

SEX IN ANTIQUITY

Exploring Gender and Sexuality in the
Ancient World

*Edited by Mark Masterson, Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz and
James Robson*

“SEX ED” AT THE ARCHAIC SYMPOSIUM

Prostitutes, boys and *paideia*¹

Allison Glazebrook

Both the *pais*² and *hetaira*-figure³ were eroticized in sympotic poetry, drinking games and dedications. Their common identity as objects of desire resulted in similarities that might have produced anxiety among symposiasts. Aeschines' attack on the character of Timarchus in *Aeschines* 1, although a fourth-century example, demonstrates how easily the pederastic relationship could slip into the realm of prostitution. It is this slippage between boy-youths and prostitutes that might have made archaic symposiasts apprehensive.⁴ In fact, the increasing popularity of boy courtship as a sympotic theme in the mid- to late sixth century BCE (in poetry and on pots) suggests a desire to explore and define the pederastic relationship and even a need to distinguish the boy-youth (free and future active citizen) from the *hetaira*-prostitute (slave/freed and foreign).⁵ The female body, in its guise as a prostitute at the drinking party, was an essential element in this discourse. While her presence at symposia was multi-faceted and attitudes toward her body were complex and varied, I focus here on the use of the *hetaira*-figure as a pedagogical tool and negative paradigm for boy-youths and adult males at symposia. I investigate attitudes toward the boy beloved and the prostitute discernible in sympotic poetry and in images on sympotic ware and suggest that the relationship of the *hetaira*-prostitute and her client versus that of the boy beloved and his *erastēs* was an important focus of *paideia* (education) at symposia; the symposium was not simply an erotic space, but a forum for a kind of sexual ethics.

The Greek symposium

The Greek word *symposion* is literally “a drinking together,” and wine consumption among friends is the defining feature.⁶ The Greeks participated in symposia in both public and private contexts. While free women of the citizen class likely celebrated with symposia in sanctuaries, like that of Demeter at Brauron, they were excluded from private symposia hosted by a male citizen in his own home. By the classical period, the private drinking party occurred after the *deipnon*, the evening meal.⁷ It was not necessarily an extension of the *deipnon*, but was often its own event. An Athenian might dine at home or with a friend, and then head to the home of another friend for the symposium. Once there, he might find entertainers, acrobats and musicians.⁸ Prostitutes were often present, but entertainers, like *aulos*-players, could also perform this role. Their function as

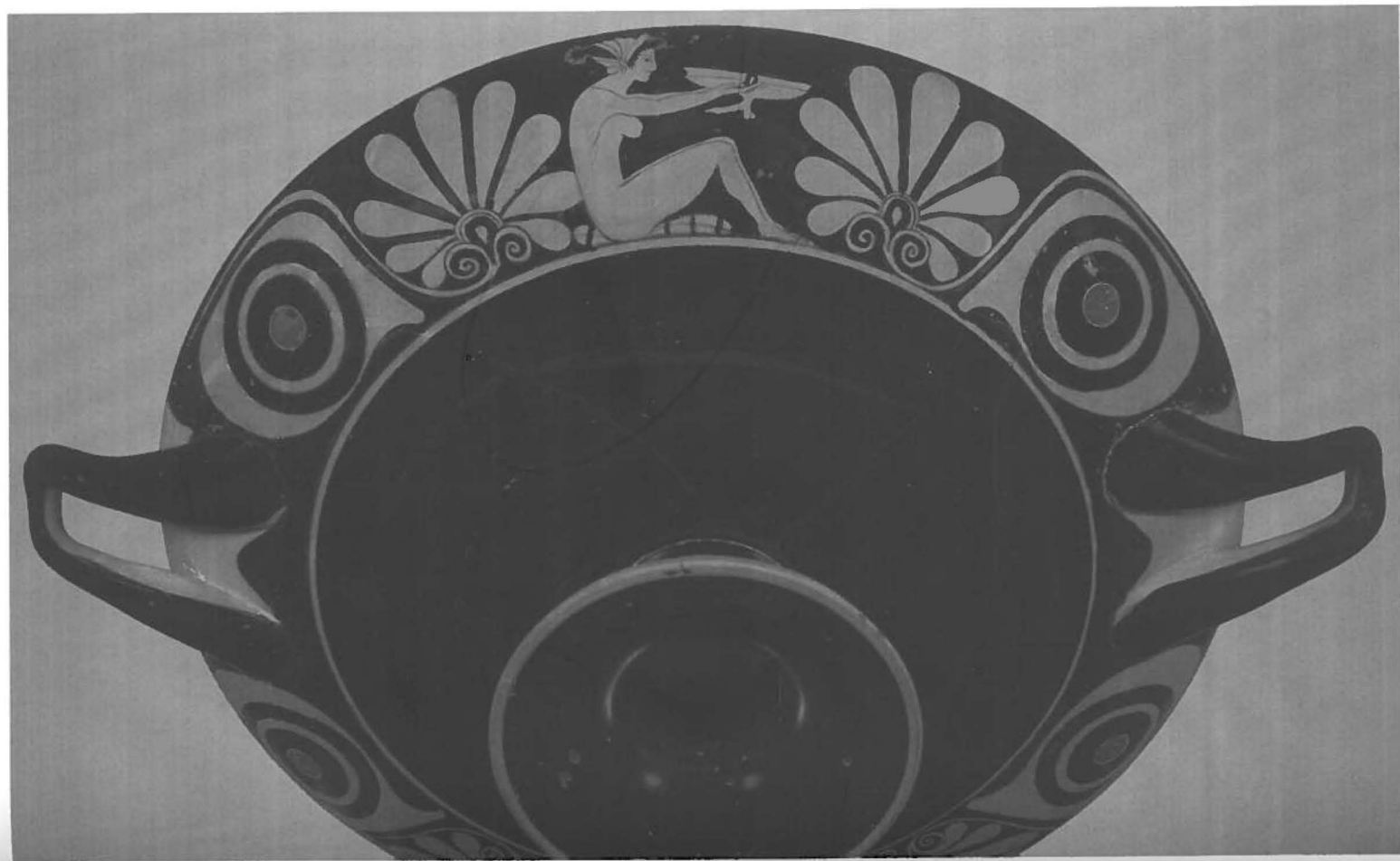


Figure 9.1 Terracotta kylix (drinking cup), exterior, tilted, side A, c.510 BCE. Attributed to the Class of Palmette Eye-cups. Fletcher Fund, 1956 (56.171.61). Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image Source: Art Resource, NY.



Figure 9.2 Terracotta kylix (drinking cup), exterior, tilted, side B, c.510 BCE. Attributed to the Class of Palmette Eye-cups. Fletcher Fund, 1956 (56.171.61). Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image Source: Art Resource, NY.



Figure 9.3 Terracotta kylix (drinking cup), interior, c.510 BCE. Attributed to the Class of Palmette Eye-cups. Fletcher Fund, 1956 (56.171.61). Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image Source: Art Resource, NY.

performers and sexual partners likened them to wine, something to be consumed. While females are thus present, their common status as slave, freed and foreign kept such women distinct from the male symposiasts and made the symposium a masculine space.⁹

The private symposium is traditionally thought to be a gathering of elite males of varying ages, but recently its elite status has been brought into question, making it a more widespread phenomenon even in the late archaic period.¹⁰ In the classical period, it took place in the *andrōn*, a room typically recognizable in the archaeological record by its offset door.¹¹ The size of room dictated the number of *klinai* (couches) lining the walls, typically seven or eleven. One couch could fit two people, making intimate parties of 14 to 22 participants. The couches could be placed either head to toe or head to head, keeping all symposiasts in full view of one another and creating an intimate communal atmosphere. Visual representations of the symposium on archaic Attic vases (even when set on the ground without *klinai*) suggest a similar arrangement in this earlier period. Based on images of the symposium and literary accounts, such as the works of Theognis, Plato and Xenophon, the purpose of the symposium was an intimate gathering of companions, who drank, watched performances, played drinking games, drank some more, recited verses and discussed important topics of the day. Both boys and youths were present at symposia. In Xenophon's *Symposium*, Lycon accompanies his son Autylochus to a symposium in the boy's honor. Also present is the youth Critobolus. The sympotic verses of Theognis indicate the presence of boys at the archaic symposium as well (19–20, 1319). Boy-youths add to the erotic nature of a gathering, since prepubescent boys and beardless youths were courted as objects of desire (*erōmenoi*). Critobolus is described by Xenophon as *kalos* and, despite having soft down beside his ears, is clearly admired and desired by the other symposiasts (*Symp.* 4.23–8).¹²

The symposium itself is an important context for instilling values into these future citizens by providing them with models of acceptable conduct and exposing them to an intellectual culture grounded in discussion and poetry.¹³ Theognis points to the banquet as the principal venue for learning (32–3, 563–6) (Levine 1985: 179–80). This tradition continues into the classical period. In Xenophon's *Symposium*, Socrates quotes a verse of Theognis about the importance of associating with good men (*esthloi*) who teach (*didaskein*) good values and of avoiding morally lax men (*kakoi*) who corrupt the mind. Lycon makes sure to check that his son has heard Socrates and has paid attention to the verse's meaning (2.4). In a comic reversal in Aristophanes' *Wasps*, the son (Bdelykleon) teaches his father (Philokleon) about proper behavior at the symposium and expects his father to reuse stories he learns (*manthanein*) there (1256–61).¹⁴ Just as they witnessed particular values in action and what it was to be a citizen at the gymnasium, in school and in a pederastic relationship, boys and youths also learned at symposia through watching the behavior of their elders and listening to them as they recited poetry and discussed various topics.

Prostitutes and boys in the *Theognidea*

The *Theognidea* (a collection of poems by Theognis and others dating from 640 to 479 BCE) was well known in archaic and classical times for its focus on important social values including how to live the good moral life (Cobb-Stevens et al. 1985: 1–3). These teachings, moreover, were not specific to Megara, but became the foundation of an education delivered at symposia throughout Greece (Donlan 1985: 228; Ford 1985: 89).¹⁵ Many of the verses in the *Theognidea* address a *pais* by the name of Cymus. Their thematic focus is *paideia*: Theognis comments that with his verses he is passing on to Cymus advice that he gleaned from worthy men: "the very things, Cymus, I myself learned (*manthanein*) from good men (*agathoi*) while still a boy (*pais*)" (28–9). He advises

him first and foremost to drink and dine only with men of noble character (*agathoi*) (33–4) “for you will learn (*manthanein*) worthy things (*esthla*) from worthy men (*esthloi*), but if you associate with base men (*kakoi*), you will even destroy your current common sense (*ton eonta noon*)” (35–6). This same sentiment is passed on again later in the verses when an unknown speaker tells the addressee to sit by a man of worth and use his time at the banquet to learn from him, confirming once again the symposium as an important place for *paideia* (education): “whenever he speaks (*legein*) some bit of wisdom, you should learn it (*didaskesthai*) and with this golden nugget (*kerdos*) go home” (563–6). While *agathos* and *esthlos* are broad in their meaning (good, noble, worthy), the terms relate specifically to behavior toward others and conduct in one’s actions. *Didaskesthai* commonly refers to the knowledge acquired through a teacher and mentor, knowledge acquired through guidance, while *manthanein* refers to knowledge based on study and observation, frequently under the guidance of another, but not always. Food and drink are thus the context for *paideia*, and the symposium of *agathoi* an important place of pedagogy for boys and youths.¹⁶

Theognis addresses Cymrus on many topics, focusing on friendship, wine drinking, love and politics and encouraging a moderate lifestyle. Another topic of the verses to Cymrus is the appropriate behavior of the *pais* and *philos* in the pederastic relationship. Verses 237–54 relate the benefits Cymrus has received from Theognis: *kleos* (fame) throughout Greece on account of verses in his honor. Yet Theognis complains that he does not get the proper respect (*aidōs*) from Cymrus, his beloved. In fact, he states further that Cymrus is deceiving him:¹⁷

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ὀλίγησ παρὰ σεῦ οὐ τυγχάνω αἰδοῦς,
ἀλλ’ ὅσπερ μικρὸν παῖδα λόγοις μ’ ἀπατᾶς.

I, however, don’t win a little respect from you, but you deceive me just like a small child with words.

The verb *apataō* (deceive) indicates that Cymrus is not the loyal beloved. The phrase *ōsper micron paida* (just like a small child) suggests naivety on the part of Theognis who put his trust in Cymrus. Cymrus, however, turns out to be untrustworthy and an unworthy companion. Other verses addressed simply to *pais* (*ō pai*) relate additional complaints. A lover tells a boy to stop fleeing and show some *charis* (gratitude) to his pursuer: ἐμοὶ δὲ δίδου χάριν (1303). The verse makes clear that *charis* is expected from a boy.

Charis is a hard term to pin down in a single definition. While the context of these verses suggests sexual favors, the term is much more complex. It defines the bond between two individuals (either divine or human) as a worthy relationship built on reciprocity in which one favor is repaid with another favor at some indefinite point in the future.¹⁸ In the context of courtship, *charis* represents a particular type of behavior expected of the *pais* toward his lover and admirer, the *philos*.¹⁹ Boys who accept the favors of a lover but do not reciprocate with *charis* meet with complaint. Lines 1263–6 emphasize reciprocity as being essential to the relationship:

ὦ παῖ, ὅς εἴ ἔρδοντι κακὴν ἀπέδωκας ἀμοιβήν,
οὐδέ τις ἀντ’ ἀγαθῶν ἐστὶ χάρις παρὰ σοί·
οὐδέν πώ μ’ ὠνησας· ἐγὼ δέ σε πολλακίς ἤδη
εἴ ἔρδων αἰδοῦς οὐδεμιῆς ἔτυχον.

Boy, you repay badly the one granting you favors. You offer no gratitude in exchange for kindnesses. You never benefit me. But I who have by now often done you a favor win no special regard.

The open criticism for being unfaithful in other verses similarly suggests a *philos* imagined the *pais* would repay him by being loyal (*pistos*) and constant.²⁰ But the actions of the boy were not to come from a feeling of compulsion. At line 1238 the speaker comments:

ὦ παῖ, ἄκουσον ἐμεῦ δαμάσας φρένας· οὐ τοι ἀπειθή
 μῦθον ἐρώ τῆι σῆι καρδίῃ οὐδ' ἄχαριν.
 ἀλλὰ τλήθῃ νόωι συνιδεῖν ἔπος· οὐ τοι ἀνάγκη
 τοῦθ' ἔρδειν, ὅ τι σοι μὴ καταθύμιον ἦ.

Boy, subduing your mind, listen to me: I will relate a tale neither unpersuasive nor without gratification for your heart. But venture to understand my pledge prudently. You are not compelled to do whatever is not heartfelt.²¹

Noteworthy, I think, is that *anankē* alludes to a reciprocity that is forced and undertaken by compulsion and can thus be usefully seen as the opposite of *charis* which depends on a willingness to reciprocate.²²

Through these verses, the boys and youths attending symposia were presented with advice as to how best to conduct themselves in public and with a *lover*. Boys are directly critiqued for being flighty and too easy (1263–6, 1267–70, 1271–4). Model behavior is also emphasized: fathers are told that they can leave their sons no better treasure than knowledge of *aidōs* (409–10, 1161–2), thus emphasizing the importance of modest behavior for boy-youths, including, as MacLachlan argues, "respectful attention" toward a *philos*. It is in this specific aspect that *aidōs* is related to *charis*.²³

In a particularly interesting verse (1367–8), boys and women are directly contrasted as companions:

παιδός τοι χάρις ἐστί· γυναικὶ δὲ πιστὸς ἑταῖρος
 οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τὸν παρεόντα φιλεῖ.

You get gratitude from a boy. No one has a faithful companion in a woman, but she always loves the one close at hand.

The verse notes that no one expects a woman to be a loyal companion (*pistos hetairos*), to exhibit *charis*. She, instead, enjoys the nearest available lover (*ton pareonta*). The *gunē* here, as Leslie Kurke and others have interpreted in the case of Arguris in 1211–16 (see Kurke 1997: 143–5), makes most sense as a *hetaira*-prostitute, given the sympotic themes and sympotic context of the poetry. The *Theognidea* in general, and especially Book II (from which this verse comes), contains verses about and composed for the symposium, a setting in which prostitutes appear but not wives or daughters.²⁴ The mention of *hetairos* (companion) in this verse directly evokes such a location for this woman. The use of *ton pareonta* in line 1368 to refer to the one she loves further suggests prostitution. The term hints at the woman's open availability and highlights her fickleness and promiscuity. It contrasts her with wives and associates her instead with prostitutes who are indiscriminately available to everyone (see Chapter 10, Goldhill, this volume). The pairing of *pais* and *gunē* here further suggests the woman referred to is a prostitute, since both are present together at the symposium.²⁵

The comparison of *gunē* to *hetairos*, the term for a male sympotic companion, has further significance because it implicates all symposiasts in a comparison with her. The woman here does not live up to the expectations of a *pistos hetairos*, a loyal companion and a worthy drinking partner. Instead, she falls short of expectations. Given that the *hetaira* is not a *pistos hetairos*, she must represent the *kakos* and *deilos hetairos*, and thus embody all the negative characteristics

outlined in the *Theognidea*. Like the *deiloi* (base and vile companions) who are referenced at length in the first book of the corpus, she is deceitful and lacking in control in addition to *charis* (the reciprocity expected of loyal companions). The couplet not only presents a negative stereotype for female banqueters at the male symposium, but also associates the negative behavior of male symposiasts with the behavior common to the *hetaira*-prostitute.

The main purpose of the couplet, however, is her comparison with a *pais*. It constructs the *pais* and *hetaira*-prostitute as opposites. It begins by stating that boys offer *charis* and suggests that a lover should expect no less. Other verses, as we have seen, support the view that the behavior of the prostitute is contrary to what the lover should expect of a male beloved. Unlike verse 1238, discussed above, the *hetaira*-prostitute is under compulsion to please regardless of her personal feelings because she makes a living and maintains her standard of living by attracting lovers/clients (see [Dem.] 59.26). Yet the verses that criticize boys associate them with traits that we could easily associate with prostitution. In lines 1267–70, a *pais* is blamed for the very same offence as the *hetaira*-prostitute in 1367–8: for loving the one close at hand (*ton pareonta philei*). In this verse the boy is compared directly to a horse who cares not who his rider is as long as he continues to have his fill of barley. The comparison highlights the potential fickleness and inconstancy of a boy beloved. It also makes the bad behavior of a *pais* like the behavior of the prostitute, since both love *ton pareonta*.

In another example (lines 1271–4), the boy possesses *margosunē* (immodesty) as opposed to the ideal quality of *aidōs*. While *aidōs* highlights modest behavior and habits, *margosunē* emphasizes the excessive conduct of the boy, including flirting, and hints at a hyper-sexuality, which a free and noble person needs to control. In another verse, lines 1351–2, the *pais* is advised *not* to exhibit wild merry making (*komazein*).²⁶ Such excessive appetites and behavior, in contrast, are commonly associated with women and female prostitutes from as early as Archilochos in the seventh century BCE. In learning to be good beloveds (and by extension *agathoi* [meaning good and noble companions in the context of the verses]), these boy-youths are also learning *not* to be women.

While the verses address the *pais*, they also indirectly teach about the proper conduct of a *philos* toward a beloved. The verses make clear the mentoring aspect of this relationship: the lover is expected to transmit important social values to the boy (Lewis 1985: 214–21). As John Lewis points out, the faithfulness of the admirer and lover is also valued. Self-control is another important trait of the *agathoi* (Levine 1985: 180–5). Such control is also essential to the pederastic relationship and should define conduct with the *pais*.

νεβρὸν ὑπέξ ἐλάφιοι λέων ὡς ἀλκί πεποιθῶς
 ποσσὶ καταμάρψας αἵματος οὐκ ἔπιον·
 τειχέων δ' ὑψηλῶν ἐπιβάς πόλιν οὐκ ἀλάπαξα·
 ζευξάμενος δ' ἵππους ἄρματος οὐκ ἐπέβην·
 πρήξας δ' οὐκ ἔπρηξα, καὶ οὐκ ἐτέλεσσα τελέσσας·
 δρήσας δ' οὐκ ἔδρησ', ἦνυσσα δ' οὐκ ἀνύσας.

Just as a lion relying on his might and with his speed overtaking a fawn separated from a deer, I do not drink its blood; I do not sack the city, after mounting its lofty walls; nor yoking horses, do I mount the chariot. Although doing, I do not do; though finishing, I do not finish; while I can accomplish, I do not accomplish; even though I can obtain [my desire], I do not.

In Lewis's interpretation, these verses (949–54) comment on the appropriate treatment of the *pais* by the lover and associate the behavior outlined with the *agathoi* – in contrast to how *deiloi* react

to attractive boys.²⁷ The verses compare the lover to one who overcomes prey, an enemy city or wild horses, but does not claim the prize. The unclaimed prize is not a result of a lack of ability, but a choice and decision on the part of the victor. Despite the vulnerable position of the victim, the speaker holds back and does not taste the final victory. The verses emphasize the ability of the *agathos* lover to control his erotic feelings. His relationship with the *país* is not simply about conquering and sexual gratification.

Prostitutes and boy-youths on pots

The erotic themes of sympotic poetry find parallels in the images painted on wine vessels, a central component of the Athenian symposium.²⁸ Such wares have been found in Athenian excavations in sympotic contexts (Steiner 2007: 232–3, 237–9) and also appear in the sympotic scenes painted on these very vases.²⁹ The different shapes fulfill a specific function associated with storing, serving and consuming wine.³⁰ While these pots were functional, they also engaged the participants with their painted images, entertaining with their narratives and humor.³¹ Most importantly for our purposes here, the images may be assumed to reflect (and construct) the sociocultural values of the symposiasts.³² As a representation of the actual symposium itself,³³ the scenes force the viewer to reflect on the practice and its participants, including him/herself. Just like sympotic poetry, the vessels have the potential to engage the attention of its viewers just as poetry recited engrosses its listeners, and to teach as well as entertain.³⁴ Although sharing a common iconography, the composition of each image is to some extent unique.

Erōmenoi (the preferred scholarly term for boy beloveds depicted in vase painting) and prostitute-figures are commonly represented on Attic vases.³⁵ But there are important observable differences between the two depictions.³⁶ While relations with female prostitutes are common in depictions of the symposium and *kōmos*, scenes of *erōmenoi* and *erastai* (lovers) are more frequent in courting scenes that seem to take place in more generic spaces not easily identified with a sympotic context. Different attitudes toward the treatment of each are also observable. A few images depict clients abusing female prostitutes, but there is no scene showing a lover abusing his male beloved.³⁷ As Alan Shapiro argues, the status of the male beloved as free most likely explains this discrepancy (1992: 56–8, 1981: 136). While Robert Sutton has observed that vase painters rarely, if at all, depicted the meretricious and pederastic relationship together on the same pot,³⁸ an interesting class of image appears to contrast prostitutes and *erōmenoi* directly: the image of the female banqueter.³⁹ These vases are typically discussed for the scenes of women banqueting alone, but when we examine the full decorative programme of these vessels, interesting patterns emerge – in particular, allusions to pederasty might also occur on these same vases.

A red-figure cup (526–475 BCE) depicts two female banqueters on the exterior and a seated youth in its tondo (Figures 9.1, 9.2 and 9.3).⁴⁰ Both female figures are fully naked, except for head coverings and earrings. The figure on side A wears a turban and has earrings. She holds a large kylix in outstretched arms and sits on a pillow, suggestive of the symposium. The stem of the kylix is fashioned in the shape of a penis. The position of the kylix makes it unclear whether or not she is going to drink from the kylix or take another sort of pleasure from it, but the association of the female banqueter with wine and sex is clear. The ambiguous nature of her intention suggests an overeagerness for both. The figure on side B wears a headband, earrings and has an *aulos* bag hanging over her mid-calf, suggesting her role as flute-player, an entertainer at symposia. She reclines on a pillow like a symposiast. She holds a wine amphora with both hands and appears to lift it toward her face, likely intending to drink from it. The amphora, however, is for storing and transporting wine. Drinking directly from it demonstrated a lack of decorum, since the Athenians drank their wine mixed with water.⁴¹ Drinking unmixed wine

was thought to be uncivilized and non-Greek.⁴² Such would be the view of the behavior of this female banqueter, who drinks her wine straight and ignores the symposium as a context for sharing wine. She represents excessive behavior that is not appropriate for the symposium.⁴³ While a clear example of female excess, the sympotic context of the two scenes along with the *aulos* bag on side B suggests their identity as *hetaira*-prostitutes.⁴⁴ The fact that citizen wives and daughters did not attend such gatherings further reinforces the view that symposiasts would link the figures with the sexually available prostitutes frequently present among them.

The interior of the cup, however, adds another dimension. It depicts a boy-youth seated on a stool wearing a wreath and wrapped in a cloak on the lower half of his body in the manner of a symposiast. In his left hand he holds what appears to be fruit, a gift of courtship and so likely the gift of a lover and admirer.⁴⁵ The boy-youth has most probably accepted this gift as an *erōmenos*, making the scene in the tondo a reference to the pederastic relationship. Unlike the fully nude *hetaira*-prostitutes on the exterior of the vase, the boy-youth is more restrained. He rests his right arm on a walking stick, while his left hand holding the gift rests on his thigh. His modesty accentuates the insatiability of the prostitute figures on the exterior of the vase. The connection of all three images with the symposium invites further comparison. While both the prostitute-figure and *erōmenos* are regularly eroticized on pots and an object of fantasy, the *hetaira*-prostitutes are openly on display and available, ready for sex, as suggested by the position of the kylix on side A and the presence of the *aulos* bag on side B. In contrast, the availability of the youth is more ambiguous.⁴⁶ He holds an erotic gift, suggesting he is being courted and has accepted a lover. He is available to admire, but not openly available for sex. In fact, the images suggest an effort to distinguish, to shore up the virtue of the boy. This contrast in the department of the figures suggests that *erōmenoi* and female prostitutes are not to be confused as erotic objects and require different methods of approach by their admirers. The vase also teaches boys and youths about appropriate behavior as love objects. *Aidōs* (modesty), as we have previously seen, is a trait admired in the boy-youth, but is not required or desired of a female prostitute.

The tondo of another red-figure drinking cup (510–490 BCE) displays a woman reclining on a couch, made more comfortable by a pillow (Figure 9.4).⁴⁷ The head of the figure is missing, but the rest of the body is intact.⁴⁸ Her nudity is openly displayed, despite a himation draped over her left shoulder and right thigh. She leans on her left elbow and looks about to fling the wine from her cup in a game of *kottabos*.⁴⁹ A wine jug is visible below the couch. It is not decorative, but appears to be part of the scene and suggests a ready flow of wine for the figure. An inscription above her right arm reads TOI TEN[DE], “this one’s for you,” a dedication for her wine toss. Once again the sympotic context of the scene, along with the viewing context for the vase, suggests her identity as a *hetaira*-prostitute to any symposiast.

The exterior of the cup depicts four male symposiasts wearing himations reclining on pillows: a pair of youths on side B and a bearded male with a fragmentary figure on side A (Figures 9.5 and 9.6). The youths wear wreaths. One youth holds what might be a musical instrument, but only the top part remains extant, making identification difficult. The second youth holds a myrtle branch in his upraised right arm. An inscription, emanating from the mouth of this second youth, declares, K[ALO]S EI, “you are handsome,” making a direct reference to pederasty and the desirability of *erōmenoi* (see Lear and Cantarella 2008: 170–3). The bearded figure wears a headband and holds out a kylix in his right hand, perhaps offering it to the symposiast near him. At the same time he exclaims, EG[EI]RE], “arouse or awaken,” an inscription appearing above his right arm.

Anne Steiner notes that the repetition of pillows, cups, himations and poses “connect three different types of symposiasts – adult men, youths and a *hetaira*-figure – in one location” (Steiner 2007: 244). The similarity of poses, the draping of the himation, the upraised arms and utterances confirm the female figure’s status as a symposiast, but also connect her in particular



Figure 9.4 Red-figure kylix, interior, c.510–490 BCE, by Onesimos. Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2636, München. Photography by: Renate Kühling. Photograph © Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München.

with the youth holding the myrtle branch and the bearded figure with the kylix. All three recline with their right knee bent and upright and their left knee bent, resting on the couch. All three drape the himation over the right thigh and left shoulder. All three have their right arm raised holding an object, and inscriptions associate all three with sympotic utterance. In the case of the two male figures, there is a more frontal view of the legs, showing the shin and foot. In the case of the youth and prostitute-figure, the genitalia are fully exposed despite the himation.

The similarities predominate over the differences and invite comparison between the three figures. The exposure of genitals connects the youth and the female figure in particular and suggests a lack of modesty on the part of both. Such an assimilation, however, does not elevate the status of



Figure 9.5 Red-figure kylix, exterior, side B, c.510–490 BCE, by Onesimos. Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2636, München. Photography by: Renate Kühling. Photograph © Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München.

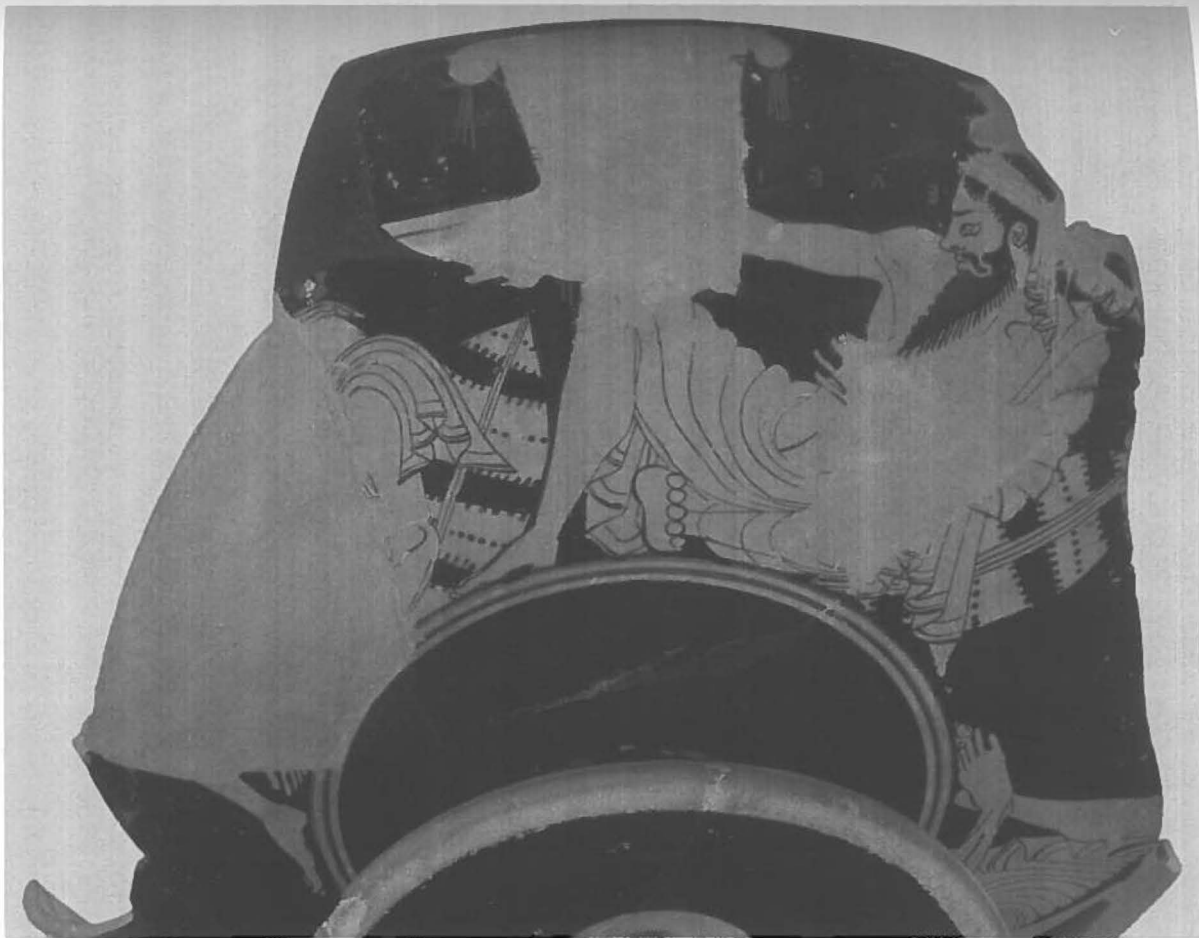


Figure 9.6 Red-figure kylix, exterior, side A, c.510–490 BCE, by Onesimos. Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2636, München. Photography by: Renate Kühling. Photograph © Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München.

the prostitute, but denigrates the youth and his behavior. He lacks *aidōs*, a trait highly valued in boys and youths as *erōmenoi*, and he instead represents the exact opposite of the *kalos* youth he invokes: the *katapugōn*, whom Theognis describes as *margosunē*.⁵⁰ His large penis confirms this interpretation, since genitalia in Greek art are conventionally small (and even infantile to our eyes) as a way to indicate modesty and self-restraint (see Lear and Cantarella 2008: 24–5, 64–5).

The inscriptions add a level of humor. The youth points to the beauty of another, when typically the boy-youth is the one praised as *kalos* by men instead. Likewise, the prostitute-figure plays a drinking game, when she is more commonly the object of such a game. Anne Steiner calls the two “parodies of ‘correct’ behavior” (2007: 244). As reversals the images are comic.⁵¹ But as parodies, they also imply the behavior of the youth and prostitute is inappropriate. The affinity between the youth and prostitute would act as a warning to boy-youths at the symposium by presenting a model that is not to be emulated. The bearded figure, on the other hand, acts as a positive model for all symposiasts. He is modestly draped with his *himation*. While the inscription associated with this figure is only brief, it indicates a sympotic performance. Scholars connect EGEI[RE] (“Awaken” or “Be stirred up with passion”) with sympotic poetry.⁵² He thus offers a recitation, demonstrating his *paideia*, and passes the cup on to the next symposiast to continue the poem. This figure contrasts with the *hetaira*-prostitute in the tondo, whose image confronts the symposiast each time he drains his cup. The bearded figure acts as a reminder not to become too much like the female banqueter. The cup hints that boy-youths (and *erōmenoi*) should emulate the behavior of their betters, as also advised in the *Theognidea*, not female drinking companions who are prostitutes.

A comparison of *erōmenoi* with female prostitutes is also a theme of the decorative programme on a red-figure cup by Oltos (525–475 BCE).⁵³ Palmettes decorate the interior of the cup. Side B depicts two female banqueters (Figure 9.7). The figures are fully nude, but wear bracelets, necklaces and earrings. One wears a *sakkos* (hairnet) and the other has her hair loose. Both women wear wreaths and recline on cushions, like male symposiasts. The context of the symposium once again calls to mind working women available for pleasure.⁵⁴ Their legs are awkwardly rendered – but this appears to be purposeful rather than a technical shortcoming.⁵⁵ The figure on the left plays the *aulos*, further hinting at her role as a sexual companion, and perhaps kicks her legs to the music. Her companion cradles a skyphos and stretches out her arm, holding a kylix in her hand. She appears to be passing the cup to the *aulētris* (*aulos* player) and the inscription confirms this: PINE KAI SU, “You drink too.” While the inscription might suggest commensality typical of the symposium, the figure offering wine does so at the expense of interrupting the *aulos* playing. The wreathed boy-youth on side A contrasts dramatically with these female figures. He carries a rolled up cattle rope in his right hand and chases a bull (Figure 9.8). An inscription, DIO SIPIS KALOS, reconstructed as *dios pais kalos*,⁵⁶ “the child of Zeus is beautiful,” once again associates the image with pederasty.

Nudity, wreaths and outstretched limbs connect the images on both sides of the vase and invite comparison between them. While the outstretched limbs of the female figures, particularly their lower limbs, are disorderly and awkward, the youth’s limbs indicate he is running. His nakedness shows off his buttocks and infantile genitalia, and the well-defined musculature of his chest, thighs and upper arms highlights his athleticism. These physical features associate the youth with the ideal body of the beloved. Undersized genitalia, as mentioned above, indicate self-restraint and modesty, qualities important in free citizens and typical in the depiction of *erōmenoi*.⁵⁷ Like the two other cups discussed previously, the decorative programme of this cup provides both a positive and negative paradigm for a boy-youth at a symposium: an ideal beloved versus the excess associated with the female prostitute. The vase is thus another medium for instilling values in youths and boys and motivating them toward a particular type of behavior.⁵⁸

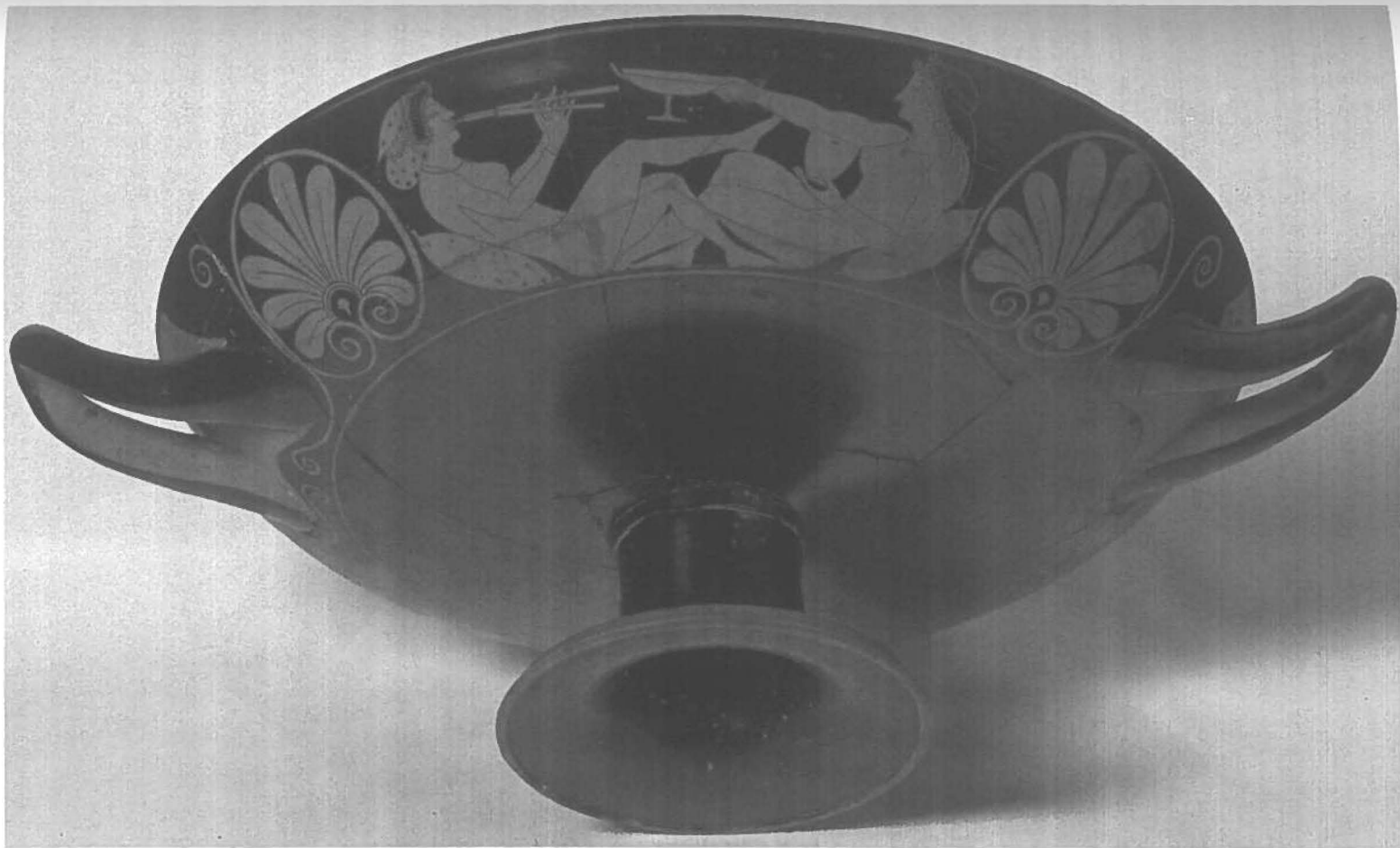


Figure 9.7 Red-figure kylix, c.525–475 BCE, by Oltos. Museo Arqueológico Nacional L151/11267, Madrid, Spain. Photo: Albers Foundation/Art Resource NY.

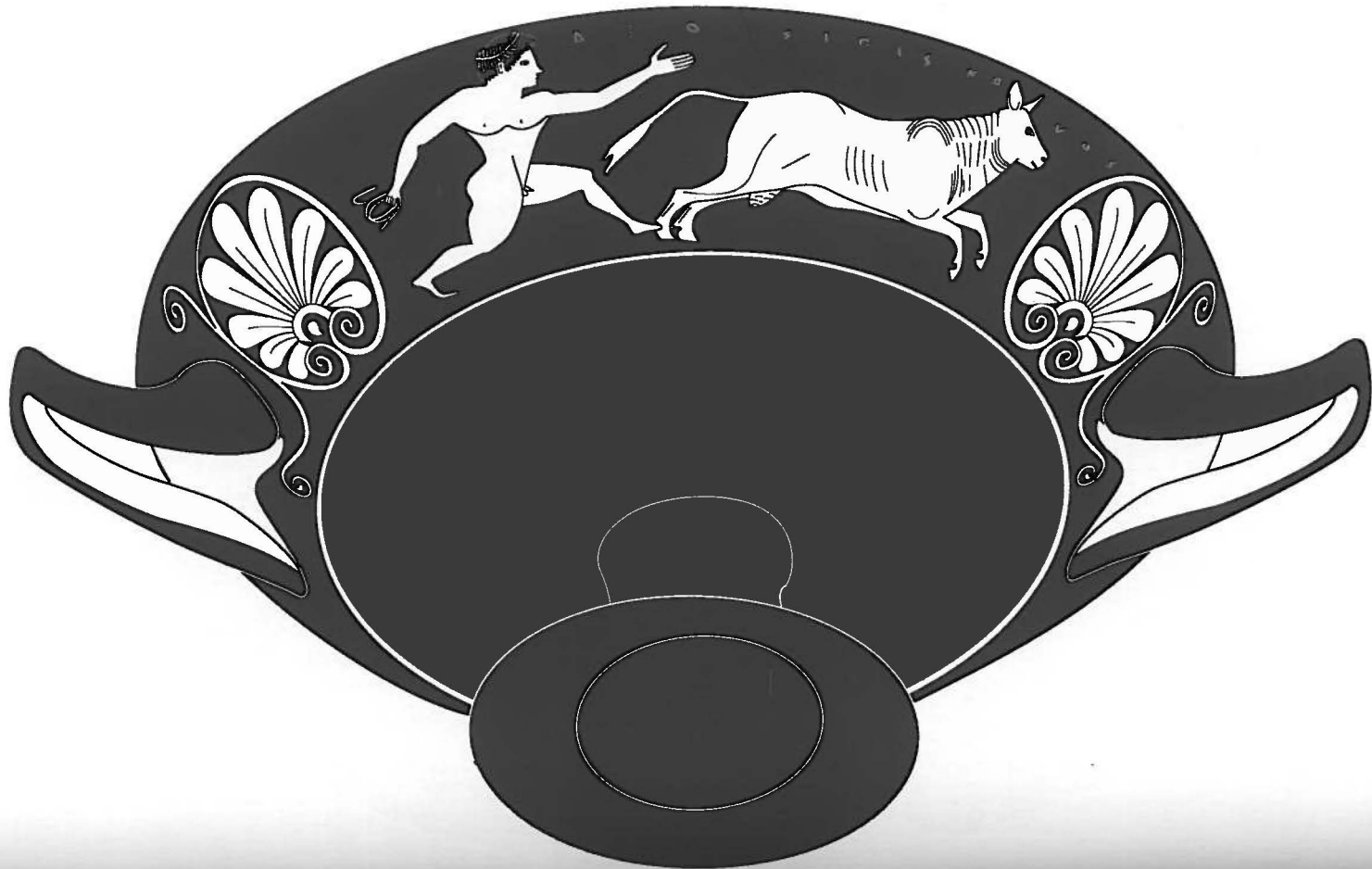


Figure 9.8 Red-figure kylix, c.525–475 BCE, by Oltos. Museo Arqueológico Nacional L151/11267, Madrid, Spain. Drawing by Tina Ross.

Conclusion

Pederasty is a common theme in the *Theognidea* and clearly alluded to in these images depicted on Attic vases. While the male figures in the examples discussed are not shown in an actual scene of courtship, their physical bodies and accompanying inscriptions evoke the pederastic relationship. The similarities between figures of female banqueters, boy-youths and adult males on the pots discussed invite comparisons between *hetaira*-prostitutes, *erōmenoi* and *erastai*. These images are erotic and also humorous for the male viewers on account of their role reversals and use of negative stereotypes, particularly in the case of the female, but they also perform another function: they provide both negative and positive paradigms for the boy-youth and thus teach behavior appropriate for an *erōmenos*.⁵⁹ In addition, they remind *erastai* of appropriate conduct and thus act as a guide for them at symposia as well. In both cases, the female banqueteer represents the opposite of appropriate behavior and teaches and guides the viewer by negative example. For the boy-youth in particular, she represents a lack of *charis* and *aidōs*, exhibiting instead excessive behavior to be avoided and thus feminizing such behavior. In addition, for the adult male viewer, the *erastēs*, she is a reminder of the differences between *erōmenoi* and prostitutes as objects of desire.⁶⁰ These same themes feature in the verses in the *Theognidea*. Addressed to boys, they outline appropriate behavior and advisable company to spend time with and learn from. They critique the bad behavior of *deiloi* and prostitutes and praise the behavior of the *agathoi*. The actual presence of the *hetaira*-prostitute (commonly foreign and slave or freed) at symposia likely bolstered these differences and reinforced these lessons.

The distinctions observed here between female prostitutes and boy-youths in particular become further developed as a stereotype in Athens in the classical period. While *hetairai* are described in Greek oratory as "sexually available to anyone who can pay," *erōmenoi* must be discreet about their availability and not appear "too easy" to win over and seduce. The fourth-century BCE trial of Timarchus (see p. 157) makes clear the fine line that boys and youths had to walk as objects of desire. Aeschines accuses Timarchus of having prostituted himself as a youth. The defense maintains that any such relationships were legitimate and respectable relations between an *erōmenos* and an *erastēs*. Which account is the correct one? Although Aeschines accuses Timarchus of abusing his parents, squandering his patrimony and stealing from the treasury, he likely focused on the charge of prostitution because it was easy to construe pederastic courtship as prostitution – hence the anxiety surrounding boy courtship.

Emphasis is on the *aidōs* and *sōphrosynē* of the beloved and the appropriate behavior of the lover in Xenophon's *Symposium*. The boy Autylochus is described as possessing both *aidōs* and *sōphrosynē* (1.9). Socrates refers to Callias' love for the boy as grounded in the soul (*psychē*), friendship (*philia*) and virtuous conduct (*kala erga*), rather than the body and carnal desire. Socrates concludes this from the excellence (*kalokagathia*) of the youth and because Callias always includes the father in his meetings with Autylochus. His discussion leads Hermogenes to comment that Socrates is in fact teaching (*paideuein*) Callias how to behave toward Autylochus (8.12). But, I would add, he is also teaching about the appropriate behavior of a beloved toward his lover through the example of Autylochus.

This last example illustrates well that while the symposium is an erotically charged space, it is also a forum for a theory of erotics, a kind of sex-education class for ancient Athenians. The archaic vases and verses discussed here reflect the start of this discourse, which instructs boys, youths and adults in the parameters of their social roles and acceptable ways to manifest their desires. One focus for this discussion is the prostitute body, constructed as the opposite of the *erōmenos*. Despite the variety in kinds of prostitutes available in ancient Greece, in these ideological comparisons with the *erōmenos*, the prostitute body is depicted undifferentiated and

female. The construction serves a purpose: it allays an anxiety about the similarity between the *pais/erōmenos* and the *hetaira*-prostitute that might remain despite any protocols designed to distinguish them. At the same time, the comparison between the *pais/erōmenos* and the *hetaira*-prostitute reveals a concern with how to distinguish between prostitutes and citizen boys as erotic objects in archaic society, especially in the context of the symposium.

Notes

- 1 Versions of this chapter were presented to audiences at the Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of Canada, the University of Cincinnati and the University of Florida. I would like to thank these audiences for their comments. I would also like to thank the editors for their many helpful suggestions.
- 2 The term *pais* frequently has an erotic connotation in the context of the symposium implying a beloved. See Book II of the *Theognidea*, for example. By the classical period the *pais* is more commonly known as the *erōmenos*. The courting lover is known as the *philos* and then later as the *erastēs*. Conventionally, modern scholars (particularly in the context of vase painting) prefer these later terms when indicating the pederastic relationship. Even though discussing archaic Greece, I employ these later terms in addition to *pais* and *philos*.
- 3 The *hetaira* (female companion) first made her appearance in sympotic poetry and on painted pots in the sixth century BCE, when, according to Leslie Kurke, elite symposiasts were concerned to distinguish their female sexual companions from *pornai* (women for sale) (1997: 112–13). See also Reinsberg 1989: 161. Note that the actual term, *hetaira*, is absent from archaic elegy and lyric, but used by Kurke to encapsulate the different attitudes present in such poetry (1997: 145). Henceforth, I use *hetaira*-figure (and *hetaira*-prostitute) to highlight the complexity of prostitution and the fact that *hetaira* and *pornē* are sometimes interchangeable.
- 4 I use the term boy-youth because the age limit of the male beloved is unclear. Rather than age defining the beloved, it is more accurately the lack of facial hair that distinguishes him from the one courting. As soon as facial hair begins to appear, the boy-youth ceased his role as beloved and might even take on the role of lover to another boy. See Dover 1978; Ferrari 2002: 139–40. In vase painting, the age distinction is clear in black-figure, but by the fifth century and in red-figure the courting lover is frequently shown as another youth. See Lear and Cantarella 2008: 3–6, 67. See Shapiro 1992: figs. 3.1–2 for courting scenes depicting mature men with beardless youths and young men with just the beginnings of beards courting boys and beardless youths.
- 5 See Cantarella 1992: 12–16 on references in lyric poetry. Also see Fisher 2001: 30–3; Skinner 2005: 42–4, 46. On representation of pederasty in vase painting see Sutton 1992: 12–14. Sutton comments that scenes of pederasty become popular in the mid-sixth century and are very different from heterosexual scenes set in the symposium or during the *komos*. Shapiro comments that the same artist might depict a scene of pederasty and then a scene of a prostitute and her client (1992: 55).
- 6 For an excellent and accessible discussion of *symposia*, see Lissarrague 1990.
- 7 The term *symposium* appears in 298 and 498 of the *Theognidea*. The terms *eilapinē* (238) and *dais* (563) also appear (238), and references to wine, wine drinking and drinking companions are frequent (e.g. 33, 497–8, 500, 503–4, 509–10). These references also include eating together and so the archaic drinking party may not always have been separate from the *deipnon* as in classical times; see Levine 1985: 176.
- 8 See Xen. *Symp.* Note also that at the start of Plato's *Symposium* the guests dismiss the aulos player.
- 9 While Kurke argues, using archaic poetry, that symposiasts might assimilate themselves with the *hetairai* (1997), I maintain that distinctions between male and female, free and slave, and Athenian and foreign were paramount (even more so than elite and non-elite) for the symposiasts of the late archaic and early classical periods. The *hetaira*-prostitute was a visible other at the symposium; see further Glazebrook 2012.
- 10 See Lynch 2007: 246–8; Pütz 2007: xii, 119; Topper 2009: 4–5, 22–3; Corner 2010: 352–80.
- 11 The offset door enabled the arrangement of *klinai* (couches) lining the walls. On the material remains of the *andrōn* see Bergquist 1990 and Nevett 1995, 2010: 45–62. For depictions of the *andrōn* on Greek vases see Lissarrague (1990: 20–2) and Steiner (2007: 239–40). Note Lynch who argues that neither an *andrōn* nor *klinai* were a necessity for the symposium and that in some cases it might even have taken place in the open courtyard of the Greek house or out of doors in a vineyard (Lynch 2007: 243–6).

- 12 Ferrari argues that soft down beneath the ears and on cheeks indicates a youth at his peak of desirability (2002: 134–7, 140–1). Lear and Cantarella disagree and counter that in red-figure it distinguishes the *erastēs* from the *erōmenos* (2008: 239, n. 7).
- 13 See Levine 1985: 178–80; Bremmer 1990: 136, 137; Robb 1994: 35; Percy 1996: 17; Skinner 2005: 47.
- 14 On the symposium in Aristophanes, see Pütz 2007.
- 15 Most iambs and lyric were composed for or adapted for the symposium. See Percy 1996: 117 and Rossi 1983: 44. On the *Theognidea* as composed for the symposium, see Gerber 1997: 120, also n. 7. See also Vetta 1980: xi; Collins 2004: 114–23.
- 16 See further Lewis 1985 on the *paideia* of Book II in particular. Also Donlan 1985: 237; Levine 1985: 177–80, 194.
- 17 I follow Gerber 1999: 209, n. 4, in connecting the negative (*ou*) with the verb.
- 18 See MacLachlan 1993: 5–8. Also Hewitt 1927, esp. 149–51; Mitchell 1997: 18–21. On reciprocity more generally see Hands 1968: 28–48.
- 19 See MacLachlan 1993: 56–72, esp. 67–71 on the *Theognidea*.
- 20 On the connection between erotic *charis* and constancy see Vetta 1980: 67. For complaints on inconstancy and disloyalty see 1243–4, 1249–62, 1267–70.
- 21 On the ambiguity of the first line of this verse see Vetta 1980: 44–5 and Lewis 1985: 213. I follow Lewis here. See also 1091–4 where the *erastēs* expresses frustration at the feelings of the *erōmenos*, but acknowledges that an *erōmenos* cannot love against his will.
- 22 See Padilla's comments on *anankē* versus *charis* in Euripides' *Alcesteis* (2000: 200).
- 23 MacLachlan 1993: 69. See the verses 237–54 and 1263–6 above under subheading *Prostitutes and boys at the Theognidea*. *Aidōs* is also an important quality of girls and women of free citizen status. Prostitutes, by the nature of their profession, lack this quality. A comprehensive study of *aidōs* is Cairns 1996; see further on *aidōs* throughout the main text.
- 24 On Book II as sympotic see Gerber 1997: 120, also n. 7; and Vetta 1980: XXVII–XXXVII.
- 25 See Kurke who makes this argument for such a pairing in an Attic *skolia* (1997: 117–18).
- 26 See Lewis 1985: 219. Levine points out that verse 242 uses *eukomos* to describe appropriate behavior at the symposium and argues the term is for the benefit of youths in particular (Lewis 1985: 186).
- 27 Lewis 1985: 218–19. See verses 1363–4 and 1029–36. On the expected conduct of the lover toward the beloved see further Dover 1978; Foucault 1985.
- 28 See Lissarrague 1990; Neer 2002; Steiner 2007: 246–7.
- 29 Lissarrague 1990: 22. Steiner notes, however, that the hydria and amphora rarely appear (2007: 237–9).
- 30 For a detailed discussion of vase shapes and their function, see Kanowski 1984.
- 31 Lissarrague 1990: 87–106; Neer 2002: 11–23; Steiner 2007: 194–211. On humor in particular see Mitchell 2009.
- 32 Lissarrague 1990: 11–14; Steiner 2007: 245–6.
- 33 Steiner argues that artists were "well aware of the space in which the vessels were used" (2007: 240).
- 34 On the context of viewing see Stansbury-O'Donnell 2006: 70–9.
- 35 For an overview of the difficulty of identifying prostitutes on pots see Lewis 2002: 101–12. On the slippage between images of "being courted" and "being purchased" and the contemporary practice of classifying male figures as lovers and female figures as prostitutes see Rabinowitz 2011.
- 36 On the differences, see Sutton 1992: 12–14. Also see Lear and Cantarella 2008: 119–20, 131–5.
- 37 One exception might be a pelike by Euphronios (Villa Giulia 12109) depicting a seated youth raising a sandal to a boy with a semi-erection. Shapiro 2000: 29 interprets the scene as shared sado-masochism. Other scholars, however, interpret the boy as a slave and do not consider it a pederastic scene. See Lear and Cantarella 2008: 121–3.
- 38 Sutton 1992: 14. But note the exceptions discussed in Lear and Cantarella 2008: 111, 131–5.
- 39 For discussion of female banqueters see Peschel 1987: 70–4, 110–12; Reinsberg 1989: 112–14; Kurke 1997: 136; Venit 1998: 127; Lewis 2002: 113–15; Neer 2002: 131–2; Steiner 2007: 244; Lyons 2008: 78; Topper 2009: 21; Glazebrook 2012. Scholars have identified a total of ten vases, dating between 520 and 450/425 BCE, with female banqueters banqueting alone. See Lewis (2002: 233, nn. 77–8 with images 3.18–19). The scenes model sympotic scenes on Attic vases with male figures. For example, see the red-figure neck amphora by Euphronios (c.520–505 BCE), Paris, Louvre G 30 (Steiner 2007: figs. 8.16–17); the red-figure kylix by the Colmar Painter (c.500 BCE), New York, Metropolitan Museum 16.174.41 (Lissarrague 1990: fig. 1).
- 40 Red-figure kylix, 525–475 BCE. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.171.61. *ARV²* 50.192, 1622. Para 325. Ingeborg Peschel grouped this scene with other scenes of female banqueters, referring to them as "reine Hetärensypmposia" (*hetaira*-only drinking parties) (Peschel 1987: 70–4, 110–12).

- 41 On the practice of wine drinking see Lissarrague 1990: 6–10.
- 42 Lissarrague 1990: 7. See Hdt. 6.84 and Ath. 10.427a–b.
- 43 On the *hetaira*-figure in Attic vase painting as representative of the excessive female nature see Venit 1998. On the parallels of this scene with scenes of satyrs see Glazebrook 2012: 513–14.
- 44 As I have argued elsewhere, images of female banqueters represent female excess more generally, but also make specific reference to the prostitute body when viewed in the context of the symposium (Glazebrook 2012). On the aulos player as prostitute see Starr (1978: 401–10); Davidson (1998: 80–2). Also see Ath. 13.607 d and Theophr. *Char.* 20.10.
- 45 See Lear and Cantarella on gifts as synecdoche for pederastic courtship (2008: 34–5), with a list of common gifts on p. 39.
- 46 On the slippage between *erōmenos* and male prostitute in Attic vase painting see Rabinowitz 2011.
- 47 Red-figure kylix. 510–490 BCE. Onesimos. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2636. *ARV*² 317.16. 214. *AttScr* 502. CVA Munich, Antikensammlungen 16, 14–16, Beilage 2.1, Pls. (4667, 4668, 4728) 2.1–4, 3.1–5, 63.1.
- 48 An image with the head still intact appears in Peschel 1987: Pl. 47. Her hair is short with a headband.
- 49 See Lissarrague 1990: 80–6; Sparkes 1960. For further details of this game see Ath. 11.487d–e and 15.665c–668f.
- 50 See discussion under subhead Prostitutes and boys at the *Theognidea*. On *katapugon* as the opposite of *kalos* see Lear and Cantarella 2008: 170–1.
- 51 The inscriptions add to the competition of the symposium by ridiculing any adult male reader of the inscription. On inscriptions being read aloud see Slater 1999: 161; Steiner 2007: 240.
- 52 See Immerwahr 1990: 84 for its identification as “perhaps the beginning of a poem.” See Steiner for its association with Pindar O. 9.47 (2007: 244).
- 53 Red-figure kylix. 525–475 BCE. Oltos. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional L151/11267. *ARV*² 38.46. *ARV*² 58.53, 1622, 1574. Add 80. CVA Madrid 2, III-IC.3, Pls. (58, 59, 61, 62) 1.3A–B, 2.2, 4.1, 5.1. Note that there is no image in the tondo of the cup.
- 54 See note 44 above.
- 55 Rabinowitz comments that the intertwined legs suggest intimacy and an erotic connection between the women (2002: 135).
- 56 CVA Madrid 2, III-IC.3c. It possibly identifies the figure as Theseus on his labor to free Attica from the bull of Marathon or Herakles after the Cretan bull. On the myths of Herakles and Theseus and their representation in art see Carpenter 1991; see also Steiner 2007: 157.
- 57 The genitalia of the youth contrast with the enlarged genitalia frequently associated with satyrs and non-Greeks and as depicted in group-sex scenes; see Lear and Cantarella 2008: 24–5, 64–5.
- 58 These images of prostitutes also enforce negative stereotypes about women more generally; see further Glazebrook 2012.
- 59 Lear argues that scenes of anal intercourse and group sex contrast with pederastic scenes and highlight the pederastic relationship as the ideal (Lear and Cantarella 2008: 106–7, 119–20, 126–7, 192).
- 60 Note that Apollodoros refers to Neaira’s clients as *erastai* ([Dem.] 59.26, 29, 30, 31, 32).

Bibliography

- Bergquist, B. (1990) “Symptotic space: A functional aspect of Greek dining rooms”, in O. Murray (ed.) *Symptotica: A Symposium on the Symposion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 37–65.
- Bremmer, J. (1990) “Adolescents, symposion, and pederasty”, in O. Murray (ed.) *Symptotica: A Symposium on the Symposion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 135–48.
- Cairns, D. (1996) *Aidos: The Psychology and Ethics of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greek Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Cantarella, E. (1992) *Bisexuality in the Ancient World*, trans. C. Ó. Cuilleánáin. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Carpenter, T.H. (1991) *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece: A Handbook*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Cobb-Stevens, V., Figueira, T.J. and Nagy, G. (1985) “Introduction”, in T.J. Figueira and G. Nagy (eds) *Theognis of Megara: Poetry and the Polis*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 1–8.
- Collins, D. (2004) *Master of the Game: Competition and Performance in Greek Poetry*. Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies.
- Corner, S. (2010) “Transcendent drinking: The symposium at sea reconsidered”, *Classical Quarterly* 60(2): 352–80.

- Davidson, J. (1998) *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens*. London: Harper-Collins.
- Donlan, W. (1985) "Pistos Philos Hetairos", in T.J. Figueira and G. Nagy (eds) *Theognis of Megara: Poetry and the Polis*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 223–43.
- Dover, K.J. (1978) *Greek Homosexuality*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ferrari, G. (2002) *Figures of Speech: Men and Maidens in Ancient Greece*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Fisher, N.R.E. (2001) *Aeschines: Against Timarchos*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ford, A.L. (1985) "The politics of authorship in archaic Greece", in T.J. Figueira and G. Nagy (eds) *Theognis of Megara: Poetry and the Polis*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 82–95.
- Foucault, M. (1985) *The Use of Pleasure, The History of Sexuality*, vol. 2, trans. R. Hurley. New York: Random House.
- Gerber, D.E. (trans. and ed.) (1997) "Elegy", in D.E. Gerber (ed.) *A Companion to the Greek Lyric Poets*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, pp. 89–132.
- (1999) *Greek Elegiac Poetry*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Glazebrook, A. (2012) "Prostitutes, plonk and play: Female banqueters on a red-figure psykter from the Hermitage", *Classical World* 105(4): 497–524.
- Hands, A.R. (1968) *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome*. London: Camelot Press.
- Hewitt, J.W. (1927) "The terminology of 'gratitude' in Greek", *Classical Philology* 22(2): 142–61.
- Immerwahr, H.R. (1990) *Attic Script: A Survey*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Kanowski, M.G. (1984) *Containers of Classical Greece: A Handbook of Shapes*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.
- Kurke, L. (1997) "Inventing the hetaira: Sex, politics, and discursive conflict in archaic Greece", *Classical Antiquity* 16(1): 106–50.
- Lear, A. and Cantarella, E. (2008) *Images of Ancient Greek Pederasty: Boys Were Their Gods*. New York: Routledge.
- Levine, D.B. (1985) "Symposium and the polis", in T.J. Figueira and G. Nagy (eds) *Theognis of Megara: Poetry and the Polis*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 176–96.
- Lewis, J.M. (1985) "Eros and the polis in Theognis Book II", in T.J. Figueira and G. Nagy (eds) *Theognis of Megara: Poetry and the Polis*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 197–222.
- Lewis, S. (2002) *The Athenian Woman: An Iconographic Handbook*. London: Routledge.
- Lissarrague, F. (1990) *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet: Images of Wine and Ritual*, trans. A. Szegedy-Maszak. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Lynch, K. (2007) "More thoughts on the space of the symposium", in R. Westgate, N. Fisher and J. Whitley (eds) *Building Communities: House, Settlement, and Society in the Aegean and Beyond*. London: British School at Athens, pp. 243–9.
- Lyons, C.L. (2008) "Objects of affection: Genre and gender on some Athenian vases", in K. Lapatin (ed.) *Papers on Special Techniques in Athenian Vases: Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Connection with the Exhibition The Colors of Clay: Special Techniques in Athenian Vases, at the Getty Villa, June 15–17, 2006*. Los Angeles, CA: Getty Publications, pp. 73–84.
- MacLachlan, B. (1993) *The Age of Grace: Charis in Early Greek Poetry*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Mitchell, A. (2009) *Greek Vase Painting and the Origins of Humour*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mitchell, L.G. (1997) *Greeks Bearing Gifts: The Public Use of Private Relationships in the Greek World, 435–323 bc*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Neer, R.T. (2002) *Style and Politics in Athenian Vase Painting: The Craft of Democracy, ca. 530–460 B.C.E*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nevett, L.C. (1995) "Gender relations in the Classical Greek household: The archaeological evidence", *Annual of the British School at Athens* 91: 89–108.
- (2010) *Domestic Space in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Padilla, M. (2000) "Gifts of humiliation: Charis and tragic experience in *Alkestis*", *American Journal of Philology* 121(2): 179–211.
- Percy, W.A. (1996) *Pederasty and Pedagogy in Archaic Greece*. Campaigne/Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Peschel, I. (1987) *Die Hetäre bei Symposion und Komos in der attisch-rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei des 6.-4. Jahrhunderts v. Christus*. Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang.
- Pütz, B. (2007) *The Symposium and Komos in Aristophanes*. Oxford: Aris and Philips.

- Rabinowitz, N.S. (2002) "Excavating women's homoeroticism in ancient Greece: The evidence from Attic vase painting", in N.S. Rabinowitz and L. Auanger (eds) *Among Women: From the Homosocial to the Homoerotic in the Ancient World*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, pp. 106–66.
- (2011) "Sex for sale? Interpreting erotica in the Havana Collection", in A. Glazebrook and M.M. Henry (eds) *Greek Prostitutes in the Ancient Mediterranean 800 BCE–200 CE*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 122–46.
- Reinsberg, C. (1989) *Ehe, Hetärenum und Knabenliebe im antiken Griechenland*, Beck's Archäologische Bibliothek. München: C.H. Beck.
- Robb, K. (1994) *Literacy and Paideia in Ancient Greece*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rossi, L.E. (1983) "Il simposio Greco arcaico e classico come spettacolo a se stesso", *Spettacoli conviviali dall' antichità classica alle corti italiane del 400*. Atti del VII convegno di studio, 27–30 Maggio 1982. Viterbo: Agnesotti, pp. 41–50.
- Shapiro, H.A. (1981) "Courtship scenes in Attic vase-painting", *American Journal of Archaeology* 85: 133–44.
- (1992) "Eros in love: Pederasty and pornography in Greece", in A. Richlin (ed.) *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 53–72.
- (2000) "Leagros and Euphronios: Painting pederasty in Athens", in T.K. Hubbard (ed.) *Greek Love Reconsidered*. New York: W. Hamilton Press, pp. 12–32.
- Skinner, M.B. (2005) *Sexuality in Greek and Roman Culture*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Slater, N. (1999) "The vase as ventriloquist: Kalos-inscriptions and the culture of fame", in E.A. Mackay (ed.) *Signs of Orality: The Oral Tradition and its Influences in the Greek and Roman World*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 143–61.
- Sparkes, B. (1960) "Kottabos: An Athenian after dinner game", *Archaeology* 13: 202–7.
- Stansbury-O'Donnell, M.D. (2006) *Vase Painting, Gender, and Social Identity in Archaic Athens*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Starr, C. (1978) "An evening with the flute-girls", *La Parola del Passato* 33: 401–10.
- Steiner, A. (2007) *Reading Greek Vases*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sutton, R.F. (1992) "Pornography and persuasion on Attic pottery", in A. Richlin (ed.) *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 3–35.
- Topper, K. (2009) "Primitive life and the construction of the sympotic past in Athenian vase painting", *American Journal of Archaeology* 113: 3–26.
- Venit, M.S. (1998) "Women in their cups", *Classical World* 92: 117–30.
- Vetta, M. (1980) *Teognide libro secondo: Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commento*. Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo.

- Rabinowitz, N.S. (2002) "Excavating women's homoeroticism in ancient Greece: The evidence from Attic vase painting", in N.S. Rabinowitz and L. Auanger (eds) *Among Women: From the Homosocial to the Homoerotic in the Ancient World*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, pp. 106–66.
- (2011) "Sex for sale? Interpreting erotica in the Havana Collection", in A. Glazebrook and M.M. Henry (eds) *Greek Prostitutes in the Ancient Mediterranean 800 BCE–200 CE*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 122–46.
- Reinsberg, C. (1989) *Ehe, Hetärenum und Knabenliebe im antiken Griechenland*, Beck's Archäologische Bibliothek. München: C.H. Beck.
- Robb, K. (1994) *Literacy and Paideia in Ancient Greece*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rossi, L.E. (1983) "Il simposio Greco arcaico e classico come spettacolo a se stesso", *Spettacoli conviviali dall' antichità classica alle corti italiane del 400*. Atti del VII convegno di studio, 27–30 Maggio 1982. Viterbo: Agnesotti, pp. 41–50.
- Shapiro, H.A. (1981) "Courtship scenes in Attic vase-painting", *American Journal of Archaeology* 85: 133–44.
- (1992) "Eros in love: Pederasty and pornography in Greece", in A. Richlin (ed.) *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 53–72.
- (2000) "Leagros and Euphronios: Painting pederasty in Athens", in T.K. Hubbard (ed.) *Greek Love Reconsidered*. New York: W. Hamilton Press, pp. 12–32.
- Skinner, M.B. (2005) *Sexuality in Greek and Roman Culture*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Slater, N. (1999) "The vase as ventriloquist: Kalos-inscriptions and the culture of fame", in E.A. Mackay (ed.) *Signs of Orality: The Oral Tradition and its Influences in the Greek and Roman World*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 143–61.
- Sparkes, B. (1960) "Kottabos: An Athenian after dinner game", *Archaeology* 13: 202–7.
- Stansbury-O'Donnell, M.D. (2006) *Vase Painting, Gender, and Social Identity in Archaic Athens*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Starr, C. (1978) "An evening with the flute-girls", *La Parola del Passato* 33: 401–10.
- Steiner, A. (2007) *Reading Greek Vases*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sutton, R.F. (1992) "Pornography and persuasion on Attic pottery", in A. Richlin (ed.) *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 3–35.
- Topper, K. (2009) "Primitive life and the construction of the sympotic past in Athenian vase painting", *American Journal of Archaeology* 113: 3–26.
- Venit, M.S. (1998) "Women in their cups", *Classical World* 92: 117–30.
- Vetta, M. (1980) *Teognide libro secondo: Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commento*. Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo.