

Courtesans Reconsidered: Women in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*

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Scholarship on Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* over the last three decades has almost without exception supported the view that the play models its portrayal of the sex-striking wives on hetaeras. Henderson first proposed that the teasing delay tactics of Myrrhine in the seduction scene resemble those of a courtesan¹. He subsequently hypothesizes that the play, with its emphasis on female bibulousness, sexual appetites, adornment and depilation, may have been based on the hetaera comedy of Pherecrates².

1 — Henderson 1987: 177 concludes that her «skillful wheedling, teasing, and coquettishness were surely more characteristic of *hetairai* than of wives» and further views Cinesias as «a customer bargaining with a bawd for a girl's services». He believes the original audience would have identified the scene as such due to their familiarity with courtesans. However, Dover 1972: 160 observes that the play conspicuously avoids any mention of non-marital sex, while Stroup 2003: 42 remarks, "it is worth noting that neither the word *hetaira*, nor indeed the word for any other 'formally recognized' sex worker (*pornè, aulêtris*) appears in this comedy".

I gratefully acknowledge the thoughtful comments of the two anonymous readers which lead to a much improved version of the paper.

The Greek text throughout is taken from Henderson's 1987 edition of the play.

2 — In attempting to explain the origins of the female comic characters in this play, Henderson hypothesizes the hetaera comedy as a prototype and further expands on his view of the young wives as hetaeras, stating «certainly his characterization of the young wives is much closer to the comic

Stroup further describes the women as «pseudo-*hetaerai*» based on the play's «vivid sympotic imagery and sexual innuendo» (Stroup 2004: 41). Faraone argues for a double identification of the women as both housewives and «sex-crazed 'whores'» over whom Lysistrata rules as a «hard-hearted madame» (Faraone 2006: 213). Gilhuly concurs that the wives are represented «in the idiom of the *hetaera*», which she views as intertwined with ritual discourse (Gilhuly 2008: 154). Although Aristophanes' play operates at several levels of meaning and invites multiple and often contradictory readings, the recent emphasis on courtesan imagery has resulted in a concomitant neglect of the play's central theme, the preservation of the family and production of legitimate children. This paper argues that Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* establishes a domestic context for female sexuality that is crucial to a full understanding of the plot and its resolution at the end of the play. The young wives must be viewed primarily as free citizen wives rather than as hetaeras, given the domestic setting of the sex strike and the close connection of female sexuality with reproduction. Indeed, the play portrays desiring and desirable wives as a necessary component of marriage and its aim – the production of legitimate children and citizens. In this respect, it reflects a contemporary concern for the survival of the family in the shadow of the disastrous loss of men in the Sicilian expedition in 414 BCE and the concomitant weakening of Pericles' citizenship law of 451/0 BCE³.

Most scholarly discussions of Greek terms for prostitutes in the classical period begin with this Apollodorus' statement in pseudo-Demosthenes' *Against Neaera*:

τὸ γὰρ συνοικεῖν τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ὃς ἂν παιδοποιῆται καὶ εἰσάγη εἰς τε τοὺς φράτερας καὶ δημότας τοὺς υἱεῖς, καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἐκδιδῶ ὡς αὐτοῦ οὔσας τοῖς ἀνδράσιν. τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἑταίρας ἡδονῆς ἕνεκ' ἔχομεν, τὰς δὲ παλλακὰς τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν θεραπείας τοῦ σώματος, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας τοῦ παιδοποιεῖσθαι γνησίως καὶ τῶν ἔνδον φύλακα πιστὴν ἔχειν.

For this is what living with a woman in marriage means: to produce children and introduce his sons to the members of the phratry and the deme and to betroth his daughters, who are his own, to men. We have courtesans for pleasure, concubines for the daily care of our bodies, and wives for the production of legitimate children and to serve as the trusted guardian of the things within ([Dem.] 59.122).

hetaera than to the normative wifely ideal» (Henderson 2000: 142); see also Henderson 2002; Stroup 2003: 44–45.

3 — For this view, see Oakley and Sinos 1993: 46; Osborne 1997; Bundrick 2008: 328.

The passage distinguishes citizen wives from all other types of women, mainly in their capacity as mothers of legitimate children, e.g. sons who will become citizens and marriageable daughters (Ogden 1996: 102). But as the case of Neaera suggests, it could be difficult to ascertain a woman's actual status (Davidson 1997: 73)⁴. Apollodorus himself acknowledges the possibility that the daughters of citizens could turn to prostitution (πορνῶν ἐργασία) if unable to marry through poverty ([Dem. 59.113]). Moreover, the terminology for female prostitution involves a considerable amount of ambiguity: although it is agreed that a hetaera differs from a πόρνη (common prostitute) in her ability to choose her relationships, the two terms are often used of the same woman, not to mention various types of musicians and dancers could also work as prostitutes, resulting in significant linguistic «slippage» (Kurke 1999: 178; McClure 2002: 11-13). This paper will argue that Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* is largely engaged with the first part of Apollodorus' statement, wedlock for the purpose of producing legitimate children and citizens, or female sexuality within a domestic context. It is contrasted by the mute nude figure of Diallage at the end of the play who is characterized as a πόρνη, since her body is available to all.

Women in Vase Painting

Visual depictions of domestic life on Attic pottery from the last half of the fifth century BCE, particularly scenes of textile production and wedding preparations, provide valuable parallels not previously considered for insight into the representation of women in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*. Images of women engaging in feminine activities such as wool-working, dressing and bathing, primarily in the company of other women in an imaginary, transitional domestic space, proliferate during this period⁵. The iconography undergoes a radical shift from the early part of the fifth century as erotic imagery becomes less sexually graphic and more allusive and emotionally expressive⁶. I consider here two basic types: scenes of adornment, often nuptial, in which female accoutrements such as sandals, mirrors, perfumes and alabastra, and even occasional nudity, evoke a kind of domesticated eroticism and scenes of textile production,

4 — Henderson 2002: 83 states, «Just how much overlap in the status of, and contact between, heteraes and wives there actually was, notionally and physically, is a question that deserves more study; see also Beard 1991: 30 and Sebasta 2002: 128. Stroup 2004: 42 further observes that it is «wholly unclear whether any woman who could be categorized as a 'real' hetaera . . . can be identified in Aristophanes' plays».

5 — Reilly 1989: 411; Blundell and Rabinowitz 2008: 116. Ferrari 2002: 36-38 identifies the settings of these scenes as a fictive transitional domestic space much like the entry space of a palace.

6 — Sutton 1992: 4 and *passim*; Bundrick 2008: 285; Lynch 2009: 158; Blundell and Rabinowitz 2008: 115; Lovén 2013: 144.

which portray women working wool or its implements. The atmosphere of domesticated sexuality in the latter has prompted scholars to identify some of these women as hetaeras, particularly in the case of a small group of vases that feature mixed-gender interactions in which men extend money pouches to women engaged in textile production. This apparent allusion to sex-for-pay has prompted some scholars to interpret the figures as “spinnende Hetären” working wool on the side for extra cash or to give the appearance of social respectability⁷. This parallel debate illustrates the difficulty of determining the social status of the women in vase painting because no consistent visual indicator of prostitution has yet been found⁸. Even signifiers commonly associated with hetaeras such as nudity, money pouches, cropped hair and garter amulets have been shown to be inconclusive⁹. And some of the commonly accepted markers of prostitution, such as nudity, luxurious clothing, perfume and gold jewelry, can also be securely identified with free citizen women in certain contexts, such as nuptial vases (Lee 2015: 184, 208-10). Context is thus an important determinant; only the naked women engaged in explicit sexual activity on sympotic kylikes can be definitively identified as prostitutes, although we will probably never know whether they should be labeled hetaera or πόρνη (Lewis 2002: 112).

In the absence of any reliable visual criterion, scholars have recently questioned the identification of women as hetaeras in some of the domestic scenes depicted on Attic vases during the last half of the fifth century. Many now interpret these female figures as free citizen women at home rather than in the brothel, «These pots are about the seductive appeal of women as part of marriage» (Lewis 2002: 104). Central to this reassessment is the perception that eroticism is not incompatible with either the representation of marriageable young girls or with legitimate wives. Ferrari argues that the spinners in these scenes are parthenoi (maidens) who dwell in a nymph-like community where they prepare for marriage. Like their literary counterparts, they are «beautified by

7 — Rodenwaldt 1932. Sutton 2004: 333-37 argues that spinning represents an attribute of femininity, not respectability; see further the summary and sources in Bundrick 2008: 296 n. 32; Dipla and Paleothodoros 2012: 213; and Lovén 2013: 142.

8 — For further discussion, see Kilmer 1993: 169-68; see also Bundrick 2008: 296 and n. 34; for the problem of identifying hetaeras in vase painting, see Kurke 1999; Lewis 2002, pp. 91-116; and Lee 2015: 48.

9 — Although Kilmer 1986: 110 identifies a hetaera on the basis of her garter amulet on a cup by the Briseus painter, he later rejects this indicator, and nudity, as the sign of the prostitute; see Kilmer 1993: 159-63; Lewis 2002: 101-107; Llewellyn-Jones 2002b, 176; Blazeby 2011 and Lee 2015: 48-49, 153-4. Reilly 1989: 417-21 in her analysis of “mistress and maid” scenes on Attic white ground lekythoi from the second half of the fifth century BCE further stresses the interchangeability of objects and scenes, such that indicators of funerary activity might actually point to nuptial preparations.

scents, rich clothes, and ornaments and attract suitors who come bringing tasteful gifts»¹⁰. Far from alluding to prostitution, the eroticism of these scenes underscores the sexual allure of the maiden and her readiness for marriage. While also agreeing that these women are not prostitutes, Bundrick offers a different interpretation: the wool workers are citizen wives and mothers. In her view, the presence of textile production, along with glimpses of the nuptial bed, occasional images of children and the inclusion females who tie sashes or girdles linked to nuptial adornment, alludes to marriage or evokes domestic life. These scenes combine eroticism and industry to advertise Athenian ideals about marriage and affirm the important contributions of women as mothers and managers of the household (Bundrick 2011: 318). We also find eroticism – personified by a winged Eros – predominates on nuptial vases during the last third of the fifth century BCE. These paintings re-conceptualize the traditional wedding scene by emphasizing the emotional and erotic bond of husband and wife (Sutton 1997/8: 27). Such scenes suggest the importance of erotic attraction between husband and wife as the pre-condition of the family and therefore the social stability of the Athenian state.

The goal of this domesticated eroticism is marriage and the birth of legitimate offspring, as represented by an idealized family group on an Attic red figure hydria from Vari and attributed to Polygnotan group c. 430 BCE (Figure 1). To the right a young husband stands dressed in a cloak and carrying a walking stick. He looks on as a seated woman passes a male infant to another woman at left, probably either a nurse or servant. The standing loom balances out the composition and suggests the industry and wealth of the family. The baby boy shows both that the woman has fulfilled her primary duty to the household and the city through childbirth, ensuring the continuity of the family line and the future citizenship of Athens¹¹. The wreath draws attention to the seated woman and perhaps alludes to her wedding or the birth of her son, both happy events in the household (Bundrick 316-17). Note that the drapery of the seated woman is semi-transparent, showing the outline of her left arm, a muted hint at her sexuality. This is the χιτῶν (long tunic), a generic term for the finely woven undergarment worn by women at home and almost completely covered by a mantle when outdoors (Stone 1981: 172-3). According to Lee, this type of bodily display stressed female sexuality

10 — Ferrari 2002: 57. Rabinowitz in Blundell and Rabinowitz 2008: 133-34 argues that some of these adornment scenes depict female homoeroticism.

11 — Lovén 2013: 148; Sutton 1992: 33; Lewis 2002; Bundrick 2008. Reilly 1989: 426 identifies the male infant in parallel scenes on Attic white ground lekythoi as an allusion to the παῖς ἀμφιθαλής, the practice of the bride sleeping with a male child the night before the wedding; see also Oakley and Sinos 1993: 20.

and women's reproductive potential as part of their role in marriage (Lee 2015: 113). It is also a key weapon deployed by the sex-striking wives.



Figure 1: Attic Red Figure Hydria c. 430 BCE,
Harvard, Arthur M. Sackler Museum,
Bequest of David M. Robinson 1960.342

These recent analyses of women on Athenian red figure vases from a period contemporary with Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* demonstrate that displays of female sexuality in a nuptial or domestic context are entirely compatible with the representation of marriageable girls and free citizen women. This reassessment of the visual record argues for a parallel reconsideration of the characterization of the wives in Aristophanes' play¹².

12 — The only previous connection between the play and these domestic scenes has been observed by Blundell, who remarks, "In the final analysis, however, the comedy may be quite close in spirit to the paintings"; see Blundell and Rabinowitz 2008: 137.

A Context for Sex

Since the main indicator of prostitutes on Attic vases is context – female figures engaged in sympotic activities on sympotic vessels – let us consider first the setting of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* for clues as to the wives' representation. It has been argued that the play evokes a form of *Hetärensymposion*, an early genre scene featured on the sympotic cup (Stroup 2003: 41). Given that such scenes predate Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* by at least fifty years, it is unlikely that the poet or the audience would have had them in mind¹³. A better parallel, I argue, are the contemporary images of women at home presented on Attic pottery in the last third of the fifth century BCE. Stroup further identifies the setting of the sex-strike as a public space where «the private negotiations of the marriage bed [are] displaced onto – and made public on – the comic stage» (Stroup 2003: 40). From the perspective of the viewers, however, the context of the all-women gathering and the subsequent sex-strike cannot be considered strictly public. To be sure, they use male political forms, such as the oath, to further their plan, much like the women in *Thesmophoriazusae* and *Ecclesiazusae*, but their assembly takes place in private and away from men. As the women gather in front of Lysistrata's house, their conversation constructs a notional domestic space, similar to that of contemporary vase representations of women at home. The male spectators are thus allowed a voyeuristic glimpse into a feminine world normally off-limits, one that reveals free citizen women at their toilette or shows them engaged in bawdy conversation.

The women's direct allusions to sex and crude joking reinforces the idea of a sex-segregated private realm, since females on the comic stage – with the notable exception of crones – rarely use direct sexual language in the presence of men¹⁴. It is the very conversation among women, the «sex talk,» from which the virtuous bee woman abstains in Semonides' iambic fragment (ἄφροδισίους λόγους, fr. 7.92; Loraux 1993: 147). Within this framework we must understand the explicit sexual vocabulary deployed

13 — Stroup 2003: 49-56 cites the following erotic red-figure vases: 1) exterior of an Attic red-figure kylix depicting naked women playing kottobos with male symposiasts, Tarquinia Painter, Antikenmuseum Basel, Kā 415, c. 460 BCE; 2) the tondo of an Attic red-figure kylix showing a scene of love-making between an older man and a girl with cropped hair, Triptolemus painter, Museo Nazionale Tarquinia, ARV 367,94, c. 470 BCE; 3) an Attic red-figure askos showing two couples engaged in different sexual positions, Kerameikos Museum Athens, 1063, late archaic period, for which see Lynch 2009: 161 and n. 30 and Kilmer 1993: R1184 at 146; 4) tondo of an Attic red-figure kylix showing a naked woman urinating, Foundry Painter, Antikensammlung Berlin inv. 3757, c. 480 BCE; and 5) tondo of an Attic red-figure kylix depicting a youth entering a female from behind, Wedding painter, now lost, once Munich, ARV² 923, for which see Kilmer 1993: 260.

14 — There are only two examples of women using explicit sexual language before men in Attic old comedy and both occur in *Lysistrata*: ἐπιχεσεί (440) and σάθης (1119); see further the discussions of Sommerstein 1995: 79-80 and McClure 1999: 207-12.

in the opening scene by Lysistrata and some of the other women not as «incompatible with any public expression of the social category of wife» (Stroup 2003: 41), but rather as a male fantasy of female conversation. Indeed, the fact that Lysistrata pronounces or initiates almost all of the obscenities spoken by women in the play suggests a distinction between her characterization and that of the wives, who come across as almost demure in comparison¹⁵. So Lysistrata complains conspiratorially that the war has deprived women of lovers and dildos (μοιχοῦ, 107; ὄλισβον ὀκτωδάκτυλον, 109), two wifely propensities much mocked and exaggerated in comedy¹⁶. A further parallel is found in the sexual joking and incitements to adultery characteristic of women-only religious festivals¹⁷. Moreover, the knowledge of sexual postures – raising the feet to the ceiling» (οὐ πρὸς τὸν ὄροφον ἀνατενῶ τῷ Περσικά, 229-30) and the «lion on the cheese-grater» (οὐ στήσομαι λέαιν' ἐπὶ τυροκνήστιδος, 231-2) – should also be considered the fantasized subject of this private female talk. As Henderson notes, the raising of the legs «seems to have been almost de rigueur for women in lovemaking»¹⁸. Praxigora in Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* further apostrophizes the oil lamp as witness to the wives' «various postures of Aphrodite» (κὰν τοῖσι δωματίοισιν/Ἀφροδίτης τρόπων πειρωμέναισι πλησίον παρασταταεῖς, *Ecccl.* 8-9), thereby lending support to the notion that wives practiced a variety of sexual poses¹⁹.

Much like the visual tableaux of women at home, the gathering of women and the subsequent sex strike in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* constructs an imaginary, transitional space that is both private and domestic and yet voyeuristically on display to the male viewers²⁰. A key point often

15 — McClure 1999: 209-10 notes that two-thirds of the primary obscenities spoken by women in Aristophanes occur in *Lysistrata*, most of which are uttered or initiated by the title character: τοῦ πέους (124); παγκατάπυγον (137); ψωλάς (143/ Lampito); σπλεκοῦν (152); ἐστυκῶς (214); προσκινήσομαι (227); βινητιῶμεν (715); καταπυγωνέστερον (776); σάθης (1119).

16 — Henderson 1987: 80-81 states that dildos in comedy are associated both with wives and prostitutes; for wives, cf. Herod. 6.19 and *passim*. On female adultery in comedy, see further Henderson above; cf. *Ar. Lys.* 212, 404-19.

17 — Luc. *Dial. Meretr.* = Rabe 1971: 280; Apollod. 1.5.1; Diod. Sic. 5.4.7; see also McClure 1999: 47-53.

18 — On women raising their legs during intercourse, see Henderson 1991: 173; cf. *Ar. Ecccl.* 265; *Av.* 1254; *Lys.* 797/99; *Pax* 889; *Eup.* 47, 50, 77.4. In contrast, Stroup 2003: 52 and n. 31 correlates this posture to a scene on an Attic red-figure askos and interprets it as “an intentional sign of the *hetairai's* ‘acceptance’”; Gilhuly 2008: 158 and n. 65 further identifies raised legs with the “rhetoric of prostitution”. The lioness pose, however, is a version of κύπτειν, which the scholiast identifies as σχῆμα ἀκόλαστον καὶ ἑταιρικόν, for which Henderson 1987: 96 and 1991: 179-80. The posture is nonetheless associated with wives at *Thesm.* 488-9 and at *Lys.* 161. Kerr Prince 2009 argues that the reference to the posture in the oath assimilates the wives to Amazons.

19 — On the knowledge of sexual positions and prostitutes, see Henderson 1987: 96; Henderson 1991: 173; Stroup 2003: 52-53; Gilhuly 2008: 158 and n. 65.

20 — Rabinowitz in Blundell and Rabinowitz 2008: 138 speculates that the preponderance of women-only domestic scenes in the last quarter of the fifth century reflected the historical impact on Athenian women who probably spent more time together when their men were away at war.

overlooked is that the sex strike is *intended* to occur at home: Lysistrata repeatedly instructs the women to “remain indoors” (καθήμεθ’ ἔνδον, 149; cf. αἱ καθήμεθα, 43) and has the women swear in the oath that they will stay chaste at home, like virgins (οἴκοι δ’ ἀταυρώτη διάξω τὸν βίον, 217). The sex strike is later moved to the Athenian Acropolis where it becomes merged with the occupation plot (240-53), although some of the women, such as Lampito, do return home to carry out the plan there (Henderson 1987: 75-76 and 97). Even this sacred space cannot be considered completely public as the women effectively convert it into a private household (Foley 1982: 7; Vaio 1973). The verb κάθημαι (sit) used to describe the sedentary life of women indoors suggests not simply idleness but also chastity and fidelity, since it is used in praise of Penelope for remaining loyal to her husband during his long absence (ἦσται ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν, Hom. *Od.* 13.337)²¹. Twice the term applies to maidens as a sign of their respectability in the play: the old women of the chorus wish to remain virtuously at home, like unmarried girls (ἐπεὶ θέλω ἄγαθῶς ὡσπερ κόρη καθῆσθαι, 473-4) while Lysistrata laments the impact of the war on virgins grown old in their chambers (κάθηται, 596). Indeed, the sex strike symbolically restores virginity to the wives while the occupation of the sacred precinct of Athena conveniently guarantees their continued abstinence²². One is reminded of the static immobility of the idealized brides and wives on Attic vases, whose seated postures embody their connection to the household (Blundell and Rabinowitz 2008: 123). The play thus situates the women within a domestic context: it is the place from which they emerge, with difficulty, as Calonice observes (χαλεπή τοι γυναικῶν ἔξοδος, 16) and to which the strike-weary wives long to return (οἴκαδε, 726, 728, 746; οἴκοι, 729, 736).

The household not only represents the proper place for free Athenian women, it also functions as the symbol of marriage and the “privileged and protected space of legitimate procreation”²³. It is where the misogynist Melanion, “fleeing marriage” (φεύγων γάμον, 786), refuses to go in the fable later sung by the chorus of old men (οἴκαδε, 792). In art, one of the most reliable criteria for identifying the household is the presence of children who embody its procreative function (Sutton 2004: 331). In Figure 1, the addition of a child to a man and woman identifies a family

21 — For further discussion, see Apthorp 1980: 7; on κάθημαι in connection with female idleness, cf. Sem. fr. 7.63-8. Although prostitutes “sit in the brothel” ([Dem.] 59.67, ἐπ’ ἐργαστηρίου καθῶνται; Is. 6.19, καθῆστο ἐν οἰκήματι), they are just as frequently described as standing outside or walking the streets, for which see n. 27 below.

22 — Loraux 1993: 161 argues that virginity is «the goal of the entire operation» because it detaches women from male authority and thus allows them the authority to speak and be heard.

23 — Cf. γυναικας τοῦ παιδοποιεῖσθαι γνησιως, [Dem.] 59.122; for a discussion, see Ogdén 1996: 100-106.

group; the husband or guardian admires his wife in her maternal capacity and for her industry in wool-working. The numerous references to children and childbirth in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* similarly underscore the representation of the young wives as the mothers of legitimate children²⁴. So Calonice in describing the difficulties that confront women trying to leave the house mentions caring for children as an obstacle, «She has to wake the servant, put the baby to sleep, then wash him, then feed him little bits of food» (ἡ δ' οἰκέτην ἡγειρεν, ἡ δὲ παιδίον/κατέκλινεν, ἡ δ' ἔλουσεν, ἡ δ' ἐψώμισεν, 18-20). Of course, these are just the duties the wives neglect during the sex strike. When *Lysistrata* attempts to persuade the women to agree to her plan, she asks them whether they long for the fathers of their children away on active duty (τοὺς πατέρας οὐ ποθεῖτε τοὺς τῶν παιδίων/ἐπὶ στρατιᾶς ἀπόντας, 99-100). Framed in this way, sexual desire is procreative and directed toward legitimate husbands rather than toward lovers. The allusions to children and childbirth culminate in the feigned pregnancy of Third Woman (741-52), followed by the actual stage presence of a child in the seduction scene between Myrrhine and Cinesias, discussed more fully at the end of this paper. As in contemporary visual representations of women at home such as Figure 1, Aristophanes situates his female characters in *Lysistrata* squarely within a domestic milieu.

In contrast, hetaeras are associated with pleasure (ἡδονῆς, [Dem.] 59.122) and not with the bearing of legitimate children to the men who patronize them. Indeed, Isaeus adduces a woman's childlessness as evidence of her status as a hetaera²⁵. Medical writers associate the use of abortifacients with hetaeras in particular (Hp. *Nat. Puer.* 13.1). Smicrines in Menander's *Epitrepontes* complains that a new husband, even after taking a huge dowry, does not consider himself to be a true partner (οἰκέτ[ην] of his wife because he sleeps away from home and continues to frequent courtesans (Men. *Epitr.* 134-5, cf. 645-6; Ogden 1996: 101). Hetaeras and other types of prostitutes thus had no place in the household and the production of legitimate children, although they could be brought into the house on a temporary basis to provide entertainment at the symposium. So we hear that Neara «drank and dined in the company of many men, as though she were a hetaera» ([Dem.] 59.24; Davidson 1998: 92-93). To install a hetaera permanently in one's house could serve as grounds for divorce: Hipparete purportedly left Alcibiades because of his habit of bringing hetaeras home²⁶. Demeas in Menander's *Samia*

24 — For references to children, cf. Ar. *Lys.* 18, 99, 590, 748, 877, 879, 880, 883, 907, 909, 1065, 1205, 1314.

25 — Isaeus 3.15 (cf. 79); see further Ogden 1996: 100-106.

26 — Cf. Plut. *Alc.* 8; Andoc. 4.14; Lysias at [Dem.] 59.22 says he did not bring prostitutes

expresses shame at keeping a hetaera and allowing her into the house (Men. *Sam.* 23, 27). Hetaeras may have felt the same way. In Terence's *Hecyra*, the hetaera Bacchis reluctantly agrees to go to Laches house and meet his female kin, but doubts that any other woman of her profession would do the same and show herself to a "wedded wife" (*nuptae mulieri*, Ter. *Hec.* 757). Instead, courtesans and prostitutes inhabited the public spaces of the city or attended the symposium inside the house, areas out of bounds for free citizen women. Rather than sitting passively inside the house like wives and daughters, they openly plied their trade, walking the streets or standing before the brothel²⁷.

The Well-Groomed Wife

Allusions to female adornment in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* have similarly been construed as evidence that the wives are portrayed as hetaeras, despite the fact that seductive female dress is also associated with wives, beginning with Hera (Hom. *Il.* 14.153-351) and Pandora (Hes. *Th.* 570-89; *Erg.* 69-105)²⁸. As with the visual sources, it is often difficult to distinguish the two types of women in literary texts because so "many of the dress behaviors employed by *hetairai*, such as bathing, hairdressing, and depilation, are shared by proper women" (Lee 2015: 183-4). Dalby has argued that courtesans were costumed more expensively and more elaborately than other women, wearing patterned or richly dyed textiles and extravagant jewelry (Dalby 2002: 114). Xenophon describes the courtesan Theodote and her mother as lavishly costumed, with a large entourage of servants in tow and an expensively decorated house (αὐτὴν τε πολυτελῶς κεκοσμημένην, Xen. *Mem.* 3.11.4). Gold jewelry, again as a sign of wealth, may have been particularly associated with courtesans: Neara takes both "dress and gold", perhaps a formulaic phrase indicating the courtesan's costume, when she leaves Phrynion (ἱμάτια καὶ χρυσία, [Dem.] 59.35, cf. 46)²⁹. But as we saw earlier, jewelry also has a strong

into his house out of respect for his wife; see Ogden 1996: 103.

27 — In a comic allusion to Solon's establishment of public brothels, one passage describes prostitutes as «standing in common areas», cf. Philem. fr. 479.8 K = Ath.13. 25, στήσαι πριάμενόν τοι γυναῖκας κατὰ τόπους/κοινάς; in another, they are portrayed as standing naked in finely woven garments, cf. Eub. fr. 187.4-5 and 193.2 K = Ath. 13.24, ἐν λεπτοπήνοις ὕφειν ἐστώσας. They walk or wander about publicly, cf. Lys. 10.19, φανερώς . . . βαδίζειν; Plut. *Sol.* 23, ἐμφανῶς φοιτῶσι. See further Davidson 1998: 77-83 and 328, n. 13.

28 — Gilhuly 2008: 158 and n. 64 states that the women's "luxurious, exotic clothing depicts them outfitting themselves in a way that is designed to be appealing to the male gaze in the manner of a courtesan", citing in support Luc. *Dia. Meretr.* 11 and Ath. 13.588c, neither of which makes reference to clothing; see also Stroup 2003: 56 and n. 36.

29 — Cf. Ath. 587b, χρυσοῖς καὶ ἱματίοις πολυτελέσι; Plaut. *Pseud.* 182, *vestem, aurum*. A prohibition against the wearing of gold jewelry and floral dresses at weddings may point to its association with prostitutes, for which see Dalby 2002: 113; cf. Dio. Sic.12.21; Ath. 521b; Clem.Al.

association with marriage in the visual evidence³⁰. This slippage again underscores the difficulty of distinguishing the heteara from the free citizen wife. In this section, I argue that there is nothing in the women's clothing, footwear and grooming practices that points to their identification with hetearas but rather points to the standard adornment of the Athenian housewife.

The women's stage costumes are common female apparel: both Myrrhine and Lysistrata wear a type of outer garment, exclusive to women (ἔγκυκλον τουτί, 113, 1162-3), while Calonice dons or holds the belt (ζώνιον, 72) that girds her robe despite the difficulty of finding it in the darkness³¹. Lysistrata in turn gives the Proboulos the veil from her head (τουτί τὸ κάλυμμα, 532; cf. 530). The overtly feminine nature of these objects makes them the perfect fodder for comedy when worn by men. In *Thesmophorizousae*, Euripides' kinsman aspires to resemble a typical Athenian wife and so requests footwear (ὑποδημάτων, *Ar. Thesm.* 262), a saffron gown (κροκωτόν, 253), breast band (στροφήιον, 250, 251), outerwear (ἱμάτιον, 250; ἔγκυκλον, 261, 499) and headgear (κεκρυφάλου, μίτρας, 256) in order to infiltrate the women-only festival. This typical outerwear contrasts what, according to Calonice, the women wear as they sit idly at home, "saffron gowns and makeup, long inner garments and slippers» (αἱ καθήμεθ' ἐξηνηθισμέναι./κροκωτοφοροῦσαι καὶ κεκαλλωπισμέναι/καὶ Κιμβερικ' ὀρθοστάδια καὶ περιβαρίδας, 43-45). As their best and most expensive clothes, these are in fact the very weapons that they must deploy to save Hellas, "little saffron gowns and perfume and slippers and rouge and transparent dresses" (τὰ κροκωτίδια καὶ τὰ μύρα χαὶ περιβαρίδες/ χήγχουσα καὶ τὰ διαφανῆ χιτώνια, 46-7). Calonice's eager assent – she will dye her garment saffron (κροκωτόν ἄρα νῆ τῷ θεῷ 'γῶ βάψομαι, 51), put on her transparent gown (Κιμβερικὸν ἐνδύσομαι, 52) and get the shoes (κτηήσομαι περιβαρίδας, 53) – seems to contradict her earlier statement that women usually wear these things at home (43-45). Perhaps she simply means that she will need to return her

Paid. 20.10. Note also that Pythagoras' teachings on female virtue include the prescription that only hetearas should wear gold, not free women, cf. Iamb. *VP* 31.187, καὶ τὸ χρυσὸν ἐλευθέραν μηδεμίαν φορεῖν, μόνας δὲ τὰς ἐταίρας.

30 — On the association of gold with brides, see Lee 2015: 141-2; on gold as a symbol of female beauty and high status, see Ferrari 2002: 52-53; cf. Hom. *Il.* 14.180-83; *H. Hymn. Ven.* 84-90; Alc. 1.3.64-77; E. *An.* 147-8.

31 — Stone 1981: 183 imagines Calonice comically holding it up in one hand as she clutches her χιτών in the other in a gesture of haste. The diminutive ζώνιον occurs only here prior to the fourth century BCE and is used only of women; its cognates occur frequently in tragedy; for ζώνη, cf. A. *Suppl.* 457; *Cho.* 992; *Eum.* 608; E. *Hec.* 762; *IT* 205; E. *Ba.* 935; for ζῶμα, cf. *S. El.* 453 (as a grave offering); it is also found in the Brauron inventories, for which see Cleland 2005b: 229. On its erotic associations, see Blundell 2002: 156-7 and Stroup 2003: 57 and n. 37. On the belt as standard female equipment, see Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 33.

house to acquire them; in any case, these items are readily available and not out of the ordinary. Lysistrata thus instructs the wives to utilize their customary clothing and adornment to activate the sex-strike. She further elaborates that not only will the women stay home anointed with cosmetics, they will wear finely woven translucent garments (τοῖς χιτωνίοισι τοῖς Ἄμοργίνοις/γυμναί, 150) with their pubic hair neatly trimmed (δέλτα παρατετιλμέναι, 151)³². Lampito's comparison of the plan to Menelaus dropping his sword at the sight of Helen's exposed breast introduces an appropriate mythic parallel that highlights the sexual attractiveness of wife to her husband while simultaneously reinforcing a conjugal context for this nudity (ὁ γῶν Μενέλαος τᾶς Ἑλένας τὰ μᾶλ' ἀπ' γυμνᾶς παραυιδῶν ἐξέβαλ', οἰῶ, τὸ ξίφος, 155-56; cf. *E. An.* 629-30).

Despite their epigraphic complexity, the inventories of Artemis at Brauron recorded on stelae set up on the Acropolis provide important external evidence for the types of clothing worn by Athenian citizen women, since they record textile offerings dedicated to the goddess after use (Cleland 2005a: 91). In these lists, references to the ἔγκυκλον (113), the κροκωτός (44, 48, 51, 219-20) and the χιτθoserance public view thatveral times as standard items of femalenian citizen women (Cleland :). for this nudity (, 156; cf. *E. ὦν* (49, 150) all occur several times as standard feminine apparel. The χιτῶν was an "essential element of the clothing of an Athenian woman" and differed from that of men by its more delicate fabric and full length³³. The κροκωτός (saffron colored robe) was a variation of this common female undergarment and is distinctive in the Brauron catalogues because it appears both as a substantive and as a descriptive term, indicating that the significance of the saffron color subsumed garment type³⁴. In literary texts, both saffron dye and the crocus flower from which it derived were associated with female adolescence and emergent sexuality³⁵. Elite Athenian girls donned the κροκωτός to perform rites in honor of Artemis at Brauron; indeed, the old women of the chorus once wore saffron garments in service of the goddess (καὶ χέουσα

32 — The derivation of ἀμοργίνος is uncertain; it may refer either to the mallow plant called ἀμοργίς or the island Amorgos. The term is applied to several types of garments, which were expensive and had a specific color, for which see Henderson 1987: 85; *contra* Richter 1929. Cleland 2005: 93-94 notes that the term ἀμοργίνος is the most common descriptor of garments in the Brauron inventories, occurring in 21 out of 30 instances.

33 — Stone 1981: 172-3 and Lee 2015: 106-110.

34 — Cleland 2005b: 97, 119 and 2005a: 92; Henderson 1987: 72 identifies the κροκωτός as a woman's "finest" garment worn at festivals; Loraux 1993: 156 and n. 37; Dalby 2002: 119 and n. 11 argues that they advertise a woman as "fun-loving"; Robson 2013: 50. See also Stone 1981: 174-5.

35 — The term ἐξηνθισμέναι (43), following Σ and Henderson 1987: 72, rather than Clement's variant, ἐξανθισμέναι, which refers to dyeing the hair, fits well with the floral theme suggested by κροκωτός. The two terms are combined at *Hym. Cer.* 6 and *E. Ion* 889-90; the emphasis on female adolescence and sexuality is found at *P. O.* 6.39; *A. Ag.* 239; *E. Pho.* 1491.

τὸν κροκωτὸν ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίους, 645). The costliness of such textiles is illustrated in *Nubes*, where saffron clothing, along with perfume, convey the sophistication and sex appeal of Strepsiades' aristocratic wife on their wedding night (μύρου κρόκου, *Nub.* 51)³⁶. Hence the color saffron probably also had nuptial associations³⁷. The equation of the κροκωτός with femininity creates an opportunity for comic incongruity in scenes of transvestism, as well as in the attempted seduction of the Youth by Old Woman A who attempts to appear youthful and attractive by painting her face and donning a saffron robe at the end of *Ecclesiazusae* (καταπεπλασμένη ψιμυθίω/ ἔστηκα καὶ κροκωτὸν ἡμφιεσμένη, *Eccl.* 879)³⁸. Clearly, the κροκωτός was not the garb of “working girls” but rather a costly and alluring feminine undergarment reserved for special occasions and typically worn by wives³⁹.

The other clothing descriptors in the play similarly point to normative female clothing. While ὀρθοστάδιος is not well attested, it seems to refer to a type of χιτῶν that reached to the feet and hung in straight folds without a belt⁴⁰. The main characteristic of this item is its transparency, as indicated by the term Κιμβερικός (45, 52; Stone 1981: 178 and 195 n. 84). The garment is further described as ἀμόργινος (made of fine flax), by far the most common descriptor applied to a garment whose fabric is specified in the Brauron inventories. The term refers to a garment finely woven of vegetable fiber such as linen and used only for female clothing⁴¹. The fact that Second Woman in the desertion scene wishes to abandon the citadel on the pretext of caring for her ἀμόργινος suggests that it was a type of fabric commonly found in the Greek household (ἀμοργίδος, 735; ἀμοργιν, 737; Stone 1981: 193 n. 66). The women's finely woven, transparent draperies render them γυμναί (naked, 150), a word that seldom means absolute nudity in Aristophanes but rather points to the χιτῶν worn alone without the mantle, as was customary inside the house (Stone 1981: 145). In this regard, we must understand the women as wearing what they normally would at home, undergarments, without the

36 — According to Hehn 1976: 197, the dye obtained from *Crocus Sativus* had pervasive associations with luxury and wealth in the ancient world; cf. *A. Pers.* 869; *Ag.* 239; *E. Pho.* 1491; it is further associated with female deities and their clothing, for which see Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 224; cf. *Hom. Il.* 8.1, 19.1, 23.227; *Hes. Th.* 358, 723; *E. Hec.* 468-74.

37 — Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 223-25; citing *E. IT* 373 for evidence that Iphigenia wore a veil at Aulis, he argues on the basis of κρόκου βαφάς at *A. Ag.* 239 that it must have been saffron in color and thus served as a prototype for the Roman *flammeum*; see also Sebasta 2002: 135 and n. 57; Lovén 2013: 136.

38 — For the saffron robe in male scenes of cross-dressing, cf. *Ar. Thesm.* 138, 253, 941, 945, 1043, 1220; *Ran.* 44; *Eccl.* 332.

39 — Dalby 2002: 114; Stroup 2003: 56, n. 36.

40 — See Stone 1981: 179; Cleland 2005b: 110; cf. *Poll.* 7.49; *Eust.* 1166.55.

41 — Cleland 2005a: 93-4 argues *contra* Richter that the term refers to a vegetable fiber rather than silk; as an expensive and luxurious fabric used for women's clothing, cf. *Pl. Let.* 363a.

mantle and veil that would have concealed their bodies outside the house, as they do onstage in the play⁴².

Footwear

The footwear worn by the wives has also been taken as evidence of their similarity to *hetaeras*⁴³. In Greek literary sources, female feet, ankles and footwear are often erotically charged⁴⁴. Like clothing, shoes represented a common form of female adornment geared to attracting husbands, as shown in Ischomachus' complaint about his wife wearing high-heeled shoes to make herself appear taller (ὑποδήματα δ' ἔχουσαν ὑψηλά, Xen. *Oec.* 10.2). The cross-dressing male Kinsman in *Thesmophoriazusae* must change shoes in order to pass for a woman (ὑποδημάτων, *Thesm.* 262) while Blepyrus in *Ecclesiazusae*, unable to find his shoes in the middle of the night, must borrow his wife's «Persian slippers» in order to leave the house (τὰς ἐκείνης Περσικάς, *Eccl.* 319). The latter term appears interchangeable with κόθορνος, a type of soft boot that could be worn on either foot and largely associated with women; indeed the female chorus leader in *Lysistrata* refers to her shoes as such (τῷ κοθόρνῳ, 657; τῷ κοθόρνῳ, *Eccl.* 346)⁴⁵. Infants and children also apparently wore Persian slippers: the wineskin that the Kinsman pretends is a little girl wears a miniature version and Socrates' flea also sports them (Περσικάς, *Thesm.* 734; cf. *Nub.* 151)⁴⁶. They were thus probably delicate, soft ankle boots less substantial than male footwear and therefore suitable for women and children who did not spend as much time walking outdoors (Stone 1981: 229). These are the ordinary shoes of the young wives of *Lysistrata* (τῷ Περσικά, 229-30), not the footwear of courtesans. Another type of

42 — Lee 2015: 196 argues that «diaphanous garments were not worn exclusively by *hetairai* but should be read more generally as a kind of parallel to complete bodily display by means of undress». But both Dalby 2002: 116-17 and Sebasta 2002: 129 and 137 n. 23-24 view transparency as an indicator of prostitution; see also Stroup 2003: 56, n. 36.

43 — On boots a signifier of prostitution on Greek vases, see Stroup 2003: 54, n. 36 and fig. 4, who identifies the footwear of a naked urinating woman on an Attic red-figure kylix by the Foundry Painter, Antikensammlung Berlin inv. 3757 as the Persian slippers of our play.

44 — For the loveliness of footsteps, cf. Sappho fr. 16.17, ἔρατον βᾶμα; and Aphrodite's lovely feet, cf. Hes. *Tb.* 194-5; on the erotic aspects of feet and footwear, see further Levine 2005: 55-57, 60-1; Lee 2015: 160-4.

45 — Stone 1981: 227-32; cf. *Lys.* 657; Hdt. 6.125; Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.47, Poll. 7.92. Note that Ischomachus chastises his wife for wearing a high-soled version of this shoe (ὑποδήματα . . . ὑψηλά, Xen. *Oec.* 9.19). See also Lee 2015: 163.

46 — A Red-figure Apulian bell-crater appears to show the Kinsman holding a wineskin with Persian booties; Martin von Wagner Museum, Universität Würzburg, H. 5697. It is tempting to identify the dainty shoes worn by Alcestis as Περσικάι on the Attic red figure epinetron by the Eretria painter, c. 430-420 BCE, Athens 1629. For this type of footwear, see most recently, Lee 2015: 162 and n. 246 who notes that although of foreign origin, these shoes were probably also manufactured by shoemakers in Athens.

shoes, περιβαρίδες, possibly a flimsy, inexpensive slipper, is also mentioned (45, 47, 53); since there are no other references in Aristophanes or contemporary texts, it has been conjectured that it is a generic term used interchangeably with the other two⁴⁷.

Like diaphanous clothing, seductive female footwear need not mark the wearer as a hetaera but could also indicate a bride. Ferrari has recently argued that the presence of boots in scenes of adornment on Attic vase painting comprise part of the equipment of the «maiden with many suitors» rather than the courtesan's costume (Ferrari 2002: 48). Nuptial sandals are often the focus of wedding vases and suggest the sexual availability of the bride to her new husband and her transitional journey to his home upon marriage⁴⁸. The sexual connotations of female footwear is underscored later in *Lysistrata* when the Proboulos, complaining about female licentiousness, imagines a beleaguered husband requesting that a well-endowed cobbler «loosen» the sandal strap that pinch his wife's little toe (414-19). The removal of the shoes as the last act before getting into bed suggests it was an erotic gesture that portended intercourse; indeed, before disappointing her husband for the final time, Myrrhine in the seduction scene exclaims, «See, I'm just removing my shoes!» (ὕπολύομαι γοῦν, 950)⁴⁹. The wives' dainty footwear in *Lysistrata* should be read as a «low-key sexual hint» of the pleasures that await their husbands in peacetime rather than as a direct sign of prostitution (Kilmer 1993: 119).

Cosmetics, Perfume and Depilation

Cosmetics in the form of white powder (lead carbonate) and rouge (alkanet) were also widely used by all women in ancient Greece, not just by courtesans and prostitutes, and in fact seem to have met with fewer restrictions than female clothing at various periods (Glazebrook 2009: 234). Indeed, Ischomachus rebukes his young wife not only for wearing heels but also for rubbing her face with a great amount of these two substances (ἐντετριμμένην πολλῶ μὲν ψιμυθίῳ . . . πολλῆ δ' ἐγχούση, Xen. *Oec.* 10.2), suggesting that this practice was common for married women. Even marriageable girls seem to have worn white powder, as in the case of the *kanephoros* alluded to in Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* (ἐντετριμμένη

47 — Stone 1981: 233; Henderson 1987: 52 describes these shoes as exotic, possibly Egyptian, cf. Theopomp. 52; Cephisod. 4; later associated with slaves and the poor; cf. *AP* 6.21; Poll. 7.87, 92.

48 — Hesych. s.v.; see also Oakley and Sinos 1993: 16; Sutton 1997/8: 36; Blundell 2002: 146-52 and 165 n. 30; Sebasta 2002: 149; Bundryck 2011: 322 and n. 151.

49 — For the sexual connotations of shoes positioned under the bed, see Blundell 2002: 151 and 165 n. 30; Kilmer 1993: 118-20. Note that the Relative in *Thesmophoriazusae* orders the flute girl to stretch out her feet so that he can remove her shoes as the Scythian archer fondles her, cf. Ar. *Thesm.* 1183, τῷ πόδε πρότεινον, ἴν' ὑπολύσω. Levine 2005: 61 suggests that this is a parody of the untying of the bride's sandals on the wedding night.

κανηφορῆς, *Eccl.* 732)⁵⁰. So we find in *Lysistrata* a similar emphasis on cosmetic enhancement: the wives are described as putting effort into their appearance (κεκαλλωπισμένα, 44, 219-20) in the form of white powder, implied by the participle ἐντετριμμένα (149), and rouge (ἔγχουσα, 48), two terms commonly paired⁵¹. Their use of these two types of coloring moderately applied underscores their representation as wives rather than as hetaeras because the latter also seem to have worn eye-makeup⁵². Another common component of the repertoire of Athenian women to be deployed in the sex-strike is perfume (μύρα, 48; cf. 938, 940, 942, 946). It is associated both with adulterous assignations (*Ar. Eccl.* 525) and with weddings (Oakley and Sinos 1993: 16), confirming that it also cannot be understood as a definitive sign of the courtesan.

The final weapon in the women's sexual arsenal is the grooming of the pubic hair, «trimming it into a triangle» (δέλτα παρατετιλμένα, 151). Like cosmetics and sheer clothing, the plucking or singeing of pubic hair was thought to make all women more attractive⁵³. Kilmer in his survey of erotic scenes on Attic red-figure vases has argued that women only trimmed rather than completely removed their pubic hair, based on the fact that almost all of the depictions of nude women on vases show some pubic hair⁵⁴. In addition to donning the κροκωτός and ἔγκυκλον, Euripides' kinsman must be shaved and singed in his pubic region to convincingly impersonate a woman (*Thesm.* 216-17). Conversely, one of the women in *Ecclesiazusae* says she has let her armpit hair grow in order to impersonate a man (ἔχω τὰς μασχάλας λόχμης δασυτέρας, *Eccl.* 60-70). Praxagora later rules that dressed up slave prostitutes should be made to sleep among male slaves rather than free men with their pubic regions plucked into a coarse fringe (κατωνάκην τὸν χοῖρον ἀποτετιλμένας, *Eccl.* 723-4). In other words, they must leave their pubic hair too long or too thick to be sexually attractive like a citizen woman (Kilmer 1986: 106). The Boeotian woman in our play is a source of admiration among the wives for her «most smartly trimmed patch»

50 — For other examples of citizen women wearing makeup, cf. *Ar. Eccl.* 878, 928, 1072; *Lys.* 1.14, 17; see also Glazebrook 2009: 235.

51 — The verb ἐντρίβω is used of light makeup, whether ψιμυθιον or ἔγχουσα, at *Xen. Oec.* 10.2 and *Ar. Eccl.* 754; in contrast, the terms καταπλάττειν and περιπλάττειν suggest the heavy application of makeup associated with prostitutes and old women, cf. *Ath.* 13.557f, 568c; *Ar. Eccl.* 878; see further Glazebrook 2009: 238.

52 — Alcibiades dreams that he wears the costume of a hetaera while Timandra outlines his eyes (ὑπογράφουσαν) and applies white powder (ψιμυθιοῦσαν) at *Plut. Alc.* 39; cf. *Ath.* 568b-c, 557f; Glazebrook 2009: 236-7 argues that highlighting the eyes advertises sexual availability in women and thus contrasts the properly downcast gaze of maidens.

53 — For plucking, cf. *Ar. Ran.* 516; Pherecrates fr. 113.29; *Plat. com. fr.* 188.14. For singeing, cf. *Ar. Lys.* 824-8; *A. Eccl.* 12-13. See most recently, Lee 2015: 49, 79-81.

54 — Kilmer 1993, 133-41 imagines "a garden, not a jungle"; for a summary of the debate, see most recently Robson 2013: 48-49 and n. 22.

(κομψότατα τὴν βληχῶ γε παρατετιλμένη, 89)⁵⁵. Even the stalwart embodiment of mature civic womanhood, the female members of the chorus, state that despite their advanced age, they do not keep their pubic hair long but rather have depilated with a lamp (ἀλλ' ὅμως ἂν οὐκ ἴδοις/καίπερ οὔσης γραὸς ὄντ' αὐ-/τὸν κομήτην, ἀλλ' ἀπεπι-/λωμένον τῷ λύχνῳ, 825-8; Faraone 2006: 211). The carefully groomed pubic hair of the wives in *Lysistrata* suggests not prostitution but rather delicacy and refinement. As we can see from this brief discussion, the conversation, clothing, footwear, adornment and comportment of the female characters in the play reinforce their representation as free citizen wives rather than as hetaeras. Their domesticated eroticism recalls some of the vase images of women at home, enabling the male spectators a voyeuristic glimpse of other men's wives, while underscoring their function as mothers and producers of future Athenian citizens, a commodity that has been jeopardized by the war.

Home Economics

The play's representation of the women as citizen wives is further reinforced in the encounter between Lysistrata and the Proboulos, who has come to restore order to the city (387-538). To rebut the charge of female licentiousness, Lysistrata characterizes herself and her comrades as well-behaved wives reluctant to intervene in male affairs. Their sense of modesty and propriety, denoted by the term σωφροσύνη, at first kept them from expressing political opinions (ὑπὸ σωφροσύνης τῆς ἡμετέρας, 508). As good wives, they struggled to stay silent (οὐ γὰρ γρύζειν εἰᾶθ' ἡμᾶς, 509; ἐσίγων, 515, 516) while remaining within the confines of home (ἔνδον ἂν οὔσαι, 510; τᾶνδοθεν, 513; ἔνδον, 516). The poet draws upon the encounter of Hector, and his young wife, Andromache, at the end of *Iliad* 6 in sketching this scene (Henderson 1987: 134). Indeed, their husbands are made to quote the words of the hero when they admonish their wives to tend to their spinning (εἰ μὴ τὸν στήμονα νήσω, 519-20) and stay out of political matters, because «War is the business of men!» (πόλεμος δ' ἄνδρεσσι μελήσει, 520). Lysistrata in turn uses the tools of female modesty and submission against the Proboulos: she repeatedly exhorts him to be silent (σιῶπα, 528, 529, 534), gives him the veil from her head (κάλυμμα, 533) and then provides him with a wool basket (καλαθίσκον, 535). She concludes by reversing

55 — Kilmer 1993: 137 argues that this line supports the idea of female depilation as refined and delicate, signifying «something cultivated and cared for, rather than completely wild».

the injunction of Hector, “War is the business of women!” (πόλεμος δὲ γυναιξὶ μελήσει, 535)⁵⁶.

Lysistrata justifies female intervention in the war by emphasizing the valuable contributions of women to both household and city in the form of childbirth, household management and textile production, all activities associated with legitimate wives rather than courtesans. Indeed, she argues that the women in their capacity as mothers have endured more than twice the suffering of men, «because we bear sons and send them out as hoplites!» (τεκοῦσαι/κάκπέμψασαι παῖδας ὀπλίτας, 588-9). The men have squandered this female currency for the war effort, she argues, just as they have drained the Athenian treasury. And yet the salvation of Hellas depends on just such domestic and economic contributions, much as it does on the Persian slippers and transparent gowns of the opening scene. When the incredulous Proboulos asks how the women will manage the city’s finances, Lysistrata responds that they will use their skills as household managers, using the verb ταμιεύω (493; cf. 494-5). Xenophon employs the same word when he describes how the well-trained wife will manage the household finances and teach others to do the same (διὰ τῶν τῆς γυναικὸς ταμιευμάτων, Xen. *Oec.* 3.15.5, 7.41.4).

But the primary female skill that will restore order and political harmony to the city is textile production, as Lysistrata describes in her extended wool-working metaphor (567-87). Indeed, Xenophon mentions it as another skill of the competent wife, who will both be able to weave mantle herself as well as train and supervises the slaves in this craft (Xen. *Oec.* 7.6.1, 7.41.4). The finished product she refers to as a χλαίνις (586), a large, finely woven piece of woolen cloth for a blanket or man’s coat which a bride presented the groom upon marriage as part of the wedding ceremony⁵⁷. The nuptial and erotic associations of this textile are evidenced by Deianira’s comment in Sophocles’ *Trachiniae* that she must now share her marriage bed with Iole, “and now we are two waiting under one blanket for the same embrace” (καὶ νῦν δὴ οὔσαι μίμνομεν μιᾶς ὑπὸ χλαίνης ὑπαγκάλισμα, S. *Trach.* 539-40)⁵⁸. This metaphor positions Lysistrata as the symbolic wife of the city who through her status as a

56 — In cross-dressing, the Proboulos resembles a bride: the veil comprised an important part of the bride’s toilette while the wool-basket was a common nuptial gift that symbolized the “status and obligations of a married woman”, for which see Lovén 2013: 136; wool baskets are common in scenes of nuptial adornment, for which see Oakley and Sinos 1993: 38-39; and Sebasta 2002: 126. On the veiling of brides, see Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 215-58.

57 — Lovén 2013: 136. See also Redfield 1982: 194; Oakley and Sinos 1993: 38-39; Loraux 1993: 175-6 and n. 138; Lewis 2002: 62; Cleland 2005a: 91; Bundrick 2008: 321; cf. Poll. 3.39-40.

58 — According to Henderson 1987: 145, the garment would have reminded the audience of the πέπλος (robe) dedicated to Athena during the festival of the the Panathenaea; see also Bundrick 2008: 326. Scheid and Svenbro 2001: 13, 176 n. 121 have shown how the interlacing of warp and woof in weaving can refer to the sexual union of husband and wife; cf. Pl. *Sym.* 191c.

mother and knowledge of textile production and household management can solve its problems and bring about political unity.

The connection between textile production and childbirth is underscored in the next scene when the wives, their enthusiasm for the strike on the wane, resort to various pretexts for returning home. The series of sexual innuendos that revolve around textile production – one longs to “spread out” her wool on the bed (διαπετάσασ’ ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, 732) and another to “scutch” her flax (τῆς ἀμοργίδος, / ἦν ἄλοπον, 735-6) – have been taken as evidence that we are to view the women as sex-workers⁵⁹. Just because the women conflate textile production with sexual activity need not imply that they are meant to resemble courtesans. As we have seen, such bawdy humor is characteristic of women-only gatherings in Aristophanic comedy. The sexual context is clearly domestic as indicated by the numerous references uses of the word οἶκος (household). First Woman longs to go “home, home to my wool!” (οἶκαδ’ ἐλθεῖν βούλομαι, / οἶκοι γάρ ἐστιν ἔριά μοι, 729-30), while Second Woman worries about the flax she left at home (οἶκοι, 736). Moreover, the term κλίνη at 732 possibly alludes to the conjugal bed. Aristophanes here brilliantly assimilates women’s contributions to the household economy to their reproductive capacities as citizen wives. Another old chestnut that has been brought to bear this passage is the tendency to align textile production with prostitution, beginning with the “spinnende Hetären” debate discussed above and furthered by the more recent discovery of loom weights in brothel remains⁶⁰. Since nearly every woman in the ancient world engaged in wool-working, it cannot be taken as an indicator of social status. Rather, the first two women set up the punch line, which is provided by the Third Woman. Whereas they use textile metaphors to convey their desire for procreative conjugal sex, Third Woman demonstrates its consequence. The latter invokes the goddess of childbirth, Eileithyia, in an attempt to forestall her feigned labor (ὦ πότνι’ Εἰλείθυ’, ἐπίσχεσ τοῦ τόκου, 742). She soon delivers a “boy” in the form of a helmet (ἄρρεν παιδίον, 748). This object recalls Lysistrata’s earlier equation of babies with hoplites and points to the role of citizen women in producing legitimate male offspring to repopulate the city and help to

59 — Faraone 2006: 211 views wool-working double entendres of the women attempting to go home as combining the “domestic and meretricious”; see also Gilhuly 2008: 161 and n. 72.

60 — Jenkins and Williams 1985: 89, “That spinning and the production of small textiles went on in the brothels of Athens seems eminently likely. Hetairai had spare time and, as well as being made for personal use, the products could be sold to supplement their earnings”. Davidson 1997: 88 further remarks, “The brothel, especially a cheap brothel, would have to double as a textile factory”. See also Cohen 2006: 104 and Lee 2015: 91-2 and n. 29. For textiles as a sign of female virtue, see Bundrick 2008: 303-5 and Lovén: 2013: 146; and let us not forget the proverbial *lanam fecit*, cf. *CIL* VI.15346.

win the war. The old women of the chorus similarly argue for their right to advise the city by stating that they, too, as mothers have provided the city with men (καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρας ἐσφέρω, 651).

Not in Front of the Baby!

Although the seduction scene between Myrrhine and Cinesias has been frequently cited in support of the claim that Aristophanes' associates the wives with hetaeras, I argue to the contrary that it in fact represents the culmination of the play's domestic ideology that privileges the conjugal bond and idealizes the role of citizen women as producers of legitimate children⁶¹. Let us first put to rest the idea that Myrrhine's name definitively associates her with prostitution, mainly because it was one of the commonest names in Attica⁶². The spectators possibly associated it with the contemporary priestess of Athena Nike, a woman who was definitely not a hetaera⁶³. This proposal fits well with the prevailing view that Lysistrata's name evokes that of Lysimache, the powerful priestess of Athena Polias⁶⁴. More important for my argument, however, is an oft-neglected dramatic detail: Myrrhine and Cinesias negotiate sex in front of their baby. Just as the helmet symbolized the procreative function of the household in the desertion scene, so, too, the inclusion of an actual infant in the seduction scene underscores the status of the wives as mothers through their ability to produce legitimate heirs and future citizens in contrast the hetaeras and concubines ([Dem.] 59.122). In the same way, the presence of a child, usually male, in Attic vase painting often denotes a family unit and reflects contemporary domestic ideology about its importance to the city-state (Figure 1 above; Sutton 2004: 331). Aristophanes creates just such a tableau in his triangulation of father, mother and infant in the seduction scene. Thus when the hugely frustrated Cinesias arrives at the citadel with baby in tow, it is as a husband, not as a customer.

61 — For this view, see Henderson 1987: 176; Stroup 2003: 56-62; Faraone 2006; Gilhuly 2008: 160-61.

62 — Lewis 1955: 2; S. Lewis 2002: 109 also calls Myrrhine a "perfectly ordinary" Athenian name and takes issue with the false distinction between "respectable" and "unrespectable" names, as the same name could be used of both types of women. As the name of a dedicant in the Brauron inventories, see Cleland 2005b: 155. For the view of Myrrhine as the name of a courtesan, see Henderson 1991: 134; Loraux 1993: 176 and n. 143; Stroup 2003: 59 and n. 40; Faraone 2006: 210. Gilhuly 2008: 143 traces it to Myrrha, the mother of Adonis and the Adonia celebrated by courtesans.

63 — Clairmont 1979 suggests that a stone lekythos in the National Museum at Athens dated to 420-410 BCE formed part of her memorial; see also Garland 1984: 91; Connelly 2007: 63; *contra* Henderson 1987: xl-xli, who argues that she "is a typical Athenian housewife with a farcical role".

64 — See Lewis 1955; Dillon 2002: 75, 86, 87, 92; cf. Plin. *HN* 34.76.

Because Lysistrata controls access to the women and directs the negotiations between husband and wife (845-64), just as she does in the next scene when she brokers the treaty over the body of Diallage, many scholars have argued that we are to view her as a madame⁶⁵. Although her demand for compensation (δώσεις τί μοι, 861) suggests as a form of sex trafficking, it is counterbalanced by Cinesias' exclusive desire for his wife. He wants not just any woman, but only Myrrhine (ἐκκάλεσόν μοι Μυρρίνην, 850). The proliferation of kin terms underscores the familial aspect of their encounter, emphasizing first their relationship as husband and wife (οὐμός ἀνήρ, 839; ἀνήρ ἐκείνης, 852; ἡ γυνή, 855; ἡ σὴ γυνή, 859) and then their role as parents (πατήρ, 882, 890; μαμμίαν, 878-9, 890; παιδίω, 877, 880, 883, 907, 910; τεκνίδιον, 889).

Another way that the poet privileges the conjugal bond is through allusion to Euripides' *Alcestis*, a play that idealizes marriage in the form of a wife's willingness to die for her husband⁶⁶. Cinesias uses language similar to the tragic Admetus when he describes the impact of his wife's absence on the family: he no longer takes any pleasure in life (ὡς οὐδεμίαν ἔχω γε τῷ βίω χάριν, 865; cf. λυπρὸν διάξω βίον, E. *Alc.* 941) and cannot bear the thought of entering the house (εἰσιών, 867; cf. εἰσίδω, E. *Alc.* 942) now that it is so desolate (ἔρημα, 967; cf. ἐρημία, E. *Alc.* 944). When Myrrhine continues to reject him, he urges her to take pity on the baby. The addition of the child, whether real or a prop, probably alludes to Euripides' penchant for putting children onstage, especially since his *Alcestis* includes the first extant use of this device. The scene in which the little boy laments over his mother's lifeless corpse seems to have been exceptionally memorable for the Athenian audience⁶⁷. But here the baby's inarticulate cries of "mama" – μαμμία, μαμμία, μαμμία (879) – comically contrast the sophisticated emotional lyrics of the earlier play. Unwashed and unfed for six days (ἄλουτον ὄν κάθηλον ἕκτην ἡμέραν, 880), the neglected child embodies the consequences of a house with no mother, much like that of Admetus, with its unswept floors and weeping children (στέγας αὐχμηρὸν οὐδας, τέκνα δ' ἀμφὶ γούνασι πίπτοντα κλαίῃ μητέρα, E. *Alc.* 947-8). As earlier predicted by the female deserters, the sex strike has indeed adversely impacted "the things within" normally under the supervision of women (τὰ δ' ἔνδον ὄντα, 894). Myrrhine's

65 — See in particular Henderson 1987: 176; Stroup 2003: 60; and Faraone 2006: 215-16.

66 — Although he does not draw a direct linguistic comparison, Henderson 1987: 176 observes that his "sentimental monologue recalls such Euripidean characters as Admetos"; Zeitlin 2008: 318 observes that *Alcestis* is the Euripidean play most parodied by Aristophanes after the lost *Telephus*.

67 — E. *Alc.* 395-403; 406-15. Henderson 1987: 177 argues that Cinesias carries a doll and speaks the baby's words himself, although there is no textual support for this view. For children in Euripidean tragedy and Aristophanes' fondness for parodying this device, see Zeitlin 2008: 318-19.

wool has been torn to pieces by the hens in her absence (τῆς κρόκης φορουμένης/ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλεκτρυόνων, 896-7). Cinesias' ploy proves effective as the combination of maternal instinct (οἶον τὸ τεκεῖν, 884; cf. E. *IA* 917; *Pho.* 355-6) and concern for her weaving compels her to come down from the citadel.

Even as the baby facilitates Myrrhine's departure, bringing her face-to-face with her husband, he ultimately hinders their sexual encounter. She lavishes upon the baby the kisses and blandishments she will deny her husband, "oh sweetest little baby, son of a bad father, come, let me kiss you, sweetest to mommy" (ὦ γλυκύτατον σὺ τεκνίδιον κακοῦ πατρός, φέρε σε φιλήσω γλυκύτατον τῇ μαμμία, 889-90). In her effort to follow Lysistrata's instructions, Myrrhine promises her husband she will sleep with him and then keeps inventing excuses to keep from doing it: she objects to their location in a sacred precinct, then demands a series of comforts, such as a bed, a mattress, a pillow, a blanket and perfume⁶⁸. But the biggest obstacle of all to their union is the presence of their child, "not in front of the baby!," Myrrhine protests (ὦ καταγέλαστ' ἐναντίον τοῦ παιδίου, 908)⁶⁹. Now that the child has served the rhetorical function of inspiring pity in his mother, Cinesias readily passes him off to a servant to take home (μὰ Δί' ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γ' οἴκαδ', ὦ μανῆ, φέρε, 909). His presence constructs a triad of mother, father and child that asserts the primacy of the family as the building block of the city even as it emphasizes the threat to its stability posed by the war. Like the helmet-baby in the previous scene, the boy serves as a tacit reminder that the war has not only resulted in the deaths of countless sons but has also disrupted the production of legitimate heirs and citizens.

One final point supports the view of the negotiations between Myrrhine and Cinesias as primarily conjugal. His lust thwarted, Cinesias laments his unresolved situation using a mix of paratragic and comic language:

οἶμοι τί πάθω; τίνα βινήσω
τῆς καλλίστης πασῶν ψευσθεῖς;
πῶς ταυτηνὶ παιδοτροφήσω;
ποῦ Κυναλώπηξ;
μισθωσόν μοι τὴν τίτθην (954-8).

68 — The groom's and bride's anointment with perfume was a traditional feature of the wedding, for which see Oakley and Sinos 1993: 16; cf. Xen. *Sym.* 2.13; Ar. *Eq.* 1332, *Pax* 526, and *Plut.* 1020.

69 — Henderson 1987: 179 understands τοῦ παιδίου as a reference to the slave, even though the term is repeatedly used by Cinesias of the baby throughout the scene; cf. 877, 880, 883, 909.

Alas, what do I do now? Who will I fuck
 now that I've been deceived by the most beautiful of women?
 How will I raise this here child?
 Where is Cynalopex?
 Hire a wet nurse for me!

He calls for the pimp Philostratus, nicknamed Cynalopex (Ar. *Eq.* 1069), to help him procure a prostitute to “nurse” his “child”, that is, perform oral sex. This coarse sexual transaction, indicated by the verb μισθόω, contrasts the earlier exchange of husband and wife in its reference to prostitution. Myrrhine’s victory over Cinesias is complete. Aphrodite has afflicted him (οἶος ὁ σπασμός μ’ ἔχει/χῶ τέτανος, 845-6) in just the same way as Lysistrata had earlier prayed (τέτανον τερπνόν, 553). And in a reversal of the opening scene, she forces her husband to swear an oath that he will stop the war before agreeing to have sex with him (ἔπειτ’ ὀμόσασα δῆτ’ ἐπιορκήσω, τάλαν, 914). The scene demonstrates the exclusive and reciprocal nature of the conjugal bond earlier expressed by Lysistrata, “you desire your husbands equally – don’t you think they also desire you?” (ποθεῖτ’ ἴσως τοὺς ἄνδρας· ἡμᾶς δ’ οὐκ οἶε/ποθεῖν ἐκείνους, 763-4). In this regard, the play reflects the contemporary discourse on marriage that idealizes the emotional and sexual attachment between husbands and wives as an important component of Athenian marriage⁷⁰. The chorus in Sophocles’ *Antigone*, for instance, speaks of the bride’s erotic gaze, «Desire conquers clearly seen from the eyes of the well-wed bride» (νικᾷ δ’ ἐναργῆς βλεφάρων ἴμερος εὐλέκτρον νύμφας, S. *Ant.* 795-6; Sutton 1997/8: 35). Ischomachus similarly stresses affection and sexual desire as the foundation of the domestic partnership of husband and wife (τῶν σωμάτων κοινωνήσοντες ἀλλήλοις, Xen. *Oec.* 10.4.2). The well-trained wife is expected to feel affection for her husband (ἀξιοφίλητον, 10.3.1; cf. 10.5.2) while he in turn should find her sexually attractive (κινητικόν, 10.12.1) such that he takes greater pleasure in sleeping with her than with a slave. The presence of Myrrhine and Cinesias’ baby in the seduction scene affirms the importance of sexual desire within marriage as the precondition of legitimate offspring, in contrast to the fleeting and non-procreative attractions of prostitutes, as we see in the next scene.

70 — Athenian women ate garlic at the Skira, and probably also at the Thesmophoria, to keep their husbands away, suggesting that they found them erotically attractive; see Cohen 1994: 167 and n. 129; Parke 1977: 160 and n. 194; cf. Philochoros *FGH* 328f 61 = schol. *Lys.* 835; Deubner 1962: 192; Dillon 2003: 125; cf. Ar. *Thesm.* 494-6. See Sutton 2004: 328-9.

The Body of Hellas

The truce brokered by Lysistrata between Athens and Sparta over the body of Diallage at the end of the play provides one final argument against viewing the wives predominantly as courtesans. Aristophanes frequently uses the device of sexualized female personifications in his plays to represent the benefits of peace: in *Equites*, the treaties take the form of two alluring young women, described as καλαί (*Eq.* 1390) and in *Pax*, the companions of Peace are represented as the girls Opora and Theoria (*Pax* 520-26, 842-908)⁷¹. These women are scantily clad or naked (ἄγε δὴ σὺ κατάθου πρῶτα τὰ σκεύη χαμαί, *Pax* 886), readily available for fondling (ξυνῶν τῶν τιθίων ἔχωμαι, *Pax* 863), oral sex (λείχειν ἄρ' αὐτῇ κἀνθάδε, *Pax* 855) or intercourse (κατατριακοντουτίσαι, *Eq.* 1391; *Pax* 895-909) and hale from the brothel (πορνοβοσκοῦσι, *Pax* 849). They are obviously modeled on prostitutes and may have even been performed by them in the theater⁷². They also serve an important symbolic function, evoking the physical pleasures afforded by peace⁷³. Diallage fits with this pattern, although her representation as a πόρνη is even more pronounced than elsewhere in Aristophanic comedy: as if being pimped out by a madame, she stands naked before the Spartan and Athenian representatives, who, swollen with desire (ὀργῶντας, 1113), cannot possibly resist her nor peace⁷⁴. The injunction that she should lay hold of any unwilling man «by the prick» corroborates her status as a prostitute, since it is a gesture frequently associated with whores (ἦν μὴ διδῶ τὴν χεῖρα, τῆς σάθης ἄγε, 1119)⁷⁵.

The coarseness of the language that accompanies the men's graphic fondling as they map out their territorial claims stresses the status of her body as available to all. The Athenian representative prefers the front bits,

71 — Although she does not appear onstage, Diallage is invoked by the chorus of Old Men in the *Acharnians* after they banish war from their houses (*Ar. Ach.* 989-999). Zweig 1992 argues from a feminist perspective that Aristophanes' representation of mute nudes dehumanizes and objectifies women.

72 — There has long been a debate as to whether these roles were played by naked prostitutes, or by males costumed as naked women, with most recent scholars leaning toward to latter interpretation; for further discussion see Vaio 1973: 379; Stone 1981: 147-50; Zweig 1992: 78-81 and 85; Henderson 2002: 195-6; and Robson 2013: 51 and n. 31.

73 — Henderson 2000: 143 observes that while these women are in «no position a virtuous wife or maiden would ever find herself in . . . to think of them as *hetairai* would ruin their clear symbolic purposes. Rather, these figures are allowed to float free of any specific category or status, so that the poet can bring out those feminine characteristics that best suit his immediate symbolic purposes». On the figure of Diallage as the embodiment of peace and abundance, see Newiger 1980: 225-26; Dillon 1987: 103; and Henderson 2002: 195.

74 — For Diallage as a prostitute, see Stroup 2003: 63-68; Faraone 2006: 219; and Gilhuly 2008: 166-9.

75 — Cf. *A. Ach.* 1216; *Vesp.* 1342-5; *Eccl.* 1020; *Luc. Dia. mere.* 6.3; see also Stroup 2003: 66-67.

exclaiming, «I have never seen a more beautiful crotch!» (ἐγὼ δὲ κύσθον γ' οὐδέπω καλλίονα, 1158), and requests the return of «Echinus» (τὸν Ἐχινούντα, 1169), «the Gulf of Melia» (τὸν Μηλιά/κόλπον, 1169-70) and the «legs of Megara» (τὰ Μεγαρικὰ σκέλη, 1170), all sexual allusions to parts of her lower body. The Spartan characteristically voices a preference for the back, «Pylos» (τὰν Πύλον, 1163). The Athenian exclaims that he can hardly wait to strip down naked and «plough her!» (ἤδη γεωργεῖν γυμνὸς ἀποδὺς βούλομαι, 1173) while the Spartan desires rear penetration (κοπραγωγῆν, 1174). The frenzy culminates with the acknowledgement that both factions, impaired by erections, desperately want to forget about politics and just have sex (ἐστύκαμεν . . . βινεῖν, 1178-80). The presence of explicit sexual vocabulary in this scene marks out Diallage as a prostitute available to all, much like the explicit sexual activities of naked women and their male companions depicted on sympotic cups. In this respect, she provides a striking contrast to the wives in the earlier scenes: whereas they seduce their husbands with expensive clothing, good grooming and fancy slippers, she appears completely naked, putting even the most private parts of her body on display. While the wives can actively resist their husbands' advances, as promised in the oath (224-34) and demonstrated by Myrrhine's skillful sexual manipulation of her husband in the seduction scene, Diallage cannot reject the advances of the assembled men. The wives enjoy the putative seclusion of the domestic sphere where no one but their husbands can view their bodies while Diallage endures the lecherous gazes of unfamiliar men. Sex with her is not procreative but rather a source of physical pleasure and temporary relief. And yet as the instrument of the treaty, her body reunites the husbands and wives of Greece and ensures the production of legitimate children for the city-state. So Lysistrata, in her final act of leadership, instructs the assembled men to take pledge peace «and each, taking his wife, depart» (κάπειτα τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖχ' ὑμῶν λαβὼν/ἄπεισ' ἕκαστος, 1186-87). Stimulated by Diallage, the husbands prepare to go off with their wives and have the procreative sex that will benefit the city.

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to reframe our view of the representation of the young women in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* by arguing that they should be principally viewed as citizen wives and mothers rather than as hetaeras. The accoutrements of the sex strike – the sheer draperies and saffron gowns, the Persian slippers, cosmetics and pubic grooming – comprise the standard equipment of free citizen wives in classical Athens and work their desired effect on the husbands. This domesticated sexuality represents a desirable component of Athenian marriage rather than sug-

gests the brothel, affording the male spectators an illicit glimpse into the private world of other men's wives. The purpose of this eroticism is not simply pleasure, as in the case of prostitutes, but rather the production of legitimate heirs and future Athenian citizens, as demonstrated by the onstage presence of the baby in the encounter of Myrrhine and Cinesias. By contrasting citizen wives with the silent, prostituted Diallage, the play stresses the important contributions of women to the city as mothers, household managers and textile producers. This emphasis fits with a pattern of heightened symbolic interest in women and the family after the passage of Pericles' citizenship law in 451/0 BCE that limited citizenship to those freeborn men whose mothers, in addition to their fathers, were Athenians. While the reform probably had little impact on actual Athenian marriage practices, it led to an increased focus women and the family in the visual arts and in the theater, particularly in Euripides' domestic tragedy⁷⁶. However, the shortage of men at Athens in the wake of the disastrous Sicilian expedition may have led first to a revision of the law and finally its revocation in 411 BCE⁷⁷. It is tempting to speculate that the emphasis on marriage and legitimate offspring in the play represents a response to this social crisis. By highlighting women's economic and reproductive contributions, Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* dramatizes just what was at stake – the breakdown of the family and therefore the fabric of Athenian society – during the last years of the Peloponnesian war.

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76 — Osborne 1997 argues that Pericles' reform was «primarily a symbolic statement» which impacted how the Athenians represented their own identity, resulting in the increased prominence of women in Attic funerary *stelae*. On Euripides' focus on sentiment and family ties and its connection to the Peloponnesian war, see Zeitlin 2008: 330; and Karamanou 2011: 240.

77 — Ogden 1996 believes the Athenians passed a 'bigamy concession' in 413 BCE that recognized children from the same two citizen wives as legitimate, and then finally annulled the law in 411 BCE, see Ogden 1996: 72-75; on the law, cf. D.L. 2.26; Plut. *Arist.* 27; Ath. 665a-b; Porphyry *FGH* F11; Gell. *NA* 15.20. For an opposing view and further discussion, see Patterson 1981: 140-7.

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IMAGE CREDIT INFORMATION

Image Number: DDC251752

Accession Number: 1960.342

Artist:

Title: Hydria (water jar): Family Scene

Date: 440-430 BCE

Medium/Support: Red-figure, Terracotta

Dimensions: H 34.6 x Diam 24.6 cm (13 5/8 x 9 11/16 in.)

Diam w/ handles 30.2 cm (11 7/8 in.)

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