Genital Depilation and Power in Classical Greece

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Abstract: Throughout Classical Greece, the superficial artistic conventions of pubic hair illustration illuminate deeper insight into contemporaneous Greek life. In nude male statuary, the evolution of carefully sculpted and stylized pubic hair to unbridled tufts reveals the shifting definition of masculinity. No longer valuing the ostentatious pubic ornamentation of aristocrats, the newly founded Greek democracy turns to embrace the pubic hair of the everyman. With this change, every citizen can attain bodily austerity just as he can attain influence in his government. In a true reflection of the Classical ideal, his self-containment endows him with masculine power. He suppresses any potential threat to this power, a mindset not limited to merely his rival men. One also can apply this concept of patriarchal dominance to the practice of female genital depilation; the most powerful and therefore most threatening women remove greater quantities of pubic hair, while the more innocuous females need not practice such depilation. This applies to the goddesses, who lack pubic hair completely; the wives, who take pride in their neatly pruned genitalia; the hetaerai who partially depilate to augment eroticism; and the common slaves, who as harmless property do not groom extensively. The man's pubic dominance remains unattested, however, in vases that include scenes with other males. While these subjects could threaten the patron with a masculine proliferation of pubic hair, they instead juxtapose him with their relative hairlessness. Through this portrayal, the artist simultaneously avoids ominous castration allusions and provides the viewer with youthful homoerotic erômenoi who assure him of his eternal dominance. The accumulation of both textual and visual evidence elucidates how pubic hair in Classical Greece reflects the contemporaneous zeitgeist, visually portraying the ideals of both public and private spheres.

As democratic fervor spread throughout Athens and Greece with the Tyrannicides' revolt, so Greek artists overthrew the Archaic pruned aristocratic ideal to venerate the power of man in his natural state. This shift in values expresses itself in the grooming of male pubic hair, which in the Classical period proclaims the unadulterated masculine power and inborn êthos of its subject. Regardless of actual practices, this change in representational practice reflects the Greeks' newfound pride in their natural state. This ideal of natural perfection embodied by men does not, however, apply to women, who according to Classical Greek art and literature must subject themselves to physical pain by singeing and plucking their pubic hair. The respectable woman's ritualistic deletion of her natural state attests to the male's supremacy over his sexually objectified wife. While he executes his societal role with his natural manhood intact, she must depilate her genitalia and thus alter her innate form so as to uphold the Classical ideal. Proclaiming their power through their masculine pubic hair, Greek men suppressed any potential threat by establishing conventional genital depilation, thereby visually depriving the subject of fecundity.

Preceding the cusp of the Classical period, the flourishing late Archaic elite proclaimed their eternal superiority through funerary kouroi with lavishly shaped pubic hair. Although this genital depilation seems whimsically effeminate today, it belonged to the representation of the idealized male figure in late Archaic Greece at the dawn of the fifth century. This flourished detail, as seen in the Kourous Aristodikos (Pls. 1, 2), would have reiterated the subject's conventionally idealized youthful physique and rigidly flexed muscles and immortalized the deceased in a physically unattainable form. Anything less would have undermined the aristocrat's superiority. By modifying his natural state, the deceased has removed himself from the realm of the ordinary man. Natural pubic growth equalizes every post-pubescent man, but the aristocrat elevates himself with this shaven distinction. The flat silhouette form of the pubic hair refuses to acknowledge even the texture of hair, stylistically idealizing its subject as a man more sophisticated than one who possesses unruly and uncontrollable tufts. As the sole ornamentation on his otherwise nude body, the kouros's unabashed self-adornment attests to the deceased's life of luxury without showing explicit material expressions of wealth. One can imagine a visitor to the deceased's grave gazing in awe at the beautiful body of the barely post-pubescent male, then registering his altered pubic hair, which draws attention to his fecund phallus. This bodily ornamentation alters his natural state, emphasizing the aristocrat's fecundity, the means by which he ensures his posterity and secures his name's eternal superiority. His depilated genitalia highlight his own aristocratic superiority and affluence implicit in his self-ornamentation; additionally, the altered state highlights his reproductive organ, alluding to the guaranteed affluence of his successors.

Dynamic trends in the representation of pubic hair parallel shifting political tides as Greek poleis overthrew their ruling tyrants, rejecting the lavish aristocratic ornamentation and expenditure of the social elite. The Greek state began to show that it valued the average citizen with both its institution of democracy and by extension its more naturalized rendering of pubic hair. In general, the artistic representation of the pubic hair became more naturalistic, abandoning the Archaic array of wildly shaven flourishes for a simpler and subtler bar shape (Pl. 3).^{1,2} Although some may attribute this change in sculptural style to merely the progression of artistic technê, one must not ignore the intentional abstract exaggeration of Archaic pubic hair. The pubic hair on the Kourous Aristodikos (Pl. 1, 2) appears unnatural because the artist hyperbolized the silhouette of hair while he simultaneously attempted to model the musculature and other physological features naturalistically. As a result, the juxtaposition between the intentionally unnatural pubic hair and the attempted lifelike body suggests that one cannot account for the evolution of the representation of pubic hair entirely by attibuting it to the natural progression of artistic technê. This new trend of more naturalistic pubic representation deprived the subject of the opportunity to individualize himself from his peers, equalizing Greek males visually as the government equalized them politically. Sculptors subsequently began carving individual locks of hair, creating a comparatively higher relief of stylized and methodical curls (Pl. 4).³ One could once again analogize these individually sculpted locks of hair to the institution of democracy: an inclusive set of legally equal citizens now comprises the polis. Indeed, law forbade citizens from erecting lavish private funerary monuments in order to restrict ostentatious displays of wealth,⁴ and to ensure citizens' posthumous equality. The Athenians, however, did commemorate the Tyrannicides-symbols of the democracy-with a sculptural monument to them in the orchestra of the Agora (Pls. 5-7).⁵ Although the Tyrannicides, Harmodios and Aristogeiton, were aristocrats and did not in fact depose the tyrants, by the time the state commissioned Kritios and Nesiotes to replace the statue, popular belief heralded them as the legendary founders of democracy.⁶ Their brazenly bare bodies encapsulate this somewhat erroneous sentiment as aretê emulates from every anatomical detail, including their pubic hair.

¹ In addition to analyzing the trends of pubic hair from the Archaic to early Classical periods, Smith provides a chart that chronologically sequences these extant shapes (Smith 2007: 114).

² Smith attributes this torso to the early fifth century (Smith 2007: 114

³ Bol attributes this schamharr fragment to the early Classical period (Bol 1978: 55).

⁴ Cicero documents, a law forbidding tombs whose construction mandated over ten men to work for three days (Cicero De Legibus, 2.26).

⁵ Stewart 2008: 72.

⁶ Stewart 2008: 72-73.

With this progressively more realistic rendering, the hair marks the transition between aristocratic flamboyance and democratic austerity. While its stylized coils and razored shape show the artist and viewer still valued an attentively groomed genitalia, the pubic hair itself appears less artificial. No longer the gaudy flares of their kouroi predecessors, the Tyrannicides' slightly abstracted pubic hair clearly enhances the tone of the Severe Style, echoing its intense austerity through its stylistic simplicity.

As democracy flourishes in ancient Greece, this artistic rendering of male pubic hair follows the trajectory toward naturalism. The increasingly liberated pubic hair on mid-fifth century masculine sculptures exemplifies this development. In the representation of the male venerated figure-whether a god, a hero, or an ideal man-the sculptor has completely abandoned the depilated shape, instead embracing the subject's natural masculinity. He refrains, however, from sculpting full-throttled realism by adhering to the conventions of the reality effect. The pubic hair on the mid-century statues, while naturalistic to create an illusion of reality, still contains idealized tufts. The beautiful aesthetics of the soft pubic curls persuade the viewer of the subject's bodily perfection, which in Classical Greece alluded to his sophrôsynê and mental perfection. A variety of idealized subjects documents this quest for unattainable beauty, each differing in content but serving the same venerating purpose. This stylistic reality effect applies throughout the hierarchy of the kosmos, instilling the same visual perfection in god, hero, and man. Statues like the Riace warriors (Pls. 8-11), Myron's diskobolos (Pls. 12, 13), and Polykleitos's doryphoros (Pls. 14, 15)-mere mortals-possess the same pubic perfection as Zeus from Cape Artemision (Pls. 16-17), providing the onlooking Greek citizen with the illusion that he can become godlike himself, enticing him to strive for the unreachable perfection of this statuary immortality. With his full-grown but neatly groomed locks of pubic hair, the ideal male still clearly maintains control over his masculinity and sexuality, attesting to the indisputable power he wields over himself. This self-control makes him a respectable member of democracy. and therefore influential, which extends his power from over himself to over his peers.

At the conclusion of the Classical period, artists began to render pubic hair in a less restrained fashion as the Greek world transitioned into the degenerative Hellenistic period. The sculpture of an athlete cleaning his strigil (Pls. 18-19),⁷ for instance, exhibits unbridled straggles of hair that document the shift from the Classical reality effect to Hellenistic realism.⁸ These unkempt snarls nullify the reality effect's inspiring aesthetic component, rejecting the illusion of perfection for blatant authenticity. The Lysippan Getty bronze (Pl. 20), an athletic sculpture like the aforementioned athlete, commemorates a victorious champion⁹ whose ruggedly asymmetrical locks lack the meticulous undulating rhythm of his high Classical predecessors. The accompanying pubic hair on a detached phallus excavated at Olympia reiterates the robust masculinity of the late Classical period (Pl. 21).¹⁰ With these sculptures, the optimistic ideal of the pre-Peloponnesian War vanishes from the pubic hair in statuary, now perhaps reflecting the atmosphere of battered cynicism in a world that knows cyclical martial defeat. With each strand of hair rendered individually, the artist makes no apologies for the subject's disheveled and

⁷ This sculpture, often misidentified as a copy of Lysippus's Apoxyomenos, actually performs a different action; instead of scraping himself like the Apoxyomenos, he cleans his strigil (Michelucci 2006: 22).

⁸ Scholars have determined that the archetype for this athlete emerged in either the late Classical or early Hellenistic period (Michelucci 2006: 25).

⁹ Mattusch 1997: 49.

¹⁰ Bol identifies this as late Classical (Bol 1978: 56

unsightly state. The victorious days of buoyant, stylized curls have, like the Greek state, dwindled to a disillusioning twilight.

In a curious juxtaposition to this unapologetic pubic realism, Praxiteles sculpted the first Classical female nude without any hint of pubic hair.¹¹ His Aphrodite of Knidos (Pl. 22), infamous throughout the Mediterranean, partially shields her genitalia from the intrusive viewer. Instead of deflecting attention from her flawless pubis, her modest action paradoxically emphasizes it, drawing the viewer's attention to her locus of sexual power. In a way, Aphrodite's act of supposed modesty actually heightens her allure and seduces her onlooker into a state of helpless lust. Thus, the nature of her disrobed stature disarms her viewer, illuminating the incontrovertible authority of her sexual dominance. Praxiteles, however, denies her the acknowledgement of innate superiority because he declines to sculpt her pubic hair (Pl. 23). As a result, he creates a representation of femininity that exhibits the figure of an extraordinarily fecund woman with the genitalia of a pre-pubescent girl. No primary source remarks on the peculiarity of this hairless representation, so they likely were not shocked enough by it to document it. Although Praxiteles clearly created the paradigm for feminine sculptural nudes, he did not stun his viewers by representing her in fully depilated form. Since this pubic hairlessness was therefore not remarkably unusual in the goddess Aphrodite, renowned for her beauty, one may infer that the Classical Greeks also considered the depilated female genitalia to be beautiful. Indeed, the locus of the subject's power must have had considerable beauty in order to induceanecdotally, at least—a man to fall so in love with her that he actually attempted to copulate physically with the marble.¹² Thus, the hairless Aphrodite, as a symbol of the acme of feminine beauty in Classical Greece, reveals that this standard included full genital depilation. Paradoxically, however, the Knidian Aphrodite's hairlessness connotes pre-pubescence, an age at which she would have been physically barren. Thus, the convention of full genital depilation undermines the woman's sexuality, illustratively depriving her of the power to reproduce and perpetuate her family's lineage. Although scholars debate the male psychological fear of hairy female genitalia resembling the Medusa-head,¹³ a more plausible explanation for this conventional bodily alteration takes into account a woman's power in Classical Greece. Primarily, a woman served as a vessel of lineage, securing her husband's posterity—his means of immortality-through the production and nurturing of children. Through the depilation of her genitals, the woman removes the visual marker of her pubescence and fecundity, thereby removing any hint of her copulative power. By masking her control over her husband's lineage, the depilated woman flatters the male ego through submission. In representing a goddess, the apex of female power, as a hairless prepubescent who lacks fecundity. Praxiteles appeals to the male gaze by undermining the power of the goddess and simultaneously increasing that of the viewer. She may seduce him with a deceptively modest gesture, but her enfeebling hairless

¹¹ Seaman argues that Praxiteles included pubic hair on his Knidian Aphrodite, claiming she finds remnants of paint and faintly chiseled incisions in the pubic triangles of reproductions (Seaman 2009: 20-22). However, the meager photographs she provides as evidence fail to qualify her statement. Despite supporting Seaman's claim in his most recent publication on the topic (Stewart 2008: 261), Stewart has since changed his mind, stating, "It is very unlikely pubic hair was shown." (Personal communication). ¹² Pliny, N. H. 36.20.

¹³ Ferenczi proposes that Medusa's head, enshrouded by serpents, symbolizes female genitalia (Ferenczi 1923: 360). Freud proposes that since Medusa's decapitation induces castration anxiety, the sight of mature hairy genitalia recalls her form and instills fear in males (Freud 1922: 105). Slater weakens these arguments (Slater 1986: 17), and Kilmer proves through an array of explicitly erotic red figure vases that the ancient Greeks did not fear female genitalia (Kilmer: 1993: 133-159).

genitalia allude to the dominance of her implicit male viewer, Ares,¹⁴ as well as the visual dominance of her mortal male viewer. As a woman, even Aphrodite must suppress her innate form in order to uphold the Classical ideal.

This ideal hairless state of beauty also applies to mortal women, who throughout Classical records seek to embody this artificial perfection. A red figure bell krater attributed to the Dinos Painter illustrates a scene of women depilating themselves with the aid of Eros (Pl. 24). These women, most likely hetaerai dressed in erotic criss-cords,¹⁵ prepare for their anticipated sexual activities by singeing off their pubic hair with oil lamps. Since a bell krater functions as a wine vessel, the artist may have produced this vase for a male audience engaging in a symposium. In order to most appeal to the clients, then, these women enact the male fantasy, illustrating the Classical penchant for depilated genitalia. In fact, Aaron J. Paul compares the posture of the right figure with the Venus Genetrix (Pls. 25, 26), a much-replicated and almost certainly well-known statue in Classical Greece.¹⁶ The woman's parallel positioning perhaps alludes to her desire to emulate Aphrodite in both form and function, an ambition that clearly mandates genital depilation. This association implies that a woman can only attain the goddess's sexual potency by removing her pubic hair, visually suppressing her powers to please her man. Women in Classical Greece would remove their hair through various painful measures. In addition to singeing their hair with ashes¹⁷ and lamps, as depicted in this krater and another kylix (Pl. 27), they could also pluck and shave their genitalia to yield the desired pruned result.¹⁸ These excruciating processes inflict so much agony that playwrights employ them as mechanisms of punishment.¹⁹ Even the Aphrodite-esque figure of the aforementioned bell krater wields a sponge, perhaps in anticipation of the imminent pain.²⁰ Yet despite this physical anguish, Classical women performed these rituals to realize their partners' sexual fetishes. Greek protocol required that they alter their natural forms in an act of sexual submission,²¹ surrendering their power to their mates. The proper Athenian woman, despite her age, prides herself in her depilated state, a sentiment reciprocated by the man's veneration of his bush of genital hair. To him, his masculine growth affirms his existence as a successful male by equating him with Athenian generals renowned for their vigor.²² His unrepressed hair growth expresses his dominance both in battle and at home; allowing his female partner equivalent luxury would emasculate him. Instead, the Classical woman would appeal to his ego by visually deleting her sexual potency in a painful procedure that suppresses her natural feminine state.

¹⁴ Stewart 2008: 261.

¹⁵ Paul 1994: 63.

¹⁶ Paul 1994: 64.

¹⁷ Morris 2004: 198.

¹⁸ Kilmer 1993: 135.

¹⁹ Women charge a kinsman of deceit and threaten to punishment her by singing off her hair with hot coals (Aristophanes Thesmophoriazusae, 537-543).

²⁰ Paul suggests the supposed sponge is "precautionary" (Paul 1994: 62), but it may instead serve to cleanse the body of soot produced by the lamp. (Arisophanes Thesmophoriazusae, 245).

²¹ Brandt states that Greek women depilated fully (Brandt 1935: 506-7), but Bain and Kilmer argue more convincingly that they more frequently practiced partial depilation (Bain 1982: 7-10; Kilmer 1993: 133-146).

²² In Aristophanes's Lysistrata, a wife proudly expresses, "...old lady though I am, you'll never see [my genitalia] long-haired, but depilated with a lamp." Her male counterpart defends his abundance of hair, stating that two honored Athenian generals were also "bristly down there" (Aristophanes, Lysistrata 799-805, 820-828; translation from Henderson 2000: 375-377).

Curiously, the vast majority of nude females frequently illustrated on early Classical red figure vases display some form of partial pubic depilation,²³ abstaining from the full removal of the Knidian Aphrodite. The resulting variety of abstract silhouettes indicates that Greek males found artificially pruned pubic hair arousing, but did not necessarily prefer a particular shape of grooming. The mere action of genital hair removal mattered more than the resulting form. Yet it is puzzling why the female nudes on Greek vases, often hetaerai performing erotic acts, frequently do not practice full genital depilation as the Knidian Aphrodite must (Pls. 28-31). If one continues to view pubic hair as a symbol of a woman's sexual power, these hetaerai-Aphrodite's "particular devotees"²⁴—clearly exhibit more power than the goddess of sexuality herself. Classical Greek artists would surely have refrained from such hubristic representation. Instead, this relationship suggests that a mature woman's amount of pubic hair may be inversely proportional to her power; the more her power challenges that of her partner, the more she must atone for this by depilating. So although the modern viewer may interpret this as an objectifying ritual that deprives the woman of her human sexuality, in ancient Greece hairlessness may actually connote femininity.²⁵ The beautiful young prostitutes-most likely slaves²⁶-so commonly represented on symposium pottery lacked a great magnitude of power. Therefore, the gradated scale of pubic depilation may reflect the social hierarchy of females. Whereas the ornamental pubic hair of the Kouros Aristodikos proclaimed his aristocratic wealth, the hetaira's shaven shapes exemplify her inability to exert complete control over her partner. By depriving a mature woman of her pubic hair-her symbol of sexual potency-the male implies that she would have power had he not suppressed it. Paradoxically, it is in this suppression that he illuminates her potential for power. Since a wedded man's enslaved property lacks the capability to challenge his masculinity, his prostitutes do not need to depilate fully. Literary evidence indicates that the common slave prostitute-the lowest of the low-should depilate only to the extent of resembling the course woolen katônakê,²⁷ the garment of slaves and manual laborers.²⁸ Their inferior status demands only limited hair removal, again attesting to the inverse proportionality of social hierarchy to degree of genital depilation.

In addition to fifth century red figure erotica, contemporaneous literature implies that female genital depilation existed as the norm in Classical Greece. In Aristophanes's Women at the Thesmophoria, a man attempts to disguise himself as a woman in order to gain entrance to the Thesmophoria, an annual religious festival in which women would convene in isolation from men to worship Demeter.²⁹ Yet to successfully pass for a woman, the man must depilate his genitals³⁰, a requirement that illuminates the widespread prevalence of this feminine grooming convention. After a brief protest, the man begrudgingly undergoes this process and laments his fate as a delphakion,³¹ the Greek term for both a "suckling pig" and a "mature, hairless cunt."³²

²³ Although only a scattering of vases illustrate fully exposed female genitalia (Kilmer 1993: 142-143), the pubic hair usually appears in a partially depilated form when it is represented.

²⁴ Thornton 1997: 50.

²⁵ Aristophanes implies that to be hairy is to be unfeminine, but does not explicitly define this hairiness as pubic in nature (Aristophanes Ecclesiazusae, 60-67).

²⁶ Pomeroy observes that a prostitute could purchase her freedom (Pomeroy 1975: 89). Keuls argues that the enslaved prostitute could probably only buy her freedom after her best years had passed (Keuls 1993: 196-7). Thus, since the hetaerae depicted on red figure vases were usually at the apex of their beauty, they were probably still enslaved.

²⁷ Aristophophanes Ecclesiazusae, 732-734

²⁸ Cleland, Davies, and Llewellyn-Jones 2007: 103

²⁹ For a description of the Thesmophoria, see Burkert 1985: 242.

³⁰ Aristophanes Thesmophoriazusae 236-248.

An array of ancient Greek slang euphemisms for the female genitals relate them to a derivative of swine, which may allude to the conventional act of singeing the inedible bristles from a pig before roasting it.³³ Through this diction, the Classical Greeks acknowledge the lewdly objectifying nature of this ritual and illuminate the male suppression of the female's sexuality, the basis of her humanity. This humorous scene shows that one must be woman to enter this festival, and more importantly, one must depilate to be a woman. Once again, the Greeks' twisted values shine through their conventional practice: the illusion of femininity requires that a woman physically deny the existence of her sexuality by removing her pubic hair, the visual symbol of her fecundity.

Undeniably, the vast majority of red figure female nudes who display their genitals practice partial depilation. Yet in a peculiar departure from the corresponding male convention, most nude men in early Classical red figure vases appear sans pubic hair. One explanation for this accounts for the pragmatic artistic purposes of this representation. If the painter were to include the full-bodied tufts of masculine hair that Classical men so venerated, the result likely may have resembled a detached phallus. Not exactly conducive to rendering an appendage in a large block of negative space, the two-dimensional monochrome technique of red figure vase painting surely limited the artistic representation of painted male pubic hair. Had artists chosen to include the even partially depilated masculine pubic hair, the image may have struck a nerve in the male viewer. Instead of stroking his ego by documenting his virility, the dark pubic hair would have produced negative space that detached the man's penis from his body. This resulting visual castration may have provoked anxiety; in ancient Greece, castration meant relinquishing power. The male viewer, certainly attuned to myths of power usurpation,³⁴ would have been at the very least subconsciously aware of the result of male castration. It is doubtful that the Greek male, the patron of such erotica, would have desired to purchase a scene that alludes even in the slightest to the submission of male power. While painted female pubic hair demarcates the presence of her internal organs, painted male pubic hair would have visually rendered his nonfunctional. Thus, the Classical vase painter often depicts females with genital hair and males with little to none (Pls. 28-32).³⁵

Another explanation for the male subject's lack of pubic hair considers the relationship of the patron to the subject. As symposium pottery, early Classical erotica probably illustrated the male sexual fantasy, which would have included homoerotic scenes of paiderastia with adolescent erômenoi. The erômenos's hebe, or bloom of youth, spanned from the time of his first downy facial hair to the onset of a full beard,³⁶ and one can infer that his pubic hair followed a similar growth pattern. Since this hebe represented the height of attractiveness, the artist would appeal to his patron, the erastes, by depicting the hebe of the erômenos with little to no genital hair. This artistic convention would have flattered the viewer's male ego, erotically assuring him of his sexual dominance over his erômenos, a youth who has just barely reached sexual liberation

³¹ Aristophanes Thesmophoriazusae. 237.

³² On delphakion, see Henderson 1975: 132.

³³ Kilmer 1993: 136.

³⁴ For instance, Kronos castrates and thus deposes his father Ouranos (Hesiod Theogony, 176-182).

³⁵ For additional examples of erotica too great in quantity to reproduce here, see plates in Kilmer 1993 located between pages 146 and 147.

³⁶ In his Symposium, Plato notes, "Even in the passion for boys you may note the way of those who are under the single incitement of this Love: they love boys only when they begin to acquire some mind—a growth associated with that of down on their chins" (Plato Symposium, 181D; translation from Henderson 2001: 111). See also Ferrari 2002: 133 and Dover 1978: 86 on the physiological parameters of the erômenos stage.

(Pl. 32). Both explanations for the lack of male pubic hair in red figure vases consider the psychology of the patron: neither visual castration nor visual competition may challenge his dominance.

Throughout Classical Greece, the superficial artistic conventions of rendering pubic hair illuminate deeper insight into contemporaneous Greek life. In male nude statuary, the evolution of sculpted and stylized pubic hair to unbridled tufts reveals the shifting definition of masculinity. No longer valuing ostentatious pubic ornamentation of aristocrats, the newly founded Greek democracy turned to embrace the natural state of the everyman and by extension, the natural state of his pubic hair. With this change, every citizen can attain bodily austerity just as he can attain influence in his government. In a true reflection of the Classical ideal, his selfcontainment endows him with masculine power. He suppresses any potential threat to this power, a mindset not limited to his rival men. One can apply patriarchal dominance to the practice of female genital depilation; the most powerful and therefore most threatening women remove greater quantities of pubic hair, while the more innocuous females need not practice such depilation. This applies to the goddesses, who lack pubic hair completely; the wives, who take pride in their neatly pruned genitalia; the hetaerai, who partially depilate to augment eroticism; and the common slaves, who as harmless property do not groom extensively. The male viewer's pubic dominance remains unattested in vases that include scenes other males. These subjects could threaten the patron with a masculine proliferation of pubic hair, but instead juxtapose him with their relative hairlessness. Through this portrayal, the artist simultaneously avoids ominous castration allusions and provides the viewer with erotic erômenos who assure him of his eternal dominance. Pubic hair in Classical Greece reflects the contemporaneous zeitgeist, visually portraying the ideals of both public and private spheres.

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Images Cited

- Plate 1. Kouros Aristodikos. ca. 500 BCE. Marble. National Archaeological Museum in Athens. Published in Boardman 1978: 58.
- Plate 2. Detail of Kouros Aristodikos. ca. 500 BCE. Marble. National Archaeological Museum in Athens. Photographed by Een Ar. Posted on http://www.flickr.com/photos/anaranar/4890073157/in/set-72157624708579316.
- Plate 3. Torso fragment of a male youth. c. 480 BCE. Marble. Acropolis Museum in Athens. Published in Smith 2007: 113.
- Plate 4. Early Classical pubic hair fragment. c. 500-450 BCE. Bronze. Published in Bol 1978: fig. 96.
- Plate 5. The Tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton. 477-476 BCE. Roman marble copy of bronze original. Museo archeologico nazionale di Napoli. Provided by SCALA on ARTstor.
- Plate 6. Detail of Aristogeiton. 477-476 BCE. Roman marble copy of bronze original. Museo archeologico nazionale di Napoli. Image provided by SCALA on ARTstor.
- Plate 7. Detail of Harmodios. 477-476 BCE. Roman marble copy of bronze original. Museo archeologico nazionale di Napoli. Image provided by SCALA on ARTstor.
- Plate 8. Riace Warrior A. c. 450 BCE. Bronze. Museo Nazionale della Magna Grecia, Reggio Calabria. Image provided by Erich Lessing Culture and Fine Arts on ARTstor.
- Plate 9. Detail of Riace Warrior A. c. 450 BCE. Bronze. Museo Nazionale della Magna Grecia, Reggio Calabria. Image provided by Erich Lessing Culture and Fine Arts on ARTstor.
- Plate 10. Riace Warrior B. c. 450 BCE. Bronze. Museo Nazionale della Magna Grecia, Reggio Calabria. Image provided by Erich Lessing Culture and Fine Arts on ARTstor.
- Plate 11. Detail of Riace Warrior B. c. 450 BCE. Bronze. Museo Nazionale della Magna Grecia, Reggio Calabria. Image provided by Erich Lessing Culture and Fine Arts on ARTstor.
- Plate 12. Diskobolos. c. 475-450 BCE. Roman marble copy of bronze original by Myron. Museo Nazionale Romano. Image provided by SCALA on ARTstor.
- Plate 13. Detail of Diskobolos. c. 475-450 BCE. Roman marble copy of bronze original by Myron. Museo Nazionale Romano. Image provided by Saskia, Ltd. on ARTstor.
- Plate 14. The Doryphoros. c. 450 BCE. Roman marble copy of bronze original by Polykleitos. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples Image provided by the University of California, San Diego on ARTstor.
- Plate 15. Detail of the Doryphoros. c. 450 BCE. Roman marble copy of bronze original by Polykleitos. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples Image provided by the University of California, San Diego on ARTstor.
- Plate 16. Zeus of Artemision. c. 450 BCE. Bronze. National Archaeological Museum in Athens. Image provided by Erich Lessing Culture and Fine Arts on ARTstor.
- Plate 17. Detail of Zeus of Artemision. c. 450 BCE. Bronze. National Archaeological Museum in Athens. Image provided by Erich Lessing Culture and Fine Arts on ARTstor.
- Plate 18. Athlete with a strigil. c. 300 BCE. Bronze. Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. Published in Michelucci 2006: 44.
- Plate 19. Detail of an athlete with a strigil. c. 300 BCE. Bronze. Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. Image published in Michelucci 2006: 45.
- Plate 20. Detail of a young athlete. c. 325-300 BCE. Bronze. J. Paul Getty Villa, Malibu. Image published in Mattusch 1997: 48.

- Plate 21. Late Classical phallus fragment excavated at Olympia. c. 400-300 BCE. Bronze. Bol 1978: fig. 244a.
- Plate 22. Braschi Venus, a copy of the Aphrodite of Knidos. c. 350 BCE. Roman marble copy of marble original by Praxiteles. Munich Glyptothek. Image provided by the University of California, San Diego on ARTstor.
- Plate 23. Detail of the Braschi Venus, a copy of the Aphrodite of Knidos. c. 350 BCE. Roman marble copy of marble original by Praxiteles. Munich Glyptothek. Published in Seaman 2009: 93.
- Plate 24. Red figure bell krater showing Eros and two women. Attributed to the Dinos Painter. c. 430-420 BCE. Terracotta. Harvard University Art Museums, Arthur M. Sackler Museum. Published in Paul 1994: 60.
- Plate 25. Venus Genetrix. c. 425-400 BCE. Roman marble copy of bronze original. Louvre. Published in Paul 1994: 65.
- Plate 26. Detail from red bell krater showing woman lifting clothes for depilation. Attributed to the Dinos Painter. c. 430-420 BCE. Terracotta. Harvard University Art Museums, Arthur M. Sackler Museum. Published in Paul 1994: 65.
- Plate 27. Red figure kylix showing woman singeing her pubic hair with a lamp. In the manner of Onesimos. c. 500-490 BCE. Terracotta. University Museums, University of Mississippi. Published on http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/artifact?name=Mississippi%201977.3.112&object=

Vase.

- Plate 28. Red figure kylix showing a naked woman and two youths. Onesimos Painter. c. 490 BCE. Terracotta. J. Paul Getty Villa, Malibu. Kilmer 1993: Pl. R462, A.
- Plate 29. Same as Pl. 28. Red figure kylix showing a naked woman playing the krotala between a dancing man and an approaching youth. Onesimos Painter. c. 490 BCE. Terracotta. J. Paul Getty Villa, Malibu. Kilmer 1993: Pl. R462, B.
- Plate 30. Red figure kylix showing bearded men feasting with young hetaerai. c. 475 BCE. Terracotta. Keuls 1985: 169.
- Plate 31. Same as Pl. 29. Red figure kylix showing youth with older hetaera and bearded man with young one. c. 475 BCE. Terracotta. Keuls 1985: 169.
- Plate 32. Red figure kylix showing a drunken revelry. Nikosthenes Painter. c. 520-510 BCE. Terracotta. Kilmer 1993: Pl. R249, B.