre of a temple. The exact construction of the original structure which housed the Knidia is still under debate as the ancient texts (such as those by Pliny and

[50] Plin. *NH*. 36.20; trans. Healy (1991).
[51] Stewart (2012), 332.

Pseudo-Lucian) and the current archaeological data do not enable us to reconstruct the temple with absolute certainty.[52] The Knidia was placed in a round temple which was previously thought to have been constructed as a monopteros with eighteen Doric columns according to the 1969-72 American excavations led by Love. However, the 1989 Turkish excavations led by Özgan and investigations by Bankel in 1988-92 led to a reevaluation: the temple featured a Corinthian colonnade with a *cella* wall (not a monopteros) and the building should be classified as a *tholos* opened by a door in the eastern section of the wall so that the statue would only have been visible when the door was opened.[53] Inscriptions to "Athana" were found at this site as well as related terracotta votives, leading some to the conclusion that this particular building was in fact a temple to Athena not Aphrodite, in which case the Knidia would not have been placed therein.[54] This round temple has also been dated to the second century BCE, and while it is plausible that the second-century temple is a rebuilding of a fourth-century original, the excavations nevertheless suggest that the Hellenistic round temple previously identified as the Temple of Aphrodite *Euploia* is not in fact the correct identification nor the location of the Knidia statue.[55] If not this round temple, then it is possible the Temple of Aphrodite *Euploia* which housed the Knidia was a rectangular temple in the lower town,[56] or as W.A.P. Child notes, given the existence of round buildings such as the *tholoi* of Epidauros, in the Marmaria at Delphi, and the Philippeion at Olympia, it is plausible that the Knidia also stood in the centre of a typical *tholos* as Pliny's account stipulates only that the sculpture is visible from all sides and angles.[57] If indeed visible in such a way, then here in this type of setting Aphrodite could be viewed in the round from all angles. Here she remained for nearly eight hundred years until being taken to Constantinople in the fifth century CE, and there she perished in a fire c. 476 CE. Fortunately, given the nature of the representation, countless copies had been created before its destruction allowing close reconstructions of the original. One of the best-preserved reproductions is the Roman copy featured in the Vatican Museums (fig. 5.8).

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[52] Montel (2010), 268. Additional archaeological finds from Knidos which support the influence of ANE goddess/female iconography on the Knidia are discussed in detail below, pgs. 242-252.
[53] Love (1972) & (1973); Özgan (1990) & (1991); Bankel (1997); Winter (2006), 31-32; Montel (2010), 268; Childs (2018), 197, 197 n.292.
[54] Blümel (1992); Winter (2006); Montel (2010).
[55] Bankel (1997); Winter (2006); Montel (2010).
[56] Montel (2010), 267-268.
[57] Childs (2018), 197; cf. Plin. *NH*. 36.21.

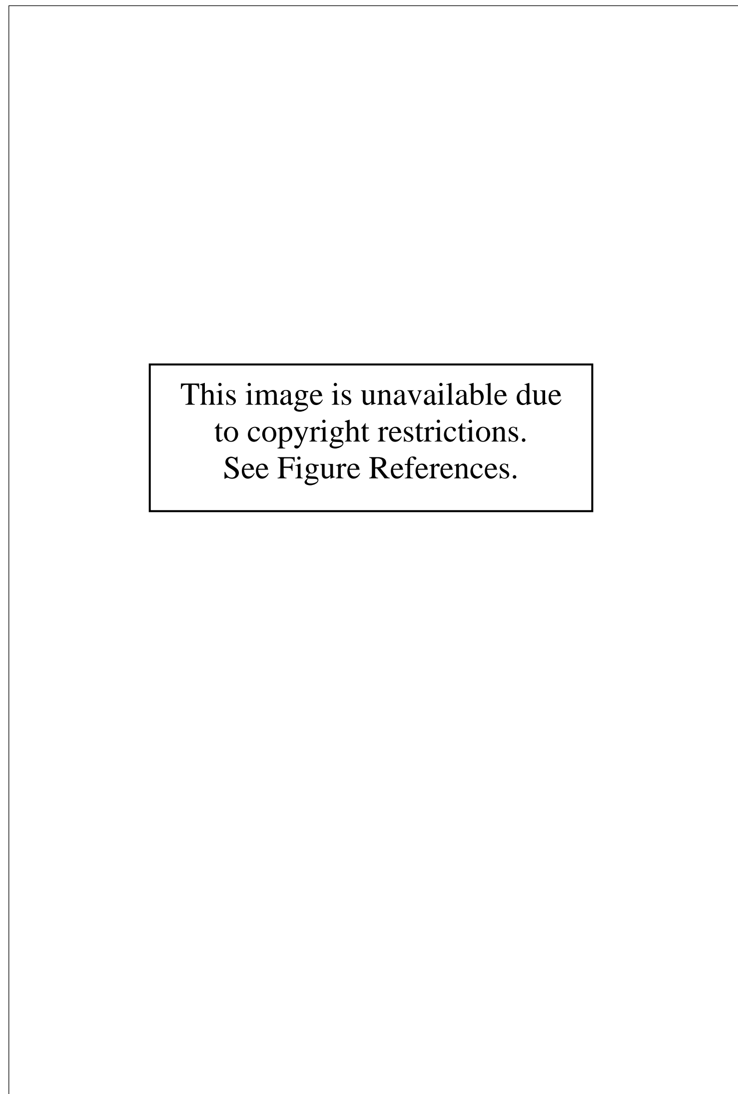

Fig. 5.8: Aphrodite of Knidos, Colonna type, Roman copy, Rome, Vatican 812. (Photo DAI, Rome, inst. Neg. 68.3650).

Praxiteles is innovative in sculpting Aphrodite in the nude, but he is not divorced from the type of eroticized Aphrodite representations that came before the Knidia. Having examined the Classical Aphrodite types, we can also examine contemporary vase painting depictions of Aphrodite and of the female nude in general to contextualize the iconographical environment pre-Knidia, including ANE precedents. A more detailed analysis of vase paintings depicting bathing brides follows later in this chapter in the section on the possible viewing contexts implied by the Knidia's pose and nudity. These bathing brides may reflect the mutually informative relationship between Aphrodite's iconography and the burgeoning iconography of nude women during the late-Classical period, especially as the latter often reflects not just the Knidia's nudity but also the sculpture's contrapposto pose. Classical to late-Classical Aphrodite representations in vase painting were growing bolder in their

depiction of the goddess; scenes showing one or both breasts and bared torso were increasingly common and served to differentiate Aphrodite from other figures (see figures 3.6, 4.18, and 4.20). This motif continued between 425 BCE and 375 BCE as evidenced by several examples. One example is an Athenian red-figure pelike c. 400-390 BCE depicting Eros standing on the lap of Aphrodite and crowning a youth (possibly Paris or Adonis) (fig. 5.9).[58] Aphrodite's torso is completely bared, her breasts and nipples detailed. The partial nudity helps to identify the figure as Aphrodite, especially if the youth Eros is crowning is Adonis; Aphrodite and Adonis vase paintings were not uncommon as discussed in the previous chapter. If the youth is Paris, the female figure could still likely be Aphrodite given their mythical connection. An alternative suggestion is that the half-nude female figure is Helen.[59] However, given that nude female representations up to this point had been reserved for prostitutes, bathing brides, and for a select number of other mythical female figures including Aphrodite, the figure here is less likely to be Helen.[60] While similar depictions of Helen during the same period and in Paris's presence, such as figure 5.10, do show her half-bared as well, she is frequently shown with a garment or veil which she holds aloft, sometimes to shield her face and wrap over her torso, a gesture which a torso-bared Aphrodite in the same scene does not perform.[61] The reclining pose in figure 5.9 is also reminiscent of the Olympias and Parthenon Aphrodite sculptures.

[58] Other examples from this period depicting Aphrodite like so include: Beazley 7952, 8002, 14801, 16469, 32020, 44230, 217490, & 9035131. (All Athenian red-figure vessels of various shapes, including lekythoi, hydriai, and pelikai.) On fig. 5.9, cf. *LIMC* 29651; Ghali-Kahil (1955), 169.
[59] Ghali-Kahil (1955), 169-170.
[60] Other mythical female figures depicted nude or scantily clad include Atalanta and Thetis. The Atalanta examples do not depict her bared breasts (or genitalia). Instead, Atalanta dons a "bikini style" outfit or breastband; cf. Stafford (2005), figs. 9.1 & 9.2, c. 470-460 BCE and 440-430 BCE respectively. Later examples, contemporary to the vase paintings discussed in this chapter, allow for more bodily exposure, particularly of the breasts. An Athenian red-figure pelike from Rhodes depicts a nude Thetis, dated to c. 380-360 BCE (Beazley 230422, *LIMC* 12129).
[61] Other contemporary examples of Helen in vase paintings shown with her breasts bared but also holding a garment aloft include Beazley 6546 (Athenian red-figure hydria, c. 370-360 BCE; *LIMC* 29667) and Beazley 6554 (Athenian red-figure squat lekythos, c. 375-350 BCE; *LIMC* 18036). Helen is commonly depicted with Paris in these and similar scenes, such as Beazley 231037 (Athenian red-figure hydria c. 380-370 BCE, *LIMC* 29629), where here Helen is not bared at all.

This image is unavailable due to copyright restrictions. See Figure References.

Fig. 5.9: Detail of Athenian red-figure pelike, c. 400-390 BCE; Eros on Aphrodite's lap; Louvre CA2261; Beazley 11291.

The appearance of other mythical and non-mythical nude women in vase painting can be linked to Aphrodite's own iconography, the latter possibly having had an influence on acceptable depictions of the female nude beginning in the late-Classical period. An Athenian red-figure hydria c. 400-390 BCE depicts the meeting of Helen and Paris (fig. 5.10).[62] Helen is seated on a cushion with Paris before her in an oriental costume holding spears. Eros is above Helen and behind her is another woman holding a box. Behind this woman is Aphrodite holding a sceptre in one hand and what may be a myrtle branch in the other and wearing what appears to be a completely diaphanous chiton from the waist up. Her breasts are clearly visible and her nipples are delineated. Helen appears to be wearing a similar garment as her breasts and nipples are also visible. The half-nude Helen clutches her garment, possibly a veil, extending it forward to shield part of her face.[63] Helen's veil-clutching

[62] On fig. 5.10, cf. *LIMC* 29648, "Helene 93"; Ghali-Kahil (1955), 169.

[63] Helen's gesture of clutching her veil is a much-discussed iconographic motif. Llewellyn-Jones (2003, 98-114) discusses in detail the so-called *anakalypsis*-gesture, often featured in Greek wedding iconography and analysed in modern scholarship as the "unveiling of the bride." This gesture, usually performed by a woman, depicts the woman raising part of her veil with one arm, extending it in front of her to frame her face; later classical examples can sometimes depict the woman simply touching the veil (Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 99). There are also several variations of the *anakalypsis*-gesture and some depictions use other articles of clothing to achieve this effect, such as the sleeves of a chiton or the folds of a himation. But on this gesture, Llewellyn-Jones argues that modern interpretations often too broadly categorize examples of it as an "unveiling", nearly always indicative of wedding themes: "It appears that scholars frequently conflate the text-based act of unveiling (*anakalyptesthai*) with the iconographic gesture of the *anakalypsis*, and the ritual of the *anakalyptēria*, the 'unveiling of the bride', without care of the ancient sources" (2003, 101). As Blundell also notes, the "relationship highlighted by the action need not always be marital" (2002, 158). The term "*anakalypsis*" is also problematic when our sources emphasize the covering of women's faces, not the unveiling. Oakley and Sinos (1993) are among those who link the gesture to wedding iconography, often considering it the "marriage gesture *par excellence*" as Llewellyn-Jones comments (2003, 103), since the unveiling of the bride was an essential part of the wedding ritual; see also Kontoleon (1965), 366 & Mayo (1973), 220. Other scholars, such as Keuls (1983), 222 and Reeder (1995), 339 see the bride's sexual submissiveness in the gesture; Blundell (1998), 38 extends the gesture beyond brides

gesture is ambiguous, leaving it up to the viewer to decide whether or not she is unveiling or veiling herself. As Blundell notes, “A veil in itself is a kind of boundary; and if the female handling it is shown on the cusp between concealment and exposure her liminality can serve as a potent emblem for the state of suspension which accompanies the crossing of social or personal frontiers.”[64] Helen’s gesture speaks to the suspense suggested by her meeting with Paris, of the boundaries about to be crossed; the moment of their meeting is the tipping point of tumultuous events. In this hydria, Aphrodite makes no effort to conceal her body or her face and this lack of concealment is also mirrored in figure 5.9. Helen’s pose also closely mirrors Aphrodite’s own, with the exception of the lifted garment.[65] Helen sits with her torso bared and only her lower half covered, facing the main scene. This pose appears to duplicate Aphrodite’s, the latter perhaps setting a precedent for how half-nude (non-prostitute) women are represented in vase painting; the emphasis is on the breasts and the pose enables the painter to focus more attention on the revealed torso and less on the lower body.

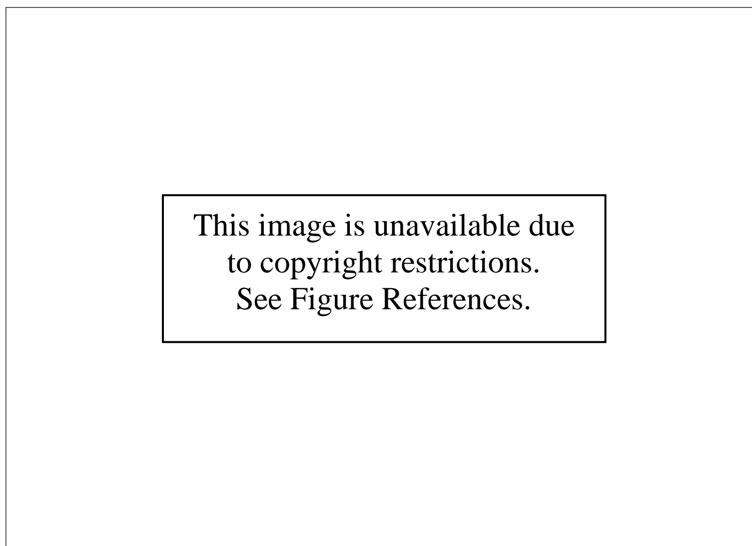

Fig. 5.10: Athenian red-figure hydria, c. 400-390 BCE; Helen on cushion, seated before Paris, Aphrodite to the far left; Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum 1252; Beazley 32483.

to include wives. Llewellyn-Jones (2003), 104ff. and Blundell (2002), 159-160, however, note that the *anakalypsis*-gesture is not the sole preserve of wedding iconography/of brides or wives, and features in other contexts as well, such as women amongst children and other relatives, women amongst other women, and women alone; the gesture is also shown performed by divine and non-divine women. Instead, the gesture could also represent veiling. Blundell notes the ambiguity of the veil-grasping gesture: “It is generally impossible to tell from the action alone whether a woman who holds out her veil in a painting is in the process of covering or uncovering herself” (2002, 159). Llewellyn-Jones further supports expanding the gesture to include veiling, noting that the variety of depictions and the persistence of the motif suggest that “Greek women were habitually veiled, at least when out of doors, and that the covering of the face with a fold of the veil was not just an occasional fashion”; thus, the veil becomes “the iconographic property not only of the married but, more importantly, of the modest and the circumspect” (2003, 104).

[64] Blundell (2002), 159.

[65] Cf. n.61 above.

The hydria was one of the most common water transport vessels notably used by women for fetching water from communal fountains, and hydriai frequently feature depictions of women in various domestic contexts as well as mythologically-themed contexts. Sparkes also suggests that figured hydriai were less likely to have been taken to fountains and instead it would have been the coarse or bronze hydriai used for such an errand.[66] Figured hydriai may have been used in domestic contexts as one of the vessel types used for communal wine-drinking where the figured decoration was better displayed as a valuable possession;[67] this function would also mean that viewership in this context would have primarily men. That this depiction of Aphrodite and Helen, both half-nude, features on a hydria suggests that the viewership was primarily female-intended. The context appears to be of a more feminine nature, with Aphrodite overseeing what may be marriage preparations for Helen and Paris. Given this viewership, Aphrodite's and Helen's nudity are emblematic of shifting attitudes towards female nude representation as a more commonplace and more broadly acceptable motif in vase painting.

As previously discussed, prior to the Knidia Aphrodite appears in both sculpture and vase painting as increasingly eroticized and revealed, her feminine form accentuated with a specific drapery styling in sculpture or her torso and breasts carefully delineated in vase paintings. This growing interest in revealing the feminine form is echoed in depictions of the female nude in general, most notably in contemporary vase paintings. However, the question of why Praxiteles chose to depict Aphrodite in the nearly-total nude remains unclear. Bonnet and Pirenne-Delforge argue that at the time of the Knidia's conception, "une telle nudité divine ne pouvait s'appliquer qu'à la représentation d'une Aphrodite."[68] Their reasoning for the sculpture's nudity is rather straightforward: "Dans un panthéon désormais bien structuré, façonné au niveau panhellénique par la récitation séculaire de l'épopée homérique, une évocation aussi directe de la séduction et de la sexualité feminine dans toute sa maturité ne pouvait conduire Praxitèle à baptiser sa statue que d'un seul nom divin."[69] I do not deny that Aphrodite is the most logical choice of the Greek pantheon's goddesses to be depicted nude,

[66] Sparkes (1996), 158.
[67] Sparkes (1996), 158; see also Sparkes (1991), 61, 75-77.
[68] Bonnet & Pirenne-Delforge (2004), 867; ["such divine nudity could only be applied to the representation of an Aphrodite."]
[69] Bonnet & Pirenne-Delforge (2004), 867-868; ["In a now well-structured pantheon, shaped at the panhellenic level by the age-old recitation of the Homeric epic, such a direct evocation of seduction and female sexuality in all its maturity could only lead Praxiteles to baptize her statue with one divine name."] Bonnet & Pirenne-Delforge also seem to suggest that Praxiteles made the sculpture first, then chose to identify it as Aphrodite rather than sculpting the nude female figure with Aphrodite in mind all along; considering it is probable that Praxiteles was commissioned to sculpt Aphrodite specifically, the former is unlikely. Cf. pg. 236 & n.51 above.

for the same reasons Bonnet and Pirenne-Delforge cite. Aphrodite's sculptural and vase painting iconography in the period preceding and contemporary to Praxiteles, which demonstrates an erotically-charged and increasingly revealing aesthetic, likely informed Praxiteles's artistic choices. However, their remarks do not address what other precedents Praxiteles could have drawn upon to portray Aphrodite in such a fashion. The Classical sculpture types previously discussed more than sufficiently identify Aphrodite as the intended figure and they do so primarily through the styling of her clothing. If up to this point it had not been necessary to depict Aphrodite fully nude in order to identify her unequivocally, then it is plausible that Praxiteles likely sought other sources of inspiration than simply Aphrodite's well-established role as the embodiment of seduction and female sexuality.

Knidos & Ancient Near Eastern Precedents for Divine Female Nudity

Lacking Greek precedents of a completely nude Aphrodite/female representation, from where could Praxiteles have sought this inspiration? The Knidia is supposedly modeled after Praxiteles's mistress, the rather infamous courtesan Phryne, whose colorful character and story come down to us from various sources including Athenaeus, the comic poet Poseidippos (preserved in Athenaeus), Pliny, and Pausanias.[70] Phryne was from Thespiae and was also supposed to have been the model for Praxiteles's topless Aphrodite at Thespiae (the Arles type).[71] According to Athenaeus, "But at the Eleusinia and the Posidonia festivals, with all the Greeks watching, she [Phryne] took off her robe, let down her hair, and entered the sea…So too the sculptor Praxiteles, who was in love with her, used her as the model for his Cnidian Aphrodite."[72] But Phryne as the inspiration for the Knidia still does not explain the sculpture's nudity; Athenaeus does not explicitly say Praxiteles modeled the Knidia's nudity after Phryne's. It is also one thing for a sculptor to have a colourful mistress, another for him to use her as the model for a divine being, and still quite another to settle on a nude representation of the goddess. Praxiteles could have sculpted Aphrodite à la Phryne but with diaphanous clothing in order to adhere to representational traditions of the divine. The Knidia's nudity remains unexplained.

One highly probable source of Praxiteles's inspiration is the tradition of representing goddesses in the nude originating from and then still active in the ANE and directly related to

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[70] Ath. 13.590-591; Plin. *NH*. 34.70; Paus. 1.20.1-2, 9.27.3. For a more detailed analysis of Phryne and specifically her sensationalized relationship with Praxiteles, see Havelock (1995).
[71] Stewart (2012), 332; Spivey (2013), 204.
[72] Ath. 13.590f-591; trans. Olson (2010).

Aphrodite's progenitresses.[73] This evidence will be connected further with terracotta evidence from Knidos. The iconography of female nudity in the ANE was represented in several types of arts including terracottas, seals, plaques, gems, jewellery, and reliefs, but an examination of these arts as well as this motif's historical development and modern interpretations thereof are not within the analytical means of this chapter.[74] My focus is instead on the Knidian evidence and the local contexts which may have enabled a more readily accepted adoption of Praxiteles's nude Aphrodite in this region. I also focus on the Near Eastern goddesses with whom Aphrodite was most closely associated in order to contextualize preexisting and contemporary nude representations of these goddesses which may have contributed to their Greek counterpart, Aphrodite, being represented in a similar way for the first time in Greek statuary. This is not to suggest that the nudity of the Knidian Aphrodite originated in the ANE. As we have seen, female nudity as its own motif in Greek art had already been present before the Knidia,[75] and the nude female in Greek art, while at certain periods influenced by eastern motifs, also developed independently of eastern precedents.[76] Instead, I draw further attention to the local environment which may have

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[73] Stewart (2012), 333 briefly notes that the ANE tradition of portraying nude goddesses likely inspired Praxiteles to sculpt Aphrodite nude. Kondoleon et. al (2011), 17 also briefly note that the portrayal of a nude goddess had long already existed as a tradition in the ANE. Lee (2015a), 188 remarks on the plausibility of Astarte's nude iconography influencing the Knidia's as well as on the proximity of Knidos to the east. Bonnet & Pirenne-Delforge (2004), 867-868 had also previously contrasted the Knidia's nudity with her nude eastern counterparts, noting that the bathing context of the former minimized the powerful and redoubtable sexuality conveyed by the latter. For ANE predecessors, cf. *LIMC* II 46-47 nos. 351–367, pls. 33, 34, and for possible Classical Greek predecessors, 48-49, nos. 378–390, pl. 36. That this tradition was still active during Praxiteles's time is emphasized here as a contributing factor to Praxiteles's artistic choice.

[74] Nudity in ANE art has been extensively discussed in modern scholarship and the contexts in which we find the nude motif vary widely in their erotic implications depending on the context of the depiction, such as in images of warfare/victory versus images of copulating couples. On female nudity in particular, scholars also debate its primary purpose and whether the nudity suggests female fertility, female eroticism/sexuality (especially for the pleasure of the male gaze), or apotropaic functions. On the first, cf. Asher-Greve & Sweeney (2006); on the second, cf. Bahrani (1993), (1996), & (2001) as well as Pinnock (1995); on the third, cf. Assante (2002), (2006), & (2007). Other select bibliography includes: Wiggermann (1998) & (2010); Hadjisavvas et. al (2003); Cooper (2013); Garcia-Ventura (2019); Green (2019).

[75] As discussed in chapters two through four, the motif of the female semi-nude/nude in Greek art was present in vases and votives during the Archaic and Classical periods (and prior to these periods as well), but it was also evident in other minor arts including jewellery and mirrors; Greek semi-nude and nude female terracottas and plaques were also common prior to the Knidia. Cf. the previous chapter bibliographies including Lee (2015a) & Stansbury-O'Donnell (2015), as well as additional select bibliography: Higgins (1967) & (2001); Bonfante (1989); Ammerman (1991).

[76] Böhm (1990) examines the naked female in Greek art in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE, primarily in bronze, terracotta, and ivory, and its relevance to Greek cults. Böhm examines the native development of the naked woman/goddess in Greek art by examining Minoan and Mycenaean ritual nudity, followed by the import into Greece of several variations of the naked woman or goddess (often the latter) from the Middle East over the course of these two centuries, and the imitation and/or adaptation of this iconography in Greece as well as in Cyprus. Böhm, however, contends that the motif of the frontal, naked woman in Greek art is short-lived, evident only in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE and all but disappeared by the sixth century. Nicholls (1993) in response argues that the naked female in Greek art did persist into the sixth century, citing examples such as the naked goddess terracotta from the Athenian Acropolis (Acropolis Museum no. 10447), the nude Attic terracotta

facilitated the acceptance of a nude Aphrodite sculpture within the broader context of the iconography of those ANE goddesses who were frequently paralleled with Aphrodite and whose nude representations were widely known, within and outwith the Knidian region, at the time Praxiteles sculpted the Aphrodite of Knidos.

Knidos, a Greek seaport still under Persian rule at the time of the statue's creation, represented a geographical crossover point between Greece and the East and it was a point of cultural contact between Greek and Phoenician traders/sailors. Aphrodite sanctuaries were commonly located at port cities along major trade routes used by Greek and Phoenician merchants in keeping with her role in maritime endeavors and as such these merchants played a major role in her cult's dissemination.[77] Knidos and the Carian region more generally also had continual contact with Cyprus from the Bronze Age through the Roman period; this cultural interaction would have facilitated the dissemination of Aphrodite's Cypriot cult within Knidos and strengthened the exposure of Knidos to Aphrodite's ANE cultic connections.[78] Consequently, it is not difficult to imagine Knidos as an ideal home for the sculpture, a bridge between Aphrodite's Hellenic identity and ANE ties. Aphrodite's cult was one of the most significant in Knidos: according to literary descriptions and supported by material evidence such as coinage and terracotta statuettes,[79] she was worshipped as

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"torso dolls" from the mid-5th century on, some of which may represent Aphrodite *Anadyomene*, and the naked Aphrodites featured on the Attic plastic vases of the Rich Style "whose main creative phase seems to have fallen in the late 5th and early 4th centuries BC" (1993, 226).

[77] Larson (2007), 123; Stewart (2014), 177. One example of this dissemination is the anecdote written by Athenaeus about the Greek merchant sailor Herostratus who stopped at Paphos and bought a small statue of Aphrodite, and afterwards sailed onwards to Naucratis (15.675f-676e). During the journey, a storm hit and Herostratus and his crew prayed to this statue, beseeching Aphrodite for her help. Upon their prayers, myrtle flowers began growing around the statue and the scent of the blooms permeated the ship. The sun came out and the crew found themselves sailing safely into the Naucratis harbor. Herostratus dedicated the statue and myrtle branches to the temple of Aphrodite at Naucratis, then invited family and friends to a feast in her honour.

[78] Interactions between Paphos and Knidos, Knidos and elsewhere in Cyprus, and Cyprus and Caria generally, are evidenced by archaeological materials and are attested to in ancient literature. Maritime trade existed between the two regions in the Bronze Age as was the case with the Mediterranean region broadly speaking (cf. Horden & Purcell 2000; Knappett, Evans, & Rivers 2008; Jennings 2011; Unwin 2017), and Bronze Age, copper-based artefacts of non-Cypriot origins found on Cyprus have been analysed and proven to originate from various regions throughout Anatolia and the Aegean (cf. Stos-Gale & Gale 2010). A funerary inscription dated to the late sixth century BCE from Marion is cut in the Cypriot syllabary as well as the Knidian script, and a fifth century BCE Amathus gravestone records the death of one Idagygos from Halikarnassos, Caria (cf. Johnston & Wilson 1978; Jeffrey & Johnston 1990; Reyes 1994). Archaic Cypriot limestone sculpture is found in Caria (cf. Johnston & Wilson 1978). Herodotus, describing the Ionian revolt, states that the king Onesilos of Salamis had a Carian squire (5.111-112). Knidian amphora-stamps have been recovered from the Nea Paphos agora and date to the Hellenistic and Roman periods (cf. Dobosz 2013). These examples demonstrate the ongoing contact between Cyprus and Caria from the Bronze Age through to the Roman period, indicating that the two regions were in continuous cultural interaction before, during, and after Praxiteles's Knidian.

[79] Paus. 1.1.3. describes the dedication of a temple to Aphrodite *Euploia* in 393 BCE by Konon after his victory against the Spartans. The excavations at Knidos sponsored by the Long Island University between 1967 and 1977 and led by I.C. Love included investigations of the Aphrodite *Euploia* temple and surrounding architecture. The material evidence discussed in the archaeological reports includes bronze coinage featuring the

Aphrodite *Euploia*, "of the fair voyage," a goddess who facilitated contact and trade between Greece and the East through her fostering of calm seas, enabling successful sea-faring voyages. Following constitutional changes occurring at the same time as the city's synoecism and the building of the city on the promontory of Tekir c. 360 BCE, new sanctuaries and new statues were likely required as part of the renovation plans; these renovations combined with the prominence of Aphrodite in Knidos, as well as the desire for works by renowned Greek artists, facilitated the statue's adoption.[80]

Why Knidos wanted and/or accepted a *nude* sculpture of Aphrodite bears further relevance. Corso posits one reason: "it is possible that in this city of Asia minor, a *contaminatio* of Aphrodite with the 'nackte Goettin', diffused everywhere with varying identities and names in the near east, came to use."[81] On the "Nackte Göttin" ("Naked Goddess", henceforth "N.G."), Wiggermann notes that the Mesopotamian iconography of naked women and goddesses "stands at the end of a long line of varying images that starts late in the Paleolithic, and winds over the whole of Eurasia," such that their longevity and wide use "cannot have a single stable meaning, but must be judged separately from period to period, from region to region, and in relation with the different world views from which they stem."[82] The N.G. is identified as the "expected female téš/*baštu*,"[83] *baštu* referring to "dignity, good looks (as quality of human beings and gods)" as well as referring to deities and the "dignified" representations thereof, and further still as "dignity" personified as a protective spirit.[84] The N.G. can therefore carry several different meanings depending on varying cultural and social contexts, on one hand partaking in the "deeply rooted tradition of family religion and private piety," and on the other functioning in the "cults of the great gods and the theologies of the scholars."[85] Later, I focus on examples of the N.G. in relation to the

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head of Aphrodite *Euploia* on the obverse and "Knidos" named on the reverse. Hundreds of terracotta statuettes were also discovered near the Altar of Aphrodite, including statuettes of females clutching their breasts. Cf. I.C. Love's Knidos excavation reports (1972).

[80] Corso (2007), 27-28.

[81] Corso (2007), 30. Corso also examines several other reasons the Knidians accepted the nude Aphrodite, related to the cults of Aphrodite at Knidos as well as the "historical conditions characterizing this city around 360 BC and the relations that Cnidus and its sanctuaries of Aphrodite may have had with important persons and families," (2007, 23). This includes "the family of Conon and his son Timotheus from Athens [who] were tied to the sanctuary of Aphrodite *Euploia* at Cnidus" as well as the impact that the Satrap Maussolus (377 to 353 BCE) had while Knidos was part of the Carian satrapy during the period when several aspects of late-Classical (especially Athenian) culture were adopted in Caria; cf. Corso (2007), 23-30.

[82] Wiggermann (1998), 46. Wiggerman also notes that "Mesopotamia" cannot be considered a single unit when analyzing this motif because of the "Sumerian, Akkadian, Syrian, Hurrian, and Anatolian elements, with their complex synchronic and diachronic interrelations" (1998, 46). On the N.G., see also Böhm (1990), 7-143.

[83] Wiggermann (1998), 46.

[84] Cf. *CAD* v. 2 "B", "*baštu*", 142-144.

[85] Wiggermann (1998), 46.

latter, the cults of prominent female deities specifically associated with Aphrodite. This motif, both broadly speaking and as applied variously to goddesses including Inanna/Ishtar and Astarte, may have fused with the iconography of Aphrodite in Knidos such that Praxiteles's sculpture was a desirable addition to the prominent Aphrodite *Euploia* cult.

While previous scholars have noted the likelihood of the tradition of ANE nude goddess iconography influencing Praxiteles, what has not been sufficiently addressed is additional evidence from Knidos which may further elucidate why this city in particular was a fitting location for the Knidia. Knidos had already been familiar with depictions of the goddess holding her breasts prior to the Knidia, as seen in the terracotta protomes featured on the Round Temple terrace from c. 470 BCE (fig. 5.11); a lead amulet depicting the same gesture was also found.[86] Corso describes these figurines and the amulet as depicting naked goddesses although the nudity is debatable.[87] These terracotta protomes, while a widespread adornment, demonstrate a local, Knidian predisposition to what may be an eroticized goddess representation. Other finds from the Love and Özgan Knidos excavations include c. 4th century BCE Aphrodite *Euploia* figurines found in the stoa west of the Aphrodite sanctuary,[88] and in the terrace below the sanctuary a trove of locally made terracottas dating from the Archaic through Hellenistic periods, a number of which were statuettes of young women (which Love describes as appearing at the "zenith of their beauty") and one group possibly representing the birth of Aphrodite aided by Hora or the Charites.[89] Other figurines include brides holding their veils.[90] These terracottas, especially those which can be dated to pre-Knidia, paint a compelling picture of the Knidian's envisioning of Aphrodite even before they accepted Praxiteles's nude sculpture. The beautifully rendered young women, the brides holding their veils, and the (naked?) goddess protomes clutching their breasts shape Aphrodite's cult at Knidos not just around her role as Aphrodite *Euploia* but also around her role in notions of beauty, sexual initiation, and eroticism. The bathing Aphrodite may have also been reinterpreted by the Knidians in order to emphasize more clearly the connection between water and Aphrodite *Euploia*.[91] A nude, presumably bathing sculpture of Aphrodite would only help to combine all of these aspects.

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[86] Love (1973), 419; Sahin (2005), 72; Stewart (2012), 333.
[87] Corso (2007), 240. Corso bases his descriptions off of Love's (1972) excavation reports and Sahin's (2005) analysis of the terracottas from the Round Temple terrace. Love does not explicitly identify the protomes (or the amulet) as naked goddesses but does specify that the figures are holding their breasts.
[88] Özgan (1990), 70.
[89] Love (1972), 404, pl.83-4 figs. 23-27. Love unfortunately does not provide photographs of the group which she posits may depict the birth of Aphrodite. See also Sahin (2005), 72 & Corso (2007), 240.
[90] Love (1972), 404. Again, an image of these figurines is not provided by Love.
[91] Corso (2007), 30.

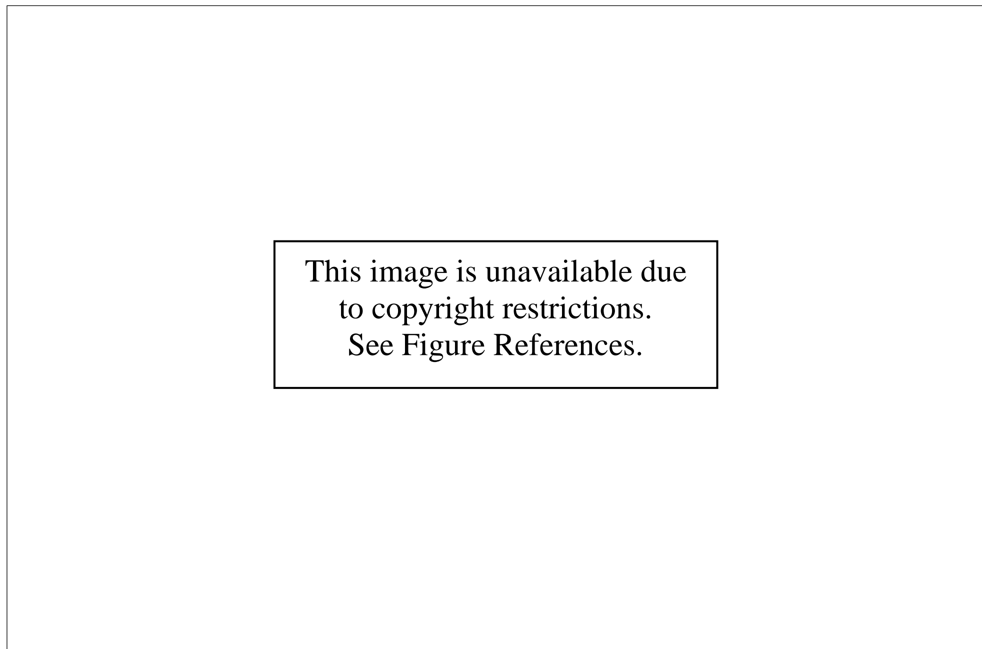

Fig. 5.11: Terracotta Plaques from Knidos Round Temple.

This evidence combined with the evidence discussed below of additional eastern, nude goddess iconography which exists during and after the period contemporary to the Knidia, enables us to make a stronger case for local tastes and persisting wider traditions to have been primary contributing factors in Praxiteles's decision to reveal Aphrodite's nude form.[92] Both Astarte and Ishtar had long been portrayed nude in their iconography, Ishtar through the Hellenistic period, and given the association of Aphrodite with both of these ANE goddesses, the introduction of the female nude in Greek divine statuary may have been facilitated by Aphrodite's affiliation with divine female figures who had an established and culturally recognizable nude iconography. On the N.G. applied to Mesopotamian goddesses, Wiggermann notes that they may be depicted naked but are usually distinguished from the typical N.G. by context, stance, or attributes.[93] The N.G. is linked in particular to Inannah/Ishtar by her relationship to sexual emotions and to private life, as well as in relation to sacred marriage rites; the nude or semi-nude Syrian goddesses, including Astarte, function in relation to "the iconography of a weather god and his bull."[94] Below are examples, from a broad context, depicting Astarte and Inanna/Ishtar nude in their respective statuaries and

[92] The examples I include are of ANE goddesses who are traditionally directly associated with Aphrodite and whose nude representations are widely acknowledged as potentially influencing Aphrodite's own nude iconography, specifically the Aphrodite of Knidos. Select bibliography: Burkert (1985); Havelock (1995); Bahrani (1996); Lattimore (1997); Budin (2003); Bonnet & Pirenne-Delforge (2004); Corso (2007); Eliav et. al (2008); Kondoleon et. al (2011); Donohue (2012); Stewart (2012); Lee (2015a); Barrow (2018).
[93] Wiggerman (1998), 52.
[94] Wiggerman (1998), 50-52.

reliefs touching/cupping their breasts, but they can also be shown placing a hand on their genitals. For early, widespread examples of this motif, see figures 5.12 to 5.16. This nude, female divine iconography is also present into the Hellenistic period.[95] Figures 5.18 and 5.19, two nude goddess figurines from Babylon of the Hellenistic period, have been identified as Ishtar based on her prominence as a great goddess in the region as well as on both the tradition of presenting Ishtar nude and on her long-standing identification with Aphrodite.[96] Both figures also feature the crescent symbol on top of their rolled chignons which may indicate one of those attributes specific to Ishtar's iconography which Wiggermann notes differentiates the figure as a specific goddess rather than a generic N.G. Although the concentrated infiltration of Greek culture into the Mesopotamian region after Alexander's conquests brought with it changes in representations of femininity, figures such as these "Hellenized" Ishtars and female reclining figurines still maintained crucial aspects of eastern nude motifs (figs. 5.17-5.19).[97] For instance, while the Babylonians admired the carving and modeling techniques employed by Greek artists, they rejected the Greek preference for representing the female nude without explicitly rendered genitals and instead with smooth bodily surfaces; the Babylonians adhered to a tradition of clearly demarcating feminine genitals by painting these details onto such figures (fig. 5.17).[98]

The Greeks had long associated Aphrodite with the east thanks in part to Hesiod's accounting of her Cypriot dwelling, and her main port-of-call remained Cyprus throughout her Hellenic worship. The decision to depict Aphrodite in the nude would be a natural extension of her eastern dwelling and this continued association provides a plausible rationale for Praxiteles's decision; figures 5.15 and 5.16 are Archaic Cypriot nude goddess figurines which help to identify an earlier nude goddess iconography in Cyprus having already been associated with Aphrodite. Given the N.G. iconography which manifested variously in goddesses such as Astarte and Inanna/Ishtar into (and through) the period contemporary with Praxiteles's work, an awareness of this motif in Aphrodite's progenitresses may have strengthened the case for choosing Aphrodite as the model for introducing this statuary representational style of a goddess to the Greek artistic mindset. The cult statue was to be dedicated in the temple of Aphrodite in Knidos, the ancient Greek city in Caria on the Datça peninsula opposite the island of Kos. Given this location's proximity to Cyprus and the ANE,

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[95] Asher-Greve & Sweeney (2006), 150.
[96] Fowlkes-Childs & Seymour (2019), 233-235.
[97] Bahrani (2001), 91-95.
[98] Bahrani (2001), 92.

perhaps Praxiteles envisioned a sculpture which would both honour the Greek goddess and pay homage to her "homeland" by representing her in the manner evocative of her eastern neighbors and predecessors. Aphrodite appeared in Athenian vase painting as half-nude at the same time as the Knidia's conception and although there were no sculptural precedents for a fully nude Aphrodite, there did exist an artistic precedent for depicting the goddess in this fashion in more minor arts, such as the terracotta statuettes. Knidos would have been an appropriate place given its geographical location and its pre-exposure to and predilection for completely nude female representations for giving this new stylistic representation its first Greek, statuary platform.

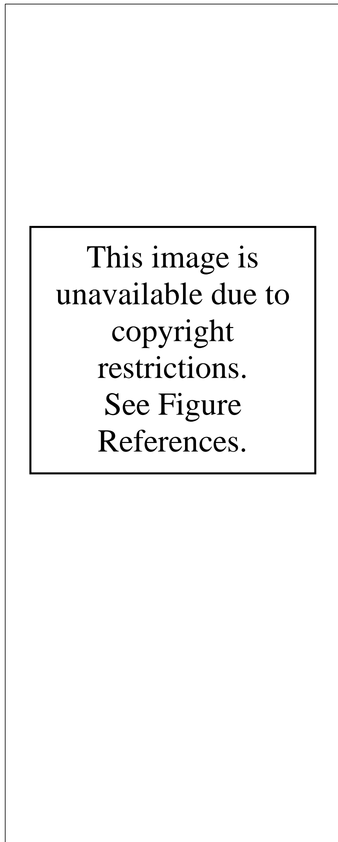

Fig. 5.12: Terracotta relief-figurine, likely of Astarte, from the necropolis of Tharros, 6th cent. BCE.

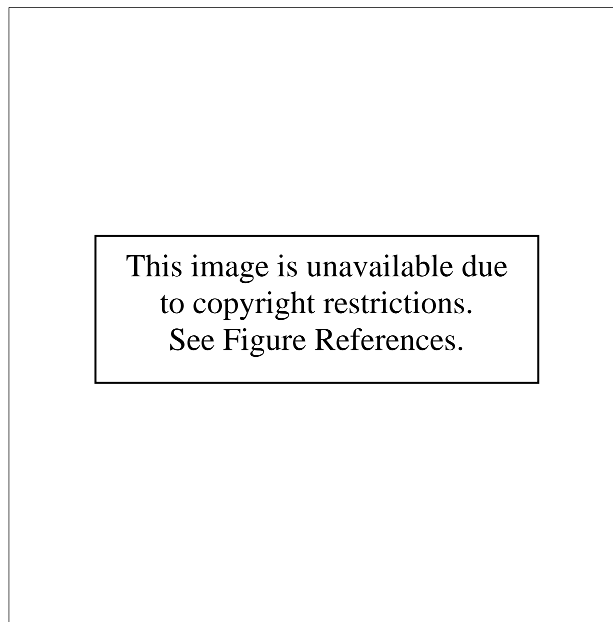

Fig. 5.13: Baked clay mould of nude Ishtar, with hands at her breasts and a horned crown, with wings or cloak and talon feet; Iraq, c. 2000-1750 BCE(?). British Museum 103226.

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Fig. 5.14, right: Syrian-style ivory figure, 8th cent. BCE; Nimrud; Iraq National Museum, IM 79504.

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Fig. 5.15: Terracotta nude Astarte-type female figure with hands holding breasts; Cyprus 600-550 BCE; British Museum 1876,0909.86.

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Fig. 5.16: Standing figurine of Cypriot Aphrodite-Astarte; late 7th cent. BCE; Boston MFA 72.155.

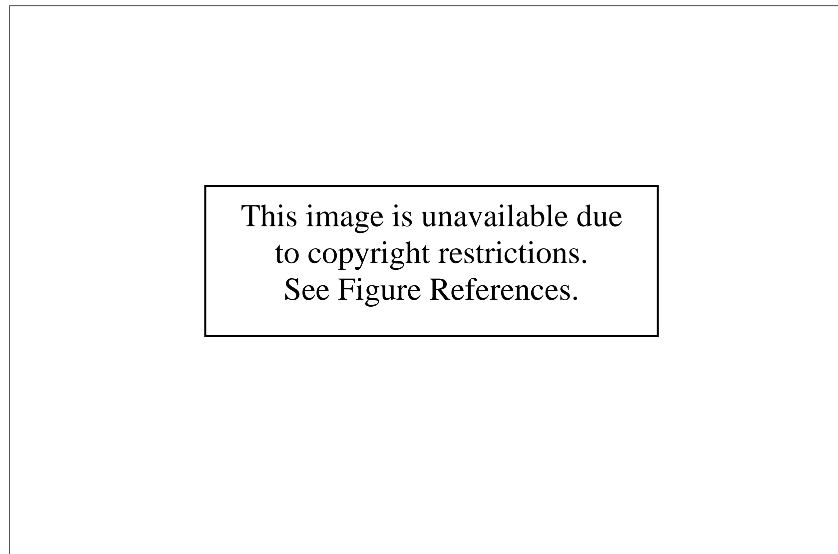
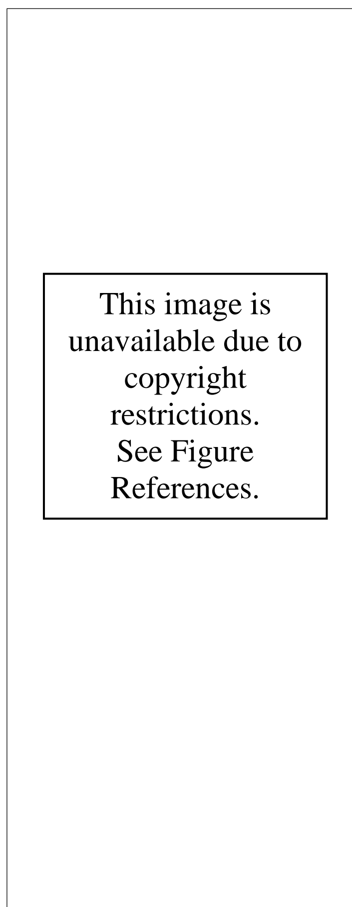


Fig. 5.17: Alabaster painted figure, reclining woman from Seleucia, c. 3rd cent. BCE. Iraqi Museum Baghdad No. 17805.



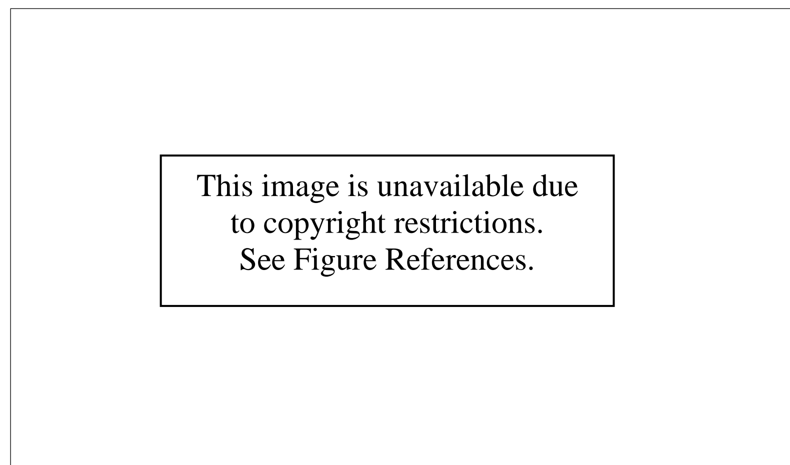


Fig. 5.18, above right: Statuette of Reclining Nude Goddess, likely Ishtar; Gypsum alabaster; Babylon; c. 3rd cent. BCE; Louvre AO 20131.

Fig. 5.19, left: Statuette of Standing Nude Goddess, likely Ishtar; Alabaster, gold, rubies, bitumen; Babylon; c. 250 BCE; Louvre AO 20127.

The Anodos of Aphrodite & The Knidia

Another artistic motif which reflected Aphrodite's association with Cyprus and consequently may have influenced Praxiteles's nude representation is the increased interest in depicting the *anodos* of Aphrodite. Recall the Ludovisi Throne (fig. 5.1, c. 470-460 BCE), a marble relief which depicts the goddess's birth through the motif of Aphrodite *Anadyomene*, as well as the base of the statue of Zeus at Olympia by Pheidias, c. 435 BCE, which also depicts Aphrodite's birth.[99] These examples express an earlier interest in depicting this motif, showing as well that Aphrodite's birth had been a source of artistic interest for some time before the Knidia. But in the period contemporary to the Knidia, there is a marked increased interest in the motif, particularly evidenced in vase painting. According to the *LIMC*, seventy-five percent of the Aphrodite vase paintings catalogued under the motif "*anodos*" date to c. 400-350 BCE.[100] This theme immediately evokes Aphrodite's journey to Cyprus and the establishment of Cyprus as her main dwelling throughout her Hellenic worship. One illustrative example is an Athenian lekythos c. 360-350 BCE in the form of Aphrodite at the moment of her *anodos* (fig. 5.20).[101] In this lekythos, a nude Aphrodite rises from an open shell while two Erotes hover above her. Another example is an Athenian red-figure lekythos c. 410-400 BCE (fig. 5.21).[102] Here, Eros carries a nude Aphrodite following her *anodos*, as Eros accompanied Aphrodite to Cyprus after she emerged from the foam. A nude woman holding a mirror kneels before Aphrodite and Eros, likely an allusion to the goddess's domain of beauty, desirability, and sexuality. This woman may be a mortal worshipper and/or she may represent a bathing bride, possibly appealing to Aphrodite for guidance in beautifying herself as discussed in chapter three; the mirror she holds may suggest both the physical beauty of Aphrodite and that which the bride hopes to possess. Aphrodite herself is sometimes depicted holding a mirror in vase paintings or there is a woman in her company

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[99] On the depiction of Aphrodite's birth on the base of the statue of Zeus at Olympia, particularly its possible intended meaning(s) and connection(s) to Zeus, cf. Giglioli (1921), 312-313; Shapiro (1976), 172-74; Tersini (1987), 157-159; Kosmopoulou (2002), 120. Cf. Paus. 5.11.8 on Aphrodite's birth depicted on the base.
[100] *LIMC* v.1, "Aphrodite: Anodos" ("Aphrodite 1161, 1162, 1163, 1164, 1165, 1166, 1167, 1168, & 1169"), 113-114. If we broaden the criteria to Aphrodite vase paintings catalogued under themes directly related to "*anodos*", including "Gerburt aus dem Meer [Birth from the sea]" and "Geburt aus der Muschel [Birth from the shell]", then examples dating to c. 400-350 BCE still make up the majority, about sixty percent of the evidence catalogued by the *LIMC* (further to above, "Aphrodite 1180, 1181, 1182, 1183").
Further examples, listed in broad date range: Beazley 211143, 211718, & 212239 (c. 475-425 BCE); Beazley 216599 (c. 450-400 BCE); Beazley 7835, 9536, 44282, 218129, 230395, & 218196 (c. 400-300 BCE).
[101] On fig. 5.20, cf. *LIMC* 40756, "Aphrodite 1011"; Schefold (1981), 84 fig. 106; Kondoleon et. al (2008), 84, 87; Kondoleon et. al (2011), 16, 39 no. 16.
[102] On fig. 5.21, cf. *LIMC* 41048, "Aphrodite 1180".

holding a mirror much like the woman in figure 5.21.[103] It is notable that in this scene, Aphrodite is fully nude: she holds a shawl-like garment in one hand but does not use it to shield any parts of her body. Her torso is bared, her breasts are emphasized, and her legs are also revealed; the genitals are not detailed. The woman holding a mirror is also nude although her kneeling/crouched pose conceals most of her breasts and her pubic region. If this woman represents one of Aphrodite's worshippers and/or a bathing bride, she may demonstrate the growing acceptability of representing the female nude, particularly in contexts related directly to Aphrodite. As further discussed later in this chapter, the motif of the bathing bride becomes increasingly popular during this period.

That both vessels are lekythoi also suggests that the viewership was varied, both men and women having the opportunity to view the vessel depending on its use as a personal item or as a general household item. The motif of the nude Aphrodite during her *anodos* accompanied by other nude women suggests that nude female representations were not restricted to a specific spectator group and that the female nude was becoming more appealing and normalized. The renewed fascination in Aphrodite's birth and in depicting this occasion reveals an interest in emphasizing a particular facet of Aphrodite's identity and persona. Depicting her birth evokes Aphrodite *Kypris*/*Kypria* and in so doing focuses attention on both the circumstances of her birth and the pervasive connection between Aphrodite and Cyprus and the ANE. This connection to the east combined with the fact that Aphrodite would have emerged from the sea nude as shown in figures 5.20 and 5.21 may have inspired Praxiteles to adapt this artistic motif into a sculptured form of the goddess. With Knidos also being in the east and culturally interactive with Cyprus,[104] the decision to depict Aphrodite nude may have been one inspired by contemporary motifs common in Athenian art already and to which Praxiteles would have been exposed. Added to this inspiration, a nude Aphrodite also would have been more readily accepted in an environment predisposed to nude goddess iconography.

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[103] Cf., listed by broad date range: Beazley 14077 (c. 525-475 BCE); Beazley 203002 (c. 500-450 BCE); Beazley 10078, 16440, 30267, 216971, 217284, 220493, 220524, & 275533 (c. 450-400 BCE); Beazley 44230 & 217491 (c. 425-375 BCE); Beazley 279, 5702, 230340, 430003, 9026124, 9036830, & 9001939 (c. 400-300 BCE).

[104] On Paphos/Knidos, Knidos/Cyprus, Cyprus/Caria refer to above, n.78.

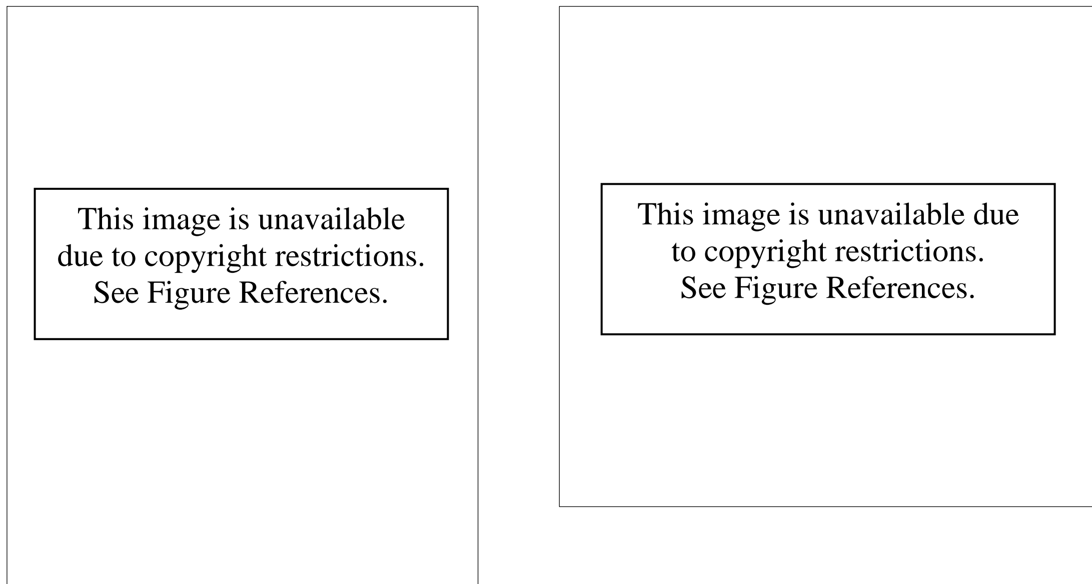

Fig. 5.20, left: Athenian figure vase lekythos, 360-350 BCE; *Anodos* of Aphrodite; Boston MFA 00.629; Beazley 6153.

Fig. 5.21, right: Athenian red-figure squat lekythos, c. 410-400 BCE; *Anodos* of Aphrodite; Kunsthistorisches Museum 3768; Beazley 273.

The Knidia: Description

Praxiteles's Knidia stood nearly seven feet tall (2.04 meters) and was placed upon a chest-high base. The goddess would have presented a formidable figure, the height of her base added to her already considerable stature creating an imposing aura of the pinnacle of sensuality from on high (fig. 5.22a-b). The Knidia's pose can be reconstructed safely based on Roman coinage minted in Knidos c. 211-218 CE (fig. 5.23).[105] The Colonna Venus from the Vatican appears to mirror this coin depiction as faithfully as possible and as such is regarded as one of the best copies along with another Vatican copy (the Belvedere Aphrodite), and a copy in the Munich Glyptotek. Aphrodite appears in the classic contrapposto pose, standing on her right leg while her left bends slightly; her right hand covers her pubic area, her left arm turns up at the elbow as her left hand holds a piece of drapery hanging from the water vessel standing on a pedestal; her head is turned so that she is looking toward her left. In statuary replicas and in coinage, the contrapposto pose and the shielding of her pubic area remain consistent (although which hand covers the area can vary); her hair is often pulled back in a bun or twisted into a knot with a double fillet although the fillet is sometimes omitted. Other divergences include her posture (leaning more forward vs.

[105] For a discussion on stylistic differences between these three copies, cf. Davies (2018), 87-88.

standing more erect), her proportions ranging from slim to decidedly more plump, her arm holding the drapery could be lowered without a bend or raised high, the drapery may be held close to her body or held away, the drapery may be thin, fringed, plain, or elaborate, the vessel at her side can take various shapes, sizes, and decorations, and finally she sometimes dons a bracelet on her upper arm.[106] We can reconstruct the general appearance as Aphrodite in contrapposto, head turned left, right hand demonstrating the so-called *pudica* pose, left hand lifting/holding a piece of drapery, and her hair parted and swept back. The statue was sculpted in Parian marble. Praxiteles perhaps chose his preferred painter Nikias to execute the polychromy although Nikias is not explicitly identified as the Knidia painter.[107] Based on Pliny's account, the statue was so well-painted that she gave the illusion of being real. Havelock contends that the Knidia was likely painted in keeping with contemporary custom and in accordance with Aphrodite's "golden epithet" such that her hair would have been coloured yellow or gilded, while her eyes, cheeks, lips, and jewellery were also likely painted; a tint may have been applied to her body; the drapery would have been coloured in bold, flat tones while the vase may have been gilded in imitation of a bronze vessel.[108] The bracelet also would have been gilded, as well as the fillet in her hair (if included).

[106] Havelock (1995), 12.
[107] *NH* 35.130-133.
[108] Havelock (1995), 14. Havelock argues for this painted depiction based on descriptions of the Knidia from Pliny (*NH* 35.130-133) and Lucian (*Imagines* 6), combined with contemporary conventions for painted sculpture. Cf. Brinkmann (2008), 18-39. Seaman (2004) also suggests that surviving polychromy on Knidia copies can attest to the likelihood of the draped garment being purple.

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See Figure References.

Fig. 5.22a-b: Aphrodite of Knidos, Colonna type, Roman copy;
Rome, Vatican 812; Front (a); Back (b).

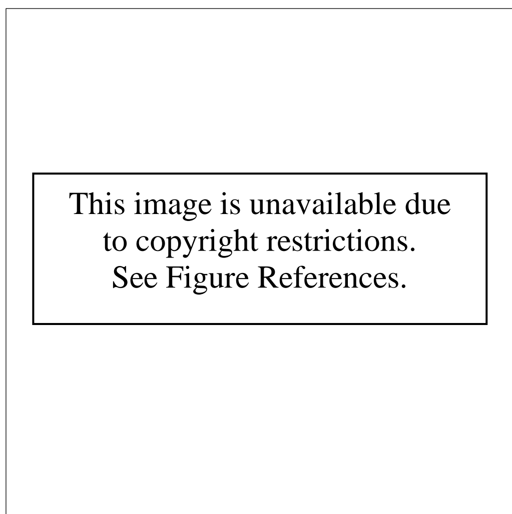

Fig. 5.23: Bronze coin from Knidos
c. 211-218 CE; Aphrodite of Knidos.
American Numismatic Society no.
1970.142.488 (Photo ANS.).

The circumstance under which we encounter Aphrodite is the goddess at her bath, the most practical reason for representing her in the nude. This purported justification heralded by Bernoulli in 1873 has continued to be accepted by most modern scholars. The frequent appearance of the drapery and water vessel in copies supports this original context as well.[109] Praxiteles has captured the goddess in an intimate moment and her body language suggests that perhaps the viewer (or some unseen voyeur) has caught the goddess by surprise. Spivey questions whether or not her right arm's gesture, that of preserving her modesty, is a persuasive enough interpretation and this doubt extends to the explanation for her head turning the way it is as indicative of the goddess turning her head to see the unexpected visitor/voyeur.[110] It is unclear how else one would interpret her gestures, unless one were to suggest that one merely witnesses the goddess in a frozen moment in time where her simple actions of re-clothing herself have been interrupted. The goddess is not shielding herself out of a sense of (false?) modesty, but merely "going through the motions," as it were. Regardless, there is a literary tradition supporting the interpretation of the goddess being represented at her bath. Two such examples come from the *Odyssey* and the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*. In *Od*. 8.362-66, discussed in chapter one in relation to Ares and Aphrodite's pairing, Aphrodite returns to Paphos after being freed from Hephaestus's net of entrapment where he captured the goddess and her lover Ares in an intimate encounter; back in Paphos, the Graces soothe their mistress by bathing her, then anointing her and helping her to dress. In the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 58-65, she again returns to Paphos where the Graces bathe and anoint her, then dress her in rich garments and gold jewellery, all in preparation for her journey to Mt. Ida to seduce Anchises. In Hesiod's account of Aphrodite's birth, also discussed in chapters one and two regarding Aphrodite's relationship with Ares and with matters of violence, she is born from the sea foam created by the severed genitals of Ouranos and then approaches the island of Kythera before settling ashore on her sacred home of Cyprus, which also relates to the Knidia's bathing theme.[111] The goddess's ritual bathing upon her return to Paphos has sexual overtones. The bath is an important first step in refreshing and rejuvenating her before she is re-clothed. This dressing motif in which the goddess increases her powers (in this case, her sexual prowess) by re-acquiring her divine clothes and adornments is long-established in relation to the ancient ANE goddesses of love

[109] Seaman (2004), 544-550; Corso (2007), 14. The vessel is often a hydria but in copies it is also frequently a smaller water vessel, such as the kalpis.
[110] Spivey (2013), 206. Spivey questions these interpretations although in this particular publication does not offer any alternative explanations.
[111] Hes. *Th*. 188-199.

and sexuality, including Inanna/Ishtar as evidenced by the Babylonian hymns, *Inanna's/Ishtar's Descent to the Netherworld*. It is no coincidence that Aphrodite returns to Paphos, her primary domain as acknowledged by her Hellenic worshippers and the site from which she originated in the ANE.

The Knidia & The Motif of Bathing Women

As discussed in chapter four, Aphrodite's birth story also accounts for the importance of ritual bathing in her cult and Aphrodite is a logical choice for depicting a goddess at her bath. This motif of the goddess's *anodos* had already become re-popularized in vase painting contemporary to the creation of the Knidia. What has not been sufficiently discussed by previous scholarship and which I now address is how Aphrodite's connection to bathing and the decision to depict the Knidia in a bathing context relate to the increased occurrence of vase paintings showing nude women, likely brides, bathing as well. Several examples dated to the late-Classical period and depicting nude women bathing reflect an artistic motif indicative of a mutually informative relationship between Aphrodite and representations of female nudity, and plausibly a mutually informative relationship more specifically between the Knidia and these representations. An Athenian red-figure pelike c. 360 BCE, one of the so-called Kerch vessels, depicts on side B several red-figure women gathered around the central, white-painted figure of a nude woman bathing (fig. 5.24).[112] Two of the red-painted women are also half-nude with their torsos bared; the woman crouching next to the figure who is pouring water onto the nude, bathing figure also has one breast revealed, nipple shown. The scene may be depicting wedding preparations with the bride taking the ritual bath before the ceremony, her female attendants helping her to prepare. The woman pouring the water is using a hydria, whereas the water used for the pre-wedding ritual bath was poured more commonly from a loutrophoros or lebes gamikos, but the other figures included in this

[112] Fig. 5.24 is attributed to Marsyas and is a Kerch vessel. The chronology of Kerch-style vases is unclear, but they are generally ascribed to c. 375-330/20 BCE and represent the final phase in Attic red-figure pottery production. So-called "Kerch" for the large quantity of these stylistically-similar vessels found in Pantikapaion (modern Kerch, Black Sea coast of Crimea), Kerch vases were produced in Athens/Attica as well as perhaps Chalkidike, and feature gilded detailing in low relief as well as added colors such as white, green, and blue. Kerch vases are also known for their elongated figures, three-quartered faces and three-quartered and frontal figures, twisting figural poses, crowded scenes often with an identifiable central figure, and compositional depth as well as the illusion of three-dimensionality achieved by multiple figural viewpoints, the placement of drapery, and polychromy. Although a large number of Kerch vessels were found in the Black Sea region, they have also been found on the Greek mainland, including Athens, and islands as well as other Mediterranean regions. Cf. Clark et. al (2002); Petrakova (2007); Cohen (2008); Lapatin (2008); Fless (2008). On fig. 5.24, cf. *LIMC* 14317; Beazley (1963), 1475.3, 1704; Boardman (1989), fig. 389; Williams & Ogden (1994), 12 fig. 4, 164, fig. 50; Cohen (2006), 322, fig. 2.

scene as well as other accoutrements shown do not preclude this scene from being marital in theme. The Eros behind the bathing woman would also suggest that this scene is marital, as erotes frequently appear in marriage/bridal preparation depictions as seen in chapters three and four. The figure above the bathing woman with a bared torso who appears to be fixing her earrings also has a box which may contain the *nymphides*, the bride's shoes, similar to the depiction of Aphrodite in figure 3.8 who also has a box with this pair of shoes on top. That the bathing figure, possibly the bride, is shown completely nude is not new; the bride in figure 3.6 is also shown bathing nude. However, in this pelike the bride as the central figure is more clearly emphasized, her white-painted body standing out in stark contrast to her companions whereas previously she was painted in the same manner as her attendants and was identifiable primarily by her ritual actions. The nudity in this pelike is also not limited to the bathing bride; her female attendants are now also shown semi-nude. These types of scenes are reminiscent of the accounts of Aphrodite bathing which describe her being bathed and anointed by her own female attendants, the Graces, in some cases as preparation for her intimate encounter with a male lover, such as Anchises, much like a bride prepares for her first intimate encounter with her new husband.

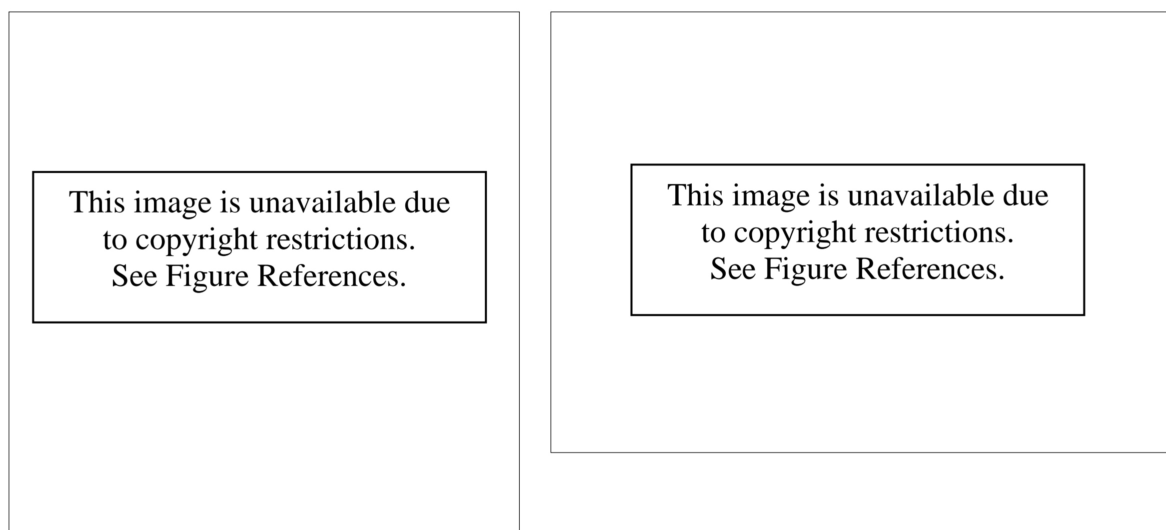

Fig. 5.24: Side B of Athenian red-figure pelike c. 360 BCE; Attributed to Marsyas; Depiction of nude woman (bride?) bathing, with female attendants (some half-nude), and Eros; State Hermitage Museum KEK8; Beazley 230421.

Another example is an Athenian red-figure hydria from the same period, c. 370-360 BCE, depicting several women, erotes, and a youth with a staff gathered around a washing basin (fig. 5.25).[113] Two of the women left of the laver are shown nude, suggesting that these

[113] On fig. 5.25, cf. Robinson (1938), 22-23, pls. 308/309 14.1A-B, 15.1; Pellegrini (2009), pl. 40.

women specifically were making use of the basin for bathing purposes. The nude woman crouching on the ground appears to be reaching up to the clothed woman standing before her who holds a garment, likely for the crouching woman to wear. The nude woman standing next to the basin appears to be wringing out her wet hair while the two clothed women to the right look on; beyond these women a nude youth, the folds of his chlamys visible behind his back, holding a staff stands off to the side. By the Archaic period, the staff had replaced the spear as a symbol of the owner's elite status; while also a weapon, the staff in Greek vase paintings was a "symbol of conspicuous leisure – often tucked under the user's armpit."[114] The chlamys was also commonly worn by ephebes, soldiers, travellers, and heralds; on the last, the herald's staff was a common accompanying motif in honour of Hermes's kērykeion.[115] Perhaps our youth here is an aristocratic ephebe, or a herald, or simply a passer-by, possibly admiring bathing prostitutes? But the nude women lack specific features suggesting that they are prostitutes. Rather, the scene appears to be more domestic in context and as bathing was gender separated the youth's specific function in the scene is unclear. Images of bathing women such as that shown on this hydria have been thought to portray *hetairai*; however, as more recent scholars contend, the identity of the bathing women either cannot always conclusively be determined as such, or the nudity of the women does not preclude the figures from being representative of regular citizen women/maidens performing normal hygienic routines and/or bathing rituals.[116] Sutton notes that, "The identity of an individual bather is often left to viewer's choice, and it is wrong to identify many of these figures more precisely than simply as 'bathing women,' unless the painter has provided clear evidence to define one more precisely."[117] Even if the women can be interpreted as prostitutes, the ambiguity of their identification means that the range of spectatorship, especially of a vessel as common as the hydria, allows for the image to have multiple layers of suggested tone. If a viewer were to consider the women *hetairai*, then their nudity would

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[114] Cleland, Davies, & Llewellyn-Jones (2007), 177-178.
[115] Cleland, Davies, & Llewellyn-Jones (2007), 34; Mertens (2010), 138, 153-154, 166.
[116] Cf. Kreilinger (2006); Sutton (2009); Lee (2015a&b). Lee (2015b) considers the bathing women on sympotic vessels as *hetairai* preparing for work and the standing/frontal poses deliberately contrast women in the business of sex with bathing brides who are depicted in a crouching pose in order to limit the visual, sexual access to their bodies. Kreilinger (2006), however, succinctly summarizes the phases of bathing women depictions from the Late Archaic to the Hellenistic period, and outlines several reasons, with which I agree, for why women in these scenes should not be assumed to represent prostitutes, or nymphs or goddesses. Without obvious visual cues with which to identify the women as prostitutes, there is no clear reason to identify them as such. If the women are shown standing/frontally, this perspective could more likely be indicative of the bathing context (communal versus pre-wedding ritual, for example) than of the women's specific status.
[117] Sutton (2009), 67. A clue to the women being specifically *hetairai* might be the inclusion of a *kline* or cushions, but the scenes discussed here do not include these items.

be less unfamiliar and the tone of the image perhaps more erotic. If a viewer instead interpreted the figures as everyday citizen women, then their nudity is more compelling for its normalized depiction. This type of woman is not commonly depicted nude, and for her to be shown performing an intimate routine, her nudity is more revelatory as a glimpse into the private world of women. If a viewer were to interpret the figures as specifically maidens, then the bathing context allows for the desirability of the maiden to become that much more obvious.[118] A maiden's respectability and her reputation were both fiercely protected, but the appeal of her nubile, untouched body was undeniable. To depict maidens at their baths suggests that this appeal was becoming more visibly realized.

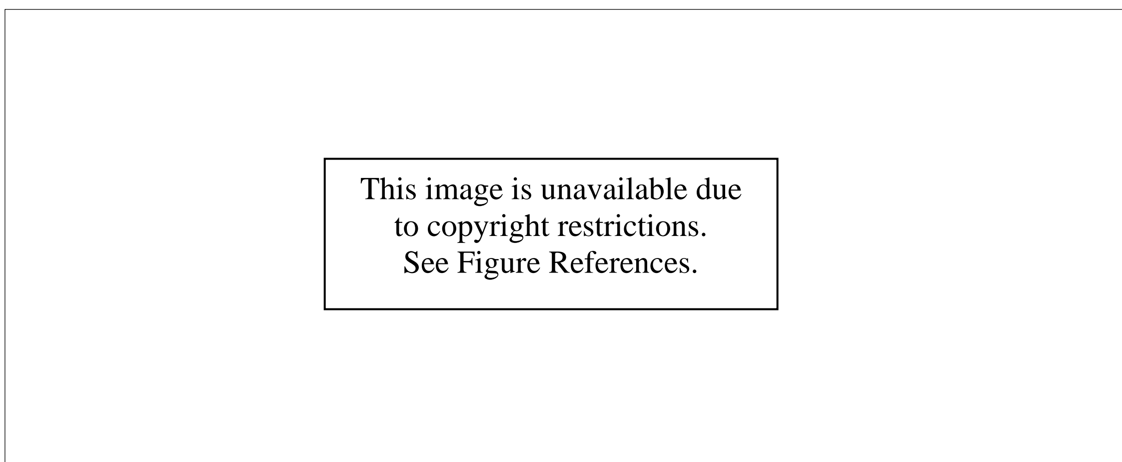

Fig. 5.25: Athenian red-figure hydria c. 370-360 BCE, said to be found near Athens; Depiction of women at laver, some nude and bathing, Erotes, and youth with staff; Harvard Univ., Arthur M. Sackler Mus. 60.348; Beazley 13427.

The ambiguity of the figures' identities opens the nude representations to a wider range of females and demonstrates greater exploration of the naked female form during the same time as the creation of Praxiteles's Knidia. In addition to the ANE tradition of fully nude goddesses, this iconographical context of nude, bathing women may have also been a source of inspiration for the Knidia's nudity (and suggested setting). The bathing theme also draws a direct connection between the goddess most frequently and commonly associated with bathing rituals and whose cult incorporates bathing as a specific aspect of her worship. It may be the case that the Knidia was created around the same time as, or even after such images became more commonplace and with it the female nude more acceptable to a broad viewing audience. These types of vase paintings which were in circulation during Praxiteles's time may have influenced his choice to represent Aphrodite in her own famously-attested

[118] Lee (2015a), 62.

bathing context, and within this context it would have been reasonable to represent her in the nude in keeping with both the requirements of bathing activities as well as with the associations of Aphrodite's birth from the sea and the consequent emphasis on bathing in Aphrodite's cult. Alternatively, it is nevertheless not implausible to suggest that a number of these images were painted after the Knidia. It is not improbable that word of Praxiteles's nude, bathing Aphrodite soon spread within areas of mainland Greece, especially the sculptor's own place of origin, Athens.[119] Havelock, however, argues that the Knidia did not have any great impact on subsequent Aphrodite images, nor was it well-known until its "rediscovery" in the Late Hellenistic period based on the fact that the surviving copies of the Knidia can be dated to no earlier than the end of the second century CE and because there are no references to the Knidia in classical literature before the early first century BCE. However, this argument is predicated on the assumption that the "absence of evidence is evidence of absence," as Lapatin rightly notes.[120] As a large quantity of Hellenistic literature is lost to us, it is a bold assumption that the surviving references to the Knidia are the only ones that were in fact in circulation during the entirety of the period contemporary to and immediately following the Knidia's creation. Havelock's dating of the copies which she considers can only be as early as the late second century is predicated on comparing these sculptures to smaller terracotta replicas of these types which, like the sculptures themselves, lack archaeological context and their specific functions remain ambiguous. The later literary sources we do have which discuss the Knidia are clear in emphasizing the sculpture's impact on both the viewer and on Aphrodite's cult persona; if such a reaction was still felt centuries after the Knidia's original revelation, then why should its original impact not also be considered dramatic? Havelock also overlooks the preceding period when partial female nudity and revealing drapery styling was evident in sculpture and other media such as vase painting. These motifs were in circulation in the late-Classical period as discussed in this chapter and in the previous two. That the Knidia departed from these representational motifs and revealed the near-total nude form of a goddess further suggests that its impact would have been felt more immediately. As Higgs remarks, "Can we really expect that such an innovative statue as the Knidia did not acquire great fame at the time of its dedication, and influence other sculptors, many of whom were moving around the eastern Aegean and

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[119] Havelock (1995), esp. 57-65.
[120] Lapatin (1997), 155.

working on grand monuments in this area?"[121] The Knidia's impact was likely more immediate than Havelock contends.

Praxiteles's magnum opus would not just have been a personal coup, but also a *polis* coup, even in its notoriety. In parallel, images of women (inclusive of several types of women) in bathing contexts and painted nude flourished around the same time as the Knidia's creation and display, suggesting the possibility of mutual iconographical influence. In any case, this motif provides a vital context for the sculpture of Aphrodite. That painters favoured the bathing context may suggest that the Knidia helped to normalize this setting for the viewing of the naked female form in a more acceptable and public spectator experience, or even that these vase paintings helped to normalize what would become the Knidia's suggested bathing context.[122] An Athenian red-figure lekanis attributed to the Marsyas Painter, another Kerch vessel c. 370-360 BCE, may even depict Aphrodite at her bath (fig. 5.26).[123] This lekanis depicts women at various stages of dress and undress, some aided by female attendants and/or erotes, and three completely nude while one woman is nude from the waist up. The nude, bathing crouching woman, one of two nude female figures painted white, has been identified as Aphrodite, although she could also be a bride.[124] Sutton contends that this kneeling, bathing figure is misidentified as Aphrodite and should be considered strictly a bride.[125] There is no obvious indication that this crouching figure is Aphrodite; there is an Eros directly above her but there are erotes elsewhere in the scene assisting other women. She could be Aphrodite on the basis of bathing consistently being associated with her and with the reinvigorated interest in representing her "first bath," her birth from the sea. Kerch vases show a predilection for depicting the world of women, particularly wedding preparations, as well as mythological themes. As one scholar notes on the Kerch vases, "The dynamic, sinuous, and twisting poses of some figures in particular seem to be inspired by contemporary statues attributed to Praxiteles, Skopas, and Lysippos."[126] Praxiteles's Knidia was certainly a contemporary to this lekanis image and may have inspired figural compositions of women, especially in settings related directly to Aphrodite. The nude women in this image are represented crouching, fully frontal, three-

[121] Higgs (1997), 262.
[122] Other examples of nude, bathing women from this period: Beazley 220626, 275533, 215285, 230434, 230435, 230890, 231046, & 231158.
[123] On fig. 5.26, cf. *LIMC* 24699, "Aphrodite 15" & "Aphrodite 993"; Beazley (1963), 1475.7; Boardman (1989), fig. 391; Lee (2015a), 71, fig. 3.8.
[124] Delivorrias (1984), 102 n.993; Lee (2015a), 70.
[125] Sutton (2009), 81.
[126] Lapatin (2008), 319.

quartered, and sitting; their bodies are bared to varying degrees, with the fully frontal figure completely exposed, and the breasts and nipples of the sitting woman clearly shown. The standing, fully frontal nude woman nearly mirrors the Knidia's contrapposto pose. Even if the crouching figure cannot definitively be identified as Aphrodite, I do not think it implausible to suggest that this figure along with the other nude figures in this scene are at the very least inspired by the figure of Aphrodite, possibly specifically the Knidia.

Fig. 5.26: Athenian red-figure lekanis c. 370-360 BCE; Attributed to Marsyas; Bridal bath and toilette, crouching nude figure Aphrodite(?); State Hermitage Museum KAB78E; Line drawing after *LIMC* vol. 2 (1984), 102; Beazley 230425.

The Knidia & the Female Nude in Greek Art

An important dissimilarity between the ANE goddesses and Aphrodite is the difference between ANE and Greek perceptions of the female nude and of female sexuality. Prior to the Knidia, female nudity was largely reserved for narratives of sexual encounters, often aggressive in tone, and/or for representations of prostitutes and occasionally bathing brides, and these images were largely restricted to vase paintings. The ideal of beauty was also visually imagined as the youthful male form. The Knidia sparked the idealization of the female form and arguably, in keeping with the Mulvey model, subjected the female form in art to spectator voyeurism perhaps not for the first time, as some contend,[127] but rather for the first time in such a tangible, life-size manner. However, representations of the naked female form were not unknown to Greek viewers. As we have seen in previous chapters, erotic vase

[127] Bahrani (2001), 73.

paintings in the Late Archaic period and continuing into the Classical period had already depicted women in the nude engaged in sexual activities. Perhaps the depictions were less detailed or more crude, perhaps the medium not conducive to varied viewing angles or to life-size exposure, and certainly the ramifications of depicting these women in the nude does not bear nearly the same weight as depicting a goddess in the nude, but the fact remains that the naked female form in some capacity had been in circulation before the Knidia and was available for voyeuristic, close-up examination to a range of viewers (for example, symposia attendees and attendants), for a not insignificant length of time. The Aphrodite sculptures which preceded the Knidia, although not nude, were not shy in representing the goddess with the intent of enhanced sensuality and consequently amplified spectator voyeurism. This style overtly invites intensified scrutiny of the goddess, specifically her feminine attributes, requiring the spectator to look closely and to imagine being able to penetrate through the thin barrier between his or her gaze and the goddess's nude form. The Knidia certainly removes this final barrier, making the use of one's imagination unnecessary and exposing the goddess nearly in full (if one discounts the un-sculpted vulva), but the Knidia no more exposes the spectator's gaze than the predecessors had done already. Aphrodite had long been the focus of erotic attention, speculation, and design both in literature and art, and in the latter in particular her feminine form and its most evocative attributes were her primary identifying features. What the Knidia did accomplish was the unveiling of the voyeuristic gaze in an open shared space and wider shared experience, more public than the limited audience of a symposium or of personal items which would have minimized the audience as well. Here was the goddess in a fully embodied, physical manifestation, viewable from all angles and in the nude: just as there was no hiding for the goddess, there was no hiding one's interest in her.

The Knidia also differs from the ANE nude female motif in the way she shields her pubis. Female nudity in the ANE was a regular and accepted motif and nude females portrayed a distinctively provocative, confrontational sexuality at which the vulva was the centre. While the breast-feeding mother was an artistic motif throughout the history of Mesopotamian art, a different feminine ideal also arose by which the youthful, slim figure with her small rounded breasts, unexaggerated hips, and simple rendering of the pubic triangle and labia shows more concern with the woman as the object of desire than as the subject of reproduction.[128] The "seductress" type, so termed by Bahrani and exemplified in figure 5.14, first began to appear in the nineteenth/eighteenth centuries BCE and continued

[128] On the beginnings of the latter motif, c. the late third and second millennia BCE, cf. Bahrani (2001), 81.

stylistically into the Hellenistic period. She is a fully-nude, frontal-facing figure often represented holding her breasts with both hands or in some representations with one hand pointing to her breasts and the other to her genitals such that the configuration of the body emphasizes the woman's sexual attributes in order to entice the male gaze.[129] While nudity, to varying degrees, appeared in several types of media across the Classical Greek world including gems and vase paintings, this type of overtly erotic female nude representation in statuary was not realized until the Knidia. In comparison to the Knidia, Mesopotamian representations of the female nude do not attempt to conceal any part of the female nude, especially the pubic region. Instead, the nude female symbolizes ideal femininity in contrast to the nude male hero symbolic of ideal masculinity. A series of opposite attributions define nude males and nude females, such as female frontality and immobility versus male profiles and action, and "soft, sexualized" female versus "hard, de-sexualized" male.[130]

While the Knidia encapsulates a new ideal of eroticism in connection with the feminine form, it nevertheless demonstrates a persistent reticence towards female nudity particular to contemporary Greek art in its representation, or rather its lack of representation, of the vulva. The Knidia's gesture of shielding her pubis from the spectator's gaze draws immediate attention to that part of her body but the spectator is hindered in satisfying his or her curiosity; while the goddess's position offers a glimpse of her pubis, the vulva remains obscure. Some scholars perceive this lack of full representation as a matter of stylistic convention, namely the difficulty in executing the vulva in comparison to male genitalia. Johns posits that from a technical perspective, it was easier to represent female genitals symbolically rather than realistically: "[The] vulva is artistically an inconvenient and ill-defined shape, lacking the clear and characteristic outlines of the male organs which makes it possible to draw or model them as a complete detached unit."[131] However, this explanation simplifies the peculiarity of the missing vulva by reducing the problem to one of technique. It

[129] Bahrani (2001), 83. Bahrani applies the term "seductress" to the types of figures most often associated with fertility and applied to figures of Ishtar in her fertility persona. Bahrani argues that this figural type replaces an earlier version which emphasized the fertility aspects of the female form by virtue of increased proportions of the sexual parts of the body; this new figure presents the breasts and genitals as the most prominent features of the female body and the emphasis is now delineated based on the pose and gesture rather than just exaggeration of certain body parts. As Bahrani avers, this figural representation deliberately draws attention to the female's sexual attributes such that the purpose of these images is to elicit desire (2001, 83).

[130] Asher-Greve & Sweeney (2006), 152-153. The textual record corroborates this approach to female nudity. In Mesopotamian literature, the penis and the vulva receive equal attention and the vulva is not referred to in derogatory terms. The vulva is described more often as the source of pleasure rather than the source of reproduction and Akkadian and Sumerian texts refer to the vulva as an attractive and sexually arousing aspect of the female body. Cf. the love song of Shu-Suen, Ur III period; Jacobsen (1987), 96; Alster (1993), 20; Bahrani (2001), 89.

[131] Johns (1982), 72.

seems unlikely that within a contemporary artistic repertoire that could sculpt rather complicated images, such as the illusion of wet drapery, that the execution of a vulva would prove too difficult. Furthermore, we have already seen that vulva-shaped votives were common in sanctuaries of Aphrodite, such as the Daphni Sanctuary.[132] The vulva incision is perhaps crude but nevertheless present; even if in comparison to the male genitalia the vulva is more complicated to render due to its complete attachment to the female body and its less visible details, sculptors pre-Knidia were still able to distinguish the physical characteristics of the vulva. Ascribing the Knidia's lack of a visual vulva to a lack of artistic ability overlooks precedents such as these votives.

This visual anomaly finds more plausible explanation if analysed through the Mulvey model. Aphrodite's undetailed vulva is a notable peculiarity of Greek art which sought to render visible the essential components of the human form.[133] The Knidia and subsequent Hellenistic Aphrodites represent her in all of her glory as a goddess of sex; however, this crucial detail of her femininity and her erotic appeal is conspicuously missing. As sculpturally unique in its representation of the female nude as it is, the Knidia nevertheless retains the Greek penchant for viewing female nudity and sexuality in a reticent light. Bahrani avers a harsh perspective: "The genitals on the Hellenistic Aphrodite statues…are not represented; they are denied, nonexistent. They are a void where something, a part of the female anatomy, and significantly, the sexual part, should be."[134] I disagree with Bahrani; outright denial is an extreme interpretation, and the un-delineated vulva is the opposite of rejection. Rather, this representation is deliberately evocative of the vulva as the source of feminine influence over masculine control. The stylization may stem from the trope of the threat of castration, by which the Mulvey model demonstrates that the source of the threat (the bearer of meaning, and specifically the nude Aphrodite), is subjected to sadistic voyeurism and/or fetishistic scopophilia in order to alleviate this internalized threat. As discussed in the previous chapter, the threat of castration was also manifest in myths related to goddesses and their male consorts, the latter of whom were figuratively castrated through this relationship. As Adonis embodied the young, beautiful but ultimately ineffective and short-lasting lover of Aphrodite, this aversion to representing the vulva may stem from the same fear of emasculation by which the goddess's fully represented vulva would give physical manifestation to the source of her emasculating effects. Analysed through the

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[132] Cf. fig. 4.8.
[133] Smith (1991), 183.
[134] Bahrani (2001), 76.

Mulvey model, we can instead ascribe the non-existent vulva as representative of Aphrodite as the bearer of meaning particularly for heterosexual male responses to perceived threats against their masculinity. The un-sculpted vulva distances this viewer from the epicentre of the female form; the fear of castration abates and Aphrodite may symbolize the manner by which this gaze constructs the limits of feminine sexuality as a coping mechanism for alleviating threats to his masculinity. Aphrodite's potential as a threat, symbolic of women's threat to men's sexual dominance, can be mitigated by the heterosexual male gaze's possession of her nude form and by his ability to strip the goddess (literally and figuratively) of the raiment which usually protects her from unwanted attention while simultaneously determining what elements of her femininity are allowed to be represented.

The Mulvey Model & Ancient Spectatorship of the Knidia

"Technical difficulty" and "vulva rejection" can both be rejected themselves if we consider how both the Knidia's nudity and the gesture of her right hand would have been interpreted by an ancient spectator and subsequently apply the Mulvey model to this interpretation. Kleiner considers that the Knidia "is not openly erotic (the goddess modestly shields her pelvis with her right hand), but she is quite sensuous,"[135] but it is difficult to imagine how the sculpture could be sensuous and yet somehow not also overtly erotic. Pliny and Pseudo-Lucian, the latter of whom Kleiner even cites, both describe a rather salacious anecdote regarding the Knidia's potentially potent effect on her (male) audience. Their accounts are sufficient in ascertaining the Knidia's eroticism, although it should be noted that both authors are writing at a time much later than the Knidia's conception.[136] However, I suggest that Pliny and Pseudo-Lucian are still valuable sources for conveying how intense we might imagine an original viewer's reaction to the Knidia might have been considering its unprecedented nudity. Both emphasize the exceptional nudity of the Knidia and describe

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[135] Kleiner (2009), 123.

[136] Lee (2015a), 188 argues that the late ("largely fictitious") literary sources are today taken at face value despite there being no surviving contemporary records describing late-Classical reactions to the Knidia; Lee also argues that because the Knidia was "a cult statue hidden inside a temple within a sacred sanctuary, it could be argued that relatively few people actually saw it before it became a tourist attraction in the late Hellenistic or early Roman period" (2015a, 188). Like Havelock, however, Lee makes this argument based on the premise that the "absence of evidence is evidence of absence," a premise which Lapatin (1997, 155) rightly criticizes. As the cult statue of Aphrodite in Knidos, it is also just as plausible that the sculpture was more widely viewed than Lee suggests, with the sculpture's importance to the local community, which had long worshipped Aphrodite as a prominent goddess, and its possible contemporary notoriety increasing its viewership. See this chapter's previous discussion on the Knidia's fame within, and impact on its contemporary audience.

incidents which illustrate the ancient reception of the sculpture. On the salacious anecdote, both recount how the stain visible on the goddess's thigh came to exist. As Pliny states:

> The shrine that houses it is completely open so that the statue of the goddess can be seen from all sides, and it was made in this way, so it is believed, with the goddess's approval. It is admirable from every angle. There is a story that a man who had fallen in love with the statue hid in the temple at night and embraced it intimately; a stain bears witness to his lust.[137]

Pseudo-Lucian provides a more detailed albeit colourful account. While viewing the sculpture, he and his traveling companions notice the "unsightly" stain and question how it got there; a priestess explains that a young man "was so ill-starred as to fall in love with the goddess," and so in love was this youth that the "violent tension of his desires turned to desperation,"[138] whereupon the following incident occurred:

> For, when the sun was now sinking to its setting, quietly and unnoticed by those present, he slipped in behind the door and, standing invisible in the inmost part of the chamber, he kept still, hardly even breathing. When the attendants closed the door from the outside in the normal way, this new Anchises was locked in. But why do I chatter on and tell you in every detail the reckless deed of that unmentionable night? These marks of his amorous embraces were seen after day came and the goddess had that blemish to prove what she'd suffered. The youth concerned is said, according to the popular story told, to have hurled himself over a cliff or down into the waves of the sea and to have vanished utterly.[139]

This "new Anchises" recalls the emasculated young, male lovers discussed in the previous chapter who met swift ends after becoming intimate with goddesses. The bewitched youth is ultimately destroyed by his "love" for Aphrodite. Such was the impact of the sculpture's beauty and realism that upon his detumescence the youth ends his life, ashamed of having acted upon his lusts and sullied the goddess's form. The viewing experience, the ability to walk around this larger-than-life-size goddess who stands on a pedestal and to gaze upon her nudity from all angles, creates an unnerving atmosphere; coming within close physical proximity to the pinnacle of feminine beauty, the embodiment of eroticism, lust, and sexuality, fosters the aforementioned "tension" between action and inaction. In one respect, the display of the sculpture with the goddess presumably caught in a private moment causes a

[137] Plin. *NH*. 36.21-22; trans. Healy (1991).
[138] Pseudo-Lucian *Amores* 15-17 ["In the end the violent tension of his desires turned to desperation and he found in audacity a procurer for his lusts."]; trans. MacLeod (1967).
[139] Pseudo-Lucian *Amores* 16-17; trans. MacLeod (1967).

tense reaction where the spectator feels "caught" him- or herself and must decide quickly whether or not to look away. The threat of spectator exposure is enough to cause tension, but this sensation is relieved by the intrusion of reality; the sculpture itself cannot retaliate and the spectator remains free to gaze upon the goddess. In another respect, as the goddess of sex is in fact tangibly present and her beauty within physical reach, the temptation to take what otherwise is untouchable also creates a palpable tension. Particularly for a male (heterosexual) spectator, the Knidia presents the ultimate test in sexual self-control. The Knidia is as close as humanly possible to the real embodiment of Aphrodite and to engage in any form of sexual activity with her would be a triumph of male sexual conceit, but the consequences of acting upon this desirous urge could be fatal, potentially even self-inflicted depending on the depth of one's shame for losing self-control. The internal struggle between "can I"/"can't I" or "will I"/"won't I" creates this "violent tension." Unfortunately for the youth in Pseudo-Lucian's story, he chose brief sexual exultancy when discretion would have been the better part of valour.

The story of the enamoured yet doomed youth highlights how exceptional the Knidia was and the anecdote demonstrates the real fetishism statues such as the Knidia could provoke, further demonstrating the fetishistic scopophilia fostered by the Mulvey model. Commenting on Pseudo-Lucian's account, Neer remarks, "On the one hand, the fantasy at issue is utterly literal, even tactile: the idea of a physical relation, if only a touch or caress. On the other, the fantasy wishes away the material of the image—stone, wood, bronze, clay—in favour of an imagined engagement with its representational content."[140] This fantasy implies an illusion, that Aphrodite is present in the sculpture itself, that the sculpture can "come to life" for a captivated spectator in a hallucinatory experience because of how realistic she appears. By virtue of Aphrodite's nudity, there is a sense of glimpsing the forbidden in its most spectacular manifestation; not only is the female form exposed, but it has been exposed firstly in the goddess of beauty and sex herself. However, there is an implied sense of danger to coveting the goddess; the doomed youth described by Pseudo-Lucian exemplifies a cautionary tale. To covet the goddess and to suit action to desires ultimately results in one's downfall. The Knidia symbolizes to an exaggerated degree the adages of wanting what one cannot have and of being allowed to look but not touch. Aphrodite is an object, the "what" which cannot be possessed or touched by mortals, here represented as a rare glimpse at an otherwise secreted commodity. Nevertheless, by virtue of appearing real, Aphrodite is more

[140] Neer (2010), 53.

vulnerable to being fetishized by the male, phallic gaze, and not strictly the heterosexual male gaze judging by Callicratidas's reaction as discussed further below. She epitomizes the bearer of meaning through the masculine-privileged perspective which renders her as an object of erotic viewing pleasure. As with male spectators of film identifying with the male-ego ideal on screen, male spectators of the Knidia can imagine themselves as the man who conquers this female object of pleasure, potentially even imagining themselves as the "unseen voyeur" who surprises Aphrodite at her bath. Viewed through the Mulvey model, the Knidia therefore is not simply a glimpse of the forbidden which fosters masculine sexual fantasy but ultimately forewarns against it. The Knidia represents the freedom of both the male sculptor and the male spectator to control the environment of female sexual objectification and to determine the limits of sexual gratification in both hetero- and homosexual contexts.[141]

But the Knidia's *pudica* pose suggests that the exposure is spectacular for a specific type of viewer, the male voyeur. Prior to the Knidia, the ideal of natural beauty was the nude, male form. At least three centuries earlier, the male nude had been introduced in Greek sculpture and the representational gender divide was clearly evidenced by the *kouroi* and *korai* statues of the sixth century. Whereas male anatomy from that point on was given what Salomon describes as "primary creative energy" in Greek art, female statuary demonstrates increased attention to the execution of drapery and hair-styling; the progression of sculptural modelling demonstrates that the male form is inherently coherent and rational from within, whereas the female form is attractive only from without.[142] Praxiteles's Knidia and its jarring representation of the female nude may have challenged traditional perceptions of natural human beauty but there is nevertheless a stark difference between the sculpted male nude and the sculpted female nude. Unlike statues of the nude male youth which were "defined by the youthfulness, gracefulness, and coherence of his entire being," the execution of the nude female statue fixated on the genitals.[143] The gesture of either covering the pubis or pointing to it achieves the same outcome by drawing attention to the female's private anatomy.

To demonstrate how the goddess, representative in this case of the nude female form in general, is reduced to her sexuality by the male gaze, we can return to Pseudo-Lucian's account. Before learning of the doomed youth, Callicratidas exclaims the following upon

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[141] To reiterate, my use of "heterosexual" and "homosexual" is not meant to imply modern distinctions between forms of sexuality imposed upon an ancient audience; as previously stated in my Introduction, "heterosexual" and "homosexual" when used in discussions of ancient sexualities should be understood as descriptors and not as identifiers of sexual orientation.

[142] Salomon (1997), 200-201.

[143] Salomon (1997), 203.

coming face-to-face with the goddess; albeit a long-winded exclamation, it is worth including in its entirety here as illustrative of how Praxiteles's audience evidently vacillated between distinguishing the Knidia as a work of art and as a real woman:

> The Athenian who had been so impassive an observer a minute before, upon inspecting those parts of the goddess which recommend a boy, suddenly raised a shout far more frenzied than that of Charicles. "Heracles!" he exclaimed, "what a well-proportioned back! What generous flanks she has! How satisfying an armful to embrace! How delicately moulded the flesh on the buttocks, neither too thin and close to the bone, nor yet revealing too great an expanse of fat! And as for those precious parts sealed in on either side by the hips, how inexpressibly sweetly they smile! How perfect the proportions of the thighs and the shins as they stretch down in a straight line to the feet! So that's what Ganymede looks like as he pours out the nectar in heaven for Zeus and makes it taste sweeter. For I'd never have taken the cup from Hebe if she served me." While Callicratidas was shouting this under the spell of the goddess, Charicles in the excess of his admiration stood almost petrified, though his emotions showed in the melting tears trickling from his eyes.[144]

Callicratidas, in his adulation of the goddess, blurs the line between reality and art. Were the audience not already aware that his description applies to a sculpture one would assume he is fawning over the beauty of a real woman. Notable too is the qualification Pseudo-Lucian includes when describing where Callicratidas's attention is focused, "those parts of the goddess which recommend a boy," (alternatively, "the boyish parts of the goddess"), suggesting that Callicratidas is usually more interested in the nude male form (and in the same sex generally), but the beauty of Aphrodite's revealed form defies conventions of sexuality.[145] Callicratidas is also presumably viewing the Knidia from behind, excluding the genitals, and specifically praises Ganymede while rejecting Hebe. The way Callicratidas describes the Knidia portrays his encounter as one in which a male viewer sees male eroticism in a female figure, an experience which goes beyond the Mulvey model in its structuring of the female form by the male gaze; in this case, the male gaze structures the female form in terms of male, physical beauty. Earlier in *Amores*, Pseudo-Lucian describes Callicratidas as a "devotee of physical training, though in my opinion he was only fond of the wrestling-schools because of his love for boys. For he was enthusiastic only for that, while

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[144] Pseudo-Lucian *Amores* 14; trans. MacLeod (1967).
[145] NB: "τὰ παιδικὰ μέρη τῆς θεοῦ".

his hatred for women made him often curse Prometheus."[146] Callicratidas, after hearing the story of the enamoured youth, claims as well that even though the youth had the whole night to spend his passions with the sculpture, "he nevertheless made love to the marble as though to a boy, because, I'm sure, he didn't want to be confronted by the female parts."[147] In suggesting the encounter was of a quasi-pederastic nature, and knowing of Callicratidas's sexual preferences, the account of Callicratidas's reaction may suggest that Aphrodite is the goddess of homosexual as well as heterosexual desire and consequently her form can in some cases have a "boyish" appeal to homosexual men.

The surprised awe Callicratidas expresses while viewing this representation of the female nude, and the speechless admiration of Charicles which reduces him to tears, certainly conveys the impact of Aphrodite's (nearly) fully revealed form to any type of viewer. Ludwig, referencing Clark (1956), argues that "in our aesthetic response to the Cnidian Aphrodite, the sexual instincts are held 'in solution,' instead of being 'dragged into the foreground[']…The Cnidian effects this sublimation by covering up."[148] Callicratidas's and Charicles's reactions demonstrate that the sexual instincts stirred by the Knidia were hardly held "in solution" and were in fact brought to the foreground of the viewing experience. The "covering up," or what Ludwig states is the Knidia "modestly" covering herself with her hand,[149] does not sublimate these reactions but rather encourages the spectator to experience these sexual reactions to the sculpture's nudity and to recognize the focal point of that nudity, her pubic region. She is a wonder to behold, so true in natural form as to be confused for a living, breathing woman. However, Aphrodite's reaction is not one necessarily of pleasurable awe. As Blundell notes, "It is clear that Aphrodite does not want to be looked at, that the spectator's view is illicit; but at the same time the fact that her attention has been engaged by the intruder assures the spectator that he himself is unseen and safe."[150] While Aphrodite is indeed a wonder to behold, Blundell fails to consider that while the spectator may consider himself "safe," there was an inherent danger implied if one were to be caught gazing at her without her express consent/knowledge. Salomon considers Aphrodite's gesture as one which represents woman as "reduced in a humiliated way to her sexuality."[151] "Humiliated" is too strong. Projecting humiliation onto the goddess implies that she has something to be ashamed

[146] *Amores* 9. Later, Pseudo-Lucian also says of Callicratidas, "For my Athenian friend was well provided with handsome slave-boys and all of his servants were pretty well beardless" (*Amores* 10; trans. MacLeod 1967).
[147] *Amores* 17.
[148] Ludwig (2002), 292; cf. Clark (1956), 8.
[149] Ludwig (2002), 292.
[150] Blundell (1995), 194.
[151] Salomon (1997), 204.

of or embarrassed by and reducing her sexuality to a type of humiliation disregards the underlying implication by which Aphrodite's revealed form is capable of rendering such a significant impact as to weaken men's capacity in particular to discern between reality and fantasy. As the Knidia is also a cult statue, this official divine representation is hardly likely to depict the goddess in any form of humiliation.

This is not to say that Aphrodite's gesture is not indicative of a certain vulnerability. Callicratidas's description is one which reduces the goddess to an ensemble of body parts constituted through the male gaze. Callicratidas emphasizes the back, the buttocks, the hips, the thighs, the shins, the feet, the fleshiness of the body which provides a satisfyingly full embrace without being too fat or too thin. However, these body parts belong to a particular male's gaze, they are not Aphrodite's own; they have been sculpted in such a way as to be utterly fulfilling and pleasurable to male spectatorship, for even homosexually inclined male viewers, such that the owner of these features, the woman and the goddess, is subsumed by the features themselves. She is not a figure in her own right, a whole, but the sum of parts designed by a male for the purpose of satisfying a wide range of male gazes. Thus, it is hardly accurate to consider the Knidia not "openly erotic." The exposure of Aphrodite's buttocks and the admiration thereof heightens her sexual objectification. As suggested by the Mulvey model, in sculpting Aphrodite in the nude and attempting to cover the most obvious and most vulnerable area of her femininity, Praxiteles directs the viewer's attention to the nucleus of the sculpture (the pubis) and perpetuates the ideals shaped by the collective gaze and internalized by the individual spectator's gaze.

Through the Knidia, women's bodies and their sexuality are configured by their appeal to the voyeuristic male audience. Osborne contends that the Knidia plays upon "male desire, male sexuality, and male expectations and values," and furthermore that the Knidia can be seen "to say nothing to women."[152] I agree that the Knidia portrays a particularly male envisioning of feminine attractiveness. Although the female form in its natural beauty now can be appreciated more openly, that beauty is nevertheless still shielded by the woman herself rather than being open (unapologetic, even) as evidenced by contemporary and pre-existing nude male statuary. The Knidia succeeds in exposing the female form to public admiration but in its rendering transforms women's power in protecting their own physicality to a matter of public scrutiny. This rendering empowers the phallic gaze through the collective gaze's validation, reiterated by the other viewers surrounding the sculpture to

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[152] Osborne (1994), 86.

reduce the woman, even a goddess, to an object of visual, sexual gratification. Meanwhile, the woman is compelled to retain whatever modicum of self-governance is possible given the circumstances. However, to say that the Knidia "[says] nothing to women" is another matter, to be addressed shortly.

The Knidia and its portrayal of the female form, more specifically the vulva, does not simply reflect a matter of artistic technical ability/difficulty, and far from rejecting the vulva, it engages the spectator's gaze directly towards this most vulnerable and usually protected and concealed area of a woman's body. It may be more appropriate to consider the Knidia's representation as a double-edged sword of male sexual enticement and female sexual exposure. Nevertheless, the extent to which Aphrodite herself is meant to be the picture of modesty in her attempts to shield her vulva is not wholly clear. Havelock contends that, "The placement of the hand must be understood as a motif designed explicitly to screen the goddess' 'modesty' and, at the same time, to celebrate it."[153] As this statue, a cult statue no less, is of Aphrodite, to ascribe modesty and in some cases shame to the image are odd choices for the goddess of love, eroticism, and sexuality, among other things. One wonders why the goddess of sex would feel any shame/modesty about her nude form. If Aphrodite's pose were meant to indicate her shame, this reaction more typically would be expressed through one's eyes being lowered so as to avoid the gaze of the onlooker; but this cult statue would have been elevated on a base, therefore Aphrodite's gaze would appear level and her focus on an unseen/implied presence beyond the viewers themselves.[154] I consider Aphrodite's pose less a comment on how the goddess feels about the exposure of her nude form as I also doubt she would reveal any self-consciousness; rather, the pose is more a comment on how the spectator is meant to interpret the goddess's exposure as a glimpse of that which is historically not meant for human eyes. Aphrodite would have no need to shield herself if it were not for the spectators gazing upon her without her consent. Any perceived sexual misconduct would more likely be the result of a masculine transgression against the goddess's sexual autonomy; a female spectator is less likely to have concerned the goddess, especially considering she often had female attendants assisting her in her bath, such as the Graces. The shame and modesty that has long been projected onto the figure of Aphrodite should be re-evaluated and the *pudica* reassessed as not an indication of the goddess's shame but as an indication of what the spectator should feel for having gazed upon the goddess's

[153] Havelock (1995), 36.
[154] Stansbury-O'Donnell (2014), 298-299.

revealed form without her implicit consent or knowledge.[155] The goddess would have nothing to be ashamed of and a cult statue in her honour would hardly imply that she does.

The Knidia & Female Spectatorship

The Knidia is not the bearer of meaning solely for the male/phallic gaze and the sculpture itself did not hold appeal only for male spectators, regardless of their sexual preferences. Lee even suggests that, "the primary audience of the statue was female, and that the messages of the Knidia intended by Praxiteles were communicated not by her nudity but by her dress."[156] While I disagree with any specific assignment of a "primary audience" and with any attempt to discern the true intentions of Praxiteles, I do agree that the Knidia held special appeal to women, and although I agree that this appeal was conveyed to some extent by her dress, I argue that the nudity was more important. As we have already seen through the vase painting examples in this chapter, female nudity was becoming more acceptable and desirable as an artistic motif. That this motif was common on vessels handled by or seen by both men and women suggests that the spectatorship was gender inclusive and that the desirability of the nude female form was communicated not just to men but also to women. There is no reason to suggest that the Knidia's nudity did not also further convey to women the specific attractiveness of their nude forms and when analysed through the Mulvey model, the Knidia's appeal to women becomes more obvious.

The Knidia's implied bath setting as well as her dress and accoutrements would have resonated with women of various social statuses. Seaman considers it probable that the Knidia portrays Aphrodite in the process of adorning herself with sexually-charged accessories, such as the *kestos himas* (the leather strap worn as a type of diadem or as a breast-band which contained the seductive powers of Aphrodite),[157] following a bath. This "sexually-charged image" would have resonated with what Seaman refers to as the "family-minded female spectator," for whom the Knidia's bath would have reminded her of her prenuptial bath and would have reaffirmed that its "enchanting rituals do indeed induce *philia*."[158] For *hetairai*, Seaman considers the Knidia no less powerful, for "they, too, participated in bathing rituals and used magical spells and accoutrements to induce *eros*."[159]

[155] Cf. Pseudo-Lucian *Amores* 15-17, where the young man's shame is in proportion to how far he went in following his desire.
[156] Lee (2015b), 106.
[157] Seaman (2004), 564-565. Cf. *Il.* 14.152-210.
[158] Seaman (2004), 566.
[159] Seaman (2004), 566.

In notable contrast to Osborne and Salomon, Seaman avers that "the Knidia is constructed as an authoritative sexual being, a woman in control of both her own sexuality and the men under her sway."[160] As the discussion above might suggest, I agree with Seaman in that the Knidia represents the female as empowered by her sexuality, that in this representation Aphrodite controls the limits of the male gaze by virtue of her body language and concealing her pubic area. However, I argue that the degree to which the Knidia is authoritative in her sexual being depends on the specific viewer. The male spectator may recognize in the Knidia the erotic power of the feminine form and of the goddess specifically, and while this recognition would effectively shift seductive control to the goddess, it would do so only partially. The goddess may control the extent to which she is revealed, and her revealed form may be the erotic focus of the male's gaze, but she cannot control the extent to which the male in turn fetishizes her as an object of sexual fantasy and/or if a male viewer, like Callicratidas, finds in her the embodiment of his own predilections, even for males.

Kampen builds on Seaman's emphasis on female spectatorship of the Knidia. Analysing epigraphic evidence from the second half of the fourth century BCE found at several Aphrodite sanctuaries, as well as contemporary figurines of Aphrodite found in domestic contexts that represent her in the nude (as copies of the Knidia) and as draped and semi-draped, Kampen considers the importance of Aphrodite to a variety of female worshippers, including but not limited to brides, married women, and prostitutes.[161] Adopting the idea of performativity of gender, Kampen argues that, "through the repeated image, the female body learns to perform femininity, the male to perform masculinity, through both the social and the artistic repetitions, through social and visual practices."[162] One might argue, as Kampen does, that the Knidia sets an example for female viewers from whom they learn which activities define femininity, such as bathing, dress, and adornment, and subsequently that they themselves should perform these activities. Further to Kampen, I argue that Aphrodite then "bears the meaning" for female spectatorship by representing in full bodily form the ideals and behaviours which construct feminine desirability.

Lee also considers the Knidia's dress as the most important aspect which signifies female viewership as the primary audience and that *hetairai* in particular would have recognized the significance of Aphrodite's dress as symbolic of "proper maintenance and

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[160] Seaman (2004), 567.
[161] Kampen (2009), 207-215. Kampen examines literary references, epigraphic evidence, terracotta figurines, and marble statuettes from Knidos, Cos, Elis, Amorgos, Old Paphos, Delos, and Priene, originating from sanctuaries, tombs, and domestic structures.
[162] Kampen (2009), 210.

adornment of the body" which for *hetairai* was "central to their livelihoods."[163] The garment represents a tool with which Aphrodite can perform a "strip-tease" enabling her to control the spectator's visual and sexual access to her. While I agree that the garment can be seen as facilitating this type of strip-tease, whether or not we can attribute this scenario to the Knidia is less applicable. This strip-tease effect can be more readily applied to the successors of the Knidia, as Lee also references, particularly the Aphrodite Kallipygos ("of the Fair Buttocks"), who lifts her garment over her shoulders to reveal her buttocks, and to the Venus de Milo whose garment slips precariously low over her hips and threatens to reveal her pubic area. But the Knidia's garment, if we are to judge from the most faithful copies, is not used by the goddess to reveal or to conceal any part of her body. Her left hand rests on top of the garment, possibly in the act of lifting the garment to cover herself; however, the goddess still remains totally exposed. Perhaps those Aphrodites which followed the Knidia learned from their predecessor to use the garment more accordingly to achieve this strip-tease effect, but as for the Knidia, she was already fully stripped. As discussed in previous chapters, women's clothes were the characterizing features of female beauty, especially in contrast to the male nude. As Lee notes, female viewers of the Knidia may have perceived Aphrodite as representing feminine power, "which was contained in their bodies and over which they maintained control by means of their garments."[164] I contend that Lee ascribes too much significance to the garment as the central focus of the representation is the nude goddess and the garment is likely more relevant in terms of its reiterating the bathing context. If emphasis were intended to be on the Knidia's garment as well, it would be a more prominent feature in the Knidia's configuration. The Knidia's "dress" is her nudity; the garment is secondary to this nudity.

The Knidia's jewellery and hairstyling are further indicative of female spectatorship. Jewellery was frequently associated with Aphrodite, as evidenced already for example in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, and it was a common votive dedication to Aphrodite in her sanctuaries.[165] Jewellery was another means through which women worshippers identified

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[163] Lee (2015b), 109.
[164] Lee (2015b), 112.
[165] Examples include rings with Aphrodite symbols such as doves and/or erotes as well as gold-plated pins. Cf. British Museum 1865,0712.59 (gold ring engraved with Aphrodite holding a dove, and Eros c. 350 BCE); Boston MFA 23.594 (ring with Aphrodite weighing two Erotes (Erotostasia) c. 350 BCE); British Museum 1888,1115.2 (gold-plated bronze pin with pearl beads from Aphrodite Paphos sanctuary, c. 2nd century BCE); Boston MFA 27.750 (cameo with Aphrodite and Eros, c. 2nd century BCE); Boston MFA 18.365 (oval gem with Aphrodite leaning on a pillar, c. 3rd to 2nd century BCE); Boston MFA 21.123 (ring with oval gem with armed Aphrodite, first half of 3rd century BCE, Euboia, Eretria, Tomb of the Erotes).

with Aphrodite and through which Aphrodite's beauty and sexual prowess was enhanced.[166] By representing the Knidia with jewellery, the sexually enhancing qualities of jewellery are reiterated to female viewers. The Knidia's hairstyle, the coiffed chignon bound with fillets, was also frequently donned by late-Classical period women, both wives and *hetairai*, but this particular style denotes the more "proper" hairstyle indicative of female sexuality brought under control.[167] It may not have been an appropriate hairstyle choice for representing Aphrodite at her bath, especially if unbound hair would have been more in keeping with Aphrodite *anadyomene* images, but perhaps in the context of the Knidia and its intention to appeal to a broad audience of women, the choice to sculpt her hair in this chignon style had more to do with more easily enabling women of different statuses to engage with this image of the goddess and less to do with controlling Aphrodite's sexuality. Alternatively, a simpler suggestion could be that perhaps Praxiteles thought to keep her hair bound as if to suggest Aphrodite preferred not to get her hair wet. There are several possibilities, but at the very least this hairstyle would certainly have been readily recognizable to a female spectator and for the goddess to be wearing her hair in that style, a female viewer may associate the style with one type of body modification which heightens erotic appeal.

On other body modifications, Seaman notes that copies of the Knidia evidence genital depilation[168] and Lee considers the "well-groomed pubic triangle" of the Knidia to confirm "the necessity of the practice for all her human worshippers to maintain their own sexual desirability."[169] The Knidia does not have pubic hair which undermines any sense of her pubic triangle being "well-groomed." Stewart contends that the lack of pubic hair on the Knidia is easily explained by depilation.[170] Depilation of the Knidia is perhaps one reason for the undetailed vulva although it still does not explain why there is no vulva incision. Although depilation appears to have been a common practice as a means of increasing one's sexual appeal,[171] in contrast to previous scholars I question whether or not we can confidently presume that the Knidia's pubic region represents genital depilation. If Aphrodite's pubic

[166] Cf. Lee (2015b), 112-114.
[167] Lee (2015b), 114.
[168] Seaman (2004), 551-557.
[169] Lee (2015b), 115.
[170] Stewart (1997), 99.
[171] Literary and visual sources confirm this practice. Aristophanes makes several references to women, including citizen wives, practicing depilation; cf. *Eccl.* 12-13, 724; *Lys.* 151. On vase painting examples, cf. Kilmer (1982), 104-112. Whether the practice was performed by prostitutes/*hetairai* or "proper" citizen wives is still debated by some scholars. Skinner (1982), 243-245 identifies it as a practice of prostitutes, but others such as Bain (1982), 7-10 include all women. Lee (2015a), 81 posits that it may have been practiced first by *hetairai* and then spread to housewives; cf. also Stroup (2004), 37-73 on the "hetairization" of Greek wives, and Lavergne (2011), 99-110 on female depilation in ancient Greece.

region were groomed, the vulva might be more obvious and therefore more visible in its delineation. Some of our evidence from vase painting which attests to the practice of female genital depilation clearly shows the vulva incision.[172] Why the Knidia would not also represent the vulva in this manner following depilation is unclear. The Knidia may not feature hair in the pubic region but that appears to be a stylistic choice for all areas of her body where hair should be save for her head. To characterize the Knidia as having a "well-groomed pubic triangle" overlooks the most obvious effect of genital depilation, the unimpeded view of the vulva. Depilated or not, the vulva remains un-sculpted.

The Knidia is the model of feminine desirability and it is in this sense that her nudity is just as relevant as her dress. Kampen refers to the "allure of the goddess" as conducive for female viewers—wives, brides, and prostitutes—to aspire to the same allure, to the same "bodily and sensual power like that of the goddess."[173] Aphrodite's nudity represents the nude female form as a wonder to behold and in her body's revelation portrays the pinnacle of erotic appeal aimed at satisfying the male gaze. In wishing to emulate the goddess, in recognizing the beauty of her nude form, female spectators would also recognize the physical attributes which appeal so ardently to husbands, to grooms, and to male clientele, and while some of these women may have compared themselves to the goddess and found themselves lacking, the fact that they nevertheless have the same physical composition as the goddess enables a recognition of similar erotic appeal.[174] Kampen further argues that female emulation of the Knidia extends to these women, "[imagining] themselves loving the goddess, making her the repository of their own yearnings."[175] Kampen's remarks suggest the Knidia's potential to evoke female homoerotic interest, specifically in Aphrodite. While not implausible, I argue that Kampen's suggestion can only be but speculative. We have evidence of Aphrodite being beseeched for help in unrequited, female homoerotic love; Sappho's *Ode to Aphrodite* is a prime example. We also have references to mortal (mythical) men yearning for Aphrodite, such as the *Hymn to Aphrodite* where Anchises gazes with awe upon Aphrodite's beauty and lays with her, and Ovid's description of the intimacy shared between Aphrodite and Adonis.[176] What we lack, however, are any references to mortal women (mythical or not), who yearn in a similar, erotic sense for Aphrodite. This is not to say that

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[172] A prime example is the tondo of a red-figure *kylix* in the manner of Onesimos, c. 500 BCE, depicting a prostitute performing genital depilation wherein her vulva has an obvious delineation (University of Mississippi Museum 77.3.112; Beazley 203411).
[173] Kampen (2009), 214.
[174] This perspective echoes Lee (2015b).
[175] Kampen (2009), 214.
[176] *Hom. Hymn Aphr.* 85-90, 160-167; Ov. *Met.*10.503-559, 708-738.

ancient Greek women could not yearn for Aphrodite in a homoerotic sense, but that our evidence for female homoeroticism is more focused on these emotions existing between mortal women, not between mortal women and Aphrodite.[177]

Regardless, the Knidia would have appealed to a female audience as strongly as she would have appealed to a male audience, although for decidedly different reasons. Rather than being the symbol of masculine sexual fetishization, for women the Knidia was the bearer of meaning for female sexual agency, for women's power in controlling the erotic allure of their feminine forms and accentuating the characteristics which most attract the male gaze. Nevertheless, through the Mulvey model, the "primary" audience of the Knidia is not limited to one gender. She represents female sexual objectification by the phallic gaze while simultaneously representing the ability of the sex-object to regain her subjectivity and even use it to shape and to contrast the agency of her erstwhile objectifiers. The individual spectator ultimately determines the viewing experience and consequently what role Aphrodite plays in structuring that experience. The spectator's control evokes the viewing experience as described by Mulvey in that while the sculptor determines what the sculpture/Aphrodite portrays, it is the spectator who internalizes the sculpture as symbolic of masculine sexual fantasy, hetero- and homosexual, or in some cases of feminine sexual agency. The Mulvey model enables us to view the Knidia from both gender perspectives without limiting the impact of one in comparison to the other. As equally symbolic of the phallic gaze, the Knidia is symbolic of female viewership. However, both types of audiences would likely concur that the Knidia represented an ideal of feminine desirability and a new appreciation for the physical beauty of the natural female form.

Chapter Conclusion: After the Knidia

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to explore the relationship between the post-Knidia Aphrodite iconography and the contemporary erotica of the Hellenistic period, or the

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[177] Rabinowitz (2002), 106-166 examines black- and red-figure Attic vase paintings from c. 600-400 BCE for visual evidence of female homoeroticism in ancient Greece while comparing this evidence to our literary sources which describe female homoeroticism, such as the poems of Sappho and Alcman. Rabinowitz argues that vase painters "endow women's homosocial world with affection," sometimes physically expressed by the end of the fifth century; wedding scenes are particularly suggestive of eroticism shared between women and we also have explicit representations of women in baths with dildos, sometimes touching one another (2002, 148-149). Rabinowitz argues that such vase paintings "show a wide range of modes and sites for the expression of women's desire," (2002, 149). These vase paintings, especially those depicting women performing wedding rituals where Aphrodite is in attendance (including the epinetron by the Eretria Painter, cf. chapter 3 fig. 3.8, figure 6.6 referenced in Rabinowitz 2002), display affection between one another, not specifically towards or with Aphrodite. While Aphrodite appears a willing patroness in matters of female homoeroticism, we do not have any explicit references to the goddess herself engaging in homoeroticism.

equivalent relationship in the Roman period. Notable sculptures which claim the Knidia as their progenitress include the Crouching Aphrodite, the Capitoline Aphrodite, the Medici Aphrodite, the Aphrodite of Melos, and the Aphrodite Kallipygos ("of the Fair Buttocks").[178] Spivey highlights two major impacts of the Knidia on the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The image of a nude, bathing Aphrodite became a "shorthand literary mode of evoking the (male) fantasy of a beauty both ideal and attainable" as evidenced in Hellenistic and Roman erotic literature, such as Chariton's romance *Chaireas and Callirhoe* (c. 100 BCE-100 CE) in which Chariton's description of the bathing, beautiful maiden Callirhoe echoes both the representation of Aphrodite as the Knidia and descriptions thereof.[179] Secondly, the Romans, namely matrons and particularly those with Imperial connections, frequently chose to be portrayed as *Venus pudica* based on the Knidia or the Capitoline; the association between *materfamilias* and Aphrodite/Venus likely refers to Venus Genetrix, Venus as the mother and ancestral goddess of the Romans.[180]

Much of the erotic vase painting contemporary to the Knidia turned its focus from explicit symposia scenes to more domestic representations of intimacy. The wedding scenes in particular reflect the concept of romance within marriages becoming a more readily accepted and desired aspect particularly of Athenian culture, which is not to say that marriages were not still frequently arranged or that grooms were increasingly younger in age at the time of the wedding.[181] Rather, the iconography suggests that some artists had begun exploring the theme of mutual desire between bride and groom/husband and wife, and that this exploration may have been a reflection of emerging cultural ideals. In the period following the Knidia, erotic images on personal items, particularly gems and mirrors, depict intimacy between men and women with greater emphasis on mutual engagement. The women may represent prostitutes since some scenes occur on a *kline*, a typical symbol of a prostitution setting, but the tone of these scenes is far different from previous depictions of

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[178] Havelock (1995), 69-101 dates these sculptures to the late Hellenistic period. As Higgs (1997) notes, however, it is impossible to date these types definitively to the early Hellenistic period and it is equally unlikely that they can all be dated to the later first and second centuries BCE as Havelock contends. Further, the Capitoline and Medici types are the only two which can claim a direct link to the Knidia by virtue of the their posture; the others depict nudity to varying degrees and may claim loose inspiration from the Knidia but they also may be independent creations (Higgs 1997). As Lapatin (1995) also criticizes, there are no clear grounds for assigning certain dates to these copies and Havelock uses vague terms in her dating ("probably", "supposed", etc.) and those few pieces which are provenanced do not confirm the date of the original models.

[179] Spivey (2013), 212.

[180] Spivey (2013), 212-213.

[181] Ormand (2018), 155. Ormand suggests that vessel nuptial imagery of the Classical/late-Classical period with its emphasis on mutual desire contributed to the development of New Comedy in the late fourth century BCE, in which romance was the key plot device in stories revolving around love, sex, and marriage.

sex between men and women/prostitutes. One illustrative example appears on a mirror cover from Corinth c. 340-320 BCE which depicts copulation between a man and a woman (*symplegma*) on a *kline* supported by two large pillows (fig. 5.27). The man lies behind the woman, left handle visibly supporting the woman's half-raised torso as he penetrates her. The woman's legs are widely spread, the point of penetration clearly visible and rendered as the centre of the scene. The woman reaches over her right shoulder to grasp the man's head as she tilts her head up whilst kissing him.[182] In a mirror like figure 5.27, the erotic subject and the portrayal of the intimacy might aid in constructing a gender dynamic whereby both men and women can attain sexual satisfaction and emotional connection through intimate encounters. The gradual acceptance of female nudity and the realized desirability of the nude feminine form was a turning point in how the sexual dynamic in relations between men and women was perceived. With the revelation of the feminine nude in Greek art, and with the Knidia standing as the pinnacle of this revelation, female sexuality and beauty shifted out of the shadow cast by centuries of male-centred idealizations.

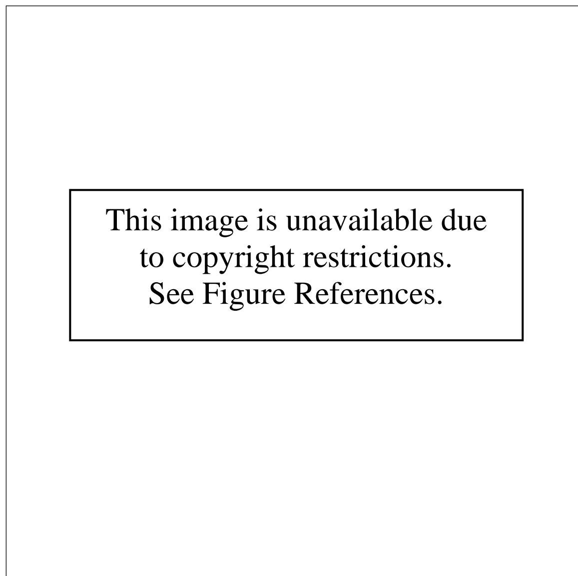

Fig. 5.27: Mirror Cover with Eros and erotic scene (*symplegma*); Bronze and silvered bronze; c. 340-320 BCE, Corinth; Boston MFA RES.08.32c.2.

[182] A similar gesture of the woman reaching her hand up to clasp her male partner behind his head is seen in figure 2.8, the Athenian red-figure cup c. 490-480 BCE by the Triptolemos Painter depicting a bearded man copulating with a woman on a *kline*. While the women's gestures are similar and perhaps both suggest greater involvement on the woman's part in the intimacy, the mirror depiction differs in its positioning of the couple and the woman's greater freedom of movement, suggesting a more mutual engagement.

Conclusion

Final Thoughts

Aphrodite & Ancient Greek Erotica

In select regions of ancient Greece from the Archaic to the late-Classical period, Aphrodite's cults and related iconographies correlate with concurrent, socially idealized sexual behaviours and characteristics of gendered desirability. These social ideals relate to male sexual phantasies, to depictions of female nudity and physical attraction, and to hetero- and homosexual relations. That Aphrodite's cults and iconographies appear to have been on a parallel track of development to ancient Greek erotica illustrates the impacts of one's historical, social, and cultural environments on the human perceptions of sex and sexualities as well as on the divine personification of these perceptions. Rather than treating Aphrodite and erotica as separate topics united only by a basic commonality, as previous scholarship has done, this analysis has demonstrated that we need to consider how the goddess of sex and ancient Greek erotica are indicative of a complex and reciprocal relationship between a goddess and her worshippers.

In the Archaic period in specific areas of ancient Greece including Kythera, Sparta, Argos, and Corinth, Aphrodite was closely associated with matters of war and strife. It was not simply that she shared a relationship with the war god, Ares, but rather that she also appears to have been worshipped as an armed goddess. Not to be confused with a war goddess like Athena, or like her ANE counterpart Ishtar, Aphrodite's worship as an armed goddess in places like Corinth, Argos, and Sparta instead emphasizes Aphrodite's role as the patron goddess who oversees the protection and stability of one of her favoured cities. When facing the threat of a Persian invasion, the Corinthians called upon Aphrodite for aid in protecting their city, while in Sparta the armed love goddess strengthened the projection of martial supremacy in all aspects of Spartan life, including worship. At the same time, Athens appears to have concentrated on Aphrodite's relationship with Ares and her role in the Trojan War as the extent of her associations with war and strife. As we saw in Homer, and briefly in Hesiod, Ares and Aphrodite's relationship symbolizes the divine embodiment of opposing yet complementary extremes. Ares's strong passions for violence and war meet their match in Aphrodite's passions for sex and love. In Empedoclean philosophy, Aphrodite certainly appears to have a great deal of power as she is directly linked with the cosmic force Love, whose battle for supremacy against Strife determines the balance of the universe.

The ancient Greek fascination with Aphrodite's associations with war extends beyond the divine realm and crosses into both the heroic and mortal realms. As we saw in chapter two, narratives of sexual violence in Homeric epic and in Euripidean tragedy portray similar worlds where periods of war and combat often result in sexual violence committed against female captives. While in Homer the Greek heroes consider the capture and sexual violation of the Trojan women the pièce de résistance of their victory, Euripides fully realizes this goal by describing the fates of the Trojan women. In *Hecuba* and *Trojan Women*, the inevitability of sexual violence is palpable, and yet figures such as Polyxena and Hecuba manage to manipulate their captivity to control their male captors and to control the extent of their violations. In the mortal realm, these narratives of sexual violence find further exploration in violent erotica. In this body of vase-painting evidence, homosexual relationships are elevated to a higher standard of sexual morality than heterosexual relationships, something which Xenophon and Pausanias (the latter in Plato) also distinguish. Whereas heterosexual relations are often depicted with a crassness that privileges male sexual satisfaction, depictions of homosexual relations instead emphasize mutual pleasure. Analysed through the Mulvey model, the violent erotica emphasizes the woman as object of sexual satisfaction as well as the heterosexual male gaze's facilitation of sadistic voyeurism and fetishistic scopophilia. With chapters one and two on the Archaic and early-Classical periods, we saw the parallels in a phenomenon which existed in Aphrodite's cult and iconography as well as in the literature and art of the same period: the tension between sex and violence and how this relationship could be reconciled.

In Classical period Athens, Aphrodite's role as a marriage goddess takes centre stage and this focused worship coincides with the increased visual affirmation of the importance of legitimate citizen marriages within Athenian society. Chapters three and four examined three of Aphrodite's most important cults in Athens during this period, Aphrodite *Pandêmos*, *en Kêpois*, and *Ourania*, in relation to the iconography of Athenian weddings. Athenian nuptial vase paintings demonstrate the shift in consumer preference from more explicit erotic depictions to those which favoured public viewership, including the female gaze, and public social ideals, notably marriage. Nuptial vase paintings also highlight women's importance to the perpetuation of the Athenian *polis* by virtue of legitimate citizen marriages and the bearing of citizen children which Perikles's citizenship law of 451 BCE had brought to the forefront of Athenian political and social life. The iconography of Athenian weddings emphasizes female beauty and desirability for the sake of attracting one's groom/husband so that the begetting of children is more easily accomplished. The intimacy between a groom

and his bride becomes not just a matter of private desires but also public as this relationship represents the social and political priorities of the Athenian *polis* at large. Aphrodite's cult and iconography as Aphrodite *Pandêmos* represents both the private and public spheres. Through the Mulvey model, female spectators see in Aphrodite the model for those physical traits which embody the ideal citizen wife. In nuptial vases where Aphrodite is present, the bride's private and social worlds collide: in public, she symbolizes harmony and unity, and in private, she is the sexually awakened and fertile wife. Aphrodite *en Kêpois* stresses the bride's fertility and the success of Athenian marriage unions as constituted by successful childbearing. The Athenian sanctuaries of Aphrodite *en Kêpois* and their votives as well as the iconography of the *en Kêpois* goddess all emphasize how Aphrodite's powers of sexual persuasion were critical to marriage and childbirth. The cult of Aphrodite *Ourania* and its associations with the *Adonia* also emphasize the intimacy between the bride and groom, with Aphrodite representing the former and Adonis the latter. Their union, doomed though it may have been, nevertheless reiterates the contemporary, idealized sexual behaviours of the bride by contrasting Aphrodite's sexual autonomy with the bride's sexual restrictions.

Finally, in the late-Classical period, Praxiteles's Aphrodite of Knidos revealed for the first time in Greek sculpture the fully nude, female form. But as the erotica evidence examined in chapter five demonstrates, the motif of the female nude as exemplified by Aphrodite as well as other female figures such as Helen and bathing brides was becoming more commonplace. The iconography of the naked goddess from the ANE, which Aphrodite's ANE counterparts had long displayed and continued to display in the period contemporary to the Knidia, also facilitated the welcoming of the female nude in Greek sculptural art, especially as represented through the goddess of female beauty and sensuality herself. As analysed through the Mulvey model, the Knidia appeals to both male and female audiences, homosexual and heterosexual. While for the male gaze, and not just the heterosexual one, the Knidia represents the sexually-objectified (wo)man, for the female gaze she represents female sexual autonomy through the manipulation of the male gaze. At the same time that female nudity in Greek art was gaining popularity for its own erotic appeal in contrast to the traditional aesthetic of ideal beauty which placed the male nude form at the forefront, Aphrodite's iconography (especially in sculpture) was likewise flirting with the near-full exposure of the goddess. The vacillation between covering and uncovering the goddess ultimately reaches its zenith in the Aphrodite of Knidos.

Throughout this thesis, the Mulvey model has enabled a closer examination of ancient Greek erotica and its relationship to Aphrodite's cults and iconographies. Through this

model, with its basis in socially-driven sexual behaviours and its emphasis on the heterosexual male gaze, I have demonstrated that ancient Greek erotica featured in vase paintings and in sculpture frequently reflect a male-focused framework for determining idealized and/or desirable sexual behaviours as well as standards of gendered desirability. However, I extend my model to include the homosexual male gaze and the female gaze. In using this model and adapting it thusly, the spectator experience of ancient erotica has become more fully realized in relation to contemporary social and historical environments, and to the divine embodiment of erotic experiences. As discussed in my second chapter, the reason we can compare Aphrodite's cults and iconographies to human explorations of sex and sexuality is primarily due to the ancient Greek envisioning of their deities as anthropomorphic beings. While anthropomorphism did also distinguish the gods from humans, in matters of sex the lines of distinction were far more blurred. To examine the cult of Aphrodite is to examine *ta Aphrodisia*, "the things that belong to Aphrodite." We cannot fully understand ancient Greek perceptions of sex and sexuality without taking into consideration their own goddess to whom these perceptions arguably belong. Through this analysis it has become clear that just as Aphrodite became *panōpēessa* through the Knidia, so too now is the close relationship between a goddess and her worshippers, between Aphrodite and ancient Greek erotica.

Figure References

Chapter One

1.1 *Cylinder seal depicting Ishtar (center) as love and war goddess; Ishtar wearing a horned headdress and slit robe, one foot resting on lion's back, carrying a spear and throw stick(?), with a set of arrows in two quivers on shoulders; flanked by worshiper on left and priest figure on right; c. 1850-1750 BCE.* [Photograph]. Accessed in publication: Teissier, B. (1984), *Ancient Near Eastern Cylinder Seals from the Marcopoli Collection*, Berkeley & Los Angeles. [Fig. 505].

1.2 *Cylinder seal depicting Ishtar (center) as love and war goddess; winged Ishtar stands with fringed skirt drawn to one side, with one worshiper on either side; c. 1850-1720 BCE.* [Photograph]. Accessed in publication: Teissier, B. (1984), *Ancient Near Eastern Cylinder Seals from the Marcopoli Collection*, Berkeley & Los Angeles. [Fig. 490].

1.3 *Cylinder seal depicting Ishtar (center) as love and war goddess; Ishtar stands center wearing curled toed shoes and lifts her veil to reveal her nudity, with one worshiper on either side; c. 1850-1720 BCE.* [Photograph]. Accessed in publication: Teissier, B. (1984), *Ancient Near Eastern Cylinder Seals from the Marcopoli Collection*, Berkeley & Los Angeles. [Fig. 496].

1.4 *Cylinder seal depicting seated Ishtar; Ishtar dons a two-horned headdress, flounced garment, and clubs and scimitars rise from her shoulders; three worshippers approach the seated goddess; the lower register depicts ducks and fish. Archaic period; British Museum.* [Drawing]. Accessed in publication: Ward, W.H. (1910), *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, Washington, D.C. [Fig. 411].

1.5 *Bronze amulet, on reverse: Ishtar enthroned with lion at her feet, and a worshipper; c. 8th/7th century BCE; Neo-Assyrian. Metropolitan Museum of New York 86.11.3.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/321627?searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&when=1000+B.C.-A.D.+1&ft=ishtar&offset=0&rpp=80&pos=2.

1.6 *Garnet cylinder seal: beardless male worshipper stands facing right before warrior-goddess Ishtar, who stands on the back of a couchant lion, raises her right hand, and holds a bow and two arrows in her left. Ishtar has crossed quivers on her back tipped by stars and decorated with dots, as well as a dot-decorated bow-case and sickle-sword, and a sword at her waist. Neo-Assyrian, c. 720-700 BCE. British Museum 89769.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=369250&partId=1&searchText=ishtar+cylinder&from=bc&fromDate=800&to=ad&toDate=460&page=1.

1.7 *Cylinder seal with cultic scene: statue of Ishtar on a platform, identified by her crossed quivers, starred crown, and the stars encircling her body. A worshipper kneels before her, while two genies protect the enclosure. Neo-Assyrian, late 9th/early 8th cent. BCE. Metropolitan Museum of New York 1989.361.1.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/327434.

1.8 *Drawing of bronze figurine excavated at Sparta; c. 3rd-4th cent. BCE; Drawing by Paul C. Butler.* [Drawing]. Access online at: http://crab.rutgers.edu/~pbutler/AncientArt/.

1.9 *Part of votive iron blade, mid-rib, with incised dedication: Λυκεíος Αρε[Ϝ]ια[ι]; [Lukeios Are[w]iai]; Spartan Acropolis.* [Photograph]. Accessed in publication: Woodward, A.M. (1928), "Excavations at Sparta, 1924-27: II. Votive Inscriptions from the Acropolis", *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 30:241-254. [Fig. 7].

1.10 *Corinth AR Stater; c. 549-510 BCE; Pegasus flying right, bridled, curled wing/Archaic head of Aphrodite(?) in Corinthian helmet, hair represented by dotted lines; Ravel 110*. [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/corinth/i.html.

1.11 *Corinth AR Stater; c. 405–350/45 BCE; Pegasus flying right / Head of Aphrodite(?) in Corinthian helmet, dolphin above visor, retrograde Σ (or rotated M) behind neckpiece; CNS 344.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/corinth/i.html.

1.12 *Aphrodite of Epidaurus marble sculpture; Aphrodite bearing weapons; Roman copy of original Greek c. 380 BCE; Athens Archaeological Museum 262.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Armed_Aphrodite_in_the_National_Archaeological_Museum_of_Athens#/media/File:NAMA_262_Aphrodite_Epidaure_2.JPG.

1.13 *Athenian black-figure dinos fragment; c. 560-540 BCE. Gigantomachy: Aphrodite, identified by inscription, fighting a giant, identified by inscription as Mimos. National Museum of Athens, Acropolis Coll.: 1.607. Beazley 310147.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://weblimc.org/page/monument/2079855.

1.14 *Athenian red-figure amphora fragment; c. 400-390 BCE. Gigantomachy: Top left, Aphrodite driving chariot with Ares beside her wielding a spear against a giant, Eros crouching and aiming his bow. Attributed to the Suessula Painter. Louvre S1677; Beazley 217568.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/XDB/ASP/recordDetails.asp?id={1EFF3531-45A0-4643-8823-26F3DB9C0692}&noResults=1&recordCount=1&databaseID={12FC52A7-0E32-4A81-9FFA-C8C6CF430677}&search=%20{AND}%20217568.

1.15 *Athenian black-figure amphora, c. 520 BCE. Aphrodite and Poseidon in chariot. British Museum B254. Beazley 306464. Drawing after Lenormant, de Witte, Élite des monuments céramographiques. Matériaux pour l'histoire des religions et des moeurs de l'antiquité (Paris, 1844-1861), 3, pl. 15.* [Drawing]. Accessed in publication: Pironti, G. (2010), "Rethinking Aphrodite as Goddess at Work", in A. Smith & S. Pickup (eds), *Brill's Companion to Aphrodite*, Leiden. [Fig. 6.1].

1.16 *Athenian black-figure pinax fragment, c. 560-550 BCE, from the Athenian Acropolis. Aphrodite holding Himeros and Eros. National Museum of Athens 15131. Beazley 951.* [Drawing]. Accessed online at: http://crab.rutgers.edu/~pbutler/AncientArt/.

1.17 *Athenian black-figure amphora, c. 530-520 BCE, attributed to the Towry Whyte Painter. Dionysus with vine and drinking horn, before him a goddess (Aphrodite) holding children, Hermes behind Dionysus, youth with ivy behind Aphrodite. British Museum B168. Beazley 310371.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://weblimc.org/page/monument/2078708.

1.18 *Athenian black-figure pyxis c. 575-550 BCE attributed to the C Painter. Judgment of Paris: from left, Athena, Aphrodite, Hera, Hermes, and Paris. Lille, Musee de Beaux Arts 763. Beazley 306515.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/9B72216C-153C-4776-86D7-C62F2AE1E8E7.

1.19 *Athenian black-figure lekythos c. 500-490 BCE. Attributed to the Diosphos Painter. Judgment of Paris: from left, Aphrodite with siren, Athena with owl, Hera with apple. Athens Kerameikos 1488. Beazley 9022748.* [Photograph]. Accessed in publication: Hatzivassiliou, E. (2010), *Athenian Black Figure Iconography between 510 and 475 B.C.*, Rahden. [PL.11.1-2 (PARTS)].

1.20 *Terracotta naked standing goddess from Gortyn. Heraklion Archaeological Museum 11306.* [Photograph]. Accessed in publication: Ammerman, R.M. (1991), "The Naked Standing Goddess: A Group of Archaic Terracotta Figurines from Paestum", *American Journal of Archaeology* 95.2:203-230. [Fig. 21].

1.21 *Votive terracotta, naked standing goddess from the Menelaion, c. mid-7th century BCE.* [Photograph]. Accessed in publication: Thompson, M.S. (1908/09), "Excavations at Sparta, 1909. The Menelaion. The Terracotta Figurines", *BSA* 15:116-26. [Fig. 4, no. 60].

1.22 *Votive terracotta, naked standing goddess from the Artemis Orthia Sanctuary, c. mid-7th century BCE.* [Photograph]. Accessed in publication: Farrell, J. (1907/08), "Excavations at Sparta, 1908. Archaic Terracottas from the Sanctuary of Orthia", *BSA* 14:48-73. [Fig. 7a-e, k].

Chapter Two

2.1 *Athenian black-figure skyphos; Corinth 525-500 BCE; Side B: Judgment of Paris, Hermes, Athena, Hera, Aphrodite, Dionysus with drinking horn; Beazley 11350.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/371D06CB-E5BD-465A-844B-4B89C4D6984F.

2.2 *Athenian red-figure hydria; c. 460 BCE; BD: Anodos of Aphrodite, Eros with fillet, woman with cloth, altar, palm tree, fillet suspended; attributed to the Bologna Painter; Beazley 211143.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/D695A389-4C4B-4DC9-9638-F777D4C1729C.

2.3 *Athenian red-figure cup; c. 470-440 BCE; Anodos, Aphrodite emerging from the ground, Pan above; attributed to Sabouroff Painter; Beazley 212239.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/FF266BA7-BBB2-41EE-84F5-06B635CA8C63.

2.4 *Athenian black-figure lekythos; Athens c. 480 BCE; BD: Symposium, man, woman playing lyre; Attributed to manner of the Haimon Painter; Beazley 1214.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/3640610F-8800-45F3-9034-B816C246049A.

2.5 *Athenian red-figure dinos fragments; Athens c. 480-460 BCE; BD: Symposium, erotic scene with men and women; Attributed to the Pan Painter; Beazley 206303.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/E7CDA4A1-6439-43EA-A6BA-DCCCD0E169B5.

2.6 *Athenian red-figure pelike; c. 490 BCE Tarquinia; side A (left) man inspecting woman, side B (right) man and women engaging in rear-entry sex; attributed to Nikoxenos Painter; Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese: RC2989; Beazley 202076.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/8F48600D-59EF-4F61-8292-0B1D5688D55A.

2.7 *Athenian red-figure cup; c. 490-480 BCE Tarquinia; balding man and woman have sex on kline. Painter; Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese: RC2983 & NA; Beazley 203886.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/0EBB06E8-2FF3-428E-A3C2-A36EA23A2CB7.

2.8 *Athenian red-figure cup; c. 490-480 BCE Tarquinia; bearded man and woman have sex on kline; Triptolemos Painter; Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese: RC2983 & NA; Beazley 203885.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/20DFF927-8521-48B4-84EC-68561F5A2429.

2.9 *Athenian red-figure kylix; c. 510-500 BCE; Eromenos initiates intimacy with erastes; attributed to Carpenter Painter; J. Paul Getty Museum: 85.AE.25; Beazley 31619.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/BCD1F254-C130-4E7A-899A-D9A6B6A586A4.

2.10 *Athenian red-figure kylix; c. 500 BCE; Youths and boys at various stages of courtship; signed by Peithinos; Berlin, Antikensammlung: F2279; Beazley 200977.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/5C03CFDF-D841-432A-8B2C-FAAD6697E456.

2.11 *Athenian red-figure kylix; c. 480 BCE; Heterosexual couple engaging in rear-entry sex; Inscription: "heche hēsychos ['hold still']".; Douris Painter; Boston MFA 1970.233; Beazley 205288.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://collections.mfa.org/objects/153752.

2.12 *Athenian black-figure amphora; c. 560-550 BCE Tyrrhenian Group, Vulci; Nude men and women including two heterosexual couples engaged in rear-entry sex; Munich, Antikensammlungen: 1431; Beazley 310098.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/6DDB8389-96B2-4E27-B31D-EA94E7B451AD.

2.13 *Athenian red-figure cup; c. 540-530 BCE; Heterosexual couple engaged in rear-entry sex with audience of male onlookers; attributed to Bo Group; Leipzig: T3359; Beazley 3385.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/1FBF835A-45CE-4845-8913-9FF1745DFE0A.

2.14 *Athenian black-figure hydria; c. 540-530 BCE; Ten male and female couples copulate in rear-entry and front-entry/standing positions; attributed to Elbows Out; Boston MFA 95.62; Beazley 301406.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/A49E5178-4583-40FC-9923-993D6E92EA3E.

2.15 *Athenian red-figure kantharos; c. 520-510 BCE; Erotic scenes, orgy in progress; Nikosthenes Painter; Boston MFA 95.61; Beazley 201063.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://collections.mfa.org/objects/153641/highhandled-drinking-cup-kantharos-with-erotic-scenes?ctx=bfd90656-9b83-4eb6-8983-ac2869bef75b&idx=0.

2.16 *Athenian red-figure kylix; c. 510-500 BCE; Orgy scenes; Pedieus Painter; Louvre G13; Beazley 200694.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/95FB4360-E3A6-47CF-BDEC-F7C7A1D94E5C.

2.17 *Athenian red-figure cup; c. 490 BCE; Orgy scenes; Brygos Painter; Florence 3921; Beazley 203929.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.scalarchives.com/web/.

2.18 *Athenian red-figure cup, c. 490-480 BCE; side A (left): man about to beat woman on the buttocks while another man behind the woman protests; side B (right): man threatens reclining woman with sandal; attributed to Antiphon; Beazley 203489.* [Drawing]. Accessed in publication: Kilmer, M.F. (1993), *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases*, London. [Fig. R490 A & B].

2.19 *Athenian red-figure cup; c. 490-470 BCE Cerveteri; Youth attacking woman with sandal; Milan A8037; Beazley 275962.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/D4BA286A-FEB0-4ECD-A913-AE904C77E75A.

2.20 *Athenian red-figure kylix; c. 520-500 BCE Turin; Homosexual orgy scene (?); attributed to Epeleios; Beazley 201359.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/02391C7B-6BEE-4C05-9480-1A6A7E77ACA6.

2.21 *Athenian red-figure pelike; c. 520-515 BCE, Viterbo; Man seated with sandal, beating (?) ithyphallic youth; attributed to Euphronios; Rome MNEVG 121109; Beazley 200073.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/801F107A-0BB2-4FAD-BE1B-678237ED0030.

Chapter Three

3.1 *Athenian red-figure terracotta oinochoe; c. 520 BCE; Judgment of Paris; Euthymides Painter; MET 1981.11.9, Beazley 9988.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/255719.

3.2 *Athenian red-figure skyphos; Suessula c. 490 BCE; Paris Abducting Helen; Makron Painter, potted by Hieron; Boston MFA 13.186, Beazley 204681.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://collections.mfa.org/objects/153876/drinking-cup-skyphos-with-the-departure-and-recovery-of-he?ctx=58d90b63-fe0f-4ebf-ab94-fbb2fe014468&idx=0.

3.3 *Athenian red-figure amphoriskos; c. 430 BCE; Persuasion of Helen; Heimarmene Painter; Berlin Antikensammlung 30036, Beazley 215552.* [Drawing]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/19B780B7-401F-47B7-A0D3-D6B0206C5C0B.

3.4 *Athenian red-figure squat lekythos; Boeotia c. 410 BCE; Wedding Preparations, Aphrodite seated; attributed to the Meidias Painter; MET 11.213.2, Beazley 220601.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/248636?sortBy=Relevance&ft=meidias+painter&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=1.

3.5 *Athenian red-figure squat lekythos; Olympia c. 410 BCE; Bride and Mother approach Aphrodite statue flanked by Erotes and Thymiateria; attributed to the Meidias Painter; Ashmolean Museum 1966.714, Beazley 220605.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/1875A50D-419A-44F9-8364-5CF66584C3EF.

3.6 *Athenian red-figure pyxis; c. 420-400 BCE; Stages of bride's wedding preparations, with Aphrodite before the seated bride; the Meidias Painter; MET 1972.118.148; Beazley 44750.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/255459?sortBy=Relevance&ft=1972.118.148&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=1.
[Drawing]. Accessed in publication: von Bothmer, D. (1961), *Ancient Art from New York Private Collections*, New York. [Pl. 91, fig. 243].

3.7 *Athenian red-figure loutrophoros; Attica c. 430-420 BCE; Bridal procession, bridegroom leading bride by the wrist; Boston MFA 03.802; Beazley 15815.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://collections.mfa.org/objects/153797.

3.8 *Athenian red-figure epinetron; Eretria c. 425 BCE; Wedding preparations, Marriage of Harmonia and Cadmus; attributed to the Eretria Painter; Athens National Museum 1629, Beazley 216971.* [Drawing]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/6F3FD6F6-F603-4BEC-B813-D1C81B0315EA.

Chapter Four

4.1 *Roman marble copy of "Aphrodite leaning against a pillar" after Alkamenes's "Aphrodite of the Gardens" c. end of 5th cent. BCE; Roman, Imperial; 2nd century CE (?); Louvre MR 181.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010277808.

4.2 *Athenian black-figure pinax fragment, Athenian Acropolis c. 560-550 BCE; Aphrodite holding Himeros (left) and Eros (right) in her arms, both identified by inscription; Athens National Museum 15131, Beazley 950.* [Drawing]. Accessed online at: http://crab.rutgers.edu/~pbutler/AncientArt/.

4.3 *Eastern view of the niches carved into the rock-face of the North Slope Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros; Athenian Acropolis; ASCSA Collection, No. AK 0870.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://www.ascsa.net/id/apc/image/ak%200870?q=north%20slope%20sacntuary&t=image&v=list&sort=&s=2.

4.4 *Votive niches carved into the rock-face of the Daphni Sanctuary to Aphrodite; Photo @ The Archaeological Society at Athens.* [Photograph]. Accessed in publication: Rosenzweig, R. (2004), *Worshipping Aphrodite: Art and Cult in Classical Athens*, Ann Arbor. [Fig. 29b].

4.5 *Erotes frieze from the North Slope Sanctuary, Athens*. [Photograph]. Author's Photo.

4.6 *Votive doves from the Daphni Sanctuary, Athens; National Archaeological Museum; Photo Credit: Giovanni Dall'Orto 2009.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:4952_-_Archaeological_Museum,_Athens_-_Doves_-_Photo_by_Giovanni_Dall%27Orto,_Nov_10_2009.jpg.

4.7 *Votive phallos from the North Slope Sanctuary; Athenian Acropolis; ASCSA Collection, No. AK 1034.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://www.ascsa.net/id/apc/image/ak%201034?q=north%20slope%20sanctuary%20ak%20785&t=image&v=list&sort=&s=4.

4.8 *Marble plaque depicting a vulva from the Daphni Sanctuary; Athens National Archaeological Museum 1594.* [Photograph]. Accessed in publication: Delivorrias, A. (2008), "The Worship of Aphrodite in Athens and Attica", in N. Kaltsas & A. Shapiro (eds.), *Worshiping Women: Ritual and Reality in Classical Athens*, NY. [Fig. 55].

4.9 *Marble phallos from the North Slope Sanctuary; Athenian Acropolis; ASCSA Collection, No. AK 0918.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://www.ascsa.net/id/apc/image/ak%200918?q=north%20slope%20sanctuary%20niches&t=image&v=list&sort=&s=29.

4.10 *Nude terracotta statuette of young boy, from the Daphni Sanctuary, c. 4th cent. BCE (?); Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1602.* [Photograph]. Accessed in publication: Bobou, O. (2015), *Children in the Hellenistic World: Statues and Representation*, Oxford. [Fig. 26].

4.11 *Nude terracotta statuette of young boy, from the Daphni Sanctuary, c. 4th cent. BCE (?); Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1603.* [Photograph]. Accessed in publication: Bobou, O. (2015), *Children in the Hellenistic World: Statues and Representation*, Oxford. [Fig. 27].

4.12 *Nude terracotta statuette of young boy with himation, from the Daphni Sanctuary, c. 4th cent. BCE (?); Athens, National Archaeological Museum 11921.* [Photograph]. Accessed in publication: Bobou, O. (2015), *Children in the Hellenistic World: Statues and Representation*, Oxford. [Fig. 28].

4.13 *Terracotta figurines from the North Slope Sanctuary (most are boys, some are draped females); Athenian Acropolis; ASCSA Collection, No. AK 0932.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://www.ascsa.net/id/apc/image/ak%200932?q=north%20slope%20sanctuary%20niches&t=image&v=list&sort=&s=21.

4.14 *Figurine of sleeping baby from the North Slope Sanctuary; Athenian Acropolis; ASCSA Collection, No. AK 0802.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://www.ascsa.net/id/apc/image/ak%200802?q=north%20slope%20sanctuary%20niches&t=image&v=list&sort=&s=18.

4.15 *Torso of the cult statue of Aphrodite from the Daphni Sanctuary c. 420 BCE; Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1604.* [Photograph]. Accessed in publication: Delivorrias, A. (2008), "The Worship of Aphrodite in Athens and Attica", in N. Kaltsas & A. Shapiro (eds.), *Worshiping Women: Ritual and Reality in Classical Athens*, NY. [Fig. 2].

4.16 *Torso of the cult statue of Aphrodite from the North Slope Sanctuary, Classical Period; Athenian Acropolis; Acropolis Museum 2861.* [Photograph]. Accessed in publication: Delivorrias, A. (2008), "The Worship of Aphrodite in Athens and Attica", in N. Kaltsas & A. Shapiro (eds.), *Worshiping Women: Ritual and Reality in Classical Athens*, NY. [Fig. 4].

4.17 *"Theogenes' Son's Relief"; Votive relief from the Daphni Sanctuary; Composite image of relief and drawing after Delivorrias 1968, fig. 1; Athens National Archaeological Museum 1601.* [Drawing]. Accessed in publication: Rosenzweig, R. (2004), *Worshipping Aphrodite: Art and Cult in Classical Athens*, Ann Arbor. [Fig. 34].

4.18 *Athenian red-figure, squat lekythos c. 390 BCE; Adonia preparations: Aphrodite receiving "gardens of Adonis" from Eros; circle of the Meidias Painter; Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, Inv. B29; Beazley 361.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/4E8A446C-EDAD-4B31-9BC5-03356875381E.

4.19 *Athenian red-figure lebes gamikos, c. 420 BCE; Epaulia scene, with Aphrodite(?) crowning the bride who sits on her lap with a stephane, Eros hovering above, and surrounded by female attendants, one ascending a ladder; attributed to the Painter of Athens; Athens National Archaeological Museum 1454, drawing after AM 32 (1907) pl.5.2, Beazley 215616. Close-up highlighting the ladder; Lower half of female attendant faces the ladder (lower rungs visible); Above the second rung the lower part of another attendant's dress is visible as she stands on the ladder.* [Drawing]. Accessed in publication: Rosenzweig, R. (2004), *Worshipping Aphrodite: Art and Cult in Classical Athens*, Ann Arbor. [Fig. 49].

4.20 *Athenian red-figure hydria, c. 410-400 BCE; Adonis, with lyre resting in Aphrodite's lap, gazing up at Himeros; attributed to the Meidias Painter; Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 81948, Beazley 220493. Detail of Adonis and Aphrodite, with Himeros above Adonis and Eurynoe to the left of Himeros.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/6706EEEC-AA15-4154-BD9C-58BD99542FB3.

Chapter Five

5.1 *Ludovisi Throne; Marble relief c. 470-460 BCE; Anadyomene of Aphrodite.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://museum.classics.cam.ac.uk/collections/casts/ludovisi-throne.

5.2 *Borghese Aphrodite ("Hera-Borghese"); Roman copy from the Palatine Stadium, Rome Antiquarium Palatino; formerly Museo Nazionale Romano 51.* [Photograph]. Accessed in publication: Stewart, A. (2012), "Hellenistic Freestanding Sculpture from the Athenian Agora, Part 1: Aphrodite", *Hesperia* 81.2:267-342. [Fig. 6].

5.3 *Valentini Aphrodite (Valentini Ariadne); Roman copy (arms and head restored); Villa Papale, Castelgandolfo.* [Photograph]. Accessed in publication: Stewart, A. (2012), "Hellenistic Freestanding Sculpture from the Athenian Agora, Part 1: Aphrodite", *Hesperia* 81.2:267-342. [Fig. 7].

5.4 *"Olympias/Agrippina" Aphrodite; Roman copy from the Circus of Maxentius; Rome, Museo Torlonia.* [Photograph]. Accessed in publication: Stewart, A. (2012), "Hellenistic Freestanding Sculpture from the Athenian Agora, Part 1: Aphrodite", *Hesperia* 81.2:267-342. [Fig. 2].

5.5 *Aphrodite (fig. M) resting in the lap of Dione (?) (fig. L); Parthenon East Pediment, c. 438 BCE-432 BCE; British Museum 1816,0610.97.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=507107001&objectid=461660.

5.6 *Doria-Pamphili Aphrodite; Rome; Palazzo Doria-Pamphili.* [Photograph]. Accessed in publication: Stewart, A. (2012), "Hellenistic Freestanding Sculpture from the Athenian Agora, Part 1: Aphrodite", *Hesperia* 81.2:267-342. [Fig. 5].

5.7 *Agora Museum S 1882; Athens.* [Photograph]. Accessed in publication: Stewart, A. (2012), "Hellenistic Freestanding Sculpture from the Athenian Agora, Part 1: Aphrodite", *Hesperia* 81.2:267-342. [Fig. 8].

5.8 *Aphrodite of Knidos, Colonna type, Roman copy, Rome, Vatican 812. (Photo DAI, Rome, inst. Neg. 68.3650).* [Photograph]. Accessed in publication: Corso, A. (2007), *The Art of Praxiteles II: The Mature Years*, Rome. [Fig. 3].

5.9 *Detail of Athenian red-figure pelike, c. 400-390 BCE; Eros on Aphrodite's lap; Louvre CA2261; Beazley 11291.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/35B63F05-1B6F-42CC-94DA-11A6EA5C3B18.

5.10 *Athenian red-figure hydria, c. 400-390 BCE; Helen on cushion, seated before Paris, Aphrodite to the far left; Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum 1252; Beazley 32483.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/2D0D56AE-4B5C-4C1E-B80C-E07B2C689794.

5.11 *Terracotta Plaques from Knidos Round Temple.* [Photograph]. Accessed in publication: Love, I.C. (1972), "A Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Knidos, 1971", *American Journal of Archaeology* 76/4: 393-405. [Fig. 12].

5.12 *Terracotta relief-figurine, likely of Astarte, from the necropolis of Tharros, 6th cent. BCE.* [Photograph]. Accessed in publication: Spivey, N. (2013), *Greek Sculpture*, Cambridge. [Fig. 8.5].

5.13 *Baked clay mould of nude Ishtar, with hands at her breasts and a horned crown, with wings or cloak and talon feet; Iraq, c. 2000-1750 BCE(?). British Museum 103226.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=389740&partId=1&searchText=ishtar&images=true&page=2.

5.14 *Syrian-style ivory figure, 8th cent. BCE; Nimrud; Iraq National Museum, IM 79504.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.asor.org/anetoday/2015/11/whos-the-fairest-of-them-all-feminine-beauty-in-the-hebrew-bible-and-iron-age-ivory-sculpture/.

5.15 *Terracotta nude Astarte-type female figure with hands holding breasts; Cyprus 600-550 BCE; British Museum 1876,0909.86.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://www.mfa.org/collections/object/standing-figurine-of-cypriot-aphrodite-astarte-151904.

5.16 *Standing figurine of Cypriot Aphrodite-Astarte; late 7th cent. BCE; Boston MFA 72.155.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=413041&partId=1&searchText=astarte&images=true&page=1.

5.17 *Alabaster painted figure, reclining woman from Seleucia, c. 3rd cent. BCE. Iraqi Museum Baghdad No. 17805.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.abualsoof.com/66-hatra/detail/10367-prehistoric-mesopotamia?tmpl=component.

5.18 *Statuette of Reclining Nude Goddess, likely Ishtar; Gypsum alabaster; Babylon; c. 3rd cent. BCE; Louvre AO 20131.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010144846.

5.19 *Statuette of Standing Nude Goddess, likely Ishtar; Alabaster, gold, rubies, bitumen; Babylon; c. 250 BCE; Louvre AO 20127.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010144841.

5.20 *Athenian figure vase lekythos, c. 360-350 BCE; Anodos of Aphrodite; Boston MFA 00.629; Beazley 6153.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://www.mfa.org/collections/object/oil-flask-lekythos-in-the-form-of-aphrodite-154023.

5.21 *Athenian red-figure squat lekythos, c. 410-400 BCE; Anodos of Aphrodite; Kunsthistorisches Museum 3768; Beazley 273.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/4F83CF36-1E92-49B7-A738-277FA9042743.

5.22 *Aphrodite of Knidos, Colonna type, Roman copy; Rome, Vatican 812.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://arkivet.thorvaldsensmuseum.dk/articles/venus-priapus?highlight=aphrodite+knidos#Aphrodite_of_Knidos.

5.23 *Bronze coin from Knidos c. 211-218 CE; Aphrodite of Knidos. American Numismatic Society no. 1970.142.488 (Photo ANS.).* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://numismatics.org/collection/1970.142.488.

5.24 *Side B of Athenian red-figure pelike c. 360 BCE; Attributed to Marsyas; Depiction of nude woman (bride?) bathing, with female attendants (some half-nude), and Eros; State Hermitage Museum KEK8; Beazley 230421.* [Photograph & Drawing]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/DB758DBD-CDE4-41B2-B92A-3628789DA2A3.

5.25 *Athenian red-figure hydria c. 370-360 BCE, said to be found near Athens; Depiction of women at laver, some nude and bathing, Erotes, and youth with staff; Harvard Univ., Arthur M. Sackler Mus. 60.348; Beazley 13427.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/2B8B8406-4C49-4FC1-925A-E5DC768CBC13.

5.26 *Athenian red-figure lekanis c. 370-360 BCE; Attributed to Marsyas; Bridal bath and toilette, crouching nude figure Aphrodite(?); State Hermitage Museum KAB78E; Line drawing after LIMC vol. 2 (1984), 102; Beazley 230425.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/34E71BE6-7ACC-4226-98D4-2BDDD329E3BB. [Drawing]. Accessed in publication: Sutton, R.F. (2009), "Female Bathers and the Emergence of the Female Nude in Greek Art", in C. Kosso & A. Scott (eds.), *The Nature and Function of Water, Baths, Bathing, and Hygiene from Antiquity Through the Renaissance*, Leiden & Boston. [Fig. 7].

5.27 *Mirror Cover with Eros and erotic scene (symplegma); Bronze and silvered bronze; c. 340-320 BCE, Corinth; Boston MFA RES.08.32c.2.* [Photograph]. Accessed online at: https://www.mfa.org/collections/object/mirror-cover-with-eros-and-erotic-scene-symplegma-375249.

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Appendix I: Internet Archive Links for Online-Sourced Figures

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