

Zeitschrift: Cahiers d'archéologie romande
Herausgeber: Bibliothèque Historique Vaudoise
Band: 36 (1987)

Artikel: Merkins and modes : to the memory of Friedrich Hauser
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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-835493>

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Merkins and Modes

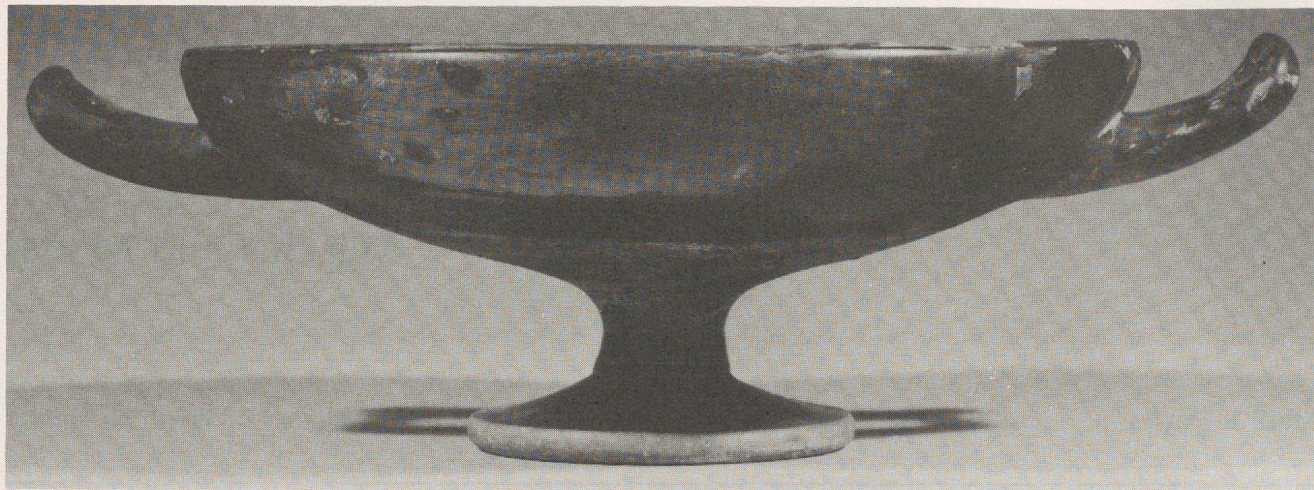
Mark I. Davies

To the Memory of Friedrich Hauser

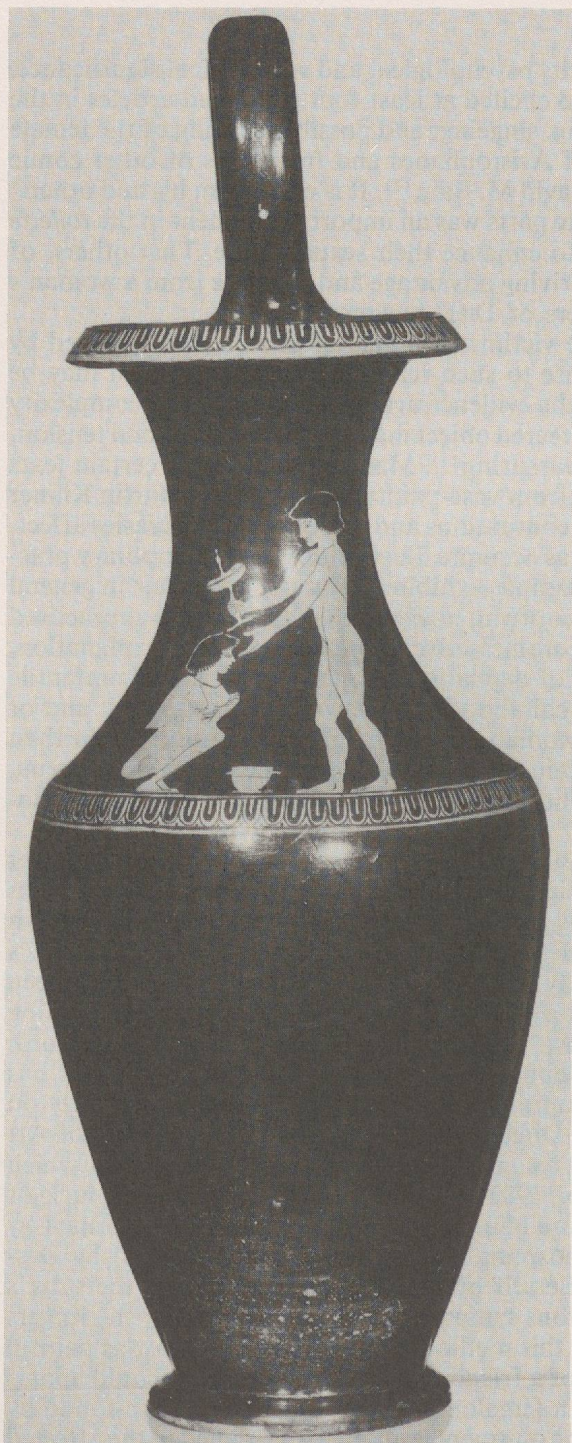
The subject of female depilation of pubic hair, as well as its psychological and sociological significance, has recently attracted the interest of a number of scholars, and elicited at least four published articles in the space of a year ⁽¹⁾. Much of the literary evidence for the plucking, singeing, and possibly shaving of the female *pudenda* is to be found scattered in a number of the plays of Aristophanes and fragments of other comic poets, material which has now received a sound treatment by David M. Bain ⁽²⁾. It is clear from his and others' studies of the subject that full or partial depilation of the private parts was an important element in the *toilette* of free and slave women of the classical period who wished to enhance their sexual allure. That others, of course, have seen these matters in an entirely different light, deriving advantage and pleasure from a woman's natural state with some imagination, will be known to readers of D.H. Lawrence ⁽³⁾.

Whether Greek males of this or any other period were victims of a genital phobia, as suggested by Philip Slater, and whether depilation was practised in response to such fears, are questions which may be valid but remain unresolved, owing to the nature and state of the evidence available to us and the complexity of such psychic issues ⁽⁴⁾. For some individuals, exposure of the feared object may alleviate anxiety and tension, while for others its disguise or disappearance is instead more reassuring ⁽⁵⁾. Many are aroused by certain fears and enjoy overcoming them. In a recent study of the evidence from vase-paintings, moreover, Martin Kilmer has acknowledged — perhaps insufficiently — that the stylistic conventions and personal idiosyncrasies affecting individual artists render the interpretation of their pictures as accurate illustrations of contemporary practices quite hazardous ⁽⁶⁾. Surely most Greek adult males, for example, exhibited far more body-hair in general than they are given by most vase-painters ⁽⁷⁾. Art and literature confirm, however, that depilation was practised in different forms, and felt by some at least to render a woman more attractive. If pressed to seek an explanation, I should wonder whether the results of more thorough forms of depilation did not appeal to male infantile or juvenile drives and fantasies, aroused in sex-play of early childhood and reawakened, reassured, and or satisfied later by the artificially youthened appearance of a woman. Yet such speculation more often than not proves fruitless on the evidence available to us, and is best left in any event to analysts like Georges Devereux, who has tried to explore such developmental psychic phenomena in his study of Greek pseudo-homosexuality ⁽⁸⁾.

In discussing visual evidence in vase-painting for depilation, Kilmer has overlooked a most important piece of evidence in the form of an Attic red-figured cup assigned by Beazley to the manner of Onesimos (figs. 1-2) ⁽⁹⁾. The tondo has long been known from a drawing published more than once in the nineteenth century; was correctly interpreted by Friedrich Hauser in two detailed discussions; may be found in Beazley's lists; is mentioned more than once by Dover in his recent study of Greek homosexuality; and has just been discussed in an article by Jean-Paul Descoeudres which includes a photograph of the tondo taken after cleaning of the vase in 1970. Formerly in the van Branteghem and D.M. Robinson collections, it is now in Oxford, or rather University, Mississippi. To the examples of pubic depilation by plucking which Descoeudres has collected and illustrated, one may now add a scene on the exterior of an Attic red-figured cup recently on the New York market, held by Thomas P.F. Hoving — former Director of The Metropolitan Museum of Art and now Editor-in-chief of the magazine *Connoisseur* — in an advertisement for that publication which appeared in *The New Yorker* and elsewhere in the autumn of 1982 ⁽¹⁰⁾. Here a satyr crouches to pluck or otherwise tend to the *pubes* of a naked woman standing before him, an intimate service also performed by a satyr on a lekythos in Six's technique attributed to the Diosphos Painter, now twice published by Descoeudres ⁽¹¹⁾. On the latter vase in Basel, the woman braces herself by placing her left hand on the satyr's head, while the delicacy of this painful operation, and his nervous sympathy, are well expressed by the fingers of the satyr's right hand and the intent look of his eye. Surely this method of depilation is at least as painful as singeing, and probably more so, therefore requiring the aid of a friend or slave. Such expertise could apparently be obtained in real life from a *paratiltia* (lat. *tonstrix*), a female slave who appears in a cup-tondo by Apollodoros and is shown perhaps at the moment when soothing ointment is about to be applied to the affected



1.



2.



3.

area, as Descoeudres has suggested⁽¹²⁾. One might compare the scene on an unpublished Attic red-figured oinochoe in Brussels, unattributed by Beazley, where a girl squats in front of a naked woman standing to left and holding an exaleipton or *smê(g)matothêkê* over the girl's head (fig. 3)⁽¹³⁾. Between them, a skyphos has been placed on the ground. If this is not the same moment depicted by Apollodoros, perhaps preparations are shown.

Within the circle of the Mississippi cup-tondo (fig. 2), a woman straddles a low metal foot-basin, with lamp in her left hand and probably a sponge in her right, as Hauser was first to see long ago⁽¹⁴⁾. By squatting slightly, with legs splayed to the sides, she hopes to avoid burning her upper thighs with the flame of the lamp and can better reach the basin below to fill her sponge with soothing water. Hauser saw how well adapted the posture was to the circular confines of the tondo, and understood its practical motivation⁽¹⁵⁾. A delicate procedure this, one best carried out by oneself to avoid too close or prolonged application of the singeing flame. Water will have been repeatedly squeezed from the sponge to cool the affected area, and the basin caught the water. Having once been subjected to overpainting, the cup has now been cleaned: to judge from the photograph, the depilation of our subject has been very complete, exposing the vertical line of her denuded vulva in this rather brutal frontal view of a private moment⁽¹⁶⁾. Such a scene on such a cup must reflect the taste of a purchaser, for his or another's amusement and titillation at a symposium if not beyond the grave. Unlike the satyrs we have seen, human males can have only very seldom witnessed such activities in the *boudoir*, and will rarely — if ever — have participated. Their prurient interest in the subject, as well as its comic potential, however, are evident in a scene of love-making depicted by the Brygos Painter on the exterior of his cup in Florence⁽¹⁷⁾. Here to one side a man draped in a himation observes the rather athletic activity of the couple before him with rapt and open-mouthed interest. With a lamp in his right hand he threatens to singe them both in what must be intended by the vase-painter as a touch of crude Aristophanic humor rather than simply illumination of the subject. One would gladly have his words and their response.

In his discussion of the tondo now in Mississippi (fig. 2), Hauser adduced these lines from the *Ekklesiazousai* of Aristophanes, addressed by Praxagora to her lamp (12-13)⁽¹⁸⁾:

"You alone shine into the unmentionable recesses of our thighs, singeing the luxuriant hair."

Furthermore, Hauser subsequently discovered that a passage in the *Thesmophoriazousai* (236-247) of the same author provided the key to most of the details of the painted scene, and published these findings in an *addendum* ignored by recent students of depilation⁽¹⁹⁾. In this comedy, Euripides wants to disguise Mnesilochos as a woman in order that he may attend the Thesmophoria and defend the playwright. Accordingly, he orders him to stand up so that he may singe him, and to maintain a crouching or squatting position for this purpose (236: *Anistas, hin' apheusô se, kangkupsas eche* [cf. 239]). Mnesilochos laments that he will be turned into a *delphakion*, or sucking-pig, making use of a pun intended to amuse an audience aware that both pig and *pubes* were subject to singeing and that this common treatment and appearance had led to the use of such porcine slang terms for the female *pudenda*⁽²⁰⁾. His cries for water (241) are met belatedly with Euripides's assurances that another person will sponge him (247).

If such images and terminology were commonplace in the context of Attic Old Comedy, how far back can they be traced in Greek literature⁽²¹⁾? One thinks first of Archilochos, in whose fragments erotic and scatological themes as well as crude details of intimate matters may often be discerned⁽²²⁾. Of the tattered remains of this seventh-century poet's work, one fragment quoted thrice by Plutarch, and said by him to refer to a woman pondering opposites, describes her in the following terms (fr. 184 West)⁽²³⁾:

She was carrying water in the one hand, fire in the other, craftily plotting.

The *overt* context of these two lines need not in fact have been erotic or sexual in nature, and Plutarch seems not to have understood them in this way. Yet it seems not farfetched to suggest that a metaphorical image of a woman with fire in one hand and water in the other has here been drawn by the poet from the practice of depilation as we have it on the Mississippi cup (fig. 2). For reasons unknown to us, Archilochos will have intended to impart a bawdy tone to the characterization of this subject, using an image with associations dear to his heart. Other explanations of the metaphor are, of course, possible and certainly unattainable on present evidence.

On the theory that the practice of depilation was in fact widespread and well known at least as early as the seventh century B.C. in Greece, it seems possible to find a related metaphor formulated by the poet Hesiod in a passage from his *Works and Days* (702-705):

A man acquires nothing better than a good wife, nothing else more horrible than a bad one, parasitic, who both singes a man without a torch, strong though he be, and sends him to an unripened old age.

West comments on line 705 that "she 'scorches' him, wastes and withers his vitality, like the *hauonê* she is (Sem. 7.20)"; refers to the Greek belief that one may be reduced to ashes in old age; and notes that the words "without a torch" are appropriate in a metaphorical context⁽²⁴⁾. Such a straightforward conception of a dry, wizened and unripe old age may be all the poet had in mind. Yet Euripides had called for a torch or a lamp to singe Mnesilochos in the *Thesmophoriazousai* (238), and probably a torch is produced for the purpose⁽²⁵⁾. Perhaps Hesiod offers us here, in the midst of his crabbed views of marriage for the peasant, a glimpse of cynical humor derived from common slang. On this level, a "signed" or "scorched" husband would be considered "unmanned" by the behavior of his wife, rendered a *choiros* metaphorically by a mate's greed and dominance rather than by flame⁽²⁶⁾. Should this interpretation be correct, it may be worth noting that the word *geras*, old age, later came to have an obscene sense in certain contexts⁽²⁷⁾.

It will be remembered that in the *Odyssey*, one of Kirke's nastier habits was that of converting men into pigs, a process to be understood metaphorically as a symbolic expression of the taming and even unman-

ning of her unsuspecting victims (*Odyssey* 10.237-243; cf. 283, 320 and 388-396)⁽²⁸⁾. Hermes, at least, understands the nature of her magic and her intentions, and warns Odysseus in the most explicit terms that Kirke will first try to drug and cast a spell on him, to turn him into a pig as she had his comrades earlier (*Odyssey* 10.290-295; cf. 293 with 238 and 319-320), and that she will unman him if he does not take certain precautions before accepting her seductive invitation to love-making in bed (*Odyssey* 10.275-306; cf. 10.307-347 for the encounter). Forewarned and forearmed with the *moly*, Odysseus escapes harm to enjoy a year with the enchantress (*Odyssey* 10.469-470) whose various threats he has foiled with divine assistance⁽²⁹⁾. Such an interpretation of the Kirke episode may shed light on the poet's later portrayal of the swineherd Eumaios (*Odyssey* 14 ff.), whose loyalty as keeper of the pigs in his master's absence earned him much praise, a subject best taken up elsewhere at greater length than is possible here⁽³⁰⁾.

Mark I. Davies

NOTES

I should like to express here my sincere sense of gratitude to Dr. Donna C. Kurtz, whose invitation to spend two months in residence at Wolfson College, Oxford University, during the summer of 1983 made it possible for me to prepare this essay under the best of conditions and to benefit from access to the treasures of the Ashmolean Museum Library. I have also consulted with much profit the extraordinary resources of the Warburg Institute (University of London), and am grateful to its librarians for helpful courtesies on several occasions. Portions of this research were supported by grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities (Washington, D.C.) and Davidson College (Davidson, N.C.).

⁽¹⁾ D.M. Bain, *Katônakên ton choiron apotetilménas* (Aristophanes, Ekklesiazousai 724), LCM 7, 1, 1982, 7-10, with *addenda et corrigenda*, LCM 7, 8, 1982, 111; J.-P. Descoeudres *Hêdistos daimôn*, Antichthon, 15, 1981, 8-14; M. Kilmer, Genital Phobia and Depilation, JHS, 102, 1982, 104-112; M. Skinner, The Context of Caelius' Pyxis, CW, 75, 1982, 243-245. Much of the relevant earlier bibliography for female pubic depilation will be found in these studies. See also G. Giangrande, RhM 117, 1974, 67-70 (Ant. Pal. 6.211: Leonidas); G. Hagenow, RhM 115, 1972, 58-59 (Martial); F. Hauser, JOEAI, 12, 1909, Beiblatt Suppl. 215-217; H. Herter, *De dis Atticis Priapi similibus* (1926), 11-12; W. Miller, Daedalus and Thespis II (1931), 406-408; J. Rosenbaum, Geschichte der Lustseuche im Altertum⁽⁸⁾ (1921), 331-336 and 424; A.M. Wilson, Mnemosyne 27, 1974, 297-298.

⁽²⁾ Bain, *op. c.* (*supra* note 1).

⁽³⁾ D.H. Lawrence, Lady Chatterley's Lover (1928), chapter 15; cf.: the French weekly Elle, No 1858, 17 août 1981, 22-23; I have not seen J.P. Sullivan, Lady Chatterley in Rome, Pacific Coast Philology, 15, 1980, 53-62; A. Gerson, Die Scham (1919) may have material of interest but is unavailable to me; H. Ploss, Das Weib in der Natur und Völkerkunde⁽⁸⁾ I (1905), 275-277, has evidence for pubic depilation in recent times (also unavailable). See on the erotic *leimôn* and *kêpos* in antiquity: Henderson, *op. c.* (*infra* note 16), 20, 27, 135-136, paragraphs 130 and 133-135; A. Motte, Prairies et jardins de la Grèce antique (1973), index No 465, *s.v.* *puendum muliebre*; and a large number of recent articles on fragments of Archilochos and Anacreon. Pubic hair in latin: J.N. Adams, The Latin Sexual Vocabulary (1928), 76-77. Also W. Krenkel in: Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig II, 1982, 244 a and 246, Abb. 11 (Nr 217). I owe my knowledge of the term merkin, which seems to have fallen in disuse, to Professor Mark Bernard. Cf. French: *toison pelvienne*.

⁽⁴⁾ P.E. Slater, The Glory of Hera (1968), 12-13; Kilmer, *op. c.* (*supra* note 1) in response. Cf.: now also A. Bammer, Die Angst der Männer vor den Frauen oder Aesthetisierung als Entmachtung, Hephaistos, 4, 1982, 67-77. J.D. Beazley, The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems (1920), 27, No 31: "The indication of the female pubes is very rare apart from Attic red-figured vases". Cf.: Kirke on a Chalcidian black-figured neck-amphora in Vulci (Antiquarium): F. Canciani, JDAI, 95, 1980, 141, Abb. 1 and 143, Abb. 3; and *idem*, in: Tainia, Festschrift R. Hampe (1980), Taf. 26, 1 and 27. Two good examples in Attic red-figure vase-painting, in each case a maenad (or nymph): hydria in Rouen No 25, Beazley ARV 188, 68 and skyphos in Brussels, inv. No R 258, Beazley ARV 973, 18 (she is inscribed KAVH, the satyr on the other side KAVOC). Further examples in Kilmer, *op. c.* (*supra* note 1), 108-111. Pubes visible through women's clothing: Kilmer *op. c.* (*supra* note 1), 110-111; Miller, *op. c.* (*supra* note 1), 407-408 with notes 9-11; cf.: A. Hollander, Seeing through Clothes (1975). Much earlier material: M. Mayer, Delta praehistoricum, PhilWoch, 49, 1929, Sp. 91-94; P.G. Praziosi and S.S. Weinberg, AK, 13, 1970, 8, note 23; J. Thimme, AK, 8, 1965, 77-80, note 30 and 84; W. Zschietzschmann, AA, 1935, Suppl. 663. The pubic *delta* is discussed by Bain, *op. c.* (*supra* note 1), 8-9 and Kilmer, *op. c.* (*supra* note 1), 106, with references. See also F. Dornseiff, Buchstabenmystik (1916), 20; *idem*, Das Alphabet in Mystic und Magie (1922), 21-22; R. Eisler, Philologus, 68, 1909, 136-137 note 71 (on Pausanias 2.21.1); A. Körte, International Monatsschrift, 15, 4, 1920, 327 sq. (not available to me).

⁽⁵⁾ Late evidence (especially Pliny the Elder) for superstitions regarding the female pubes and menstruation has been collected by Riess, in RE, I, 1984, Sp. 85-86. Cf.: Johns, *op. c.* (*infra* note 7), 72-75.

⁽⁶⁾ Kilmer, *op. c.* (*supra* note 1), 106 note 8, 108, 109 note 24 and especially 111-112. So also Bain, *op. c.* (*supra* note 1), 9c, with references.

⁽⁷⁾ Is it significant that the deformed Hephaistos is described as having a *stêthea lachnêenta* (Homer, Iliad, 18.415), and the monstrous Thyphos likewise a *sterna lachnaenta* (Pindar, Pythian, 1.19). Tityos depicted with long chest-hair on a shieldband of ca. 540 B.C.: E. Kunze, in: Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig II, 1982, 244 (a) and 246, Abb. 11 (Nr. 217). Empedokle's God (Apollo in particular) having no mortal form, is explicitly without hairy genitals (B 134 D-K⁽⁶⁾; cf.: B 61 D-K⁽⁶⁾): Karusos, *op. c.* (*infra* note 7), 72 and 82-83, with reference also to Xenokrate's comments on Myron and Pythagoras. On an early Lucanian bell-krater of ca. 430 B.C. attributed to the Pisticii Painter, Apollo appears twice in the same scene, once as living god with a small amount of pubic hair, and again as a statue with very little or none: see M. Schmidt, in: Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig I, 1979, 182-185, Nr. 70 and 183, Abb. 70 (A); cf. 239-248. I owe this reference to a member of the audience at Lausanne. See in general E.R. Leach, Magical Hair, Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 88, 1958, 147-164; J. Middleton (ed.), Myth and Cosmos (1967), 77-108. For the sake of equity, a bibliography, since 1960, on representations of male genitalia may be in order: J. Boardman, A Curious Eye Cup, AA, 1976, 281-290; K.J. Dover, Greek Homosexuality (1978), *passim*; J. Ducat, Les vases plastiques rhodiens (1966), 146-148, 158-160, pl. 22, 1-3; *idem*, BCH, 87, 1963, 432; A. Greifenhagen, Hermae Pentelici cum capitibus aeneis, AA, 1964, Sp. 628-638; *idem*, JBerIM, 9, 1967, 15-16; H. Hommel, Bocksbeutel und Aryballos, Philologischer Beitrag zur Urgeschichte einer Gefäßform, SHAW, 1978, 2, Abh.; F. Joansen, En østgæsk parfumflaske fra 6 arh. f. Kr., in: Meddelelses GlyptKøb, 33, 1976, 85-108; C. Johns, Sex or Symbol (1982), especially Ch. 3 "The Phallus and the Evil Eye"; C. Karusos, Aristodikos, "mêdea lachnêenta" (1961), Anhang 72-83; A.F. Stewart, Scrotal Asymmetry: an appendix, Nature, 262, July 8, 1976, 155. Several other recent picturebooks are well known and will supply many illustrations of various erotic subjects. For these titles see Kilmer, *op. c.* (*supra* note 1), 104, introductory note.

⁽⁸⁾ G. Devereux, Greek Pseudo-Homosexuality and the "Greek Miracle", SO, 42, 1967, 69-92; cf.: Slater *op. c.* (*supra* note 4), 12-23 and *passim*. Devereux has published many other studies from the point of view of a practising psychoanalyst and recently a book entitled: Dreams in Greek Tragedy (1976). Interest is perhaps greatest in France: cf.: D. Anzieu *et al.*, Psychanalyse et culture grecque, (1980). Among American studies, those of Justin Glenn come to mind, whose: Coal as an Erotic Symbol, Psychoanalytic Review, 60, 1973, 297-300 has some relevance to the present subject. Cf.: also B. Simon, Mind and Madness in Ancient Greece: The Classical Roots of Modern Psychiatry (1978); V. Hamilton, Narcissus and Oedipus. The Children of psychoanalysis (1982).

⁽⁹⁾ University Museums, The University of Mississippi, Acc. No. 77.3.112 (Dept. No P112), ex Robinson Coll. (Harvard Inv. 231). Cleaned in the summer of 1970. Dimensions (from museum-records): Ht.: 0,08m.; Diam.: 0,188 m. Beazley, ARV 331, 20; and Paral. 361. First correctly interpreted by F. Hauser, *Aristophanes und Vasenbilder*, JDAI 12, 1909, 85-88 (Das Lämpchen) and Beiblatt Sp. 215-217 (Nachtrag). More recently, Descœudres, *op. c. (supra note 1)*, 10 and 13 Fig. 2; Dover, *op. c. (supra note 7)*, 70, 106 note 98, 117, 120 note 24, and 217 No R476; and C.C. Rucker, Unpublished Greek Red Figure Vases from the Robinson Collection, M.A. Thesis, Art Department, Univ. of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (1971), 5-9 No 1, Pl. 1-2. In this last study, the subject is misunderstood and the cup thought to be unpublished; the Harvard Inv. given as 208; the diameter "handle to handle" as 0,253 m.; and the shape/profile aptly compared (9 note 1) to the Attic red-figured cup in Munich (A 913) illustrated by H. Bloesch, *Formen attischer Schalen* (1940), 126, Taf. 34,5 (Type C, Small). I am grateful to Ms Jill Thomas Clark, Collections Manager of the University Museums, for sending information concerning this vase at my request, together with a photocopy of the study by Descœudres which I am sure I should otherwise have missed. My thanks are also due to her and to Dr. Lucy Turnbull, Acting Director, for photographs and permission to publish them there: Courtesy of the University Museum, University of Mississippi Cultural Center.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Descœudres, *op. c. (supra note 1)*. The new cup illustrated *The New Yorker*, 25 October 1982, 139. Prof. J. Penny Small first brought this advertisement to my attention in another context, for which I am grateful. In a letter to Dr. Dietrich von Bothmer dated 13 November 1982, I put together the same three vases associated and illustrated by Descœudres, together with the new cup on the market, and reached very similar conclusions independently before his study came to my attention in June of 1983 (cf. *supra* note 9 *ad fin.*). I should like to thank Dr. von Bothmer here for answering part of my enquiry.

⁽¹¹⁾ CVA, Basel 1 (1981), pl. 56, 10; and Descœudres, *op. c. (supra note 1)*, 8-12, Fig. 1 (Basel, Antikenmuseum inv. BS 423. 1965).

⁽¹²⁾ Tarquinia, Mus. Naz., from Tarquinia, Beazley Paral. 333, 9 bis; J. Boardman and E. La Rocca, *Eros in Greece* (1978), 111 (in color); Descœudres, *op. c. (supra note 1)*, 10 and 14, fig. 3; Dover *op. c. (supra note 7)*, 173 and 214, No R 207*. For *paratitriai*, see Kratinos, Orai fr. 256 Kock (here for male depilation); W. Luppe, *Kratinos-Konjekturen*, WZ Halle 18, 1969, 3 or 4, 217-221 (not available to me). Suetonius, Domitian 22: "eratque fama, quasi concubinas ipse develleret..." Cf. also: *infra* note 25.

⁽¹³⁾ Brussels No A 3754. For a photograph of this unpublished vase and permission to include it here I am deeply indebted to Dr. J.-Ch. Balty, who informs me that the vase will be published soon by A.C. Bioul: B.I.B.R. On the so-called *exaleipton*, see most recently W. Hornbostel, *Aus Gräbern und Heiligtümern* (1980), No 59; B.A. Sparkes, *JHS*, 95, 1975, 128 with notes 36 and 38, 134-135 with note 97, and Pl. 13a.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Hauser, *op. c. (supra note 1 and 9)*, Beiblatt Sp. 215-217. Descœudres, *op. c. (supra note 1)*, 10 note 14 came independently to the same conclusion, unaware that Hauser had already made the identification as a sponge.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Hauser, *op. c. (supra note 9)*, 88. Cf.: Kilmer, *op. c. (supra note 1)*, 107 note 15 on beard-trimming by sailors, using candle and wet towel; and on sponges as accessories in Greek vase-paintings of toilet-scenes. For the footbasin, see M.J. Milne, *A Greek Footbath in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, *AJA*, 48, 1944, 26-63; and R. Ginouvès, *Balaneutiké* (1962), Chap. IV: *podaniptēr*, 61-75. On both of the following vases, a woman (naked, or nearly so) has removed her boots, presumably to wash her feet in the basin below: Attic red-figured cup attributed to Epiktetos in Athens (Agora P 24131); and another attributed to Makron in Godalming (Charterhouse): Beazley, ARV, 479, 330.

⁽¹⁶⁾ E. Langlotz, in: *Studies A.D. Trendall* (1979), 103, speaks of "ein nacktes Mädchen mit angedeuteter Rima, die in griechischen Zeichnungen aus attischer Aidos meines Wissens nie dargestellt worden ist, im Gegensatz zu italischen, besonders etruskischen Zeichnungen auf Vasen und Spiegeln" and cites an Attic red-figured fragment (Paris, Cab. Méd. 387: Beazley, ARV 31, 5) as the sole exception "offenbar auf Wunsch des etruskischen Käufers." See also *ibid.*, 103-104, pl. 28, fig. 3, for a possible representation of a hermaphrodite in a lost and fragmentary non-Attic red-figured cup-ondo. An open vulva with surrounding hair (singled stubble?) indicated by painted stippling is modelled at the root of a *phallos*-cup or rhyton in London (Brit. Mus. 88.6-1.496, from Naukratis). It belongs to the Middle Wild Goat Style of Chios, may be dated ca. 625-600 B.C., and is published by R.M. Cook, *ABSA*, 44, 1949, 158 note 12 (with two other examples of such *phallos*-vases without preserved vulva), pl. 41b; J. Boardman, *AA*, 1976, 288; cf.: Johns, *op. c. (supra note 7)*, 60-61 (illustr.) and 66 Fig. 49. The medial line of the vulva is clearly indicated (with or without *pubes*) on many Attic red-figured vases. In addition to the Mississippi cup-ondo (fig. 2) and the examples illustrated by Kilmer, *op. c. (supra note 1)*, pls. I-II, see for example the hydria in Leningrad (St. 1612) belonging to the Pioneer Group: Beazley, ARV 34, 16 (woman seated on ground washing herself - any repainting?); the cup in the W. Kropatschek Collection, attributed to the Panaitios Painter (Onesimos): W. Hornbostel *et al.*, *Kunst der Antike* ⁽²⁾ (1979), 308-309 Nr. 263; *idem*, *Aus Gräbern und Heiligtümern* (1980), 125 Nr. 72 (two maenads); and the cup attributed to Onesimos in the Bareiss Collection (229): J. Paul Getty Museum, Greek Vases. Molly and Walter Bareiss Collection (1983), 53 (illustr.) No 37, Checklist No 151 (hetaira at symposium). Cf. Dover, *op. c. (supra note 7)*, 135 who perhaps over-interprets alleged "abstract" and "sexually ambiguous" motifs in the Corinthian and Attic repertory. The vulva as a split or crack (Hipponax fr. 2a West: *Sindikōn diasphagma*: Adams *op. c. (supra note 3)*, 95-96; Bain, *op. c. (supra note 1)*, 10; and J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (1975), 21, 23, and 147, paragraph 196.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Florence 3921: Beazley, ARV, 372, 31; Beazley Addenda I, 1982, 111; and Johns, *op. c. (supra note 7)*, 131 Fig. 108. My Davidson colleague, Prof. Dirk French, first drew my attention to the comic potential of the scene suggested here. On an Attic red-figured cup attributed at least in part to the Pedieus Painter in Paris (Louvre G 13), it might appear that a youth with lamp in hand is singeing the hair of a man's armpit in front of him, but the flame passes in front of the latter's shoulder and will simply have provided illumination for the action: Beazley, ARV 86 middle, *alpha*; Beazley Addenda I (1982), 84; see CVA Louvre 19, 1977, pls 68,2 and 69,3. On lamps in erotic and sympotic scenes, see J.D. Beazley, *DLZ*, 1919, Sp. 3052; E. Vermeule, *AK* 8, 1965, 36; and G. Vorberg, *Glossarium Eroticum*, (1965) ⁽²⁾, 128 and 536.

⁽¹⁸⁾ Hauser, *op. c. (supra note 9)*, 87. See on these lines recently Kilmer, *op. c. (supra note 1)*, 105 with note 6; and Ussher *ad loc.* (cf. *ad* 721-4 and 904).

⁽¹⁹⁾ Hauser, *op. c. (supra note 1 and 9)*, Beiblatt Sp. 216-217. See now on this passage Kilmer, *op. c. (supra note 1)*, 107 note 13.

⁽²⁰⁾ Hauser, *op. c. (supra note 9)*, 87-88. More recently, Adams *op. c. (supra note 3)*, 82, 139 and 216; F. Chamoux, *L'épithaphe du cochon d'Edesse*, *Mélanges P. Boyancé* (1975), 153-162; G. Daux, *BCH* 94, 1970, 609-618 and 1061 Fig. 372; K.J. Dover, *Aristophanic Comedy* (1972), 63-65; *idem*, *op. c. (supra note 7)*, 117; W. Goldberger, *Glotta*, 18, 1930, 59-61; Henderson, *op. c. (supra note 16)*, 131-132 paragraphs 110-115; H. Hommel, *Porzellan*, *Silvae*, in: *Festschrift E. Zinn* (1970), 75-90; Kilmer, *op. c. (supra note 1)*, 107; G.V. Lalonde, in: *Studies...* H.A. Thompson, *Hesperia Suppl.* 20, (1982), 77-79, (on Aristophanes, *Wasps* 844-847: *choirokomeion Hestias*). L. Rademacher, *Choiros* "Mädchen", *RhM*, 89, 1940, 236-238; and J. Taillardat, *Les images d'Aristophane* ⁽²⁾ (1965), paragraphs 108, 350 and 376. The woman created from a longhaired sow (*ex huos tanutrichos*) is unattractive: Semonides, fr. 7.2-6. A girl is named Choiros on an Attic red-figured bell-krater attributed to the Dinos Painter in Syracuse No 30747: J.D. Beazley, *AJA*, 39, 1935, 486-488 No 18 (486 Fig. 11 right); and *idem*, ARV 1153, 17; and Beazley Addenda I, 1982, 165; a maenad likewise on another bell-krater by the same painter in Naples No 2369: Beazley, ARV 1154, 29; C. Fränkel, *Satyr- und Bakchennamen auf Vasenbildern* (1912), 64; and P. Ghiron-Bistagne, *Recherches sur les acteurs dans la Grèce antique* (1976), 237 note 2. Cf. the stele in Karlsruhe (ca. 360 B.C.) published by J. Thimme, *AA*, 1976, 199-201, Abb. 1. Sicyonian tribesmen named Hyatai (Pig-men) and Choireatai (Swine-men) by Kleisthenes: Herodotos 5.68. An Acharnian man as *choiriskos*: Lucian, *Dial. Meret.* 7.3 (298) (cf. Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 729ff.). The practice of depilation may be reflected in certain hetaira-nicknames: Lychnos for Synoris (Athenaios 13.583E) and Hys for Kallistion (Athenaios 13.583A, Machon fr. XVIII.433 Gow.) Cf. Gow *ad* Machon fr. XVI.332 and Gow-Page *ad* A.P. 11.363.5 (Dioscorides XXXVII.5 Gow-Page). The latter poem was occasioned by the victory of the son of a harlot in a torch-race, which may have influenced the choice of terminology here. See also P.G. Maxwell-Stuart, *Hermes*, 100, 1972, 216; and Machon fr. XVIII.461 Gow (who misses the point?). Plutarch (Theseus

9), reporting that Phaia was the name of the Crommyonian sow, adds that "Some say that Phaia was a female brigand, a woman deadly and licentious (*akolaston*), who lived there in Krommyon and had been nicknamed Sow (*Sūs*) because of her character and lifestyle (*dia to ethos kai ton bion*), subsequently killed by Theseus." It is tempting to think that the nickname was conferred on Phaia at least partly for reasons of sexual behavior, and to associate the threat of the chorus at Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 683 (cf.: 1001). See also the painting "*Pornokrates*" by Ferdinand Rops, 1896, in the Mabilie Collection, Brussels: D. Larkin, ed., *Temptation* (1975), No 28. Reader will enjoy F.C. Sillar and R.M. Mexler, *The Symbolic Pig: An Anthropology of Pigs in Literature and Art* (1961).

⁽²¹⁾ Hauser, *op. c.* (*supra* note 9), 87 associated Aischylos fr. 310 Nauck ⁽²²⁾ (617 Mette; cf. also fr. 616 and 618 Mette). See H.J. Mette, *Der verlorene Aischylos* (1963), 197. For the white pig, cf. A. Engelbrecht, *Horatianum*. (De Satur. I 2, 28-36), WS, 28, 1906, 138-141 (139: "cunnus albus est cunnus depilatus vel glaber"), cited by Hauser, *op. c.* (*supra* note 9), Beiblatt Sp. 215 (where for 147 read 141). Clear evidence for depilation, perhaps of a (metaphorical?) pig, is to be found in a graffito on an East Greek sherd of the late seventh century from the acropolis of Mytilene (Lesbos): K. Scheffold, AA, 1933, Sp. 152 Abb. 12, 154 and 157; L.H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (1961), 360 (mistranscribed) and 361 No 3 (Aiolis); and now Bain, *op. c.* (*supra* note 1), 8. After a first preserved letter, which seems to be *sigma*, one would hope to restore *upsilon*: the form Y would be possible, while V might be expected. *Eta* to be restored after the final preserved *nu*?

⁽²²⁾ See recently (in addition to the enormous bibliography on the Cologne papyrus fragment) D.A. Campbell, *The Golden Lyre*, (1983), Chapter 1: Love (esp. 7-9); H.D. Rankin, *Archilochus of Paros* (1977), Chap. V: Beauty and Obscenity, 57-73.

⁽²³⁾ Archilochos fr. 184 West = 93 B. ⁽⁴⁾ = 86 D. ⁽³⁾ = 225 L. = 190 T. I regret that I have not found relevant discussions of this fragment to cite here. K. Dietel, *Das Gleichnis in der frühen griechischen Lyrik* (1939) is not available to me at present.

⁽²⁴⁾ M.L. West, ed., *Hesiod, Works and Days* (1978), ad 705 (cf. ad 525). Cf. Greek *askellēs* from (*en*) *skellō* and *infra* note 29 (Odyssey 10.463).

⁽²⁵⁾ Hauser, *op. c.* (*supra* note 1) Beiblatt Sp. 217 adduced the scene on the Beldam Painter's namepiece, an Attic black-figured lekythos in Athens (Nat. Mus. 1129 = CC 961, from Eretria): Haspels, ABL 170, 266 No 1, Pls 49; 50,2; and 51,1; Beazley, ABV 709; and Paral. 292. Add. also: J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases: A Handbook* (1974), Fig. 277; F.M. Snowden, Jr., *Blacks in Antiquity* (1970), 155, 160, 230 Fig. 89, 310 note 89, and 312 note 22. Here a satyr is about to apply a burning torch to the rather full *pubes* of his female prisoner. It has been suggested that these satyrs have revolted from their mistress, and are shown torturing her in revenge for past abuses. If so, the torchbearer will have played the role of her *paratiltiria* and resented it. Cf. *supra* note 12 on such services, and cf. my forthcoming paper, for the theme of satyr-liberation, Flute-girl as a torch: Dionysiac Release in Aristophanes's *Wasps* 1361-1377 (addressed at line 1353 as *ō choirion*).

⁽²⁶⁾ In describing the blinding of Polyphemos, Homer includes among the graphic and onomatopoeic details the singeing of his eyelids and eyebrows, using the same verb *heuein* to describe the action of the heat from the burning pike in his eye (Odyssey 9.389-390). In psychoanalytic theory, blinding is often taken to be symbolic castration of the victim, in which case the verbal associations present in the term for singeing would be most apt. See J. Glenn, *The Polyphemus Myth: Its Origin and Interpretation*, G & R, 25, 1978, 141-155. Depilation of the eyebrows: Hesychios and Photios s.v. *paralegein*; cf. Ussher ad Aristophanes, *Ekkēl.* 904.

⁽²⁷⁾ See Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 374 (cf. 670) and A. von Blumenthal, *Hermes*, 74, 1939, 97. Cf. Philainis in the choliambics of Aischrion of Samos: A.P. 7.345.1-2 = Aeschrion 1.1-2 Gow-Page (*entaūtha gērai tōi makrōi kekoimēmai*)?

⁽²⁸⁾ At Odyssey 10.433, Eurylochos fears that Kirke will turn everyone into either pigs or wolves or lions, yet even the mountain-wolves and lions who attend the enchantress have been thoroughly tamed into a tranquil and unaggressive state by drugs (Odyssey 10.212.219). Such domestication will have been felt to be effeminate, the removal of masculine (heroic) qualities of wild power and strength. Contrast the reaction of the dogs of Eumaios to the approach of the disguised Odysseus (Odyssey 14.29-38) and compare their responses to the divine Athena (Odyssey 16.162-163) and familiar Telemachos (Odyssey 16.4-10). On the clever response of Odysseus, see J.B. Hainsworth, *Odysseus and the Dogs*, G & R, 8, 1961, 122-125. Cf. *infra* note 30. It seems to me very unlikely that the symbolic and metaphorical interpretation of the Kirke-episode here presented has not found expression in earlier criticism, and I regret that I am unable to give proper credit which I am sure is due to others. A good discussion from a different point of view will be found in D. Page, *Folktales in Homer's Odyssey* (1973), Chap. III: Circe (49-69). B. Paetz, *Kirke und Odysseus. Überlieferung und Deutung von Homer bis Calderon*, (1970), is not available at time of writing. On at least one vase, cited *supra* note 4, Kirke herself is not singed "pig", revealing instead a full growth of dark pubic hair.

⁽²⁹⁾ It would be unreasonable to doubt that the *moly* is phallic in nature, and that it serves essentially to preserve Odysseus's masculinity against Kirke's threats. Cf. its careful description by the poet at Odyssey 10.302-306 and V. Buchheit, *Studien zum Corpus Priapeorum* (1962), 99-105 (on Priapea 68: *moly* - *mentula*). Odysseus and his companions are described by Kirke as *askelees kai athumoi* at Odyssey 10.463: cf. *supra* note 24.

⁽³⁰⁾ On the *suphorbia* as *pornoboskeia* in later poetry, see Gow-Page ad A.P. 11.363.5, Dioscorides XXXVII.5 and cf. *supra* note 20. Those willing to admit the existence of such erotic overtones and undercurrents in Homeric symbol and metaphor might wish to examine in detail the poet's description of Odysseus's encounter with Charybdis (Odyssey 12.103-104 and 431-444). While the hero clings to the wild fig-tree (*erineos*) above, the whirlpool repeatedly engulfs the debris which he has used as a raft. This is variously described as mast (*histos*), keel (*tropis*) and planks (*doûra*), and is returned to him once again when the voracious powers of Charybdis are spent. Not only the action of the maelstrom, but the presence of a fig-tree nearby as well, may be erotically suggestive. Compare the description of Pasiphile, whose receptive hospitality caused her to be likened to a fig-tree feeding many crows [Archilochos] fr. 331 West [cf. 116 West]: *sukē petraiē pollas boskousa korōnas, euēthēs xeinōn dektria Pasiphilē*. Cf. V. Buchheit, *Feigensymbol im antiken Epigram*, RhM, 103, 1960, 200-229; Henderson, *op. c.* (*supra* note 16), 22-23, 65, 117-119 paragraphs 31-38, 134 paragraph 122, and 135 paragraph 127; and H. Vorwahl, *Zum Ursprung des "Feigenblatts"*, RhM, 79, 1930, 319-320. Such an interpretation will have occurred to others, but the bibliography is not known to me. The suggestive connection of the fig-tree with Charybdis I may owe to a conversation some time ago with my modest and reticent Davidson colleague Dirk French.

PLATE LIST

Figure 1: Attic red-figured Kylix (profile). Acc. No 77.3.112. Oxford USA, University of Mississippi. ARV 331.20 Paral 361. Photo courtesy of the University Museums, University of Mississippi Cultural Center.

Figure 2: Same as Figure 1 (tondo).

Figure 3: Attic red-figured Oinochoe. A 3754. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire. Inédit. Photo courtesy of Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique and J.-Ch. Balty.