Inventing the *Hetaira*: Sex, Politics, and Discursive Conflict in Archaic Greece

I. INVENTING THE *HETAIRA*

In book 2, Herodotus interrupts his narrative of the monuments of Egypt with a brief excursus about the famous courtesan Rhodopis:

> And this man [Mykerinos] left behind a pyramid much smaller than his father's, each side of three plethra short twenty feet, quadrangular, and up to half of Egyptian stone. Various of the Greeks indeed say that it [the pyramid] belongs to the *hetaira* Rhodopis (Ῥοδώπιος ἑταίρης γυναικὸς εἶναι), not speaking correctly. . . . And somehow, the courtesans (ἑταῖραι) in Naukratis tend to be very attractive: for in the first place, this woman, concerning whom this story is told, became so glorious indeed that even all the Greeks learned the name of Rhodopis, and in the second place, later than this one, the one whose name was Archedike became celebrated in song throughout Greece (though less talked about than the former). (Hdt. 2.134-35)

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Aside from the inherent interest of this passage, Herodotus' digression contains the earliest attested use of ἑταίρα (as adjective and noun) meaning "courtesan." According to Carola Reinsberg, who has written the most recent full-length account of "*Hetärentum,*" the particular form of prostitution associated with the *hetaira* only emerged in the Greek world in the early sixth century BCE. To be sure, there is no evidence of such a category in the Homeric or Hesiodic poems, and the earliest reference to a *hetaira* is to Rhodopis, a contemporary of Sappho. Reinsberg attributes the appearance of this particular form of prostitution to an increase in long-distance trade, which produced a whole class of itinerant traders with surplus wealth to spend.[1] And yet, Reinsberg's purely materialist aitiology does not really account for the peculiarities of "Hetärentum" as a unique form of prostitution; that is to say, it does not account for the *hetaira* as a discursive and ideological construct. After all, why should an increase in long-distance trade produce a completely new conceptual category of prostitution, rather than simply increasing the numbers of *pornai* at work in burgeoning mercantile centers? What needs generated this new category? And what conceptual "work" was the opposition *hetaira-pornê* doing in Greek culture in the period of its inception? It is my purpose here to investigate the archaic "invention of the *hetaira*" in terms of its cultural milieu and the ideological interests it served.

If we are to understand this dimension of the *hetaira-pornê* binary, we must begin by recognizing its discursive or representational function. Traditional accounts have foundered because they insist on reading *too* literally; thus, the bulk of scholarship on ancient prostitution uses literary texts to attempt to reconstruct the "real lives" of "real women." At the extreme, this methodology leads to absurdities like Lesky's extended discussion of whether or not patrons "really" fell in love with their *hetairai*, as they did in New Comedy.[2] In contrast, I will not assume that literary texts offer an unmediated reflection of ancient realities; instead, I will treat texts (both literary and visual) as sites where ideology is forged through representation. In particular, we must accept the fact that our texts offer us very little usable information about the "real lives" of "real women"; instead, they may allow us to see something of the needs and investments of the men who created them.

In fact, scholarly commentary on ancient prostitution has already moved to the level of discourse or ideology perforce, because of the difficulty of establishing a clear-cut empirical distinction between the *hetaira* and the *pornê*. According to the traditional scholarly account, the opposition between the two categories is one of status. The *hetaira* is a "courtesan" or "mistress," often supported by one or two men alone, serving as their companion at symposia and revels, as

1. Reinsberg 1989.161. On the dating and aitiology, Schneider 1913.col. 1332 offers very much the same account.

2. Lesky 1976.112–16. Though not always carried to such an extreme, this is, in essence, the approach of Schneider 1913; Licht 1932; Herter 1957, 1960; Keuls 1985; Reinsberg 1989, etc.

well as servicing their sexual desires. The *pornê*, in contrast, is the common streetwalker or occupant of brothels, providing sex for payment to a large and anonymous clientele. The terms of this opposition are confirmed by Xenophon's portrait of the courtesan Theodote, interviewed by a wry Socrates in the *Memorabilia* (3.11). Theodote, expensively appareled and attended by an entourage of her mother and well-groomed maids, explains that she supports herself by the kindness of "friends" (φίλοι) who are willing to give her gifts in return for "gratification" (χαρίζεσθαι, 3.11.4–14). Xenophon's language very deliberately locates Theodote's sexual "favors" within an economy of aristocratic gift exchange, in which *philoi* who are "wealthy and lovers of beauty" (τοὺς φιλοκάλους καὶ πλουσίους) exchange gifts and gratify one another. The *pornê*, in contrast, who derives her name from the verb πέρνημι, "to sell (especially slaves)," represents the commodification of sex for pay.[3]

And yet, as is well known, there is frequent slippage between the two terms in ancient sources, and it is often difficult to maintain the distinction in status. For both the *hetaira* and the *pornê* can be slave or free, both can have a "pimp" or "pander" or be "self-employed." And there is, finally, a large grey area of women of uncertain status—the flute-girls, acrobats, and dancers who provide the largely unremarked backdrop to the symposium. When they provided sexual services as well (as they apparently often did), were they *hetairai* or *pornai*?[4] This slippage and confusion of terms have led certain scholars to question the stability and reality of the *hetaira-pornê* distinction in antiquity. Thus, for example, Sir Kenneth Dover contends,

> . . . the dividing line between the two categories could not be sharp; how, for instance, should one classify a woman who had intercourse with four different men in a week, hoped on each occasion to establish a lasting and exclusive relationship, and succeeded in doing so with the fourth man? Moreover, whether one applied the term *pornê* or the term "*hetaira*" to a woman depended on the emotional attitude towards her which one wished to express or to engender in one's hearers. Anaxilas fr. 21 draws a distinction in terms of loyalty and affection, but fr. 22, an indignant vilification of the greed and deceitfulness of women who sell themselves,

3. On the opposition, see Hauschild 1933.7–9; Herter 1957.1154, 1181–82; Herter 1960.83; Peschel 1987.19–20; Harvey 1988.249; Calame 1989.103–104; Dover 1989.20–21. Thus Harvey 1988.249: "The word *hetaira*, 'companion,' was a euphemism for a woman with whom a man of the leisured classes maintained a fairly long-term sexual relationship, based on 'gift-giving' (cf. Xen. *Mem*. 3.11), whereas a *pornê* is a woman from whom any man might buy a single session on a purely commercial basis." On the special association of the verb *pernêmi* with the sale of slaves, see Benveniste 1973.112; on the etymology of *pornê*, see Chantraine 1968–1980.888.

4. On this class of women and their sexual services, cf. Aristophanes *Wasps* 1341–70; Xenophon *Symposium* 2.1, 2.7–22, 3.1, 9.2–7; Plato *Symposium* 176e7–8, 212d6; and see the discussions of Herter 1960.97–98; Peschel 1987.21–25.

> begins and ends (lines 1, 31) by calling them *hetairai* but in the middle (line 22) calls them *pornai*.[5]

James Davidson takes this argument one step further, suggesting that we must "view such representations not as reflections of discrete realities, but as discursive strategies, attempting to create distinctions in precisely those areas where difference is most awkward and problematic."[6] According to Davidson, this discursive opposition is constituted along the axis of gift- vs. commodity-exchange, identified with the *hetaira* and the *pornê* respectively:

> . . . it is possible to distinguish two main dynamics, two distinct tendencies in the language used to describe expenditure on women in antiquity especially in Greece. One group of statements, associated with the idea of the *hetaira* deals with specific women, often named and individually characterised, and emphasises the control they exercise over men and their appetites. It is fundamentally a phobic discourse, which we can associate with the discourse of gift-exchange and seduction, a never-ending cycle of *involvement,* founded on dissimulation and avoidance of definition. Another strategy, associated with the idea of the *pornê*, attempts to depersonalise, reify and commodify women, their bodies, their time and their services, constantly defining and separating them into discrete units. It is primarily a discourse of contempt. In terms of expenditure, this discourse focusses on waste and loss, and ephemeral pleasures.[7]

5. Dover 1989.21; cf. Hauschild 1933.8–9, Lesky 1976.107–108, and Vernant 1980.58–61 on the fluidity of different female statuses. In effect, the same position is espoused by Licht 1932.330 (if in somewhat more old-fashioned terms): "The Greeks, if they wished to avoid the ugly name 'whores' (πόρναι), delicately called girls who sold themselves for money by the name of ἑταῖραι, properly 'comrades,' 'companions.' "

6. Davidson n.d. p. 4 (cf. Davidson 1994.139–42). On the fluidity of such discursive categories, cf. Henry 1986.147: "The difference between wife and harlot is not absolute, but rather resides in men's ability to define and maintain the borders between the two."

7. Davidson 1994.115–211 (quotation taken from 141–42; italics in original). We might compare Davidson's analysis of this discursive opposition with the general model of Kopytoff 1986. According to Kopytoff, all cultures constitute a spectrum along which objects (and often people) move, from one pole of complete commoditization to another, of complete "singularization" or "individuation": "To be saleable for money or to be exchangeable for a wide array of other things is to have something in common with a large number of exchangeable things that, taken together, partake of a single universe of comparable values. To use an appropriately loaded, even if archaic term, to be saleable or widely exchangeable is to be 'common'—the opposite of being uncommon, incomparable, unique, singular, and therefore not exchangeable for anything else. The perfect commodity would be one that is exchangeable with anything and everything else, as the perfectly commoditized world would be one in which everything is exchangeable or for sale. By the same token, the perfectly decommoditized world would be one in which everything is singular, unique, and unexchangeable" (Kopytoff 1986:69). In Kopytoff's terms, the *pornê* is the "perfect commodity"; the *hetaira* the ultimate "singular."

I consider Davidson's notion of "discursive strategies" an essential analytic tool for understanding the *hetaira-pornê* binary, though I would not wholeheartedly endorse his characterization of the discourses under discussion, for two reasons. First, Davidson focuses on "expenditure" and economics generally as devoid of politics. Yet, I take it as axiomatic (especially for the earlier period) that a conflict over economic systems is also, inextricably, a political conflict. For, as several scholars have argued, in the archaic period, competing exchange systems correspond to diverse political positions in an ongoing struggle between "middling" and "elite" ideologies. Thus, Ian Morris traces out two strands in archaic poetry (both, of course, the products of aristocratic poets): on the one hand, those aristocrats who "deliberately assimilated themselves to the dominant civic values within archaic *poleis*," thereby forging a "middling" tradition; on the other hand, those who espoused the elitist tradition, claiming that their "authority lay outside these middling communities, in an inter-polis aristocracy which had privileged links to the gods, the heroes, and the East." The middling tradition, which Morris traces back to major societal upheavals of the eighth/seventh centuries, tends to be represented in archaic elegy and iambic, by poets embracing a moderate style of life under the supreme authority of the polis, rejecting both extremes of excessive wealth and aristocratic display *and* of abject poverty. The elitist tradition emerges as an oppositional voice, most clearly in monodic lyric, mobilizing the heroic past, links to the gods, and a lifestyle of Eastern-influenced luxury (*habrosyne*) to reassert the propriety of aristocratic preeminence.[8] As Morris observes succinctly, "Much of the social history of the Archaic period is best understood as a conflict between these two conceptions of social order."[9] As part of this structure, I would suggest, the elite position valorizes gift exchange as its distinguishing system, while the middling tradition, in opposition, espouses and supports the invention and circulation of money as an egalitarian, civic institution.[10] Clearly, the construction of *hetaira* vs. *pornê* functions within this system, mapping the opposition of gift and commodity onto the circulation of women.

The tension between middling and elite strands within the discourses of archaic poetry leads to my second disagreement with Davidson: Davidson's analysis is based almost entirely on fourth-century Athenian sources, primarily Attic law speeches, which both temporally and generically represent the unequivocal triumph of "egalitarian" ideology in Morris' terms.[11] That is to say, Davidson's

8. Morris 1996.19–48 (quotations drawn from p. 27 and p. 19, respectively). For the elements of the elitist tradition, Morris is following Mazzarino 1947, Arthur 1984, Kurke 1992.

9. Morris 1996.20.

10. For the elite valorization of gift exchange, see Herman 1987; Morris 1986, 1989, 1996; Kurke 1991, 1992, 1995. For the civic, egalitarian function of coinage, see Will 1954, 1955, 1975; Kraay 1976.317–28; Vernant 1982.91–101; Seaford 1994.191–234; Howgego 1995.16–18; von Reden 1995.175–81.

11. On the complex workings of democratic ideology in the speeches of the Attic orators, cf. Ober 1989. Davidson also relies on the evidence of fragments of Middle Comedy. For the purposes

characterization of these two discourses presents only half the picture, once democratic ideology has "cleared the field," as it were. In contrast, I would like to recover the discursive conflict over these terms that was still an active *process* in the archaic period by drawing as much as possible on contemporary sources (both literary and visual).

I would suggest that it is no accident that the category of the *hetaira* appears roughly contemporaneously with the adoption of coinage by the Greek cities.[12] For if coinage represents an egalitarian institution of the polis, the *hetaira* is an invention of the symposium; as her name implies, this is her proper sphere.[13] And, as Oswyn Murray notes, the symposium is constituted and ritualized as an "other" space, distinct from—even antithetical to—the public domain of the polis:

> The *symposion* became in many respects a place apart from the normal rules of society, with its own strict code of honour in the *pistis* there created, and its own willingness to establish conventions fundamentally opposed to those within the *polis* as a whole. It developed its own metasympotic discourse on the laws of sympotic behaviour, and its own sense of occasion. . . . The distinctive manipulation of Greek sexuality in the homosexual bonding of young males through *symposion* and *gymnasion* is one aspect of this self-conscious separation; another is the creation of a type of "free love" associated with the *hetaira* and the other

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of this discussion, I wish to avoid consideration of prostitutes (both *hetairai* and *pornai*) in Old, Middle, and New Comedy, because the permutations of the system are immensely complicated and, I believe, dependent on the archaic model I attempt to sketch out here. Thus, comedy seems to have available for its use both sides of the archaic system: it can appropriate the aristocratic valorization of the *hetaira* (especially as applied to an ἀστή, a citizen girl, as in Antiphanes fr. 210 K.-A.) or it can choose to celebrate the democratic availability of *pornai* (as in Philemon fr. 3 K.-A., Euboulos fr. 67 K.-A., Xenarchus fr. 4 K.-A.). Given this complexity, I have tried to avoid basing any arguments on comic evidence; yet, given the extreme scarcity of material, especially for the early period, I have on occasion drawn on comedy for support of an argument based on other materials (e.g., Anaxilas fr. 21 K.-A., p. 112; Antiphanes fr. 210 K.-A., pp. 116–17; Euboulos fr. 41 K.-A., p. 140). For extended discussion of prostitutes in the comic tradition, see Hauschild 1933; Fantham 1975; Anderson 1984; Henry 1985, 1986; Konstan 1987; Wiles 1989; Brown 1990, 1993.

12. In the 1950s, E. S. G. Robinson challenged the current orthodoxy on the dating of the beginning of coinage, downdating the earliest electrum coins to the third quarter of the seventh century, based on a careful reexamination of the Artemisium basis finds. Though some of his arguments have been challenged, recent advances in numismatic methodology (especially the analysis of die links and coin hoards) have tended to confirm Robinson's estimates or even downdate coinage still further. Thus M. J. Price has recently proposed a date in the last quarter of the seventh century for the earliest Lydian and East Greek coins found at the Artemisium, while estimates for the earliest mainland Greek coinages (those of Aigina, Athens, and Corinth) range from ca. 580 to 550 BCE. See Robinson 1951, 1956; Kraay 1964, 1976, 1977; Price and Waggoner 1975; Price 1983. For other discussions which support the late dating, cf. Kiyonaga 1973; Kroll and Waggoner 1984; Karweise 1991; Howgego 1995.2–6. Proponents of an early 7th century date: Weidauer 1975, Kagan 1982.

13. On the close connection of *hetairai* to the symposium, see Herter 1960.95–97; Brendel 1970.19, 29–36; Peschel 1987; Calame 1989.103–108; Reinsberg 1989.91–120.

> attendants or entertainers at the *symposion*; a third is the development of forms of ritual exhibitionism and violence in the *komos* at the end of the session.[14]

Thus Murray notes the sympotic frame for the invention of the *hetaira*, but limits her to an instrument of "free love." I would add an economic (and hence political) dimension to the constitution of the category. Within the "anti-city" of the aristocratic symposium, the discursive category of the *hetaira* participates in the complete exclusion of the public sphere, especially the city's monetarized economy.[15] Instead, the impulse to mystify economic relations for sex generates the category of the *hetaira* within the framework of gift exchange. As the fourth-century comic poet Anaxilas observed, the *hetaira* gratified her patron πρὸς χάριν, "as a favor."[16] And while the *hetaira* affirms and embodies the circulation of *charis* within a privileged elite, the *pornê* in aristocratic discourse figures the debased and promiscuous exchanges of the agora. Thus I would concur with Davidson's mapping of the *hetaira-pornê* binary along the axis of gift- vs. commodity-exchange, though I would suggest a different moral inflection for this discursive opposition in the archaic period.

If we are seeking contemporary evidence for this opposition and the purposes it served, we must turn to archaic poetry. The *pornê* had been a staple of blame poetry since Archilochus. Thus later commentators report that Archilochus used the term μισητή, "lewd" or "lascivious" for "a woman who is common and easy" (τὴν κοινὴν καὶ ῥᾳδίαν), in a one-liner that became proverbial, "A woman with thick ankles is a whore" (περὶ σφυρὸν παχεῖα, μισητὴ γυνή, fr. 206W). The same sources preserve a whole string of other abusive designations Archilochus coined for the *pornê* (frr. 207–209W): δῆμος ("because she is common to the *demos*"), ἐργάτις ("working girl"), and μυσαχνή ("froth of defilement," "on the analogy

14. Murray 1990.7; cf. Murray 1983.265–66 on the political context of monodic lyric: "Alcaeus' band of *hetairoi* was no longer organised only or primarily for military exploits; it was more significantly a form of political organisation in response to the emergent city-state, designed to perpetuate aristocratic control of the state against the *demos*."

15. The complete exclusion of money from sympotic texts and iconography is noted by von Reden 1995.205–206 with 214–15 n. 50.

16. Anaxilas fr. 21 K-A:

> ἐὰν δέ τις μέτρια †καὶ λέγουσα
> τοῖς δεομένοις τινῶν ὑπουργῇ πρὸς χάριν,
> ἐκ τῆς ἑταιρείας ἑταίρα τοὔνομα
> προσηγορεύθη, καὶ σὺ νῦν οὐχ ὡς λέγεις
> πόρνης, ἑταίρας δ' εἰς ἔρωτα τυγχάνεις
> ἐληλυθὼς ἄρ' ὡς ἀληθῶς· ἔστι γοῦν
> ἁπλῆ τις. (B.) ἀστεία μὲν οὖν, νὴ τὸν Δία
>
> And if someone [even speaking measured things?] does service to those in need of something as a favor, from her companionship she has been called a *hetaira*—and you now happen to have fallen in love, not with a *pornê* (as you say), but with a *hetaira* then truly. She is someone honest then. (B.) Yes, by Zeus, and refined.

of Homeric 'sea-foam'").[17] These terms, even without their context, suggest the negative associations of the *pornê*—lewdness, pollution, the humiliating necessity of working for pay, and excessive commonality in the public sphere.

The discourse of the *hetaira* in archaic poetry stands in radical opposition to that of the *pornê*. In contrast to the shockingly coarse and explicit language of blame, the presentation of the *hetaira* is delicate and indirect; indeed, so indirect that we need some ingenuity in locating the *hetaira* in Greek verse. For, as a recent student of Greek prostitution has observed, those aristocratic sources well disposed to the institution never use the term *hetaira*, preferring polite periphrases. (Xenophon, for example, introduces Theodote coyly as "the sort of woman who would keep company with any man who persuaded her," *Mem*. 3.11.1.)[18] This suggests that "*hetaira*" is a term of derision, applied by those outside the aristocratic symposium to mock the sympotic equality of prostitute and elite participant (*hetairos*). In any case, then, we cannot expect to find the term itself in archaic sympotic poetry. Still, several fragments of Anakreon (together with the guidance provided by the later authors who quote him) bear out the ideologically loaded opposition of *hetaira* and *pornê*. Anakreon, the quintessential sympotic poet, provides a surprising number of references to both types of prostitute in his meager corpus, and though he is generally read simply as the hedonistic celebrator of wine and love, I would suggest that these references form part of a specific political agenda.

One of Anakreon's most familiar fragments, fr. 78 Gentili (= 417 PMG, the address to the "Thracian filly"), may be directed to a *hetaira*, at least to judge from the introduction of the first-century CE commentator Herakleitos who quotes it:

> καὶ μὴν ὁ Τήιος Ἀνακρέων ἑταιρικὸν φρόνημα καὶ σοβαρᾶς γυναικὸς ὑπερηφανίαν ὀνειδίζων τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ σκιρτῶντα νοῦν ὡς ἵππον ἠλλογόρησεν οὕτω λέγων·
>
> πῶλε Θρῃκίη, τί δή με λοξὸν ὄμμασι βλέπουσα
> νηλέως φεύγεις, δοκεῖς δέ μ' οὐδὲν εἰδέναι σοφόν;
> ἴσθι τοι, καλῶς μὲν ἄν τοι τὸν χαλινὸν ἐμβάλοιμι,
> ἡνίας δ' ἔχων στρέφοιμί σ' ἀμφὶ τέρματα δρόμου·
> νῦν δὲ λειμῶνάς τε βόσκεαι κοῦφά τε σκιρτῶσα παίζεις,
> δεξιὸν γὰρ ἱπποπείρην οὐκ ἔχεις ἐπεμβάτην.
>
> And indeed Anakreon the Teian, reproaching the meretricious [lit. "hetairic"] attitude and disdain of a haughty woman, allegorized her skittering mind as a horse, speaking thus,

17. The explanatory commentary is provided by Eustathius to Homer, p. 1651.1, 1329.33 and Suetonius *de blasph*. pp. 49–51 Taillardat (all cited by West as testimonia to fr. 206). For other references to *pornai* in archaic poetry, see Archilochus *dub*. fr. 302W, *spur*. fr. 328W; Hipponax frr. 135, 135a, 135bW; Alkaios fr. 117b V. For a speculative reconstruction of what prostitution signified in Archilochus' poetic system, see Burnett 1983.78–97.

18. D. Christodoulou, private correspondence.

> "O Thracian filly, why, looking askance at me with your eyes, do you flee pitilessly, and think that I know nothing skillful? Know that I would mount the bridle well upon you, and holding the reins, I would turn you about the limits of the track. But now [as it is], you feed in meadows, and lightly frisking, you play, for you do not have a skillful rider experienced with horses."

Two elements in the poem tend to confirm the later commentator's identification of its addressee as a *hetaira*. First, her address in the opening words as "Thracian filly" suggests a foreign origin: recall Herodotus' mention that Rhodopis was originally from Thrace (2.134).[19] Second, the characterization of her current activity in line 5 of the poem: "But now you feed in meadows, and lightly frisking, you play." As Bruno Gentili has observed, the image of a horse ranging free in a meadow—as opposed to safely locked in its stall—suggests a woman who is sexually free and promiscuous.[20] And yet the poem evokes no moral disapproval of the woman's "loose" behavior, instead playfully suggesting that the speaker could offer her a more skillful "ride." There is no hint of economic negotiation for favors, for the Thracian filly, like Xenophon's Theodote, must be *persuaded* to turn her attention elsewhere. The poem as a whole conjures up the privileged space of the symposium, where the speaker (whose self-representation as a skillful "rider" marks him as an aristocrat) banters cheerfully with a female symposiast.

Anakreon fr. 93 Gentili (= 373 PMG) produces very much the same effect:

> ἠρίστησα μὲν ἰτρίου λεπτοῦ μικρὸν ἀποκλάς,
> οἴνου δ' ἐξέπιον κάδον· νῦν δ' ἁβρῶς ἐρόεσσαν
> ψάλλω πηκτίδα τῇ φίλῃ κωμάζων †παιδὶ ἁβρῇ†.[21]
>
> I breakfasted, having broken off a little bit of slender honey-cake, and I drained my vessel of wine; and now I delicately pluck the lovely Lydian lyre, celebrating the *komos* with a dear and dainty girl.

19. Cf. also the use of πῶλος, which, according to Hesychius, was a term for *hetairai* in Euboulos (Hesychius s.v. πῶλος). Cf. Gentili 1958.193n. 3.

20. Gentili 1958.186–94. To the parallels collected by Gentili one might add the metaphorical use of φορβάς in Pindar fr. 122.19 SM; Sophocles fr. 720 Radt; Pollux 7.203. Claude Calame suggests to me that the language of Anakreon's poem is, in fact, deliberately ambiguous: a large part of its wit (and seductiveness) inhere in the rhetorical technique of praising a *hetaira* by assimilating her to a virgin. Thus, much of the poem's diction would be equally appropriate to a virgin girl as yet "unyoked." For the same assimilation of a *hetaira*'s appearance and behavior to that of a "modest virgin," cf. Xenophon *Mem.* 3.11.14, and see the passages cited below, pp. 140–41.

21. παιδὶ ἁβρῇ is marked corrupt for metrical reasons; but notice that, among the emendations Gentili prints in his apparatus criticus to fr. 93 are πάϊδ' ἁβρῇ and παϊδὶ ἁβρῇ, which heal the meter with very minor changes. Alternatively, Wilamowitz suggested that a proper name was concealed by this corruption (1884.317n. 27; 1913.103n. 1). Thus I assume that "delicate girl" or something very like it stood in this spot; but even if the line ended with a proper name, that would not much affect my argument, since the gender and status of this mysterious figure are still determined by τῇ φίλῃ earlier in the line.

Wine, the pektis (or Lydian lyre), and the *komos* establish the sympotic setting of this brief fragment, while the twice-repeated ἁβρῶς, ἁβρῇ evokes a context of aristocratic luxury. As scholars have argued, the espousal or rejection of *habrosyne* represents a political and ideological choice in archaic Greek poetry. Here as elsewhere, Anakreon's wholehearted embrace of the "cult of *habrosyne*" signals his allegiance to an aristocratic elite with close links with the East.[22] And central to the lifestyle of *habrosyne* in this sympotic fragment is the company of a "girl" who is φίλη, "dear"—in this context, almost certainly a *hetaira*. Again, there is no talk of wage or payment, only the language of pleasure and aristocratic friendship (φίλη). The relationship of symposiast and *hetaira* is completely mystified as one of mutually comfortable and willing companionship.

The link between the "cult of *habrosyne*" and the mystified erotic relations of the *hetaira* is confirmed by a brief reference to Anakreon in Clement of Alexandria's *Paidagogos* (2nd/3rd century CE). While fulminating against women's luxurious and indecent motions, Clement quotes a snippet of the sympotic poet (Anakreon fr. 138 Gentili = 458 PMG):

> αἱ δὲ γυναικεῖοι κινήσεις καὶ θρύψεις καὶ χλιδαὶ κολουστέαι παντελῶς· τὸ γὰρ ἁβροδίαιτον τῆς περὶ τὸν περίπατον κινήσεως καὶ τὸ
>
> σαῦλα βαίνειν,
>
> ὥς φησιν Ἀνακρέων, κομιδῇ ἑταιρικά.
>
> Womanly movements and indulgences and luxuries must be curtailed entirely; for luxuriousness of movement in walking about and "going swaggeringly" (as Anakreon says) are altogether meretricious [lit. "hetairic"].

Everything we know about Anakreon suggests that, ironically, the collocation of terms ἁβροδίαιτον and σαῦλα βαίνειν would have been positively valued by the earlier poet, and, to judge from Clement's climactic denunciation (ἑταιρικά), used to characterize a luxurious and lascivious *hetaira*.[23]

Thus the fragments of Anakreon suggest a very specific context for the "invention of the *hetaira*": she is a product of the sympotic space where the lifestyle of *habrosyne* was actively espoused as a form of self-definition and distinction by an aristocratic elite throughout the sixth century. Within the world of the symposium, the conceptual category of the *hetaira* served several different functions. First, the constitution of this category within the framework of aristocratic gift exchange enabled the complete occlusion of the explicit, monetarized economics of the public sphere. In this respect, the *hetaira-pornê* binary functioned just like the opposition of metals and money, to define and differentiate the sympotic world

22. On the political implications of *habrosyne*, see Mazzarino 1947; Arthur 1984.37–49; Kurke 1992; Morris 1996; on this fragment in particular, Kurke 1992.93–94.

23. Other frr. of Anakreon that refer to women in sympotic settings (and hence, probably to *hetairai*): fr. 48 Gentili, 427 PMG (on which, see Section III below); fr. 136 Gentili, 455 PMG.

from the public space of the agora in elitist discourse. For a striking characteristic of aristocratic sympotic poetry in the archaic period is its frequent use of the imagery of metals and refining metals to figure the consistency and dependability of the authentic aristocratic self. Thus, in one of the image's many occurrences in the Theognidean corpus, the speaker bemoans his plight:

Οὐδέν' ὁμοῖον ἐμοὶ δύναμαι διζήμενος εὑρεῖν
πιστὸν ἑταῖρον, ὅτῳ μή τις ἔνεστι δόλος·
ἐς βάσανον δ' ἐλθὼν παρατρίβομαι ὥστε μολύβδῳ
χρυσός, ὑπερτερίης δ' ἄμμιν ἔνεστι λόγος.

(Thgn. 415–18)

Seeking, I can find no trusty comrade like to myself, the sort who has no trickery within. But going to the touchstone, I am exposed like gold rubbed beside lead, and we have the reputation (literally, reckoning) of superiority.

On another occasion, the speaker uses the same imagery of testing gold on the touchstone to assert his own purity and quality:

εὑρήσεις δέ με πᾶσιν ἐπ' ἔργμασιν ὥσπερ ἄπεφθον
χρυσὸν ἐρυθρὸν ἰδεῖν τριβόμενον βασάνῳ,
τοῦ χροιῆς καθύπερθε μέλας οὐχ ἅπτεται ἰός
οὐδ' εὐρώς, αἰεὶ δ' ἄνθος ἔχει καθαρόν.

(Thgn. 449–52)

You will find me for all deeds like refined gold, ruddy to see when rubbed on a touchstone; on top of the surface no black rust fixes nor mold, but it has always a pure bloom.

It has been argued that this imagery in archaic poetry must be understood in relation to the suppressed fact of coinage: aristocratic sympotic poetry speaks obsessively of metals as if to deny the existence of coinage, trying to replace silver with gold and symbolic with essential value.[24]

Indeed, it may be that archaic poetry explicitly made the analogy between the *hetaira* and the sympotic "language of metals." For we find the association of the *hetaira* with gold in Middle Comedy, where it may represent an inheritance from an older sympotic discourse. Thus Chrysis ("Goldie") is a common *hetaira*-name attested from the fourth century on (Timokles fr. 27 K.-A., Menander *Samia*, Lucian *Dialogues of Courtesans* 8); while the fourth-century comic poet Antiphanes offers what might be read as an extended gloss on the name (fr. 210 K.-A.):

οὗτος δ' ὃν λέγω
ἐν γειτόνων αὐτῷ κατοικούσης τινὸς
ἰδὼν ἑταίρας εἰς ἔρωτ' ἀφίκετο,

24. For extended argumentation, see Kurke 1995.

ἀστῆς, ἐρήμου δ' ἐπιτρόπου καὶ συγγενῶν,
ἦθός τι χρυσοῦν πρὸς ἀρετὴν κεκτημένης
ὄντως ἑταίρας· αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι τοὔνομα
βλάπτουσι τοῖς τρόποις γὰρ ὄντως ὂν καλόν.

This one of whom I speak caught sight of a *hetaira* living at his neighbor's house and fell in love with her, a citizen girl, but bereft of guardian and relatives, possessed of a golden nature when it came to virtue, truly a "companion." For the rest of those women harm the name that is truly fair with their ways.

The notion that possessing a "golden nature" (ἦθός τι χρυσοῦν) makes her a "true *hetaira*" recalls Theognis' repeated wish to find a *pistos hetairos* just like himself, "refined gold when rubbed on a touchstone." The similarity of language and theme suggests that the "hooker with a heart of gold" who becomes a staple of New Comedy is an adaptation of an older aristocratic ideal.

We may find a bit of evidence for the sympotic origins of this association in a pair of Attic skolia preserved by Athenaeus (Ath. *Deipn*. 15.695c–d = Carm. Conv. 900, 901 PMG):

εἴθε λύρα καλὴ γενοίμην ἐλεφαντίνη
καί με καλοὶ παῖδες φέροιεν Διονύσιον ἐς χορόν.

εἴθ' ἄπυρον καλὸν γενοίμην μέγα χρυσίον
καί με καλὴ γυνὴ φοροίη καθαρὸν θεμένη νόον.

I wish I were a beautiful ivory lyre, and beautiful boys would bear me to the Dionysiac dance.

I wish I were a big, beautiful, unsmelted golden ornament, and a beautiful woman would wear me—a woman who had made her mind pure.

Two of the twenty-five Attic skolia Athenaeus transmits, these poems have been taken as relics of archaic sympotic culture.[25] These two couplets clearly belong together, with their iterated wish, the pairing of ivory and gold, "beautiful boys" and a "beautiful woman." It is this last pairing of παῖδες and γυνή that suggests that the beautiful woman may be a *hetaira*, since the association of desirable boys and women is a standard sympotic topos.[26] Given this possibility, what is striking about the second couplet is the way in which the characterization of the καλὴ γυνή echoes that desiderated for a *pistos hetairos* in the Theognidea:

μή μ' ἔπεσιν μὲν στέργε, νόον δ' ἔχε καὶ φρένας ἄλλῃ
εἴ με φιλεῖς καί σοι πιστὸς ἔνεστι νόος.

25. Reitzenstein 1893.13–17 argues that Athenaeus' compilation of 25 skolia (or drinking songs) is based on a collection that was already constituted by the mid-fifth century, with many of the individual poems dating back to the archaic period.

26. Cf. Theognis 723–24 and Aristophanes *Clouds* 1073 (the pleasures advocated by the Ἄδικος Λόγος): παίδων γυναικῶν κοττάβων ὄψων πότων κιχλισμῶν.

ἤ με φίλει καθαρὸν θέμενος νόον, ἤ μ' ἀποειπών
ἔχθαιρ' ἀμφαδίην νεῖκος ἀειράμενος.
ὃς δὲ μιῇ γλώσσῃ δίχ' ἔχει νόον, οὗτος ἑταῖρος
δεινός, Κύρν', ἐχθρὸς βέλτερος ἢ φίλος ὤν.
(Thgn. 87–92; 87–90 approx. = 1082c–f)

Do not show liking for me, but hold your mind and wits in another place, if you love me and a trustworthy mind is in you. Either love me once you have made your mind pure or reject and hate me openly raising a quarrel. But he who holds his mind divided with a single tongue, this one is a terrible companion, o Kyrnos, being a better enemy than a friend.

Theognis requires that a *philos hetairos* have a mind that is "trusty" (πιστός) and "pure" (καθαρὸν θέμενος νόον), while the Attic skolion characterizes the *hetaira* in precisely the same terms (καθαρὸν θεμένη νόον). But the association of *hetaira* and *hetairos* extends even further, for in both cases the "purity" (καθαρόν) of the ideal "companion" is associated with gold. Thus at Theognis 449–52 (quoted above), the *pistos hetairos*, like refined gold, "always has a pure bloom" (αἰεὶ δ' ἄνθος ἔχει καθαρόν, 452). In the Attic skolion, metonymy replaces metaphor: the beautiful woman's "pure mind" is identified with the purity of gold by relations of contiguity—by the association with the beautiful golden jewel worn on her breast.[27]

This imagistic assimilation of *hetaira* and *hetairos* suggests a function beyond the narrowly economic: the category of the *hetaira* seems at times to entail a deliberate mystification of status, an effort to play down distinctions between the symposiasts and their female companions.[28] That is to say, as Ian Morris has observed of elitist ideology in general, status boundaries of male and female are minimized, while the single distinction—aristocratic elites vs. others—becomes paramount.[29] The deliberately obscure standing of the *hetaira*[30] assists the constitution of this inviolable barrier between the sympotic space and all those outside it (hence the derisive use of the term itself to characterize what, from the outside, must have seemed the bizarrely egalitarian dynamics of the aristocratic symposium). Finally, in contrast to this odd identification, the presence of sexually

27. Note that there may still be a mark of distinction between *hetairos* and *hetaira*, in the fact that the jewel of the καλὴ γυνή is ἄπυρον, "unfired, unrefined" in contrast to the purified gold of the male sympotic companion.

28. This is perhaps partly the necessary result of constituting the relation as one of gift exchange, which requires approximate equality of partners.

29. Morris 1996.36: "the elitists legitimated their special role from sources outside the polis; the middling poets rejected such claims. The former blurred distinctions between male and female, present and past, mortal and divine, Greek and Lydian, to reinforce a distinction between aristocrat and commoner; the latter did the opposite. . . . Elitist poetry was the oppositional literature of an *immanent elite*, an imagined community evoked in the interstices of the polis world—at interstate games, in the arrival of a *xenos* from a different city, or behind the closed doors of the symposium."

30. Recall the terms of Davidson's analysis of the discourse of the *hetaira*: "a never-ending cycle of involvement, founded on dissimulation and avoidance of definition."

available women infused the sympotic space with a generalized eroticism which was an important element in the lifestyle of *habrosyne* (at least as Sappho and Anakreon celebrated it).[31] As such, the women functioned as so much sympotic furniture, like the couches and pillows—objects to serve the needs of the male symposiasts and create a certain atmosphere. (Thus, Anakreon's Thracian filly may have a choice of mounts, but it is never in question that she is the horse and the male the rider.[32])

One might say that the relative discursive primacy of these two latter functions depends on whether one focusses on the internal workings of the symposium or on its oppositional relation to the public sphere: if the former, emphasis falls on the hierarchy of male symposiasts and female attendants; if the latter, on the companionship and identity of *hetairoi* and *hetairai*. The dialectic between these two positions is precarious and difficult to maintain, and it is perhaps for this reason that scholars have tended to latch onto one function to the complete exclusion of the other.[33] Even in archaic representations, the balance is occasionally lost, and the discourse flip-flops precipitously from one pole to the other.

II. THE *PORNÊ* AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

But before we can explore the faultlines within the ideology of the *hetaira*, we must complete the opposition. Several other fragments of Anakreon suggest the terms of the portrait of the *pornê* as the *hetaira*'s opposite number. The sole appearance of the stem πορν- in the corpus of Anakreon occurs in fr. 82 Gentili (= 388 PMG), a stunningly savage lampoon of a certain Artemon:[34]

πρὶν μὲν ἔχων βερβέριον, καλύμματ' ἐσφηκωμένα,
καὶ ξυλίνους ἀστραγάλους ἐν ὠσὶ καὶ ψιλὸν περί
πλευρῇσι ⟨δέρριον⟩ βοός,

νήπλυτον εἴλυμα κακῆς ἀσπίδος, ἀρτοπώλισιν
κἀθελοπόρνοισιν ὁμιλέων ὁ πονηρὸς Ἀρτέμων,
κίβδηλον εὑρίσκων βίον,

31. Cf. Murray 1990.7. Richard Neer has suggested to me that part of the point of this erotic element is to counter the association of *habrosyne* with effeminacy by those hostile to this aristocratic lifestyle. On representational links between *habrosyne* and effeminacy, see Kurke 1992.98–106.

32. Contrast her position to that of the boy in Anakreon fr. 15 Gentili (= 360 PMG), who is the "charioteer" of the speaker's soul. This erotic objectification of women as part of the sympotic entertainment is clearly reflected in Carm. conv. 904 PMG, which strikes a very different note from fr. 901: ἁ ὗς τὰν βάλανον τὰν μὲν ἔχει, τὰν δ' ἔραται λαβεῖν·/ κἀγὼ παῖδα καλὴν τὴν μὲν ἔχω, τὴν δ' ἔραμαι λαβεῖν. ("The sow has one acorn, but longs to take another; and I have one beautiful girl, but long to take another.")

33. Thus, for example, Keuls 1985.160–86 registers only the erotic subjugation of the *hetaira*, while Calame 1989 and Reinsberg 1989 mainly emphasize the elements of equality and companionship in her status.

34. Text after Gentili.

πολλὰ μὲν ἐν δουρὶ τιθεὶς αὐχένα, πολλὰ δ' ἐν τροχῷ,
πολλὰ δὲ νῶτον σκυτίνῃ μάστιγι θωμιχθείς, κόμην
πώγωνά τ' ἐκτετιλμένος·

νῦν δ' ἐπιβαίνει σατινέων χρύσεα φορέων καθέρματα
πάϊς Κύκης καὶ σκιαδίσκην ἐλεφαντίνην φορέει
γυναιξὶν αὔτως

Formerly having a turban, wasp-like headcoverings, and wooden dice in his ears and a worn oxhide around his ribs, unwashed covering of a lousy shield, keeping company with breadwomen and willing whores, wicked Artemon made his living by crime, many times putting his neck in the stocks, many times on the wheel, and many times having his back scourged with a leather lash, and his hair and beard plucked out; but now he mounts carriages, wearing golden earrings, the child of Kyke, and bears a little ivory parasol—just like women.

A single sentence of twelve lines, this poem (complete or not) represents our most substantial fragment of Anakreon. It has traditionally been read as abuse of a social climber, and Christopher Brown has recently confirmed that reading by offering a compelling word-by-word analysis in which he demonstrates the movement of its subject Artemon from the lowest rungs of society (1–9) to sudden arriviste wealth and luxury (10–12).[35] Thus, Brown suggests that the βερβέριον, some kind of tight "wasplike" headcovering, is intended to contrast with the long, flowing hair of aristocratic fashion, while "wooden dice" for earrings represent a poor man's version of outlandish Eastern ornament. He cites parallels in Theognis and Aristophanes for the rustic and low-class garb of worn hide, and notes that "breadwomen" and "willing whores" suggest coarse lowlife companions.[36] He interprets κίβδηλον εὑρίσκων βίον as "he made his living by crime," and points out that the next stanza continues the theme of Artemon's criminality: "Pollux (10.177) records that dishonest traders were put on the rack (δόρυ) and whipped. From Aristophanes we learn that adulterers suffered depilation."[37]

35. Brown 1983 convincingly refutes the revisionist reading of Slater 1978, who claims that the fragment represents two different incarnations of ritual transvestism. Cf. also Davies 1981 for an attack on Slater 1978.

36. Brown 1983.12–13. As Brown notes, we cannot determine whether ἐθελόπορνοι is intended to refer to male or female prostitutes, since it is a compound adjective of two terminations. The association of breadsellers and prostitutes is common in Greek literature: Brown cites Aristophanes, *Frogs* 112; cf. also Pollux' mention that Hermippus referred to a prostitute as a "rotten whore" and a "sow" in a play called *The Breadwomen* (Ἕρμιππος ... ἐν Ἀρτοπώλισι φησὶν, ὡς σαπρὰ πόρνη, καὶ κάπραινα, Pollux *Onomasticon* 7.202). For the association, cf. also Herter 1960.74–75; for "breadbaker" as slang for prostitute or courtesan, see Garrett and Kurke 1996.

37. Brown 1983.13–14. Specifically Pollux says, "When Kratinos says in the *Nemesis*, 'having his neck in the pillory,' it must be understood that this was a certain kind of market-regulatory equipment, in which the one who does wrong concerning the market must put his neck and be whipped" (Κρατίνου δὲ εἰπόντος ἐν Νεμέσει, ἐν τῷ κυφῶνι τὸν αὐχένα ἔχων, ἧπου νοητέον, ὡς σκεῦος ἦν τι ἀγορανομικὸν, ᾧ τὸν αὐχένα ἐνθέντα δεῖ μαστιγοῦσθαι τὸν

Brown notes in conclusion,

> In the first section of the poem Anacreon depicts Artemon as socially low, criminal, and sexually loose. When we next see him, he is miraculously changed, no longer crass and inelegant, but outfitted in golden jewellery, carrying a parasol, and riding on σατίναι. If it were not for the last line, we might suppose that Anacreon is merely describing Artemon dressed as an Ionian aristocrat, but the phrase γυναιξὶν αὔτως makes the reference to effeminacy explicit. What we have of the poem does not allow us to say with any precision in what way Artemon is effeminate, but it is undeniable that something about his new life-style is woman-like. His effeminacy is underlined by the appellation πάϊς Κύκης (11). It has been suggested that this phrase indicates that Artemon is of illegitimate birth, which would be appropriate to his low origins. This is plausible, but it is more relevant to note the basic ambiguity of the word παῖς, which can be used of either sex, and here its collocation with the name of the mother suggests a female child.[38]

I find Brown's detailed analysis completely persuasive and would suggest that, following his reading, we must take this abuse as the flipside of the fragments already considered. For if they constitute the privileged sympotic world of *habrosyne*, this fragment reaffirms that lifestyle by programmatic opposition. And indeed, in the fragment's first three stanzas at least, the contrast crucially depends on locating Artemon in the agora, a public space characterized by debased and illicit mercantile and sexual exchanges.[39] His designation as ὁ πονηρὸς Ἀρτέμων and πάϊς Κύκης makes his low-class origin and status explicit,[40] while his garb of worn oxhide delivers the same message more obliquely, to judge from a Theognidean parallel:

> Κύρνε, πόλις μὲν ἔθ' ἥδε πόλις, λαοὶ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι,
> οἳ πρόσθ' οὔτε δίκας ἤιδεσαν οὔτε νόμους,

περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν κακουργοῦντα, Pollux *Onomasticon* 10.177). In the same context, Pollux notes that "Deinolochos in the *Amazons* spoke of the [harness] of the retailer's yoke" (καπηλικοῦ ζυγοῦ).

38. Brown 1983.14.

39. This is not to say that the agora really *was* such a space, simply that it was represented as such in elite discourse. Indeed, I have been persuaded by the arguments of von Reden 1995.171–94 for what she calls an "embedded money economy" within the Greek city: "A crucial distinction between coinage and other wealth lay in the question of their origins. The recognition of coinage as a recompense meant the acknowledgment of the *polis* as an institution that controlled justice and prosperity. Agrarian wealth and ancestral treasure, by contrast, referred to a divine order of justice which could be controlled by humans, if at all, only by religious ritual. The introduction of coinage indicates the shift of authority over social justice from the gods to the *polis*" (1995.175). In this context, I suggest that elite resistance to the authority of the polis manifested itself in the negative representation of the agora as merely a site for disembedded and debased exchanges (thereby denying the political functions of both agora and coinage).

40. Though Gerber (1970.234) and Brown (1983.14) prefer to read a suggestion of effeminacy into πάϊς Κύκης, Young (1973.413) takes it as an intimation of illegitimacy.

ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ πλευραῖσι δορὰς αἰγῶν κατέτριβον,
ἔξω δ' ὥστ' ἔλαφοι τῆσδ' ἐνέμοντο πόλεος.
καὶ νῦν εἰσ' ἀγαθοί, Πολυπαίδη· οἱ δὲ πρὶν ἐσθλοί
νῦν δειλοί. τίς κεν ταῦτ' ἀνέχοιτ' ἐσορῶν;
ἀλλήλους δ' ἀπατῶσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι γελῶντες,
οὔτε κακῶν γνώμας εἰδότες οὔτ' ἀγαθῶν.

(Thgn. 53–60)

> Kyrnos, this city is still a city, but the people are different. Those who before knew neither judgements nor laws, but used to wear out goatskins about their ribs and pasture outside of the city like deer—they are now the "good," son of Polypaos, while those who were formerly noble are now base. Who could endure seeing these things? And they deceive each other, laughing at each other, knowing the wisdom neither of the base nor of the good.

Brown cites Theognis line 55 to demonstrate the association of leather garments with low-class rustics, but in context I would suggest that it conjures up another group as well. As I have argued, the characterization "they deceive each other, laughing at each other" in line 59 represents an aristocratic sneer at the practice of retail trade (*kapêleia*), so that we may read Theognis' boorish rustics garbed in goatskin also as *kapêloi*. Given the parallel, the association with *kapêleia* may also be the implication of Artemon's secondhand skins in Anakreon's lampoon.

However that may be, lines 4–9 of Anakreon's poem consistently associate Artemon with petty traders in the agora, first with "breadwomen" (4) and then with merchants punished for dishonest dealing on the rack (7–8). It is noteworthy that, in each case, trade is closely paired with some form of morally debased sexual activity: Artemon keeps company with "breadwomen and willing whores" in stanza two, while he suffers the punishments for commercial deceit and adultery in stanza three. I would contend that this coupling is deliberate, for each debased activity, mercantile and sexual, figures the other. To be a petty retailer is to be a "willing whore," and a thieving merchant an adulterer (and vice versa): in aristocratic terms, the disembedded economics of the agora taints all it touches. The exact center of the fragment, line 6, adds the final element to this picture—κίβδηλον εὑρίσκων βίον. Brown is right to emphasize its metaphorical usage; as he notes, in Aristophanes κιβδηλία means "dishonesty." Nonetheless, κίβδηλος is the *vox propria* for adulterated metal or counterfeit coin, so that here it continues the theme of deceit by conjuring up the specter of coinage.[41]

The one other appearance of Artemon in the extant fragments of Anakreon may participate in the same denunciation of the public sphere. Athenaeus cites

41. Brown 1983.13, citing Aristophanes, *Birds* 158. For κίβδος and κίβδηλος signifying a base alloy, see van Groningen 1966.50–51 (*ad* ll. 117, 119); Hangard 1963.62–66, 94; LSJ, s.v. κιβδηλεία, κίβδος. On the other hand, κίβδηλος is used to designate generically various kinds of counterfeit coin: see Stroud 1974.171–72 and Caccamo Caltabiano and Radici Colace 1983.442–43.

the two-line fragment, whose second line had become proverbial (fr. 8 Gentili = 372 PMG):

> ξανθῇ δ' Εὐρυπύλῃ μέλει
> ὁ περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμων.
>
> The notorious Artemon is a concern to blonde Eurypyle.

Though Athenaeus explains περιφόρητος literally as "being carried around on a couch on account of luxurious living,"[42] Artemon's epithet seems actually to mean "carried around [in the mouths of all]," hence "notorious" or "infamous." The term may even indicate sexual looseness and availability, for, as Brown notes, an Aristophanic scholiast refers the proverb ὁ περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμων "to a boy who is fair and snatched by all" (ἐπὶ καλοῦ καὶ ἁρπαζομένου πρὸς πάντων παιδός, Schol. Ar. *Ach*. 850 = Gentili fr. 8, *test*. ii).[43] In either case, whether he is "borne around" in mouths or hands, the epithet refers disparagingly to Artemon's excessive circulation in the public domain. And it may be that this public promiscuity is associated with prostitution, since Artemon's companion in the fragment bears the suggestive name Eurypyle, "wide gate." Though later ancient writers speculated that Eurypyle was one of Anakreon's lovers, her name is most apt for a prostitute (again with emphasis on her promiscuity or public availability).[44]

Another more substantial fragment that may chronicle the career of a prostitute is fr. 60 Gentili (= 346 PMG), first published from papyrus in 1954:[45]

> οὐδε . . . [.] ς .φ. . ᾳ . . [. . .] . . [
> φοβερὰς δ' ἔχεις πρὸς ἄλλῳ
> φρένας, ὦ καλλιπρό[σ]ωπε παίδ[ων.
>
> καί σε δοκέει μὲν ἐ[ν δό]μοισι
> πυκινῶς ἔχουσα [μήτηρ
> ἀτιτάλλειν· σ[ὺ δὲ — ⏑ βόσκεαι
>
> τὰς ὑακιν[θίνας ἀρ]ούρας,
> ἵ]να Κύπρις ἐκ λεπάδνων
> ἐρο]έᾳᾳ[ς κ]ατέδησεν ἵππους.

42. Cf. Plutarch *Pericles* 27 (= Gentili fr. 8, *test*. iii).

43. Brown 1983.14 with n. 79. Cf. Slater 1978.186 n. 8 for the negative connotations of περι- compounds; thus Theognis 581–82: ἐχθαίρω δὲ γυναῖκα περίδρομον ἄνδρα τε μάργον, / ὃς τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν βούλετ' ἄρουραν ἀροῦν ("I hate the woman who runs around and the greedy man who wants to plow another's field") and Pollux *Onomasticon* 7.203, who lists περίπολις as a term for a *pornê*.

44. Cf. Brown 1983.7. For ancient sources who cite Eurypyle as a lover of Anakreon, see Dioscurides *AP* 7.31.10, Antipater Sidonius *AP* 7.27.5; for modern scholars who follow their lead, see Smyth 1963.290, Gerber 1970.233; for opposition, Brown 1983.7. For the obscene use of πύλη, see Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 250, 265, 423, 1163 and especially *CAF* adesp. 805, in which δημίαισι πύλαις is glossed as "common whores" by Hesychius (s.v.) and cf. Henderson 1991.137.

45. Text after Gentili's edition.

. . . . .]δ' ἐν μέσῳ κατῆ⟨ι⟩ξας
ὁμάδ]ῳ, δι' ἅσσα πολλοί
πολ]ιητέων φρένας ἐπτοέαται,
λεωφ]όρε, λεωφόρ' Ἡρο[τ]ίμη,

> Nor . . . , and in addition you have fearful wits, o lovely faced of children. And your mother imagines that, holding you at home, she fosters you assiduously, but you graze [instead?] in the hyacinth fields where Kypris bound down lovely mares [freed] from the yoke. And you leapt into the middle of the throng, through which many of the citizens are fluttered in wits, O much-trafficked, much-trafficked Herotime . . .

Significantly, the epithet the poem's subject Herotime bears in the fragment's last legible line—λεωφόρος—had been preserved independently from antiquity as a term Anakreon used to designate a *pornê* (Suda 3.429 Adler; Eustathius *Il*. 1329.34 = fr. 163 Gentili, 446 PMG). Hence, there is at least some evidence in the ancient lexicographical tradition that this fragment concerns a common prostitute, though its damaged and partial state makes it difficult to reconstruct with any certainty.

For the most part, I follow the interpretation of Gregorio Serrao, who reads the fragment as a sequence of diverse moments in the life of Herotime, chronicling her development from innocent young girl to public prostitute.[46] Thus the opening lines describe her as a timid child (1–3), whose mother imagines that she is safely immured and supervised within the house (3–6). But with a strong syntactic break in line 6 (and probably a δέ answering the μέν in line 4),[47] the lovely faced child is revealed grazing "in hyacinth fields where Kypris binds down lovely mares [freed] from the yoke." As Gentili has forcefully argued, horses in the hyacinth fields of Kypris represent those who have abandoned themselves to sensuality; the hyacinth is sacred to Aphrodite, and horses ranging free (like Anakreon's Thracian filly) suggest women who are promiscuous and readily available.[48] Finally, according to this interpretation, the last four lines complete the picture, setting Herotime in public among a throng of admirers. As Serrao concludes, the fragment represents "the normal *cursus honorum* of a high-class courtesan."[49]

As opposed to other interpretations, which make the καλλιπρόσωπε παίδων of line 3 a boy, or insist that the contrast is one of simultaneous, contradictory attitudes in a lascivious girl who pretends to be "nice," Serrao's reading has the virtue of making coherent sense of the lines preserved.[50] Yet perhaps because of a

46. Serrao 1968, with the refinements added by Cavallini 1990. Serrao offers a comprehensive summary of other interpretations of the fragment to date.

47. Posited first by Gallavotti 1955.48.

48. Gentili 1958.182–90.

49. Serrao 1968.51.

50. For the former interpretation see Latte 1955.496; Merkelbach 1956.96–97; West 1994.102; for the latter, Gentili 1958.194. Gerber (1976.121) objects to Serrao's reading that all the verbs are

certain delicacy in Italian scholarship, which tends to characterize all Anakreon's female subjects as *hetairai*, this reading has not taken account of all the shifts and developments within the fragment.[51] For, while Gentili and Serrao acknowledge the contrast of the protected, enclosed space of the mother's house and the open meadows of Aphrodite, they do not recognize the abrupt and shocking shift in tone between the third and fourth stanzas of the poem (which precisely corresponds to the representational shift from *hetaira* to *pornê*). That is to say, lines 7–9 may figure a sexually available woman, but do so in lyrical and allusive terms, constructing an idyllic "other" space of sexuality (hence their similarity to the landscape of the "Thracian filly"). In contrast (marked by δέ in line 10), the last stanza locates Herotime very explicitly in the real space of the city center and culminates in the degrading refrain λεωφόρε, λεωφόρ' Ἡροτίμη. The contrast has the effect of exploding any illusions that might remain about Herotime's status and, with a surprise twist, demoting her definitively from "high-class courtesan" to common whore.[52]

It is striking that the moment of her exposure corresponds exactly to the mention of citizens (πολιητέων) and her location ἐν μέσῳ (which we might read as a brutal Anakreontic joke on the catch phrase of egalitarian ideology[53]). This collocation suggests that what Serrao terms the fragment's "malicious irony" (1968.50) is directed not simply at the hapless Herotime, but also, through her, at the public sphere of citizen activity. As in the scathing lampoon of Artemon, the public domain of the agora is depicted as obscene and debased through the location and circulation of the *pornê* within it.

On this reading, the movement and strategy of this fragment seem to be the opposite of fr. 82 Gentili (though for the same thematic point). Where the Artemon poem moves through a meticulous comic blazon of Artemon's corrupt activities in the public sphere to a final brief description of his incompetent aping of the

present-tense, whereas we should expect a shift from past- to present-tense forms if the poem does in fact chronicle the career of a single figure over time. This criticism has some force, but given the fragmentary state of the poem, it is hard to be sure. Thus, we do not really know what "you have fearful wits" (2–3) refers to, while the rest of the fragment can be understood as a single moment viewed from three perspectives: (1) the mother, who believes Herotime is safely immured within the house; (2) the speaker who describes Herotime as a *hetaira*; and (3) the speaker who describes Herotime as a *pornê*. If my reading is correct, this movement is calculated to shock and surprise the listener.

51. Thus Gentili, Serrao, and Cavallini consistently refer to Herotime as *"etera"* rather than *pornê*, the category the ancient lexicographical tradition supports.

52. For consideration of possible contexts for such a representational shift, see Section III below. For a similar interpretation (though without the political dimension), see Gallavotti 1955.50: "Tuttavia Erotima è soltanto una ragazza, molto giovane, e con qualche esperienza, la cui resistenza ha indispettito il maturo postulante. Questo è il motivo e la tonalità dell'ode, che si colloca a mezzo fra i carmi più teneri e gli altri di più aggressiva e scoperta virulenza nel libro amoroso di Anacreonte."

53. For the civic, egalitarian significance of ἐν μέσῳ or ἐς μέσον, see Detienne 1996.89–106; Morris 1996.36–37.

lifestyle of *habrosyne*, the Herotime poem lingers over the mystified beauties of innocent girlhood and adult sensuality before gleefully exploding them with a final vision of the "much-trafficked" Herotime leaping into the midst of the *hoi polloi*. Indeed, the poem's use of Homeric echoes (much commented on by scholars) confirms this movement. As Serrao notes, lines 6–9 of the fragment echo the language and imagery of *Iliad* 15.263–68, a simile describing Hector's renewed vigor for battle:[54]

ὡς δ' ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος, ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτνῃ,
δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας θείῃ πεδίοιο κροαίνων,
εἰωθὼς λούεσθαι ἐϋρρεῖος ποταμοῖο,
κυδιόων· ὑψοῦ δὲ κάρη ἔχει, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται
ὤμοις ἀΐσσονται· ὁ δ' ἀγλαΐῃφι πεποιθώς,
ῥίμφα ἐ γοῦνα φέρει μετά τ' ἤθεα καὶ νομὸν ἵππων·

As when some stalled horse, corn-fed at the manger, has broken his bond and run, striking his hooves over the plain, accustomed to wash in a well-flowing river, glorying in his strength—his head is held high, and his mane flows about his shoulders; and trusting in his splendor, his knees bear him lightly to the haunts and pasturage of horses.

Even if we take the application of this image to the domain of erotics as "mock-epic" or tongue-in-cheek, the echo identifies Herotime fleetingly with a Homeric hero and, by association, endows her with a certain stature. But, as has also been noted, λεωφόρος itself is a Homeric word, appearing once in an Iliadic simile:

ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀνὴρ ἵπποισι κελητίζειν ἐὺ εἰδώς,
ὅς τ' ἐπεὶ ἐκ πολέων πίσυρας συναείρεται ἵππους,
σεύας ἐκ πεδίοιο μέγα προτὶ ἄστυ δίηται
λαοφόρον καθ' ὁδόν· πολέες τέ ἑ θηήσαντο
ἀνέρες ἠδὲ γυναῖκες· ὁ δ' ἔμπεδον ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ
θρῴσκων ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλον ἀμείβεται, οἱ δὲ πέτονται·
(*Iliad* 15.679–84)

And as when a man skilled in riding horses, who, when he yokes together four horses from many, driving them from the plain, speeds toward a great city along a highway (lit., a people-bearing road); and many men and women marvel at him, but he keeps leaping and shifting continuously from horse to horse, and they fly along.

Gentili cites this passage to parallel the crowd of admiring citizens in lines 10–12 and to justify the reading κατῆ⟨ι⟩ξας as *variatio* for the Homeric θρῴσκων, but he does not seem to register the precise context of λαοφόρος as an epithet of ὁδός.[55] Given the allusion, Anakreon's climactic use of λεωφόρος represents a

54. Serrao 1968.44–46. The same simile is used at *Iliad* 6.506–14 for Paris entering battle.
55. Gentili 1958.191–92.

brutal and sudden demotion, as it were: in Homeric terms, Herotime has been abruptly transformed from a horse (9) or a rider (10) to a public thoroughfare.[56]

By my reading, λεωφόρος gives the game away: it registers aristocratic loathing for the commonality or universal availability of resources in the public sphere. It is significant, then, that the same implication of too-great accessibility characterizes a whole string of abusive epithets for *pornai* attributed to Anakreon by later commentators and lexicographers. Thus, in addition to λεωφόρος, the Suda offers the terms πανδοσία and μανιόκηπος, while Eustathius adds πολύυμνος to the list (frr. 163–65 Gentili = 446 PMG). μανιόκηπος signifies the mad (and therefore indiscriminate) lust of the *pornê*, since κῆπος, "garden" or "orchard" figures the female genitalia. πανδοσία and πολύυμνος share the same ironic compound structure: their second elements, "giving" and "hymning," normally positive in aristocratic terms, are negated by their first elements, which signify the universal scope of the activities. She who "gives herself to everyone" is not participating in gift exchange, but in the common traffic of the marketplace; she who is "hymned by many" incurs not praise but blame.[57]

The proliferation of references to *pornai* in the Anakreontic corpus is itself intriguing. Other scholars have recently noted the diversity of Anakreon's poetic output even in its fragmentary state. Thus both Christopher Brown and Patricia Rosenmeyer have emphasized the existence of blame poetry as another facet of Anakreon's rich poetic talent, opposing it to the light, witty sympotic verse of the traditional conception.[58] Yet I would suggest that behind this apparent diversity of forms—praise and blame, sympotic celebration and abuse—there is a coherent political agenda. While the sympotic fragments constitute an ideal world of aristocratic *habrosyne*, much of Anakreon's abuse vilifies the tenets of egalitarian ideology and the civic center that is their symbolic site. The poet is not simply lampooning contemporary individuals who have crossed his path (like Artemon and Herotime), but the non-elite "other" through these representatives. And the frequency of his abusive references to whores, I would suggest, is an index of the level of aristocratic anxiety at the emergence of the public sphere.

In a sense, the argument for the *political* significance of the ready availability of the *pornê* has already been made for a later period by David Halperin. Halperin

56. The same shocking inconcinnity is, in fact, embodied in the combination of epithet and name, λεωφόρ' Ἡροτίμη. The name Herotime, "honored by the hero" or "honor of the hero" seems very aristocratic and evocative of the noblest Homeric characters, while the epithet λεωφόρος explodes the name's aristocratic pretensions. (The significance of the name Herotime was suggested to me independently by Deborah Boedeker and Kate Gilhuly.) In modern Greek, λεωφορεῖον is the regular word for "bus"; Taillardat 1967.124, in his commentary on the ancient term, notes that in modern French such a woman is "un vrai boulevard."

57. Other possible references to *pornai* in Anakreon: fr. 124 Gentili, 439 PMG; fr. 157 Gentili, 480 PMG καταπτύστην, "execrable" (feminine; cf. Anaxilas fr. 22.6 K.-A., describing prostitutes as τοῦ καταπτύστου γένους, "of that execrable race"); and especially fr. 347 PMG, line 12 τὴν ἀρίγνωτον γυναῖκα (perhaps the second line of a new poem? see fr. 72 Gentili).

58. Brown 1983; Rosenmeyer 1992.37–49; cf. Fränkel 1973.300–301.

brilliantly analyzes what we might call the somatics of Athenian democratic ideology: the bodily integrity of the male citizen (first instituted by Solon's abolition of debt-bondage) and his "democratic right" to penetrate others. Based on these two pillars of democratic ideology, Halperin argues that we must understand as a paired structural system the heavy political sanctions against male citizen prostitution and the institution of cheap, state-subsidized brothels where *pornai* are available for all.[59] To allow oneself to be penetrated indiscriminately for pay is to feminize oneself and prove oneself unworthy of citizen rights (hence the punishment of *atimia* for a citizen male who has prostituted himself in the past and then wants to act in the public sphere). On the other hand, in Halperin's account, to be a citizen means always having a place to put your penis; thus there is a tradition that Solon himself, who first constituted citizen bodily integrity, also founded a series of state-subsidized brothels, so that any citizen, no matter how poor, could enjoy a *pornê*.[60] Few scholars would accept the ancient tradition crediting this founding act of benevolence to Solon, but, as Halperin notes, the authenticity of the tradition matters less than its existence, since it shows "that some people in classical Athens evidently considered prostitution an intrinsic constituent of democracy."[61] This position takes the association of the *pornê* with the indiscriminate availability of resources in the public sphere, which we have charted in Anakreon, and valorizes it as an index of democracy. Thus, the same discursive system has been turned on its head in the service of egalitarian ideology.

The fourth-century comic poet Philemon offers us an enthusiastic paean to Solon's wise innovation (Philemon fr. 3 K.-A.):

σὺ δ' εἰς ἅπαντας εὗρες ἀνθρώπους νόμον·
σὲ γὰρ λέγουσιν τοῦτ' ἰδεῖν πρῶτον, Σόλων,
δημοτικόν, ὦ Ζεῦ, πρᾶγμα καὶ σωτήριον,
(καί μοι λέγειν τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἁρμοστόν, Σόλων)
μεστὴν ὁρῶντα τὴν πόλιν νεωτέρων
τούτους τ' ἔχοντας τὴν ἀναγκαίαν φύσιν
ἁμαρτάνοντάς τ' εἰς ὃ μὴ προσῆκον ἦν,
στῆσαι πριάμενόν τοι γυναῖκας κατὰ τόπους
κοινὰς ἅπασι καὶ κατεσκευασμένας.
ἑστᾶσι γυμναί, μὴ 'ξαπατηθῇς· πάνθ' ὅρα.
οὐκ εὖ σεαυτοῦ τυγχάνεις ἔχων, ἔχεις
⟨ἐρωτικῶς⟩ πως. ἡ θύρα 'στ' ἀνεῳγμένη.
εἷς ὀβολός· εἰσπήδησον. οὐκ ἔστ' οὐδὲ εἷς
ἀκκισμός, οὐδὲ λῆρος, οὐδ' ὑφήρπασεν,

59. Halperin 1990.88–104.

60. Sources (assembled in Athenaeus, *Deipn*. 13.569d) are Philemon fr. 3 K-A (4th c. BCE) and Nikander of Kolophon 271/2 F9 Jacoby. As Halperin (1990.186n. 89) notes, these may not be independent traditions; Nikander could be cribbing from Philemon.

61. Halperin 1990.100–101; quote taken from 187n. 89. Surprisingly, Herter 1960.73 defends the Solonian provenance of Athenian brothel-foundation.

ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἦν βούλει σὺ χὢν βούλει τρόπον.
ἐξῆλθες· οἰμώζειν λέγ', ἀλλοτρία 'στί σοι.[62]

But you invented a law for all mankind; for they say that you, Solon, first envisioned a matter democratic and saving, by Zeus, (and it's appropriate for me to say this, o Solon). Seeing the city crammed with young men, and seeing them having their necessary nature and going wrong in the direction of what didn't belong to them, you set women you'd bought in [public] places, arrayed for action and common to all. They stand there naked, lest you be deceived: look everything over. Say you're not doing well, you're feeling erotic. The door's open. [Price] one obol: jump right in. There's no coyness, no nonsense, she doesn't snatch [herself] away, but straightway whichever one you want and in whatever position you want. Then out you go: tell her to go hang, she's nothing to you.

Even if this speech is tongue-in-cheek (and Kock suggested long ago that it was spoken by a pimp),[63] it parrots the catch phrases of democratic discourse: Solon's invention serves "all mankind" (1), it is "democratic" (3), and provides women who are "common to all" (9). And, the speech suggests, Solon's innovation achieves this effect of political democracy by completely disembedding the women from any social networks. Thus prostitution prevents young men from "going wrong in the direction of what doesn't belong to them" (7)—a roundabout reference to adultery with citizen wives or daughters.[64] In contrast, Solon's prostitutes are available to everyone precisely because they *belong* to no one. The last line blithely asserts, "she's nothing to you" (literally ἀλλοτρία, "she's not your property, of your household"). But if the prostitutes of this speech are constituted in opposition to citizen wives and daughters enmeshed in the networks of household and family, they are also defined in opposition to *hetairai*. In contrast to the elaborate games of ornamentation and self-presentation Xenophon's Theodote describes, these brothel-inmates are "stripped for action," completely naked. What they offer, in contrast to the seduction and romance of the *hetaira*, is demystified sex, figured, as in the case of Eurypyle, by the "open door." Instead of a connection of *charis*, they provide a physical act with a stranger (ἀλλοτρία, 16).

Indeed, in their perfect interchangeability and alienability, the prostitutes in this speech approximate the circulation of coinage in the public sphere. Like coinage, the success of the system is predicated on their symbolic sameness (one girl is much like another) and ability to circulate (once you're done with her,

62. I follow the text of Kassel-Austin, except for transposing νόμον (2) and Σόλων (1) with Kock, and reading ⟨ἐρωτικῶς⟩ πως (12) with Edmonds.

63. Kock 1880–1888, vol. 2.479 (*ad* fr. 4.4). In fact, this line seems to me to suggest rather a young citizen male who has himself enjoyed the benefits of Solon's system.

64. The contrast of the ready availability of prostitutes with the dangers of adultery is a comic topos; cf. Euboulus fr. 67 K.-A.; Xenarchus fr. 4 K.-A.

she's ἀλλοτρία).[65] Like coinage, (according to this tradition) they represent a civic intervention in the circulation of goods and services to equalize the status of all citizens. For, as coinage breaks down the aristocratic monopoly on precious metals and top-rank goods and provides a standard against which all labor can be measured, these state-subsidized prostitutes (at least in the Athenian imaginary) endow all citizens with an equal phallic power. If *hetairai* function like metals in the fantasy of the aristocratic symposium, the *pornê* circulates like money in the agora. James Davidson notes that, at the extreme of the commodifying discourse that characterizes the *pornê*, the woman is represented as bearing the name of the coin that is her wage: thus in a brothel scene on a cup by the Ambrosios Painter (late sixth century BCE), one of the inmates is labeled "Obole."[66]

It is precisely the equalizing power of the universal availability of resources that aristocratic discourse abhors, and, I have argued, allegorizes through the figure of the *pornê*. As a final piece of evidence for the elite position, I would like to juxtapose Philemon's celebration of Solon's "democratic" reform with an anonymous two-line drinking song preserved by Athenaeus (Ath. *Deip*. 15.695e = 905 PMG):

> πόρνη καὶ βαλανεὺς τωὐτὸν ἔχουσ' ἐμπεδέως ἔθος·
> ἐν ταὐτῷ πυέλῳ τόν τ' ἀγαθὸν τόν τε κακὸν λόει.
>
> The whore and the bathman have the same nature consistently; [each] washes good and bad alike in the same trough.

65. Henry 1992.261 emphasizes the commodification of the women in Philemon fr. 3 K.-A. Cf. the remarks of Simmel (1978.376–377) on the conceptual connections between money and prostitution: "Since in prostitution the relationship between the sexes is quite specifically confined to the sexual act, it is reduced to its purely generic content. It consists of what any member of the species can perform and experience. It is a relationship in which the most contrasting personalities are equal and individual differences are eliminated. Thus, the economic counterpart of this kind of relationship is money, which also, transcending all individual distinctions, stands for the species-type of economic values, the representation of which is common to all individual values. Conversely, we experience in the nature of money itself something of the essence of prostitution. The indifference as to its use, the lack of attachment to any individual because it is unrelated to any of them, the objectivity inherent in money as a mere means which excludes any emotional relationship—all this produces an ominous analogy between money and prostitution."

66. Davidson 1994.156, 163–64; on the cup (which is currently in a private collection in Munich), see Zanker 1975 (with pl. 33, no. 148) and discussion in Williams 1993.96–97 (Immerwahr 1984.11 expresses some doubt that the name should be interpreted as "Obole"). For another identification of *pornai* with money/coins, cf. Euboulos fr. 82 K.-A and see Davidson 1994.143–73.

All this suggests that Halperin's structural opposition (forbidden male citizen prostitution : subsidized female prostitution) represents only the democratic half of a four-way opposition. If we add the domain of the aristocratic symposium to his model, we get:

hetaira : *pornê*
good (sympotic) eromenos : male whore,

both of which oppositions can be figured as

metals : money (or gold : silver).

Within this system, each term can signify in opposition to any and all others, depending on the discursive needs of the context.

This couplet, perhaps itself a product of the archaic symposium,[67] functions like Anakreon's ironic compounds πανδοσία and πολύυμνος. For the first line offers what looks like anomalous praise of the whore and the bathman: in aristocratic terms, "to have the same nature consistently" is the highest desideratum.[68] The second line then springs the trap: what whore and bathman do consistently is equalize noble and base by immersing them in the same common filth. One could hardly wish for a more graphic image to express aristocratic revulsion at the indiscriminate exchanges of the public sphere.[69]

III. IDEOLOGICAL FAULTLINES

Let us return to the *hetaira* and the ideological ambiguities that surround her, considering first another domain of evidence—visual representations.[70] The iconography of Attic vase painting tends to corroborate the dating and context for the construction of the *hetaira* gleaned from the literary sources. Vases painted in the first half of the sixth century (600–550) represent sympotic scenes without any female participants; as Reinsberg notes, though *pornai* are mentioned as early as Archilochus, they do not participate in aristocratic banquets or at least are not considered worthy of representation.[71] Then slowly, starting in the mid-sixth century, individual female participants appear in scenes of symposia and *komoi* (first on black-figure, then on red-figure vases). Finally, in the last quarter of the sixth century, scenes of symposia with several *hetairai*, with the participants ranging from fully clothed to undressed, and scenes of explicit sex become popular for approximately fifty years (525–475 BCE).[72] The shapes of the vessels make it certain that these representations were painted for use at symposia: indeed, seventy-nine percent of all such images occur on drinking cups.[73] Some scholars want to attribute this phase of explicit sex scenes to a

67. See above, n. 25.

68. Cf. Theognis 315–18, 319–20, 1083–84.

69. For explicit association of baths and *pornai*, cf. Aristophanes *Clouds* 991–97, *Knights* 1397–1401. In the former, the Δίκαιος Λόγος, spokesman for the old aristocratic education, insists that a well brought up young man will shun the agora, baths, and *pornai*. In the latter, the Paphlagonian is punished by being relegated to the gates of the city, where he will "sell sausages . . . , be abused for getting drunk with *pornai*, and drink the dirty water from the baths."

70. For this entire discussion of the visual evidence, I owe thanks to Richard Neer for his insights and conversation, which helped me formulate issues and arguments.

71. Reinsberg 1989.108.

72. Brendel 1970.19–36; Sutton 1981.74–113 and 117, Table L.1; Peschel 1987; Reinsberg 1989.104–12; Stewart 1996.156–67.

73. See Sutton 1981.75 and 117, Table L.2; Sutton 1981.75 reckons that 88% of all such representations occur on vases specially designed for sympotic use (the other 12% are imaginable in that context, but not limited to it). See also Brendel (1970.30) who emphasizes the shift in venues of erotic representations from the archaic to the classical period; in the former, the bulk of such scenes occur on drinking cups; in the latter period, they shift to other types of vases and objects like mirror cases, which would have been used in private.

"popularization" of the aristocratic symposium and the spread of the custom to newly wealthy traders, as if "real" aristocrats could not have been capable of such coarse pleasures.[74] There is no internal evidence for such a shift in clientele; indeed, just the opposite, since the period of the production of these vases is almost exactly contemporary with the so-called Anakreontic vases, and in two cases both elements of representation occur on the same vessels.[75] The Anakreontic vases (so called for the figure of Anakreon labeled on three of them) represent male symposiasts reveling in extravagant Eastern garb—long, flowing robes, turbans and headbands, earrings, and even parasols.[76] These images represent the visual equivalent of the literary "cult of *habrosyne*" embraced in elitist sympotic poetry. Thus these representations flourish in the last quarter of the sixth century (when perhaps, with the rise of middling ideology and mercantile wealth, the aristocratic elite had to work most strenuously to distinguish itself), and disappear abruptly in the democratic climate of the post-Persian War period.[77] I would suggest that the explosion of representations of female participants at symposia forms part of the same phenomenon; one element of the carefully crafted lifestyle of *habrosyne* was refined sensuality, figured on the vases by the presence of accommodating female partners. As Reinsberg recognizes, we cannot necessarily conclude from the visual evidence that women only entered the world of the symposium in the last third of the sixth century—only that, at this point, they became "worthy of representation,"[78] not for themselves but for the ways in which their presence served and affirmed the ideology of *habrosyne*. It is this shift in representational practices (both literary and visual) that I have termed "the invention of the *hetaira*."

74. Reinsberg 1989.108; cf. Brendel 1970.26. Reinsberg uses as evidence the naming of the pot-painter Smikros on one such vase, but it is a mistake to "read" such moments of self-portraiture as literal fact rather than fantasy: see Robertson 1992.26, Neer forthcoming. Another scholarly strategy for avoiding the implications of these images and exculpating Greek aristocrats is to claim that these scenes were painted purely for the export market, for Etruscans who liked that sort of thing (cf. Reinsberg 1989.105–108). For a cautious rejection of taking these sex scenes as painted for the Etruscan market, see Sutton 1981.109–12; for an authoritative dismantling of the theory of production for the Etruscan market in general, see Arafat and Morgan 1994.

75. For the connection of lovemaking scenes and Anakreontic vases, see Sutton 1981.98; Stewart 1996.167. The two vessels are (1) Berlin no. 3251 by the Thalia painter, dated ca. 510 BCE (discussed below), in which several of the male participants sport *sakkos* (snood) and earrings; and (2) Athens, Vlastou-Serpieri 74 MVF, dinos frgs. by the Pan Painter, dated 470–460 BCE, in which both male participants wear earrings.

76. On these representations and their significance, see De Vries 1973; Snyder 1974; Kurtz and Boardman 1986; Frontisi and Ducroux 1990; Miller 1992.

77. See Kurke 1992.97–104.

78. Reinsberg 1989.108. Reinsberg (1989.114) nearly catches the ideological force of these images: "Auch für die Männer verkörperte das Symposion in jener Zeit einen Lebensstil, den man gern nach außen trug. Nur so kann die namentliche Bezeichnung einzelner Zecher verstanden werden. Man zeigt sich im Habitus eines Mannes von Welt, mit Lebensart, der sich einen Luxus leisten kann, der einst der Aristokratie vorbehalten war."

But the visual evidence also confirms the shifts and indeterminacy in the status of the *hetaira* I suggested for the literary sources. On the one hand, the constitution of an impermeable boundary between the symposium and the outside inspires a mystification of the *hetaira*'s standing and the identification of *hetaira* and *hetairos*. On the other hand, as if in compensation for this strange sympotic equality, other images accentuate the relations of domination between male symposiast and female attendant. Though some scholars have attempted to construct a developmental narrative out of these two classes of images, they are almost contemporary and so suggest rather the simultaneous, contradictory possibilities for the representation of the *hetaira*.[79]

The first category of image is exemplified by a kylix in Berlin, dated to ca. 510 BCE (the name-piece of the Thalia Painter; Figures 1 and 2).[80] The outside of the vessel depicts eight men (six unbearded, all with erections) and nine women, all of them naked and engaged in an orgiastic *komos*. The remains of five lampstands indicate that it is evening or night, while the cups and cooling-jars some of the participants still carry suggest the late stages of sympotic celebration. The figures range from a couple engaged in wild dance, to a *hetaira* leading a young man off by his penis, to a bearded man pursuing a running *hetaira* with an aulos-case suspended from his erect penis, to a couple standing in the far corner copulating. If we had any doubts about the status of these women, several of them are labeled with names that confirm that they are *hetairai:* [Aphr]os ("Foamy," linking her to the foam-born Aphrodite); Korone ("Crow"); Thalia ("Blooming," or "Festivity", as an adjective a traditional epithet of banquet and symposium); Smikra ("Little one" or "La petite," whose name appears on several *hetaira* scenes at the turn of the century).[81]

Several elements of iconography visually assimilate the male and female participants in the *komos*: all the women and several of the men wear earrings and elaborate snoods or headcoverings (*sakkoi*), the only difference being that the women have ponytails that emerge from the back. Because most of the men are represented as unbearded youths, their profiles are almost identical to those of the *hetairai*, except for slight shading that indicates the first growth of beard along their jaw lines. Indeed, as one scholar has noted in the case of the dancing couple, "The treatment of bodies, head, and extremities is nearly identical."[82] Furthermore, as has also been noted, the women seem to take a very active role in

79. Thus Peschel 1987.197–209 wants to trace a development toward greater intimacy and emotional connection in representations of the period 500–475 BCE, while Reinsberg 1989.114–20 suggests that an increase in scenes of sympotic violence correlates with the rise of democratic ideology after ca. 500 BCE.

80. Berlin inv. 3251; *ARV*^{2} 113, 7, *Para*.^{2} 332, *Add*.^{2} 173. On this cup, see Brendel 1970.22–25; Peschel 1987.50–55. (On all the vases discussed in this section, I have drawn much from the careful descriptions of Peschel 1987.)

81. On these and other *hetaira*-names on vases, see Peschel 1987.74–79, 183–84.

82. Peschel 1987.53: "Die Haltung von Körper, Kopf und Extremitäten sind nahezu identisch."

the sex depicted.[83] Thus at one end of the frieze, a *hetaira* leads a man off by his penis, turning to look back at him, while at the other end, the female of the copulating pair raises her leg and grasps her partner enthusiastically. Perhaps most remarkably, the woman next to this couple raises her left leg high in dance while a young man reclining in front of her seems to be about to initiate cunnilingus. If this is indeed what the vase depicts (and there is some dispute on the matter), it is the only representation of cunnilingus in all of Greek art. For the protocols of Greek culture regarded oral sex as particularly demeaning for the partner who gave it, so that, while scenes of women fellating men are fairly common, depictions of cunnilingus are almost non-existent.[84] Thus, this extraordinary frieze seems to unsettle the hierarchical relations of sex usually encountered in Greek representations: it is not at all clear who is servicing and pleasuring whom in this sympotic fantasy.

The same elements of assimilation of male and female partners and the female's taking an active role in sex are evident in the cup's tondo, which depicts the complex intertwining of four bodies in what appears to be another stage of the evening's entertainment (Figure 3). A lamp, *klinê*, several pillows, and a stool mark this as a symposium scene. A bearded man is copulating with a young woman, who has her right leg hooked over his thigh and threatens him with a sandal raised in her right hand. Behind them sits a young man, watching the activity and masturbating. The male partner of the couple gazes downward, apparently watching a young woman who lies beneath or in front of the couch, who seems also to be masturbating.[85] She supports her head with her left hand, her eyes are shut, and her right hand rests on her crotch. The composition connects the three figures on the couch, since their legs overlap and the young man stretches out his left hand behind the raised sandal in the *hetaira*'s right. All three figures face right, gazing in profile so that their heads form an arc. The female figure below is isolated by her closed eyes and the strong horizontal demarcation of the couch separating her from the other figures, but their combined gazes lead us to her supine form at the bottom of the tondo. All four figures have nearly the same elaborate hairdo, treated the same way, and it is difficult to untangle and identify the various limbs of the couple in the center.

The effect of the tondo, as Peschel notes, is to fuse the entire sympotic group into a single organism, the alternating male and female bodies united

83. Peschel 1987.51.

84. On the possibility of cunnilingus, see Brendel 1970.23; Sutton 1981.91; Peschel 1987.50–55; Kilmer 1993.71; for a different interpretation of the figures, see CVA Berlin 2, p. 14; Dover 1989.101–102; for the relative status of partners in oral sex, see Dover 1989.100–102, 182–84.

85. For the possibility that this female figure, labeled Smikra, is masturbating, see Greifenhagen 1967.25n. 82; Brendel 1970.24n. 22; Sutton 1981.92; Peschel 1987.52; Kilmer 1993.65. Other scholars insist that she is simply resting or asleep, but as Sutton observes, this interpretation does not account for the position of her right hand, nor for "the obvious interest of the man above in what she is doing."

by their intercalated limbs, their gaze, and their common sexual arousal.[86] The same can be said of the cup's outside frieze, in which the almost identical male and female bodies form a snakelike whole, moving in unison in an elaborately choreographed dance of desire. This fusion gives palpable form to the ideal of the aristocratic symposium, which unites its participants while excluding all others, and, I would contend, the sexual and iconographic identification of female and male participants serves the constitution of this ideal.

A similar identification (for a similar end) may explain a series of eight representations ranging from 520 to 480 BCE, which Peschel designates "*reine Hetärensymposia,*" "*hetaira*-only drinking parties." On these vases, one, two, or more *hetairai* are represented at symposia, aping the dress and activities of male symposiasts: they recline at the head of the couch, drink, play kottabos, and sometimes even wear their clothes in male fashion (with just himation draped over the lower body).[87] Both Peschel and Reinsberg take these representations as proof that *hetairai* had their own symposia in this period (as a way of asserting their status),[88] but these images are susceptible of another interpretation. I would suggest instead that these vessels represent fantasies painted for the gaze of male symposiasts, who enjoyed seeing their own activities mirrored in those of sexually available female "companions" (often nude or semi-nude). As evidence for male consumers of these images, I would cite a hydria attributed to Phintias now in Munich (dated to ca. 510 BCE).[89] The principal representational field of the hydria depicts a music lesson, in which a youth and a boy (labeled Euthymides and Smikythos respectively) accompanied by their paidagogos, receive instruction in the lyre from a bearded teacher. On the shoulder of the hydria, immediately above this scene, two *hetairai* are shown reclining on pillows, playing kottabos and engaged in animated conversation (the pillows and drinking cups signal the sympotic context). The two are dressed like typical male symposiasts: upper body completely bare, lower body covered by a loosely draped himation. The thinner of the two, on the left, turns to her companion and speaks as she casts the lees of her wine; lettering between the two gives us her words, "For you, beautiful

86. Peschel 1987.54–55.

87. See Peschel 1987.70–74 and 110–12 for discussion of all known examples of the type.

88. Peschel 1987.73–74; Reinsberg 1989.112–14 (see also Robertson 1992.27). Both Peschel and Reinsberg contend that the labeling of the figures in various scenes of *hetaira*-symposia proves that the vase-painters wanted to represent "real people" at "real occasions," though as Peschel herself notes, most of the *hetaira*-names preserved on vases are clearly "*redende Namen,*" given to the women to signify their profession (Peschel 1987.74–81). Cf. Csapo and Miller 1991.380 and Goldhill 1992.197 for skepticism about Reinsberg's assumption that representations of all-female symposia prove that they really happened. My reading of these vases is similar to that suggested by Csapo and Miller 1991.380: "We may freely doubt the existence of '*Hetärensymposien*' in Archaic Athens. Did hetairai really get together to drink and play kottabos? Or is this simply a humorous inversion of reality (where prostitutes play for the favors of free youths), an erotic daydream, and the painter's witty compliment to a παῖς καλός, a symposium joke for the symposium?"

89. Munich 2421; *ARV*^{2} 23, 7, *Para*.^{2} 323, *Add*.^{2} 155.

Euthymides, [I cast] this" (καλοι σοι τενδι Εὐθυμιδει).[90] The object of her desire is thus one of the participants in the music lesson in the register below. In this case, it seems, the *hetairai* on the hydria's shoulder are there to ventriloquize male desire: male symposiasts can savor the fantasy of a gathering of sexually active women sharing their longing for the beautiful Euthymides.[91] And through their shared desire, the represented *hetairai* can stand metonymically for the eroticized sphere of the elite symposium generally.

A similar effect is produced by the *hetaira*-symposium represented on a psykter (wine-cooler) in St. Petersburg, signed by Euphronios.[92] On this vessel, four entirely naked *hetairai* (each labeled and occupying a quarter of the visual field) engage in typical sympotic activities. Smikra plays kottabos, while to her right, Agape holds one skyphos and offers the other to Sekline, who plays the aulos. On Sekline's right, Palaisto holds a kylix in her left hand and a skyphos in her right, paying no attention to Smikra, who turns to tell her for whom she tosses her wine lees (lettering at her side reads "I toss this for you, Leagros"). As if to confirm the interior, sympotic setting, all four recline on mattresses and pillows, and an aulos-case hangs suspended on the wall between Agape and Sekline.

Leagros, for whom Smikra casts her wine, was the subject of frequent "kalos" inscriptions on contemporary vases, suggesting that he too is the object of male homoerotic desire triangulated through a fantasized all-female symposium.[93] But what is truly remarkable about the vessel is the representation of Palaisto, who gazes directly out at the viewer as she drinks, her face mask-like and half concealed behind her raised cup (Figure 4). For frontality is quite rare in Attic red-figure vase painting and confined to certain well-defined contexts. One such context is symposium scenes, where drinkers are sometimes represented frontally, the bottoms of their faces concealed behind the skyphos as they drink. As Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux argues, this convention transforms them into masks—like Dionysus himself, who presides over drinking—and offers a mirror held up to

90. Or, according to a slightly different reading and interpretation recently proposed by Csapo and Miller 1991.373–80, the inscription represents a dialogue between two speakers: one *hetaira* asks τοι τενδι ("For whom [shall I toss] this?"), while the second answers καλοι Εὐθυμιδει ("For beautiful Euthymides").

91. We may compare this triangulation of desire to the literary topos of praising a young man's attractiveness by imagining his effect on female spectators: cf. Pindar *Pyth*. 9.97–103, *Pyth*. 10.59 (vs. *Ol*. 10.100–105, where the gaze of homoerotic desire is expressed directly through a comparison of the boy victor to Ganymede). One difference between these two phenomena is that Pindar's choral poetry uses desiring women as a metonymy for the city as a whole (hence, they are "maidens" and their mothers), while the vase representations deploy these figures as metonymy for the sympotic group (hence, the women are *hetairai*).

92. Hermitage B 644; *ARV*^{2} 16, 15, *Para*.^{2} 509, *Add*.^{2} 153; dated to ca. 510 BCE.

93. On the homoerotic and aristocratic context of kalos inscriptions, see Robinson and Fluck 1937; Shapiro 1983, 1987. Robinson and Fluck 1937 list 45 "Leagros Kalos" inscriptions on vases; Beazley *Addenda*^{2} 396–97 adds another half-dozen instances; Boardman 1992.47–48 counts "about 80 occurrences" of the name, which he contends "were inscribed within a comparatively short period toward the end of the sixth century." (I owe these references to Richard Neer.)

the viewer who encounters the image as he himself puts the cup to his lips.[94] In these cases, the painted image is the drinker's double and counterpart, inviting complete identification with the perfect sympotic world of the cup. Palaisto's frontal gaze, behind the skyphos that masks the bottom half of her face and makes her features indistinguishable from a male symposiast's, produces the same uncanny effect: her eyes seize the viewer and draw him in, even as the dedication of the kottabos throw to the beautiful boy Leagros suggests that the vessel was intended for a male audience.[95] The psykter, or wine-cooler, would have stood in the center of the *andrôn*, where male symposiasts, reclining and engaging in the same activities as the represented *hetairai*, could contemplate the eroticized scene, both desiring and identifying with the painted participants in their luxurious pursuits.

But if these vessels (and others like them) achieve the sexual and sympotic assimilation of *hetairoi* and *hetairai*, other contemporary vases take pains to rearticulate the differences and hierarchy within the sympotic world. On one kylix by the Pedieus Painter, housed in the Louvre (dated ca. 510 BCE), repeated scenes of violence and sexual abuse of female participants contrast starkly with the jovial antics of the Thalia Painter's cup (Figures 5 and 6).[96] Like that vessel, the outer frieze of the kylix represents a continuous scene of an orgiastic *komos*, in which at least four women and eight men, all nude, participate.[97] Of the figures sufficiently preserved, all the men sport enormous erections, and, with one exception, are involved in sexual threesomes or foursomes. At one end of the frieze, a young man kneels on a cushion, holding a drinking-horn in his right hand (evidence of the symposium from which this *komos* has developed), while a *hetaira* squats on all fours in front of him, taking the head of his oversize penis in her mouth. Lines around her mouth signify the effort she must make to accommodate him, while his left arm is stretched over her back, evidently to force her should she pull away. On the other side of the handle, another *hetaira* is precariously perched on her side on a stool, with her back to the viewer. A young man on her left guides his penis into her wide-open mouth with his left hand and holds her back with his right. Another, bearded komast stoops slightly to enter her from behind, supporting her

94. Frontisi-Ducroux 1989.163 with figure 228, 1996.85–86. On the categories of figures represented frontally, cf. Korshak 1987, who notes that Eurphronios' *hetaira* is probably the earliest representation of sympotic frontality (p. 11).

95. Another element that may assimilate or identify the represented *hetairai* to male symposiasts is the figures' distinctly masculine physiognomy. Peschel (1987.71) and Robertson (1992.27) note this, apparently ascribing it to an early inability to represent female physiognomy successfully, but perhaps the physical similarity is deliberate. We might also note that three of the four *hetairai* hold two drinking cups each—are they meant to be proffering them to male viewers, inviting them into the scene?

96. Louvre G 13; *ARV*^{2} 86, α, *Add*.^{2} 170. On this vase and others like it, see Brendel 1970.27–30; Keuls 1985.180–86; Peschel 1987.57–70; Reinsberg 1989.117–20; Stewart 1996.165.

97. The vase is broken, so that there may be other figures whose activities cannot be made out. Peschel 1987.64–65 suggests that there is yet another pair of figures copulating in the damaged space next to one of the handles.

right leg on his shoulder, with his left hand in the small of her back. With his right hand, he holds a sandal extended over her torso, with which to threaten her. Like the first *hetaira*, lines around her mouth underscore the size of the penis she is fellating, while lines drawn on her neck suggest the uncomfortable twist of her body. She appears to be using her right arm to steady herself on the stool, while her left hangs limp and useless in front of the young man's legs. To the right of this group, another young man bends over a *hetaira* kneeling on all fours in front of him and forces his penis into her mouth (his left arm encircles her head to prevent any resistance). Though the vessel is broken at this point, the remains of two feet behind hers, pointing in the same direction, and a right hand stretched over her back make clear that another komast takes advantage of her position to enter her from behind. Finally, on the other side of the handle from this group, a *hetaira* squats and offers herself obediently for a komast to enter from behind. Here again, the vase is broken, but her partner's lower leg is preserved behind her. In addition, there are remains of a bearded man striding behind her right to left, apparently with his right arm raised. Peschel suggests that he, like the other bearded komast, wields a sandal to threaten or excite the copulating pair in front of him.[98] Another young man behind him strides toward the pair, apparently to provide more light, since he holds a lamp stretched out in his right hand (he has just removed it from a lampstand still clutched in his left hand). He, too, sports a huge erection and seems eager to join in the activity.[99]

As Peschel notes, everything in this vase serves to differentiate the male and female participants. The women are perforce objectified and passive in the sexual acts represented, while the men dominate and direct these activities (thus Peschel takes as emblematic the limp and useless left hand of the *hetaira* balanced on a stool). Furthermore, the men's heads consistently occupy the upper register of the visual field (even when they are stooping or kneeling); in contrast, all the women are portrayed in animal-like postures, squatting or on all fours, their heads well below those of their male partners. Finally, the painter has carefully differentiated the physiognomy of the male and female figures: all the male komasts have slim, elegant physiques, while the females have large, sagging bodies, in which the contours of breasts and buttocks are grotesquely exaggerated.[100] The result of these systematic contrasts is to unite the male komasts through the humiliation and objectification of the women. Here again, as Peschel notes, the threesome with the *hetaira* on a stool produces effects emblematic of those of the frieze as a

98. Peschel 1987.63.

99. Richard Neer suggests to me that this youth's approach with a lamp may have a more sinister purpose, since lamps were used for depilation (cf. Aristophanes *Lys*. 823–28, *Thesmo*. 238–48, *Eccl*. 13–14; Attic cup in the manner of Onesimos [*ARV*^{2} 331, 20] and see discussion in Kilmer 1982).

100. Peschel 1987.62–66; cf. Reinsberg 1989.117–18. Brendel 1970.27 optimistically suggests that this vase "is intended as a vehicle of social criticism," but Sutton (1981.107–108) and Peschel (1987.387n. 144) rightly dissent from this position.

whole: the two males form a unit, connected by the gaze of the bearded komast at his youthful counterpart, and by their hands just touching on the woman's back. The male sympotic group fuses around and through the violence done to the purely instrumental female subordinates.[101]

And yet, even here, hidden within the scenes of violent sexual domination that decorate the cup's exterior frieze, its tondo offers a remarkable image of sympotic companionability (Figure 7). The circle of the tondo frames two figures: in front a woman, elaborately dressed in a chiton and playing a large lyre, supporting it with her left hand and holding the plektron or pick in her right; behind her, a young man naked except for a himation draped over his shoulders and short boots (*kothornoi*?), with his right arm encircling the lyre player and his left hand extended out behind her, holding a kylix and supported by a walking stick. The female figure is drawn entirely in profile, while the young man behind her pivots—his right leg (the only one shown) is in profile, but his shoulders and head are presented frontally. As a result, his body surrounds and frames hers, and their faces seem to merge. Her mouth and his form one continuous line, their chins and noses touch, their hairlines meet, and their eyes are drawn identically. But for a slight asymmetry caused by the tilt of his head behind hers, their features form a single face. The drawing of their bodies effects the same merging of figures: the flat elaboration of drapery makes it hard to untangle her form from his, and there is a confusion of arms and hands. It almost appears to be the *woman*'s left arm that extends with kylix and walking stick, except for the hand that peeks through and supports the strings of the lyre. The walking stick itself, that phallic object *par excellence*, is not actually held by the hand that supports the cup; it seems instead to hover strangely behind, properly attached to neither figure. All these visual details conjure a moment of perfect sympathy and identification between *hetairos* and *hetaira*. I have been describing two different classes of vases that represent the contradictory constructions of the *hetaira*, but in fact, the Pedieus Painter's cup captures in a single object the oscillation between identification and difference, companionability and humiliation. Both are available to the viewer in the dialectic of tondo and outer frieze: the drinker, draining his cup, could savor a private moment of idyllic refinement and sympathy, or flip the cup over for graphic scenes of group sex and sympotic domination.

On occasion, we can catch this same sudden shift from idealizing mystification of the *hetaira* to violence or abuse preserved in the literary remains. Thus in a fragment of Anakreon quoted by Athenaeus because of the unusual term for a

101. Cf. Peschel 1987.63–64; Reinsberg 1989.117–18; Stewart 1996.163–65 on the "homosocial male bonding" achieved by these scenes. Stewart, following Reinsberg, attributes these scenes of explicit violence in sympotic settings to the pressure of democratic ideology to figure as clearly as possible the phallic power of the male citizen participant. But this interpretation collapses the opposition of symposium and public sphere and fails to account for the temporal and iconographic links with the Anakreontic vases and the abrupt disappearance of both types around 480–475 BCE.

drinking cup the poet uses, we serendipitously catch a flash of sympotic abuse (fr. 48 Gentili = 427 PMG):[102]

μηδ' ὥστε κῦμα πόντιον
λάλαζε τῇ πολυκρότῃ
σὺν Γαστροδώρῃ καταχύδην
πίνουσα τὴν ἐπίστιον.

Do not babble like the swell of the sea, drinking your cup down greedily together with noisy Gastrodore.

The speaker prescribes correct sympotic behavior to the addressee, holding up Gastrodore as a negative exemplar.[103] The use of the feminine participle πίνουσα makes clear that the addressee is a woman participating in the symposium (and therefore almost certainly, like Gastrodore herself, a *hetaira*). The speaker singles out two features of bad sympotic behavior—endless chatter (λάλαζε) and the greedy gulping of wine (καταχύδην πίνουσα)—and identifies them with the benighted Gastrodore.

To understand what is at stake in these prescriptions, we need to set Anakreon's brief fragment against later literary sources that contextualize somewhat more the discourse of the *hetaira*'s proper behavior at banquet and symposium. Thus, Athenaeus tells us at one point, "Euboulos in *The Hunchback* introduces a decorous *hetaira* (κοσμίαν ἑταίραν) by saying,"

ὡς δ' ἐδείπνει κοσμίως,
οὐχ ὥσπερ ἄλλαι τῶν πράσων ποιούμεναι
τολύπας ἔσαττον τὰς γνάθους καὶ τῶν κρεῶν
ἀπέβρυκον αἰσχρῶς, ἀλλ' ἑκάστου μικρὸν ἂν
ἀπεγεύεθ' ὥσπερ παρθένος Μιλησία.
(Athenaeus, *Deip*. 13.571f-572a = Euboulos fr. 41 K.-A.)

How decorously she used to dine, not just like those other women who, making balls of leeks, were stuffing their jaws with them and were shamefully gobbling down meats, but she would just taste a little from each dish like a Milesian maid.

Nearly half a millennium later, Lucian puts a similar description into the mouth of a mother advising her daughter on how to become a classy *hetaira*, citing the example of another successful young woman:

102. Text after Gentili, who reads Γαστροδώρῃ for Γαστροδώρῳ in line 3.

103. For the topos of advice on sympotic behavior, which is extremely common in archaic poetry, cf. Alkaios frr. 50, 58, 332, 335, 338, 346, 347a, 352, 369, 376, 401 V, Anakreon frr. 356, 383, 396, 410, 412 PMG, Theognis 211–12, 413–14, 473–510, 627–28, 837–44, 873–84, 989–90, 1039–42, 1047–48, Xenophanes fr. 1 DK. As Kate Gilhuly points out to me, though prescriptions to *hetairoi* on how to *drink* are frequent, only women are advised how to *eat*. This association of the woman with the *gastêr* is inevitably demeaning (cf. Just 1989.163–64, 185–86).

ΚΡΟΒΥΛΗ· τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κατακοσμοῦσα ἑαυτὴν εὐπρεπῶς καὶ εὐσταλὴς οὖσα καὶ φαιδρὰ πρὸς ἅπαντας, οὐκ ἄχρι τοῦ καγχαρίζειν ῥᾳδίως καθάπερ σὺ εἴωθας, ἀλλὰ μειδιῶσα ἡδὺ καὶ ἐπαγωγόν, εἶτα προσομιλοῦσα δεξιῶς καὶ μήτε φενακίζουσα, εἴ τις προσέλθοι ἢ προπέμψειε, μήτε αὐτὴ ἐπιλαμβανομένη τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ἢν δέ ποτε καὶ ἀπέλθῃ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον λαβοῦσα μίσθωμα, οὔτε μεθύσκεται—καταγέλαστον γὰρ καὶ μισοῦσιν οἱ ἄνδρες τὰς τοιαύτας—οὔτε ὑπερεμφορεῖται τοῦ ὄψου ἀπειροκάλως, ἀλλὰ προσάπτεται μὲν ἄκροις τοῖς δακτύλοις, σιωπῇ δὲ τὰς ἐνθέσεις οὐκ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρας παραβύεται τὰς γνάθους, πίνει δὲ ἠρέμα, οὐ χανδόν, ἀλλ' ἀναπαυομένη.

ΚΟΡΙΝΝΑ· Κἂν εἰ διψῶσα, ὦ μῆτερ, τύχῃ;

ΚΡ· Τότε μάλιστα, ὦ Κόρινα. καὶ οὔτε πλέον τοῦ δέοντος φθέγγεται οὔτε ἀποσκώπτει ἔς τινα τῶν παρόντων, ἐς μόνον δὲ τὸν μισθωσάμενον βλέπει· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνοι φιλοῦσιν αὐτήν. καὶ ἐπειδὰν κοιμᾶσθαι δέῃ, ἀσελγὲς οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἀμελὲς ἐκείνη ἄν τι ἐργάσαιτο, ἀλλὰ ἐξ ἅπαντος ἓν τοῦτο θηρᾶται, ὡς ὑπαγάγοιτο καὶ ἐραστὴν ποιήσειεν ἐκεῖνον· ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτῆς ἅπαντες ἐπαινοῦσιν.

(Lucian, *Dialogues of Courtesans* 6.294)

Krobyle: In the first place, she adorns herself attractively and she's neat and beaming toward all the men, not to the point of laughing out loud easily, as you tend to, but smiling sweetly and attractively. Next, she's clever company and never cheats a visitor or an escort, and never throws herself at the men. And if ever she gets a wage for going to dinner, she doesn't get drunk—for that's ludicrous and men hate women like that—nor does she vulgarly stuff herself with dainties, but she picks at [the food] with her fingertips, [eating] in silence, and she doesn't stuff mouthfuls into both cheeks, and she drinks quietly, not greedily gulping, but taking breaks.

Korinna: Even if she happens to be thirsty, Mother?

Kr: Especially then, o Korinna. And she never speaks more than necessary, nor makes fun of any of the men present, and she has eyes only for the one who's hired her. And on account of this the men love her. And when it's time to bed down, she would never do anything loose or sloppy, but from everything she hunts this one thing, how she might lead him on and make that man her lover. And these are the things all men praise in her.

This coincidence of passages suggests that ironic commentary on the *hetaira*'s eating and drinking habits was a literary topos (perhaps of Old and Middle Comedy) and that the Atticizing Lucian drew on this tradition for his mock-*hypothekai* of mother to daughter.

In both cases, the prescription for the decorous behavior of a *hetaira* entails presenting herself as the perfect mirror of the *kalos kagathos* who is her client, and, by her daintiness and delicacy, providing the simulacrum of a well-bred

young lady (ὥσπερ παρθένος Μιλησία). Lucian in particular reveals that this mirroring of *kalokagathia* requires the denial on the part of the woman of all appetite or excess: she must dress neatly, smile but not laugh out loud, eat and drink daintily (even when she is thirsty), and not talk too much. Finally, in bed she must do nothing loose (ἀσελγές) or sloppy (ἀμελές)—that is, the woman must be nothing more than an attractive surface onto which the man can project his own desires without interference.[104]

In all three cases, the activities that are censured are those that shatter the mirror, as it were, by underscoring the *hetaira*'s difference, both of gender and of class. Thus both Euboulos and Lucian explicitly label the excessive consumption of food as low-class (Euboulos αἰσχρῶς; Lucian ἀπειροκάλως), while both strongly advise against behaviors that were for the Greeks stereotypically "feminine"—gluttony, bibulousness, and licentiousness.[105] Anakreon's four-line fragment, I would suggest, censures the same articulations of difference, for gulping down wine is proof of coarse origins, while the empty babble signified by λαλάζω is particularly associated with the female.[106] The fragment, by exposing Gastrodore's difference, ostracizes her from the sympotic group, and, in the process of representation, brands her by its rhetoric as a *pornê*. As several scholars have noted, "Gastrodore" is a joke name ("Gift of the belly" or "Piggy") that replicates on a stylistic level her déclassé activities (we might compare this sobriquet to the visual representation of the grotesquely enlarged bodies of *hetairai* by the Pedieus Painter).[107] But what assimilates Gastrodore even more emphatically to the representation of the *pornê* is her epithet πολυκρότη, which I rendered above as "noisy." For, as Christopher Brown notes, "it seems more pointed to understand [the epithet] as meaning 'much-pounded' and referring to Gastrodore's promiscuity."[108] On this interpretation, the coarse adjective πολυκρότη takes us back to the domain of the *pornê* in Anakreon's abuse, recalling terms like πολύυμνος, πανδοσία, and λεωφόρος.

This is not to say that we must imagine some real occasion on which a hapless *hetaira* misbehaved and thereby called down the wrath of the sympotic poet (though this may have happened); rather the intrinsic indeterminacy of the category makes the *hetaira* available for various kinds of affirmation of the

104. I owe this interpretation of Lucian to an unpublished paper by Kate Gilhuly. Cf. Socrates' admonitions to Theodote on correct behavior with her *philoi* (Xen. *Mem*. 3.11.10–11, 14). For a parallel reading of the construction of the ideal wife in Xenophon's *Oikonomikos*, see Murnahan 1988.

105. See the discussions of Dover 1974.100–102 and Just 1989.157–64, 184–93, both with ample citation of ancient sources. See also Henry 1992.258–59 for the association of women with immoderate consumption of food and drink.

106. On λαλάζω, see Carson 1994 and cf. Anaxilas fr. 22.23 K.-A., Horace Odes 1.22.10.

107. Wilamowitz 1913.155n. 1; Brown 1983.3. Wilamowitz even suggests that the victim's real name is Metrodore, which occurs frequently in inscriptions from Ionia.

108. Brown 1983.3; for the obscene sense of κροτέω (like English "bang") cf. Henderson 1991.171n. 88.

sympotic group. She can serve as its mirror, supporting the games of privilege and desire, or as its other, uniting the group by her instrumentality or exclusion. Thus, in this instance, the real impetus behind these prescriptions of proper behavior is less how women conduct themselves than how the true nobility of the male sympotic group shines through by contrast.

In another instance, a different kind of violation of the norm provokes a vertiginous discursive shift from *hetaira* to *pornê*. Near the end of the first book of the Theognidea, we find these strange lines:

μή μ' ἀφελῶς παίζουσα φίλους δέννaζε τοκῆας,
  Ἄργυρι· σοὶ μὲν γὰρ δούλιον ἦμαρ ἔπι,
ἡμῖν δ' ἄλλα μέν ἐστι, γύναι, κακὰ πόλλ', ἐπεὶ ἐκ γῆς
  φεύγομεν, ἀργαλέη δ' οὐκ ἔπι δουλοσύνη,
οὔθ' ἡμᾶς περνᾶσι· πόλις γε μέν ἐστι καὶ ἡμῖν
  καλή, Ληθαίῳ κεκλιμένη πεδίῳ.

(Thgn. 1211–16)[109]

Do not, playing bluntly, abuse my dear parents, Arguris; for upon you is the day of slavery, but for me, although there are many other evils, o woman, since we are in exile from our land, nonetheless grievous slavery is not upon us, nor do they sell us. And there is also for us, at any rate, a beautiful city, resting on the Lethaean Plain.

These verses, especially the final couplet, have provoked an enormous amount of scholarly controversy. Some scholars understand the speaker's final riddle to refer to a city in mainland Greece or Ionia, others interpret it as a cryptic reference to the underworld, spoken by a dead man.[110] There is also dispute about the identity of the addressee: one critic takes the poem as a funerary epigram, addressed by a dead man to his widow, Arguris; another understands "arguris" as a type of silver bowl, and the whole poem as the imagined exchange between two funerary monuments.[111] But, as van Groningen notes, these fanciful interpretations have very little support in the text, and none of them accounts for the emphatic references to slavery.

I follow van Groningen in taking these lines instead as an imagined moment of sympotic confrontation, in which the speaker lashes out at a *hetaira* who has presumed to mock his parentage.[112] In doing so, she has in a sense assimilated *hetairos* to *hetaira* too much (or in the wrong direction), attempting to make them equivalents on her level. This is also to disrupt the perfect, unobtrusive

109. I follow van Groningen (1966) and West (1992) for the division of poems, but van Groningen and Young (1971) for the reading Ἄργυρι (vs. West's Ἀργυρί).

110. Young 1971 (app. crit. *ad loc.*) takes the city to be Magnesia; Harrison 1902.277, Carrière 1948.133–34, McKay 1961a, and Nagy 1985.77 understand the "Lethaean Plain" to signify the underworld.

111. For the former interpretation, see Carrière 1948.133–34; for the latter, McKay 1961a, 1961b.

112. van Groningen 1966.438–39.

mirroring the *hetaira* should provide: recall that Lucian's mother-to-daughter advice includes a prohibition against "making fun of any of the men present" (οὔτε ἀποσκώπτει ἔς τινα τῶν παρόντων). The woman's attempt at appropriation combines with the male symposiast's own uncertain position (he is an exile, after all) to produce a violent negative reaction. As in Anakreon's Gastrodore fragment and the Pedieus Painter's cup, the differences in status must be fiercely rearticulated. Thus the speaker reminds Arguris in no uncertain terms that she is a woman (γύναι) and a slave, stripping away the mystifications of status that usually surround the *hetaira*. To do so is to transform her discursively into a *pornê*, as the emphatic use of the verb περνᾶσι indicates. The verb occurs only here in Theognis: suddenly, the buying and selling of the agora erupt into the pristine space of the symposium. In context, it is surely no accident that the object of this vilification bears the name Arguris, "Silvery." As we have seen, Chrysis ("Goldie") is a common *hetaira*-name (at least from the fourth century on),[113] bespeaking the aristocratic values the *hetaira* should properly reflect, but "Arguris" is attested nowhere else. Here the name signifies in two registers at once: within the sympotic language of metals, it encodes its bearer's hybris and presumption against the aristocratic "gold standard," while in the idiom of the agora, it evokes the image of money (*argurion*) and so confirms the woman's identification as a *pornê*.[114]

It is this radical rearticulation of distinctions, I suggest, that accounts for the speaker's final enigmatic lines. Whatever we take to be their reference, we can make sense of the *impulse* to riddle within the poem's logical economy. For speaking and understanding riddles distinguishes the sympotic *agathoi* or *sunetoi* from all others, in particular from the "simple, blunt playing" (ἀφελῶς παίζουσα) of the slave Arguris.[115] In addition, the riddle's content serves to remystify the

113. Cf. Timokles fr. 27 K.-A.; Menander *Samia*; Lucian *Dialogues of Courtesans* 8; Schneider 1913. coll. 1363–64 and see discussion above.

114. Cf. Figueira 1985.152: "Aithon [the name the speaker gives himself at Thgn. 1209] upholds his position against Arguris, who has experienced slavery, while the speaker, for all his other troubles, has not. Her name is an adaptation of the word for silver, *arguros*. The name is unattested otherwise, but compare Khrusis, the name of a courtesan (Lucian *Courtesan Dialogues* 299–301). Can Arguris be a generic figure who embodies the capacity for enslaving or for confounding social distinctions inherent in money?"

115. Cf. Nagy 1979.222–52; 1985.22–30; 1990.147–50 on *ainos* and the *sunetoi*, and for Theognis' articulation of this position, cf. Thgn. 681–82. Mark Griffith suggests to me that there might also be a pun on παίζουσα and παῖς meaning "slave," so that παίζουσα signifies essentially "slave talk" in contrast to the riddling discourse of the sympotic *sunetoi*. In this context, we might note that the category of the *pais* (as eromenos) shares some of the ideological ambiguities of the *hetaira*. Thus, in most cases in the Theognidea, the *pais* is the object of the speaker's erotic interest, affection, and paternalistic advice, but, on occasion, the boy's bad behavior precipitates an articulation of his unequal status. Notice in particular the way in which Theognis concludes his famous reproach to Kyrnos at 237–54: αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ὀλίγης παρὰ σεῦ οὐ τυγχάνω αἰδοῦς, / ἀλλ' ὥσπερ μικρὸν παῖδα λόγοις μ' ἀπατᾷς (Thgn. 253–54, "But I don't happen upon [even] a little respect from you, but you deceive me with words just as if I were a little boy."). These lines unnervingly reveal the vulnerability of the *pais* and the asymmetrical relation that exists between

symposiast's status, endowing him with an idealized homeland physically and conceptually inaccessible to his base interlocutor. Indeed, given the rhetorical effect of the riddle, we might go a step further and understand the "city on the Lethaean Plain" as a kenning for the symposium itself, playing on the usual association of wine and song with forgetfulness (λησμοσύνη.)[116] In support of this interpretation, it might be suggested that κεκλιμένη in line 1216 is also a sympotic image: the city "reclines" on the Plain of Forgetfulness like a banqueter on his couch. Thus, having located Arguris squarely in the domain of the agora, the speaker constitutes his "homeland" as an inviolable sympotic paradise. The absolute distinction between them is reinforced by a final bit of wordplay: while the speaker enjoys the embrace of sympotic forgetfulness (λήθη), he consigns Arguris to "grievous slavery," transmuting her name by a pun from Arguris to ἀργαλέη.[117]

Thus, while the literary and artistic remains of archaic and classical Greece may provide us very little "real data" about the lives and situations of "real women," the discourses of prostitution function as a lens through which we can bring into focus certain political and ideological conflicts, as well as the faultlines within those ideological formations. The opposition of *hetaira* and *pornê* seems to function within a complex network of economic, social, and political differentiation of middling and elitist traditions, whereby the aristocratic symposium invents the *hetaira* to shield itself from the public sphere, which it figures and traduces through the obscenity of the *pornê*. Egalitarian discourse, in contrast (at least by the fourth century) can embrace precisely what the aristocratic texts revile, celebrating the universal availability of *pornai* as an emblem and badge of democracy.[118] Yet even within the elitist construction, the representational category of the *hetaira* seems to involve its makers in an ideological double bind. Her sexual role at the symposium depends on difference and pulls against her complete assimilation to the male symposiasts. And if the category is created originally to constitute a pristine sympotic space, the pressures

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erastes and eromenos. We might imagine that complications could arise from the tension between the erotic mystification of the boy's position and his unequal or uncertain status in the sympotic world of men. On the ideologically precarious position of the boy, see Foucault 1985.187–214; Dover 1989.39–109; on pederasty and the symposium, see Lewis 1985; Bremmer 1990.

116. This solution to the riddle was suggested to me by Mark Griffith; for the association of wine and/or song with forgetfulness, cf. Hesiod *Theog*. 55, 102; Alkaios fr. 70.9–10 V; Euripides *Bacchae* 279–85.

117. For another literary text that enacts the same abrupt discursive shift from *hetaira* to *pornê* to ward off the anxieties of male symposiasts, see Pindar fr. 122 SM (with discussion in Kurke 1996).

118. I am referring here to the strand of democratic discourse represented by Philemon fr. 3 K.-A.; this is not to deny that there are other inflections of the system available within democratic ideology. Thus, for example, the pseudo-Demosthenic *Against Neaira* ([Dem.] 59) takes a different tack, systematically opposing the sacralized public space identified with the Basilinna to the foreign corruption of *hetaira* and *pornê* as interchangeable terms. We might see this system as an adaptation of the aristocratic model to democratic ends.

and anxieties of the male participants occasionally refashion her as a *pornê*, with all the disembedded economics attendant on that category. Of necessity, then, the trafficking of the agora infiltrates the symposium, as the celebrants struggle desperately to distinguish themselves from the women they have introduced, now become bearers of difference.

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Figure **1.** Antikensammlung, inv. no. 3251. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Thalia Painter, ca. 510 B.C.E. Photo courtesy of Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

Figure **2.** Reverse of Figure 1. Photo courtesy of Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

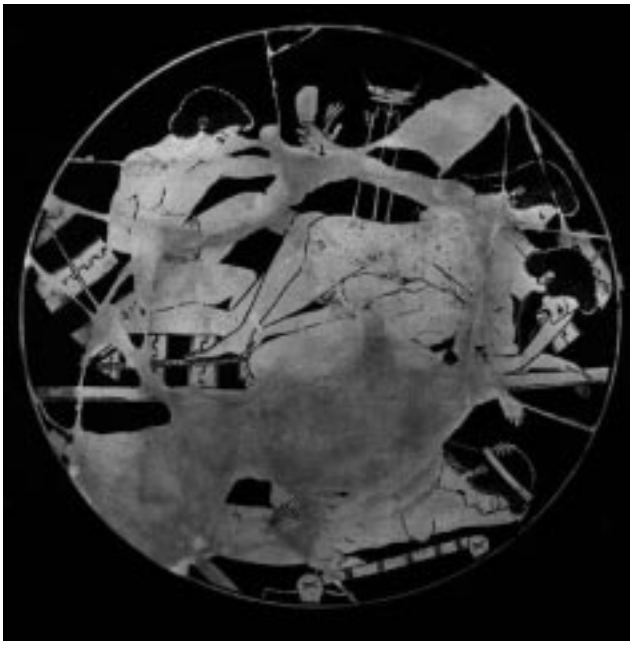

Figure **3.** Tondo of Figure 1. Photo courtesy of Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz

Figure **4.** Hermitage, inv. no. 6.1650. Attic red-figure psykter painted by Euphronios, ca. 510 B.C.E. Photo courtesy of the Hermitage Museum

Figure **5.** Louvre, inv. no. G 13. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Pedieus Painter, ca. 510 B.C.E. Photo by M. Chuzeville, courtesy of the Louvre.

Figure **6.** Reverse of Figure 5. Photo by M. Chuzeville, courtesy of the Louvre.

Figure **7.** Tondo of Figure 5. Photo by M. Chuzeville, courtesy of the Louvre.