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Fibers and Functions: The Participation and Representation of Men and Women in Sacrificial Processions on Attic Vases dating from the Sixth and Fifth Century B.C.



Figure 1: Attic black-figured neck-amphora presenting a sacrificial procession, F1686, Vulci, Berlin Painter, c.550 B.C, Berlin State Museums.¹

¹ Van Straten, F.T. 1995. *Hiera Kalá. Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece*. Leiden, fig. 4 (V21).

Abstract

On Attic vases dating from the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. numerous depictions of religious activities can be found. The starting point of this research is based on a new concept that came into being in the academic field on what it meant to be an Athenian citizen, which emphasizes not only political participation of the *demos*, but moreover stresses the importance of participation in the religious sphere of the *polis* for men as well as women. Sacrificial procession scenes on Attic vases derived from the sixth and fifth century B.C. form the basis for an investigation on the extent to which men and women participated equally in this type of religious activity. Besides issues regarding gender and function divisions, attention is given to the way in which the participants of sacrificial procession scenes are fashioned, in particular whether or not there were certain types of dress-, hairstyles and personal adornments that were illustrative for figures carrying out particular functions or roles that were previously determined. This may give the modern interpreter some additional insight regarding the people who wore them. An interesting outcome regarding gender and function divisions in sacrificial procession scenes is that most functions and roles were carried out by both men and women, albeit in varying degree, since more men are depicted participating in procession scenes than women. The analysis of the iconographical depiction of dress-, hairstyles and personal adornments may be helpful in the construction of gender, age as well as the social classes that the participants may have belonged to. However, fashion in itself cannot be interpreted as a decisive factor for the identification of figures fulfilling certain functions. Other aspects such as attributes and positioning of figures within the procession scenes as well as literary sources and inscriptions have to be taken into account as well. Moreover, the iconographic representation of participants in sacrificial procession scenes does not visibly distinguish between citizens and non-citizens. However, this is not necessarily a problem for the argument presented in this thesis, since procession scenes were likely to depict Athenian citizens given that they were the core-group of Athenian society.

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1 Introduction

The generally held notion that Athenian citizenship was a juridical status allowing adult Athenian men to participate in the politics of the *polis* has recently come under scrutiny. A new understanding of what it meant to be an Athenian citizen has come into being, which emphasizes active participation in the polis community, in particular the religious activities of the polis.²

According to many ancient sources, being a member of the polis community meant sharing in the polis (μετέχειν τῆς πόλεως), in particular in the affairs of the gods (μετέχειν τῶν ἱερῶν). This hypothesis is the foundation of the VICI-project of professor J.H. Blok of Utrecht University on Athenian citizenship.³

In the article 'Citizenship in Action: „Reading“ Sacrifice in Classical Athens' Blok states that being an Athenian citizen “entitled one to participation in the *hiera* and *hosia* of the city”, a stock phrase that was used often in dialogues about citizenship in classical Athens, which concurrently applied to both male and female citizens. According to Blok, participation in *hiera* predominantly implied “participation in sacrifice, ..., sharing in offering votives and taking care of the property of the gods.”⁴ The meaning of the term *hosia* is a more complicated issue and has given rise to much debate.⁵ The term *hosia* seems to have inherent positive undertones and can be roughly translated into: “the things concerning a

² Wijma, S.M. 2010. *Joining the Athenian Community, The Participation of Metics in Athenian Polis Religion*

³ Wijma, *Joining the Athenian Community*, 11-13, 323.

⁴ Blok, J.H. 2009. 'Citizenship in Action: „Reading“ Sacrifice in Classical Athens', in: *Mann, C. – Haake, M.-von den Hoff, R. (eds.), Rollenbilder in der athenischen Demokratie : Medien, Gruppen, Räume im politischen und sozialen System : Beiträge zu einem interdisziplinären Kolloquium in Freiburg i. Br., 24.-25. November 2006*, 89, 90.

⁵ For debates on the meaning of *hosia* consult: Blok, J. H. 2010. 'Deme Accounts and the Meaning of *hosion* Money', *Mnemosyne* 63, 61-93. that includes a full bibliography of the debate.

good order between gods and humans and a good order among humans that is pleasing to the gods.”⁶

According to R. Parker, “festivals were the blood of life to the Greeks” and individuals could take part in festivals in numerous ways.⁷ Activities one could participate in included processions towards the sanctuaries of the gods and goddesses that normally included sacrificial offerings, dancing, praying, *pannychis* (all-night vigil). In addition, one could join the festivities by simply watching the procession or by taking part in a celebratory dinner that normally concluded the sacrificial act.⁸

However, who could participate in festivals and in what manner depended on the sort of festival as well as the gender, sub-group, social class and deme an individual belonged to. Some festivals such as the Thesmophoria were labelled ‘women’s festivals’. These festivals were exclusively for women and were ‘mirror images’ of the festivals attended by men.⁹ It is unclear if there were also festivals at Athens in which men participated, that excluded women in a similar manner, since female priests were often present at these festivals. This suggests that exclusion of participation was a principle that was not based on gender alone.¹⁰ When it comes to festival activities such as the sacrificial feast as well as the *pannychis* there are clear gender related divisions in the share men and women have in these activities. Men typically sacrificed meat during the day and women partook in dancing during the night.¹¹ In addition, special roles in festival activities were reserved for youths from both genders. Girls could for example function as *kanéphoroi* who carried the sacrificial basket in sacrificial processions.¹² In regards to the different classes within the citizen body it becomes clear that slaves could

⁶ Wijma, *Joining the Athenian Community*, 12.

⁷ Parker, R. 2005. *Polytheism and Society at Athens*. Oxford - New York, 165, 171.

⁸ Blok, ‘Citizenship in Action’, 89.

⁹ Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens*. 165.

¹⁰ Idem.

¹¹ Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens*. 165, 166.

¹² Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens*. 169.

only partake in festivals that were privately celebrated within the household. In contrast to Athenian citizens, metics and other free non-citizens were likely excluded from formal participation in the majority of Athenian festivals.¹³ An example of a festival that did allow for metic participation is the Panathenaia. During the Panathenaic procession girls performed ‘metic’ duties such as the carrying of parasols for citizen girls and youths carried skaphai or hydriai.¹⁴

Of all the religious activities previously mentioned, sacrificial processions will play the central role in this research. The reason for focusing on this type of religious activity is the fact that both men and women participated in these sacrificial parades and determining the roles and functions filled by either gender could give us some more insight in the share men and women had in the religious activities of the polis. Accepting the proposition that active participation in religious activities was for both men and women of great importance to be able to identify oneself and others as Athenian citizens, one would expect both sexes to heavily contribute to this type of religious activity.

Besides an in-depth analysis of the gender and function divisions of men and women in sacrificial processions, attention will also be paid to the clothing, hairstyles and personal adornments worn by the participants of these processions. It will be interesting to see whether or not participants with certain functions or roles had typical dress-, hairstyles or personal adornments that were illustrative for their tasks which may tell us something about the people who wore them, since fashion distinguishes “terms of class and status, gender, age, sub-cultural affiliations, that would otherwise not be so visible or significant.”¹⁵ Additionally, as R. Griffin stated in his postscript to the book *Fashioning the Body Politic*, “what people wear

¹³ Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens*, 169-171.

¹⁴ Wijma, *Joining the Athenian Community*, 78, 79.

¹⁵ Entwistle, J.- Wilson, E. 2001. ‘Introduction: Body Dressing’, in: Entwistle, J.- Wilson, E (eds.) 2001. *Body Dressing*. Oxford – New York, 4.

to conceal and expose their person can take the historian to the core of complex social and political processes of stability and change, conformism and challenge to the status quo."¹⁶

1.1 Attic Painted Pottery

The primary source that will be consulted to address the issues discussed above is iconographic material, in the form of Attic painted pottery. There are several reasons for taking this type of source material as the basis for this research. First of all, there are many Attic vases that depict religious activities, that allow for an adequate sample to be selected for this research into sacrificial processions. Additionally, Attic pottery is an inherently coherent group, consisting mainly of stock motives, which allows for comparison, yet the material is sufficiently diverse to be able to encounter many variations of aspects of sacrificial processions.¹⁷ More importantly, Attic pottery was predominantly made with a clear audience in mind which allows us to gain some sort of understanding of what the Athenian audience saw, anticipated or wished to see when reminded of a certain spectacle depicted on Attic painted pottery, in this case sacrificial procession scenes.¹⁸ Another advantage of consulting Attic pottery is the fact that the material is often easily accessible in ‘digital form’ in the Beazley Archive Database, as well as in secondary literature which offers additional detailed information in terms of shapes, provenances, painter groups and techniques.¹⁹

¹⁶ Griffin R. 2000. 'Afterthought: Redressing the Balance in Historiography', in: Parkins, W. (ed.) *Fashioning the Body Politic: Dress, Gender, Citizenship*. Oxford, 225.

¹⁷ Borgers, O. 2008. 'Religious Citizenship in Classical Athens: Men and Women in Religious Representations on Athenian vase-painting', *BABESCH* 83, 73.

¹⁸ Blok, 'Citizenship in Action', 92.

¹⁹ Borgers, 'Religious Citizenship in Classical Athens', 74.

1.2 Research Question

The matters discussed above result in the following central research question: Are there marked differences in the roles and functions performed by men and women participating in sacrificial procession scenes on Attic vases, and to what extent is a differentiation made between participants with particular functions or roles in these procession scenes in terms of dress, hairstyles and personal adornments?

The sub-questions that arise with this research are the following: Which representations of processions on Attic vases can be classified as sacrificial processions? Who participated in sacrificial processions on Attic vases and to what extent can they be identified as Athenian citizens? What is the ratio between men and women depicted in sacrificial procession vase scenes and what roles and functions do they perform? In what manner are participants of sacrificial processions portrayed on Attic vases in terms of dress, hairstyles and personal adornments?

1.3 Structure of the Research

After this introduction, a chapter will be presented on the iconographic material that constitutes the basis of this research. The iconographic boundaries and the organization of the material will play the key roles in this chapter. Certain characteristics of the pottery items included in this research, such as techniques, shapes and painter groups will be discussed in this chapter since they may have influenced the formation of the procession scenes analyzed in this study. In addition, attention will be paid to the locations where the pottery items were found. A study on 'Religious Citizenship in Classical Athens', written by O. Borgers, that includes an analysis of numerous religious representations on Athenian vase-painting,

including sacrificial processions, animal sacrifices, libations and figures around altars, was consulted in this and other chapters.

Chapter three is a methodological chapter that consists of a comprehensive description of how the primary sources - the procession scenes on Attic vases - are analyzed. Attention will be paid to the assumptions made and complications that arise from or are inherent in the material when 'reading' these scenes. Furthermore, a thorough explanation of the way in which the data gathered from these scenes is processed into graphs and tables is provided in this chapter.

Chapter four discusses the outcomes of this investigation regarding the division of men and women as participants of sacrificial processions and the types of functions and roles they fulfill. Several important secondary sources on sacrificial acts and processions were consulted in this and other chapters: an article on 'Religious Citizenship in Classical Athens', written by O. Borgers, which was mentioned before, an article entitled 'Citizenship in Action: „Reading“ Sacrifice in Classical Athens', written by J. H. Blok, which was previously mentioned as well. Additionally, two extensive monographs of J. Gebauer and F. van Straten on sacrificial processions and animal sacrifice, entitled *Pompe und Thysia: Attische Tieropferdarstellungen auf schwarz- und rotfigurigen Vasen* and *Hierà Kalá: Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece*, were consulted. Furthermore, two important works consulted here that provide context on the participation of men and women in the religious sphere of the *polis* by referring to contemporary primary sources are: a book entitled *Polytheism and Society at Athens* written by R. Parker and a book entitled *Worshipping Athena: Panathenaia & Parthenon*, written by J. Neils.

In chapter five the clothing, hairstyles and personal adornments of the figures identified as men and women portrayed in the sacrificial procession scenes are analyzed. Particular attention is paid to the clothing, hairstyles and personal adornments of isolated

groups (e.g. the kanéphoroi, the musicians and the figures accompanying sacrificial animals (SA)). In this chapter other primary sources as well as secondary literature will be consulted to gain a better understanding of the types of clothing that were available in the sixth and fifth century B.C. and what the connotations of certain clothing, hairstyles and personal adornments may have been in Attica of the 6th and 5th century B.C. Important secondary sources on dress, hairstyles and personal adornments in classical Greece that are referred to in this research include an article written by A. Geddes, entitled 'Rags and Riches: The Costume of Athenian Men in the Fifth Century', two articles entitled 'Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art', written by L. Bonafante, and 'The Kanephoros and her Festival Mantel in Greek Art' written by L. Roccas. In addition, a book entitled *Ancient Greek Dress* was consulted here, edited by M. Johnson, which includes E. Abrahams' study on 'Greek Dress' as well as L. Evans' 'Chapters on Greek Dress'.

Finally, a conclusion is presented with the most important findings of this research as well as an answer to the central research question, which is followed by some further suggestions and recommendations regarding research that could shed some more light on the issues at hand.

Lastly, a bibliography is presented that lists the works consulted in this thesis and at the end *Appendices A, B, C, D* and *E* can be consulted. *Appendix A* gives an overview (e.g. codes, techniques, vase shapes and painter groups) of the painted pottery consulted in this research. *Appendix B* presents a list of descriptions of all the procession scenes discussed in this research. *Appendices C* and *D* consist of tables containing data regarding gender and group divisions, types of functions and roles performed by men and women, as well as data regarding the types of clothing, hairstyles and personal adornments worn by either sex. *Appendix E* contains a table with data regarding the types of animal that were led to sacrifice in the procession scenes listed in *Appendices A* and *B*.

2 The Material

This chapter is concerned with the iconographic boundaries and the organization of the procession scenes on Attic pottery, that constitutes the primary iconographic material for this research. Issues addressed include pottery techniques, shapes, painter groups and provenances.

2.1 Iconographic Restrictions and Organization

As explained in the introduction the primary source material consulted for this investigation is Attic painted pottery. This type of art form was at its peak during the sixth and the fifth century B.C. and Attic vases were produced in large numbers and exported widely. The images depicted on black-figured and red-figured items of pottery are often representations of scenes taken from daily life or mythology. Consequently, vase scenes are important sources of information on the tastes and perspectives of the audience who viewed these pottery items and the artists who created them.²⁰

Categorization Criteria

There are several criteria that were of importance for the recognition of the scenes classified as sacrificial processions in this research. First of all, scenes that are included are those that depict a group of individuals walking in procession in an organized often ceremonial fashion.²¹ Secondly, for scenes to be classified with relative certainty as being *sacrificial*

²⁰ Cohen, B. (ed.) 2000. *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*. Leiden, 12, 13.

²¹ "Procession." *Merriam-Webster*. Merriam-Webster, n.d. Web. July 2012. <<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/procession>>.

processions, they had to incorporate two or more of the following elements: the inclusion of sacrificial animals, mortal men and women, figures with certain religious functions (e.g. priests, kanéphoroi, and thymiaterion bearers), who carry attributes (e.g. kanoûns) or sacrificial gifts (e.g. sprigs) and religious constructions (e.g. altars, temples and columns). Scenes that are excluded are those in which participants have already gathered around an altar since they are no longer participating in a procession and have often already commenced with sacred rituals, such as the washing of the hands, the pouring of libations or the animal sacrifice proper have already commenced. The reason for excluding these scenes is that they differ vastly in the way groups are depicted. An explanation for the differences in the way artists rendered altar scenes when compared to procession scenes is that they may have perceived them as distinct rituals. Additionally, the space available on pottery to depict an image is of great importance for the composition of the scene. For example, a vase scene that depicts a sacred ritual, such as the offering of a sacrificial animal near an altar, is likely to include fewer figures because of lack of space, when compared to a procession scene depicted on a similar size vase that only depicts walking figures and animals. Therefore, procession and altar scenes do not allow for comparison when aiming to determine the number of sacrificial procession participants as well as their gender and function in a certain period in time. Other scenes that are excluded are mythological sacrificial scenes that depict processions, since the focus of this research lies on the participation and representation of mortal men and women in sacrificial processions. Komos scenes, portraying (drunken) processions with sacrificial elements (e.g. P 1544, *Agora Museum, Athens*), are excluded from this research as well, since their iconographical style and ritual purpose diverge from the majority of the sacrificial processions selected for this research, and their inclusion would have problematized the comparison of procession scenes.

Problems of Classification

The exact nature of a pottery scene cannot always be securely assessed which makes it difficult to determine whether or not it meets the requirements as described in the previous sections. There are several elements that pose difficulties with identifying a particular scene. First of all, the iconographic material is often damaged or incomplete, making it difficult to determine the gender of certain figures, the type of function or role they fulfill and whether or not the procession party portrayed is complete. Furthermore, one has to keep in mind that pottery items depicting sacrificial procession scenes are not only sources on what the Athenian audiences may have seen or expected to see when it comes to sacrificial processions. They are artistic expressions as well and may likewise express the individual tastes of certain painters or painter-groups thereby diverging from the general perceptions or expectations of the Athenian audience. Additionally, it is not always clear whether or not figures depicted in vase scenes are mortal men and women, which makes it difficult to determine if such scenes are reflections of processions that may have occurred in reality or whether they are mythological in nature. Therefore, one has to proceed with caution when including such scenes and drawing conclusions from the data gathered. Scenes that are clearly mythological are excluded, such as an Attic krater, *Nr. PU 286* (Museo Civico Archeologico, Bologna) which depicts among other figures a winged woman wearing a chiton, accompanying a sacrificial animal, another winged woman floating in the air, a satyr and the god Dionysos seated in a chair.²² Some scenes are more difficult to categorize as belonging to either the mythological or the mortal domain, since they appear to incorporate mythical figures (e.g. a god(dess) or satyr), as well as mortal men and women. An example of

²² Gebauer, J. 2002. *Pompe und Thysia, Attische Tieropferdarstellungen auf schwarz- und rotfigurigen Vasen*. Münster, 141.

such a scene that is incorporated in this research is an Attic skyphos (*MC 130, Bologna*), that depicts Dionysus in a ship-chariot accompanied by a kanéphoros, a man with a thymiaterion and some other figures with a sacrificial animal (bull).²³ This type of scene is included in this study since the realms of the gods and mortals were not necessarily separate in the outlook of the Greeks. Painter of such scenes may have incorporated mythological figures that in reality could not be physically witnessed but were mentally considered to belong to the ritual occasion, most importantly the Athenian gods and goddesses.²⁴ The depiction of mythological figures can be a helpful source when it comes to the determination of the types of religious festivals and sacrificial ceremonies that may have been referred to in the procession scenes analyzed. In section 4.4 'Contextual Framework' an overview is given of religious festivals for which sacrificial processions have been confirmed. There is an ongoing debate on whether these processions can be categorized as private or public events. Since this classification process poses so many difficulties it cannot be satisfactorily addressed here and would in fact merit an entirely independent study.

Three ambiguous vase scenes that are incorporated in this research depict individual figures with a certain function or role. The reason for incorporating these scenes are the fact that they are very similar to procession scenes depicting groups walking in procession and include several criteria for the classification of sacrificial processions mentioned above, that makes it conceivable that the figures portrayed in these scenes may have participated in sacrificial processions in the fashion in which they are portrayed in these scenes. Some of the elements that are incorporated in these scenes are the presence of a religious structure such as an altar and the incorporation of sacrificial animals adorned with fillets and braided tails for the occasion. Even though these three scenes do not provide insights regarding gender

²³ Van Straten, F.T. 1995. *Hierà Kalá. Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece*. Leiden, 198.

²⁴ Blok, 'Citizenship in Action', 91, 92.

division or the way in which certain roles or functions were distributed among the participants, they do offer interesting insights in the dress and hairstyles that were in fashion for these figures and the types of animal that were sacrificed.

Organization of the Material

In total 59 vases and 1 pinax (plaque) depicting sacrificial processions, that meet the requirements specified above, were selected as the basis for this research. *Appendix A* gives an overview of the codes, current locations, techniques, shapes, painters and painter groups (when available) of these procession scenes. Additionally, references to secondary literature that include images of these scenes are listed in this table. Images of most of these scenes can be found in the elaborate studies of Gebauer and Van Straten, on animal sacrifice and sacrificial processions.²⁵ The procession scenes that were consulted for this research are categorized into six periods (see *figure 2*). The first five periods cover thirty years each ranging from 570 B.C. until 420 B.C. The sixth period covers the remaining twenty years of the fifth century. The period 600 B.C. - 570 B.C. is not included in this research because of a lack of iconographical source material that meets the requirements regarding sacrificial processions mentioned above.

²⁵ Most vase scenes included in this study can be found in Gebauer, J. 2002. *Pompe und Thysia, Attische Tieropferdarstellungen auf schwarz- und rotfigurigen Vasen*. Münster. - Van Straten, F.T. 1995. *Hierà Kalá. Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece*. Leiden.

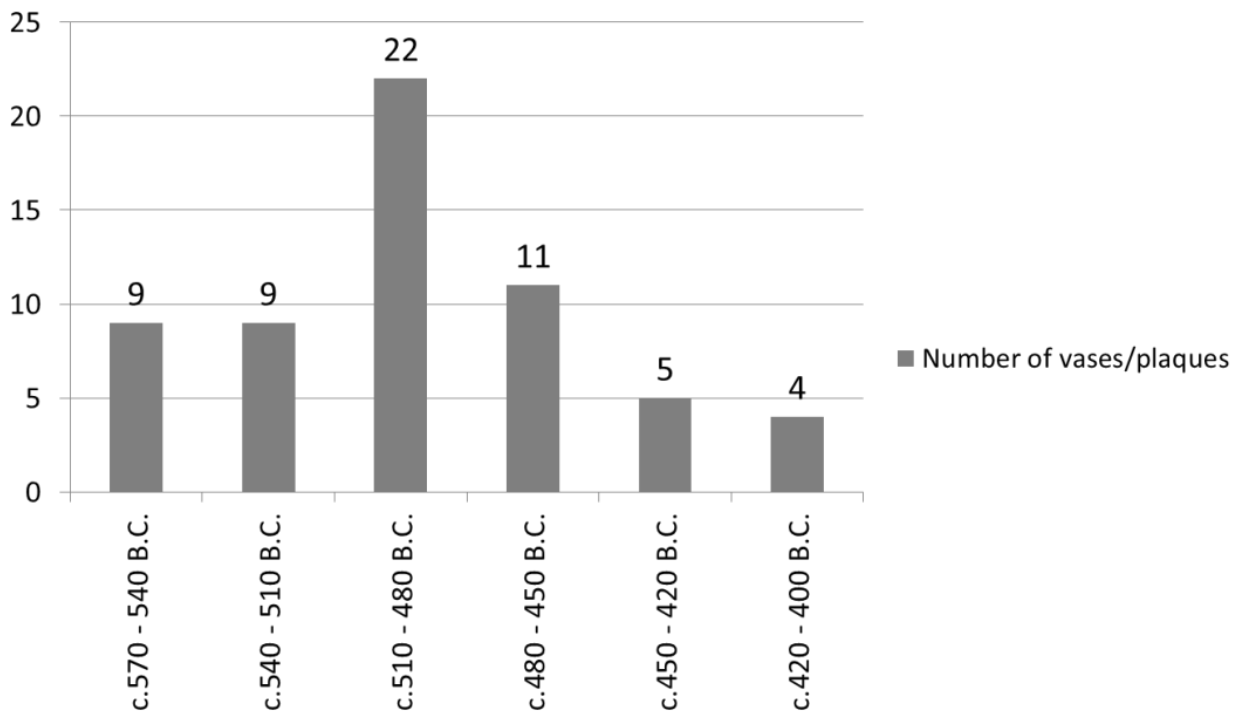


Figure 2: Number of vases/plaques per period

The reason for dividing the source material in periods of thirty years is straightforward: dividing the iconographic material in e.g. periods of 25 years would have expanded the margins of error when interpreting the data collected from vases that are on the verge of two adjacent periods. A vase dating from the mid-sixth century B.C. for example, that is currently categorized in the period c. 570-540 B.C. would otherwise be classified as belonging to either the period 575 B.C.- 550 B.C. or the period 550 B.C. - 525 B.C., a choice of classification that differs significantly time-wise and may have negatively affected conclusions drawn from these scenes regarding e.g. the emergence of a certain type of scene in a particular period. By dividing the data in periods of thirty years this problem is diminished. The sacrificial processions were not categorized in periods of forty years since this would have led to a loss of detail regarding the first emergence of certain scenes, elements or styles, while the classification of scenes into a twenty year period would have led to an insufficient number of vase scenes per period when comparing the vase scenes.

The total sample of the 60 pottery items that form the basis of this research, is relatively small when attempting to determine the functions and roles performed by men and women and the clothing and hairstyles they wore when participating in sacrificial processions in the sixth and fifth century B.C. Nevertheless, the size of this sample allows for a meticulous analysis of the procession scenes portrayed that may lead to new insights. Moreover, the scenes incorporated in this research cover most of the Attic pottery scenes known to us that depict with relative certainty sacrificial processions. In order to be able to make more generalized statements regarding the participation of men and women and the functions and roles they fulfilled in the religious sphere of the polis other types of religious representations have to be included in the primary source material, which is beyond the scope of this research.

2.2 Attic Pottery: Techniques, Shapes, Provenances and Painter Groups

Black and Red-Figure Technique

Of all the 60 pottery items listed in *Appendix A* there are 40 black-figure technique vases versus 20 red-figure technique vases. Up until the last quarter of the sixth century only black-figure vases are listed. Regardless of the invention of the red-figure technique from 530 B.C. onwards, black-figure technique vases remain popular as well (see *figure 3*). *Appendix A* lists 28 black-figure technique vases vs. 20 red-figure vases in the period 530 B.C. – 400 B.C. According to Borgers, who has analyzed numerous religious representations on Athenian vase-painting for his research on religious citizenship in Classical Athens, the fact that black-figure technique vases remain popular after the introduction of red-figure technique vases is an important factor in explaining the spike in the number of vases depicting sacrificial scenes

between c.500 B.C.-c.475 B.C. Borgers states that the number of black-figure technique vases depicting religious scenes is higher than the previous 150 years combined, which he interprets as an indication for the increased ‘popularity’ of religious scenes in Attic society from 500 B.C. onwards.²⁶ This spike in popularity in religious representations can be seen in this research as well, when it comes to the number of vases depicting sacrificial processions (see *figures 2+3*).

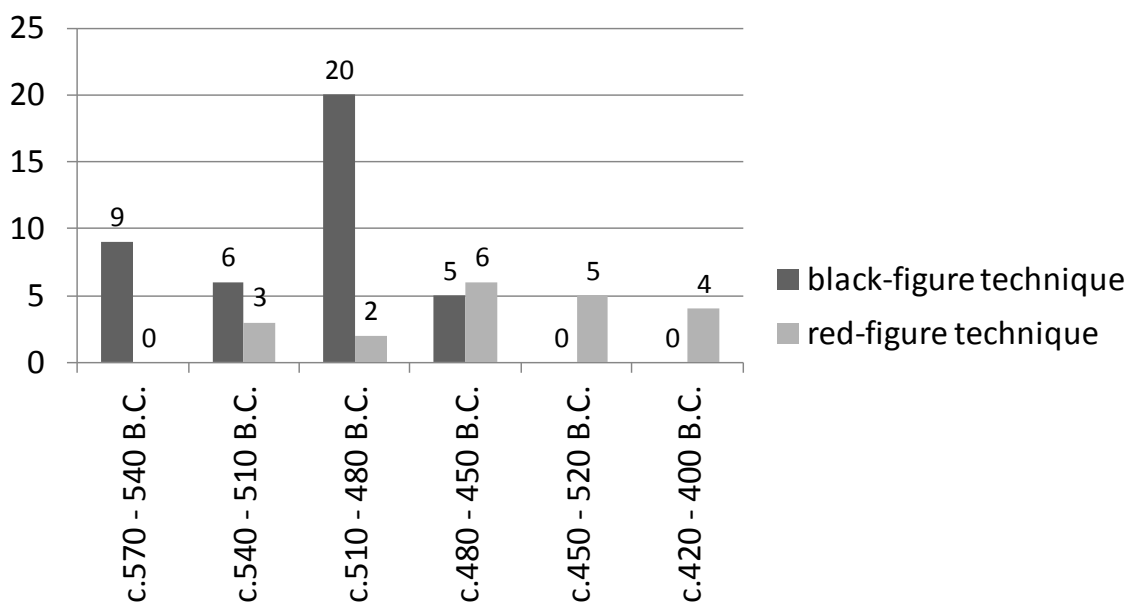


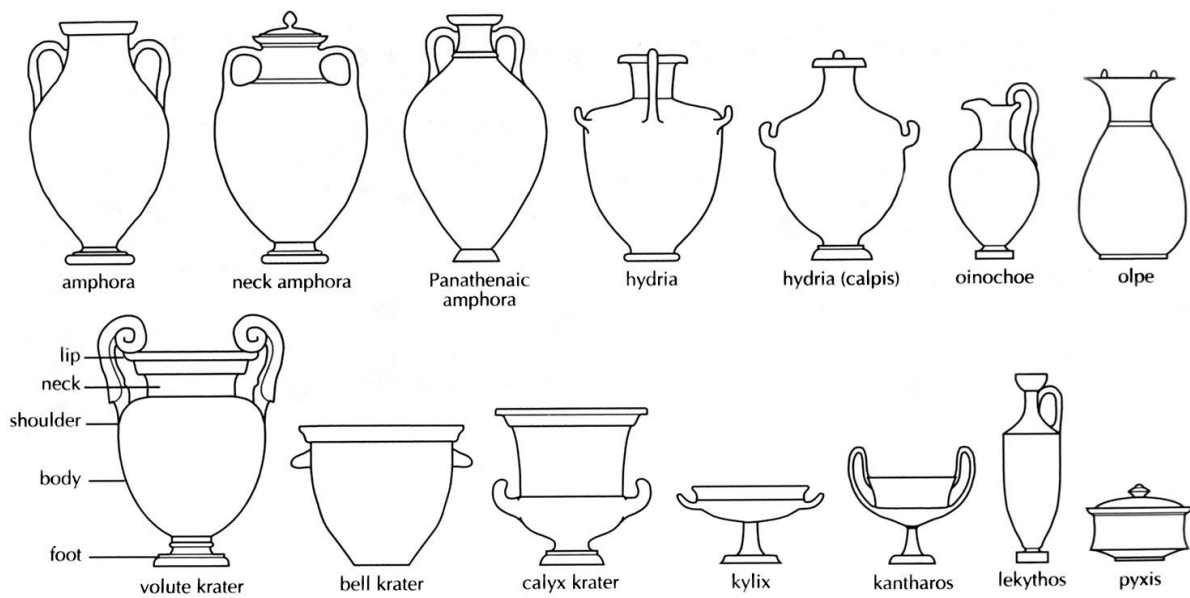
Figure 3: Division of black-figure and red-figure technique pottery

Vase shapes

As can be seen in *Appendix A*, sacrificial processions scenes are painted on different types of pottery. The works of Gebauer and Van Straten on animal sacrifice, whose works incorporate most of the vases discussed in this thesis, were consulted when determining the vase shapes of heavily damaged vases whereof only fragments remain. The types of vase shapes included

²⁶ Borgers, 'Religious Citizenship in Classical Athens', 87.

here are: amphora (7), neck-amphora (1) oinochoe (4), skyphos (6), louthroporus (1), kylix (5), lekythos (14), dinos (3), pelike (3), kalpis (1), hydria (2), chous (1), plate (1), krater (1), column krater (3), volute krater (1), calyx krater (2), bell krater (2) and a plaque (pinax). The number between brackets refers to the number of times each vase shape was found. *Figure 4* below gives a pictorial overview of most of these vase shapes.



*Figure 4: Greek vase shapes*²⁷

Overall lekythoi (14), kraters (9) and amphorae (8) appear to be the most used vase shapes for the depiction of sacrificial procession scenes. *Appendix A* shows that lekythoi were mainly used in the periods 510 B.C. - 480 B.C. and 480 B.C. - 450 B.C., since 12 of the 14 lekythoi are listed here. The amphorae and kraters seem to be more evenly distributed and were found in 4 of the 6 periods. Nevertheless, when drawing conclusions regarding the commonness or popularity of certain vase shapes in the sixth and fifth century B.C. one has

²⁷ Image: "SHAPES OF GREEK VASES." *Decorative Vases*. N.p., n.d. Web. <<http://vaseadnvas.net/shapes-of-greek-vases/>>.

to proceed with caution, since the number of pottery items depicting sacrificial *processions* analyzed here is only a small sample of all the vases known to us depicting sacrificial or religious representations, and they therefore do not allow for generalizations.

Borgers who has analyzed 1045 religious vases has predominantly found lekythoi (118) and kraters (112) as well, yet his largest group consists of cups (288) and he has only encountered 67 types of amphorae.²⁸ One of Borgers' conclusions is that there are remarkable differences when it comes to the types of vase shapes used to depict certain religious categories. For example, he states that "on kraters processions are a relatively large group with 40 examples, compared to the other categories: seven libations, 19 sacrifices, 17 combined sacrifices/libations and only eight unspecified figures at altars."²⁹ On the other hand there is no clear relation between the shape and the function of certain vase shapes in rituals, according to Borgers.³⁰ It is important to note, however, that variations in size of procession scenes may be explained by the variations of available space on the different types of vases listed above.

Provenances and Painter Groups

The names of the artisans who created the scenes that are depicted on these vessels are often unknown to us and we refer to them nowadays by epithets, such as the 'Pan Painter', labels that are largely given to them by J.D. Beazley.³¹

The craftsmen who made these vases did usually not belong to the upper circle of Athenian society and some of them may were probably metics. However, as is put forward by M. Schapiro, neither art styles nor representations of ethnicity are determined by the blood or

²⁸ Borgers, 'Religious Citizenship in Classical Athens', 89, 90.

²⁹ Borgers, 'Religious Citizenship in Classical Athens', 90.

³⁰ Idem.

³¹ Cohen, *Not the Classical Ideal*, 13.

birthplace of the artist. Rather, it is the customer's taste and outlook as well as the artistic milieu that determine the outcome of the artifacts.³² Therefore, regardless of the background of the artisans who produced them, Attic vases and their representations are essentially 'Athenian', depicting with few exceptions the views and taste of Athenian citizens.³³

In this research I follow the provenances listed by Gebauer and Van Straten which cover the majority of painters/painter-groups of the pottery items discussed here. The majority of the vases listed in *Appendix A* were found in or around Athens. Examples of such locations are the Athenian Agora (e.g. Nr. P 24519) and the Acropolis (e.g. Akr. 607). Another site in Attica where vases were found is the deme Eleusis (Nr. 493). However, some Attic vases were found outside Attica, e.g. T814 found in Corinth. In addition, some Attic vases were excavated outside Greece. Examples are pottery found in Italy, e.g. I.G.4346 (Taranto), Nr. 1441 (Vulci), Nr. 1001 (Orvieto), and Nr. 130 (Bologna). A significant number of vases discussed by Borgers were found in the mainland of Greece and Italy as well. Borgers argues that one of the conclusions that may be drawn from these findings is that there was a similar interest among the Greeks outside Attica and the non-Greeks in Athenian religion and sacrificial ritual when compared to the Athenians themselves.³⁴

The painters and/or painter-groups of 34 of the 60 vases discussed in this thesis could be identified after consulting the works of Gebauer and Van Straten. The painters of procession scenes that are included more than once in this research are among others the Amasis Painter (2x), Pan Painter (2x), Beldam Painter (3x), Kleophon Painter (2x), Bologna Painter (2x), Gela Painter (4x) and the Theseus Painter (5x) (see *Appendix A*). Taking into account who painted the procession scenes is especially important when certain elements differ from the make-up of other procession scenes dating from the same period. Such

³² Cohen, *Not the Classical Ideal*, 13.

³³ Idem.

³⁴ Borgers, 'Religious Citizenship in Classical Athens', 91.

elements could refer to the emergence of a new type of procession scene, but may as well have been an expression of the individual taste of a particular painter or painter-group.

3 Methodology: Analysis and Statistics

This chapter describes the methodology of this research, and contains a description of how the primary sources - the procession scenes on Attic vases - are analyzed as well as a thorough explanation of the way in which the data gathered from these scenes is processed into graphs and tables.

3.1 'Reading' Sacrificial Procession Scenes

A Straightforward Approach

The first question that arises when working with this type of iconographical material is how to read the scenes depicted on Attic painted pottery. The same straightforward approach used by Van Straten is applied here to interpret the figures, functions, animals, attributes and types of clothing and adornments depicted in the sacrificial scenes selected. This approach is labelled by Van Straten as “What You See Is What It Is” and interprets the images of figures, functions, animals and objects depicted in vase scenes as representations of real entities instead of references to hidden truths.³⁵

Frames of Reference

However, what appears to be an uncomplicated approach becomes complex rather quickly, when taking into account that the pronoun ‘You’ in the sentence between quotation marks above does not refer to the modern reader but to a two-and-a-half thousand year old audience instead. In addition, it may refer to the artisans who created these scenes in the sixth and fifth

³⁵ Van Straten, *Hierà Kalá*, 5,6.

century B.C. whose personal tastes and outlooks may have influenced their depictions of 'real' events, in this case sacrificial processions. Therefore, in order to gain an understanding of who and what is represented, one has to try to look at these images from a Greek perspective.³⁶ This is also the reason why, as explained in the section 'Problems of Classification' in chapter 2, vases depicting mortal as well as mythological figures are included in this research. Even though the presence of 'fictional' figures would appear to invalidate these scenes as factual sources on the actual proceedings of processions for the modern interpreter, for the Athenian audience their depiction in an actual event may not have been so farfetched. Even if these vase scenes functioned as otherwise close representations of real processions, artists may have felt the need to incorporate these mythological figures, notably gods and goddesses, since for them and the Athenian audience these figures may have been such an inherent part of their frames of reference that they were recorded mentally during the ritual events themselves.³⁷

Nevertheless, one has to keep in mind that it is impossible to attain a complete understanding of the knowledge presumed and viewpoints shared by the artisans who painted these vases and the contemporary Athenian audience who viewed them.³⁸ As a result, several issues present themselves to the modern viewer, when trying to interpret the figures, functions and attributes depicted in the painted processions scenes.

One of these issues, that may have not been problematic for an Athenian spectator, is to identify the function filled by a certain figure on a vase scene, e.g. the office of priest. Because of this identification problem, the works of Van Straten and Gebauer were consulted for the labeling of the figures presented in this research as 'priests'. Chapter 4 provides an in-depth analysis of all the functions found during the analysis of the procession scenes, as well

³⁶ Van Straten, *Hierà Kalá*, 5,6.

³⁷ Blok, 'Citizenship in Action', 91, 92.

³⁸ Van Straten, *Hierà Kalá*, 5,6.

as the possible determination challenges they presented. The issues concerning the determination of the office of priest are discussed here as well.

Another example are the types of clothing items that are often difficult to distinguish for the modern interpreter, e.g. an over-cloak that may either be a ‘himation’, ‘chlaina’ or ‘chlamys’ depending on the length, style of draping and type of material used.³⁹ While the modern interpreter may encounter difficulties deducting these different types of cloaks from an image presented on a vase, subtleties such as pleating and folding techniques in these images may have been sufficient for a contemporary Athenian spectator to recognize the exact item of clothing referred to by the vase painter. In chapter 5 the clothing items that were found during the analysis of the procession scenes, as well as the problems of their classification, will be presented.

Iconographic and Written Sources

Regardless of the issues mentioned above, an attempt is made here to present findings regarding the participation and representation of men and women in sacrificial processions, in a cautiously re-constructed ancient Greek frame of reference, most notably in chapters 4 and 5 that is based on primary written sources and secondary literature as well as cross comparisons of the elements portrayed in iconographical material.

Elements depicted in iconographical material, in this case the sacrificial procession scenes selected, that may be useful when trying to contextualize the scenes portrayed as well as to re-construct the Greek frame of reference, are the depictions of gods and goddesses.

³⁹ Lee, M. 2010. 'Clothing', in: Gagarin, M. (ed.) *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Ancient Greece and Rome* (Vol.1) Oxford – New York, 230.

These depictions may have been direct references to the deities honored in actual religious festivals or sacrificial ceremonies that were held in the sixth and fifth century B.C. which are mentioned in literary sources and inscriptions. Other iconographical sources that may aid in contextualizing figures, functions and objects are for example scenes depicted on grave stelai.⁴⁰

In order to provide a frame of reference for the outcomes of this research, contemporary primary sources were consulted. These include the works written by the historians Herodotus (c. 484- c.425 B.C) and Thucydides (c.460-c.395 B.C), the orator Demosthenes (384-322 B.C.), the tragedian Euripides (c.480-c.406 B.C.) and the comedian Aristophanes (c.446-c.386 B.C.). In addition, secondary literature, most notably the works listed in the introduction, are consulted to gain a better understanding of the figures, functions and attributes as well as the items of clothing, types of hairstyles and personal adornments that are discussed in this research.

Furthermore, gaining a better understanding of the types of researches done in this field aids in the positioning of the arguments and findings presented in this research within the scholarly debate.

Literary Sources: Problems of Interpretation

When consulting literary sources one has to keep in mind that these present certain problems as well. Besides the fact that the examination of historical sources will always contain an element of interpretation, contemporary writers, for example, may have decided to exclude certain types of background information, which were presumed to be common knowledge

⁴⁰ Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens*, 93.

among their audiences, that would be beneficial to the modern reader.⁴¹ Additionally, the inclusion of references to e.g. particular types of clothing or functions, taken from literary sources such as tragedies and comedies present another particular set of issues. The main motivation for tragedians and comedians to write and present their works was to entertain their audience and information gathered from these sources can therefore not be interpreted as entirely factual.⁴² The storylines of tragedies were generally set in a faraway past and the basic elements were derived from ancient epic and mythology, while works of comedies were mainly placed in a contemporary context. Nonetheless, useful information regarding sacrificial rituals, such as sacrificial processions, as well as the types of clothing and hairstyles that were in fashion at a certain time, can be derived from these sources. When tragedians, for example, introduced specific characteristics of sacrificial ceremonial in their tragedies they would likely do so in correspondence with contemporary practices that were known to them, instead of inventing fictional rituals.⁴³

When including this type of 'evidence' to gain an insight in the mechanisms of ancient Greek society it is important for the historian to be aware of these problems of interpretation. Moreover, an attempt has to be made to separate fictional and factual representations of practices performed in Greek society in the sixth and fifth century that are described in tragedies and comedies⁴⁴. This may be attained by cross-referencing the information derived from these sources with other contemporary sources of another nature, such as for example the works of the historian Herodotus.

⁴¹ Van Straten, *Hierà Kalá*, 6,7.

⁴² Van Straten, *Hierà Kalá*, 7.

⁴³ Idem.

⁴⁴ Van Straten, *Hierà Kalá*, 6,7.

Structuring the Results

The upcoming section provides a detailed description of the way in which the textual information gathered from the analysis of the procession scenes (listed in *Appendix A*) in the manner described above was structured into *Appendix B*. The information gathered in this appendix was in turn converted into aggregated numbers presented in the tables listed in *Appendices C, D and E*.

The main reason for structuring the textual information gathered from the procession scenes into aggregated numbers is the fact that numbers allow for a better cross-reference of the elements found in the painted procession scenes, such as the types of gender, functions and clothing, when compared to verbal descriptions of these elements that are difficult to navigate when looking for specific types of information, for example, regarding the relations between gender and function types, or function and clothing types.

3.2 From Images to Numbers: Appendix A till E

The data gathered during the analysis of the procession scenes was processed into several tables, which in turn were converted into graphs in order to portray trends and correlations. Every chapter, depending on the topic concerned, presents charts composed from figures in these tables. The tables can be consulted in the appendices that are attached at the end of this paper.

Appendix A

As explained in Chapter 2, *Appendix A* consists of 59 vases and 1 plaque that are categorized into six periods. Detailed information of these pottery items are listed here, including the access code, current location, technique, shape and date of every item. In addition, it contains references to secondary literature that provides images of all the items analyzed in this research. The works of Gebauer and Van Straten provide most of these images and under the section ‘Lit.’ a reference to a code from their individual categorization systems can be found (see *Appendix A*). The codes used by Van Straten to label sacrificial scenes often begin with a capital V and all items are given a successive number (V1,V2,V3 etc.). For example, in his research Van Straten has labeled Nr.12531, located in the National Museum in Athens, as V11. The capital ‘V’ signifies that these scenes are vase paintings.⁴⁵ Gebauer has implemented a similar labeling system in his study and used a capital ‘P’ or ‘Pv’ for all the pottery listed in his research, and these items are given successive numbers as well. The ‘P’ signifies that these are Pompe (procession) scenes and the small letter ‘v’ is added to the vase scenes incorporated that are singular in their depiction, e.g. by their incorporation of mythical figures.⁴⁶

Appendix B

The table in *Appendix B* offers descriptions of all the procession scenes analyzed in this study. Every sacrificial procession scene that is portrayed on the pottery items listed in *Appendix A* is analyzed in detail and the data gathered from these scenes is encompassed into

⁴⁵ Van Straten, *Hierà Kalá*, 193, 194.

⁴⁶ Gebauer, *Pompe und Thysia*, 25, 118.

the following categories that make up *Appendix B*: ‘Figures/Functions/Attributes’, ‘Dress/Nudity’, ‘Hair and Personal Adornments’, ‘Sacrificial Animals (SA)’ and ‘Notes of Interest’. For reader convenience the ‘Lit’ section from *Appendix A* is listed here as well.

In the category ‘Figures/Functions/Attributes’ all the figures found in a certain procession scene are listed. The gender of the figures is listed in the following manner: (M) for male and (F) for female, and a question mark in brackets (?) for figures of whom the gender could not be identified. Additional or different letters between brackets are used to refer to mythological figures. For example, (MG) and (FG) is listed in this category when the figure in question can be identified as a (male) god or (female) goddess, (H) stands for a herme statue and (S) for a satyr. The function and role of every participating figure and the attributes (including sacrificial gifts) carried are recorded in this category as well. Besides listing specific functions and roles (e.g. the function of priest or bearer of the ‘kanoûn’), figures without recognizable functions, for example those that are empty-handed or carry sprigs, are mentioned in this category as well. The gender, functions and attributes of all the figures found in the procession scenes will be discussed in detail in chapter 4. Problems that occurred during the analysis regarding the identification of certain functions and roles are mentioned in this table as well.

In the category ‘Dress/Nudity’, the types of clothing (if present) of all the figures from the category ‘Figures/Functions/Attributes’ are discussed. Types of clothing that are often listed in this section, worn by men as well as women, are the chiton and himation. Additionally, figures are often portrayed nude or wearing a loin-cloth. When analyzing the clothing worn by the procession participants, much attention was paid to details of these garments, including the types of embellishment used to decorate certain garments, the styles of draping and the number of pleats. Information regarding these aspects of clothing can be

found here as well. A discussion on the (lack of) clothing worn by the figures participating in sacrificial processions is provided in chapter 5.

The category 'Hair and Personal Adornments' is concerned with the types of hairstyles worn by the participants and distinguishes between long, short and updo hairstyles. If a certain hairstyle can be identified more precisely, this information is provided in this category as well. For example, certain figures wear their hair in a *chignon* (a hairstyle where the hair is tied together in a bun in the nape of the neck) or in a braided fashion.⁴⁷ If hairstyles, including facial hair, are impossible to distinguish due to damages to an image or because of an ambiguous representation, this is mentioned in this category as well. Additionally, attention was paid to the types of headdresses that are worn by participants in procession scenes. Examples of headdresses are: helmets, fillets, olive wreaths, hats and diadems (στέφανοι).

Another category presented in *Appendix B* is labelled 'Sacrificial Animals (SA)'. In this category the types of sacrificial animals depicted in the procession scenes are listed. Types of sacrificial animals found during the analysis are bovines, sheep, deer, goats and pigs. The works of Gebauer and Van Straten were consulted for the determination of the types of animal depicted in the scenes, notably the gender of these animals which, if possible to identify, is listed in here as well.

The last category of *Appendix B* is entitled 'Notes of Interest'. In this category, observations of interest are listed that do not fit into the categories previously listed. These observations can be of a specific as well as a general nature. Comments and observations in this category concern, for example, religious constructions (e.g. columns, temples and altars)

⁴⁷ Abrahams, E. 1964. 'Greek Dress: A Study of the Costumes worn in Ancient Greece, from Pre-Hellenic Times to the Hellenic Age', in: Johnson, M. (ed.) *Ancient Greek Dress*. Chicago, 112.

found in the procession scenes analyzed, types of embellishments used to adorn sacrificial animals, (e.g. fillets (στέμματα) and braiding techniques), and what could be references to a type of make-up used by women in ancient Greece to whiten their faces.⁴⁸ Comments of a more general nature are for example those regarding the diverting stance or direction in which certain figures are proceeding when compared to the rest of the party.⁴⁹ Furthermore, it is listed here if inscriptions were found on the pottery items included.

Appendix C

In *Appendix C* statistics are provided on gender and function divisions for all six periods, which are extracted from the descriptions in *Appendix B*. The number of men and women participating in sacrificial processions in a certain function or role, as well as the attributes carried by either gender, are presented in a table per period. If a certain function or role was not found in a particular period, this function or role is excluded from the table for the period in question. Every row represents a single role or function (e.g. 'kanéphoroi'). For each role or function, the different columns contain the number of participants per gender, distinguishing between male, female and unidentified. Furthermore, the types of attributes (including sacrificial gifts) carried by figures filling a particular role or function, and the frequency of their occurrence, are recorded in separate columns. The column to the far right, labelled 'Total', presents the accumulated number of men, women and unidentified figures filling a particular function or role. Graphs containing data deducted from the tables in *Appendix C* can be consulted in chapter 4.

⁴⁸ Gebauer, *Pompe und Thysia*, 26.

⁴⁹ It is interesting to see, for example, that many vases one figure in the group is depicted as turning back, thereby facing the procession behind him or her. A possible explanation for this phenomenon may be that painters tried to make the depiction of the procession more 'lively' by breaking up the otherwise rather rigid proceeding.

For all figures labelled ‘mythological’ a similar table, containing information on gender and function division, is presented as well in *Appendix C*. The reason for including this table, even though mortal men and women are the focus of this research, is the fact that this information may aid in the contextualization of the vase scenes discussed.

Appendix D

In *Appendix D* statistics regarding the types of clothing, hairstyles and personal adornments, most notably types of headdresses, are presented. For both genders, tables are provided for all six periods listing the accumulated numbers regarding the dress and hairstyles, as well as personal adornments, worn by the participants of sacrificial processions. Vertically, all functions and roles performed by men or women are listed. The items of clothing worn by men and women are presented horizontally (e.g. ‘Chitons’ and ‘Himations’) as well as the categories ‘hairstyles’ and ‘headdresses’. Additional categories regarding the dress styles and hairstyles of men are the categories ‘nudes’, ‘loin-cloths’ and ‘beards’ listed horizontally as well. The (S) and (L) depicted between brackets represent the length (short or long) of the garments or (facial) hairstyles worn by the men and women who fulfill a certain function or role. The number of dress and hairstyles that could not be identified are listed in separate categories which are presented horizontally. The abbreviation ‘CbSA’ listed in the category ‘unknown dress style’ refers to the figures that are ‘covered by sacrificial animals’ in the procession scenes analyzed, which prevents the determination of the clothing items worn by them. The bottom row of every category lists the accumulated number of clothing items, hairstyles and types of headdresses worn by men and women for all functions combined

A similar table, containing data on the types of dress, hairstyles and personal adornments worn by the gods and goddesses on the vase scenes is presented in *Appendix D*. Although the main focus here is the participation and representation of mortal men and women, this table is included to gain a better understanding of the role clothing played in ancient Greek society. Some insights that may be derived from this table regard, for example, the extents to which it was customary to depict mythological figures, in particular gods and goddesses, as wearing similar dress and hairstyles to those that were in fashion for mortal men and women in a particular period in time.

Appendix E

The data regarding sacrificial animals on the procession scenes is presented in a table in *Appendix E*. This table can be consulted for information regarding the number and types of sacrificial animals per period, as well as the total number of pottery items that portray sacrificial animals. A graph containing data that was deducted from this table can be consulted in chapter 4 (see *figure 16*) under the section ‘sacrificial animals’.

4 Sacrificial Processions: Gender and Function

The first half of the central research question stated in the introduction will be dealt with in this chapter: Are there marked differences in the roles and functions performed by men and women participating in sacrificial procession scenes on Attic vases?

4.1 The Composition of Procession Groups

The procession scenes analyzed in this study vary clearly in the comprehensiveness of their composition. Some vase-painters have created detailed and elaborate depictions of sacrificial processions that include almost all the elements listed under the section ‘*Categorization Criteria*’ in the introduction. For example, the images of sacrificial procession scenes depicted in *figure 1* on the title page and *figure 5* presented below, portray many participants with sacrificial functions or roles, carrying attributes (including sacrificial gifts), as well as sacrificial constructions (e.g. altars) and sacrificial animals.

In general, the makeup of such elaborate sacrificial processions scenes consists of a figure standing behind an altar, sometimes accompanied by a god or goddess, awaiting the procession group that often included a preceding men or woman (sometimes identified as priests by secondary literature), followed by a kanéphoros carrying a sacrificial basket (kanoûn), and additional figures that either escort sacrificial animals, carry sacrificial gifts or attributes (e.g. sprigs, oinochoes and knife cases) or are depicted empty-handed. Other figures that may be included in the procession group are musicians (see e.g. *figure 1 + 5*), hoplites carrying shields and spears, as well as horse riders, as is the case in *figure 5*. Additionally, as is the case in the figure below, religious constructions such as altars or columns that may be references to temples can be depicted in these scenes.

However, other vase scenes offer only summary depictions of sacrificial processions and include only a few figures, in this case of the scene depicted in *figure 6* only a female kanéphoros carrying a kanoûn and two men with sacrificial animals are portrayed. In the upcoming section an in-depth analysis is given of all the figures of the selected procession scenes for all six periods in time. Particular attention will be paid in this section to the gender of these figures, their respective roles and functions, as well as the attributes they carry including sacrificial gifts.

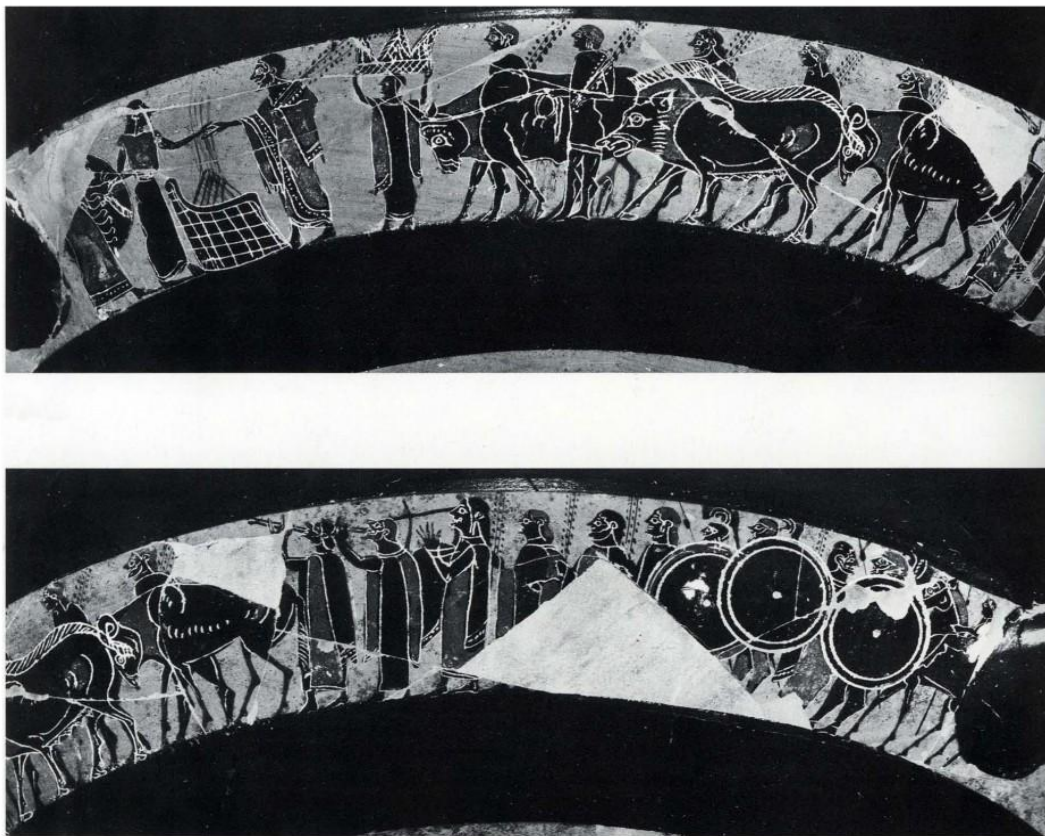


Figure 5: Black-figured kylix presenting a sacrificial procession (private collection, c.560 – c.550 B.C.)⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Image can be found in Van Straten, *Hierà Kalá*, fig. 2 (V55).

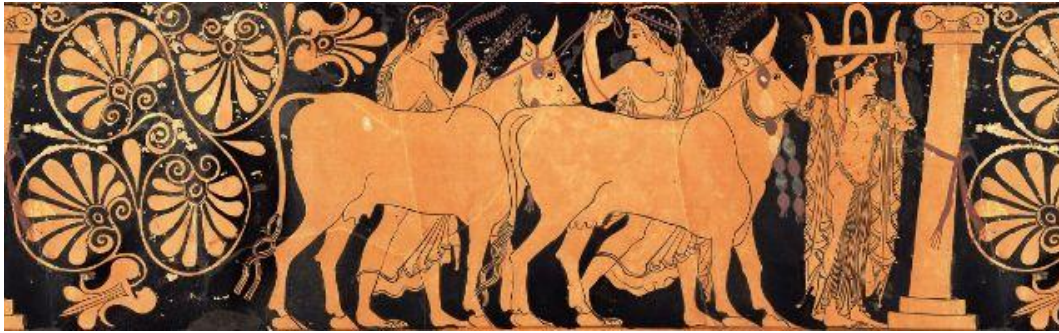


Figure 6: Red-figured lekythos presenting a sacrificial procession (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, attributed to the Gales Painter, c.520–c.510 B.C.)⁵¹

4.2 Gender and Group Divisions

Determining Gender

The identification of the gender of the participants of sacrificial processions is not always straightforward. Although the gender of most figures was apparent because of semi-nudity or the wearing of beards on men, of some figures the images were too heavily damaged or too ambiguous to be able to make a positive gender determination. An example of an image that does not allow for a positive gender determination is Nr. S./ 10 1581 (Tübingen University, P18), that only portrays the feet and the hem of the robes worn by the figures in this image, as well as parts of the sacrificial animal and temple. All figures whose gender could not be determined are placed in the category ‘unidentified figures’ (see *Appendix B* and *C*) and are referred to as such when discussing the outcomes of this research in the upcoming sections.

However, in some instances figures whose gender is not apparent at first sight, could be identified as either men or women after consulting factors such as the iconographical depictions of other men and women on the same vase (see *Appendix B*). An example of such

⁵¹ Image can be found in Van Straten, *Hierà Kalá*, fig. 17 (V74).

an image with a figure whose gender is unclear is Nr. F 10 (Louvre, Paris, P2). There is debate among scholars whether or not the figure preceding in the procession who is holding two wreaths has to be identified as a man or a woman. Van Straten classifies this figure as a woman (1995, 200, V38), but here I classify this figure as a man, because of three indications regarding the gender type of this figure that may be derived from this image. First of all, this participant is portrayed with a broad posture and muscled arms that may indicate that this figure is a man. Secondly, Gebauer presents a convincing argument in his study concerning this figure, when he states that this figure resembles a man in a horse carriage depicted in another scene on this vase, that is not included here, because it is uncertain if a sacrificial procession is portrayed here.⁵² Additionally, the painter has depicted the women in this scene with white paint, in contrast to the men who are portrayed by the use of black paint. Therefore, one would assume that the ambiguous figure in question is a man, since the painter would likely have used white paint in this instance as well to portray a female figure.⁵³

The upcoming section provides several graphs based on the data gathered in *Appendix B* and *C* regarding gender and group divisions for all six periods. Additionally, an in-depth analysis of the implications of the findings will be given.

(Combined) Gender groups

The graph presented below (*figure 7*) gives an overview of the number of pottery items that depict (combined) gender groups for all six periods. The numbers presented here are absolute numbers and since the groups are mutually exclusive the accumulated total for a

⁵² Gebauer, *Pompe und Thysia*, 25-27.

⁵³ Idem.

certain period indicate the number of vases listed in that particular period. The mythological figures are the exception to this rule, because their presence is listed separately. If an item contains both mortal and mythological figures it is listed in two groups.

What can be derived from the data gathered and presented in this graph for the period c.570-c.540 B.C. is that of the 9 vases listed and described in *Appendix A* and *B*, 2 vases depict only men, 5 vases depict both men and women and 2 vases whereof the gender composition of the procession group is unclear because of one or more unidentified figures, due to damages to the image or because of an ambiguous representation of the figures in question. The additional bar with data label '2' refers to the number of vases that besides mortal men and/or women include mythological figures as well. These figures can be either gods, goddesses, hermae (statues) or satyrs.

In the period c.540-c.510 B.C. a total of 8 vases and 1 plaque are analyzed in *Appendix B*. The graph shows that for this period 3 of these vases depict only men, 4 vases and 1 plaque depict men and women and 1 vase scene has an unidentified gender composition. For the period c.510-c.480 B.C. 22 vases are analyzed in *Appendix B*, and what can be deduced from the graph for this period is that 11 vases depict only men, 2 vases depict only women, 3 vases depict combined gender groups, and for 6 vases the gender composition is unclear. Furthermore, 8 of the 22 vases include mythological figures as well as mortal figures. In the period c.480-c.450 B.C a total of 11 vases is listed in *Appendix B*.

In this period in time 3 vases depict only men, 3 vases depicted only women, 5 vases depict combined gender groups and 3 of the 11 vases include mythological figures as well. For the period c.450-c.420 B.C, 5 vases are analyzed in *Appendix B*, and what can be deduced from the data gathered for this period is that 3 vases depict only men and 2 vases depict men and women. 1 of these 5 vases depicts mythological figures as well. For the

remaining period (c.420-c.200 B.C.) 4 vases are listed in *Appendix B* and analysis shows that all 4 vases depict only men and one of the vases includes mythological figures as well.

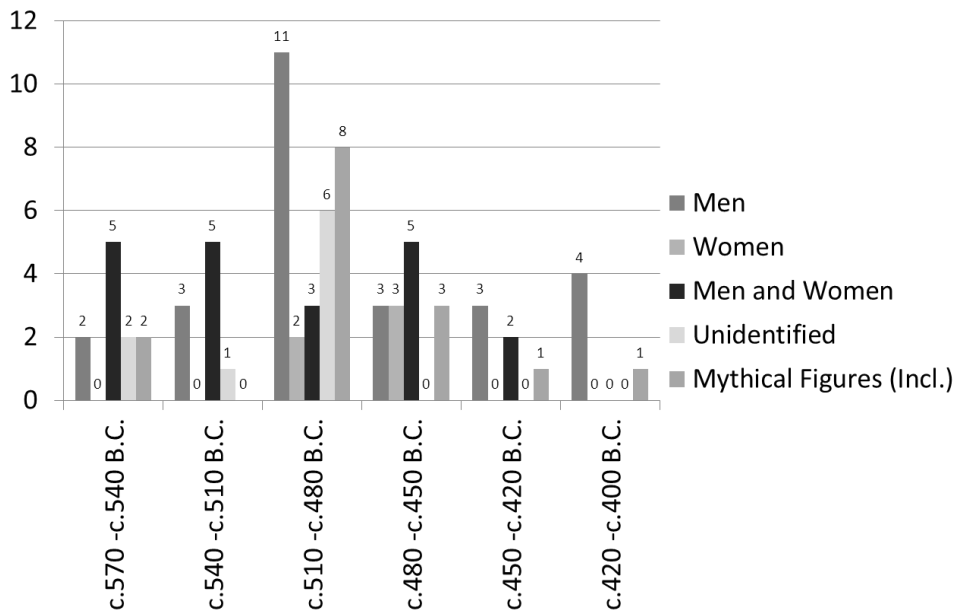


Figure 7: Number of pottery items depicting (combined) gender groups (in absolute numbers)

Gender Group Totals

What can be derived from the data gathered from the procession scenes, shown in *figure 8* below, is that there are a total of 284 figures portrayed on the 60 sacrificial procession scenes analyzed in this research. This number consists of 189 men, 42 women, 24 unidentified figures and 29 mythical figures (gods and goddesses, satyrs and hermae).

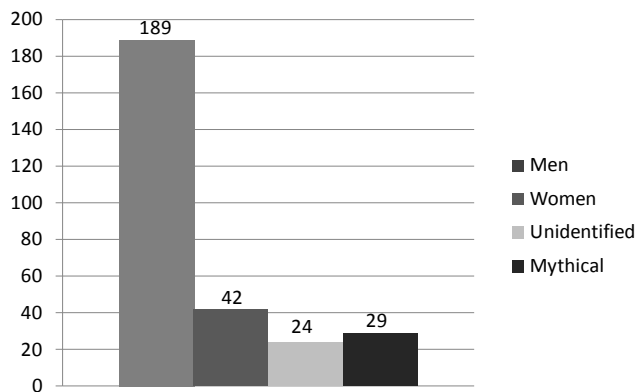


Figure 8: Group totals (in absolute numbers)

The graph in *figure 9* depicted below gives a more precise overview of the division of men and women for all six periods in time. In the period c.570-c.540 B.C. the total number of 73 figures portrayed consists of 57 men, 8 women, 4 unidentified figures and 4 mythical figures. For the period c.540-c.510 B.C, a total number of 38 figures is accounted for. This number consists of 28 men, 6 women and 4 unidentified figures. In the period c.510-480 B.C a total of 101 figures is listed, consisting of 60 men, 8 women, 15 unidentified figures and 18 mythological figures. The period c.480-c.450 B.C. comprises a total of 35 figures, consisting of 16 men, 14 women and 5 mythical figures. In the period c.450-c.420 B.C a total number of 24 figures were found, consisting of 16 men, 6 women, 1 unidentified and 1 mythological figure. The vase scenes dating from the period c.420-c.400 B.C. portray a total of 13 figures, including 12 men and 1 mythological figure.

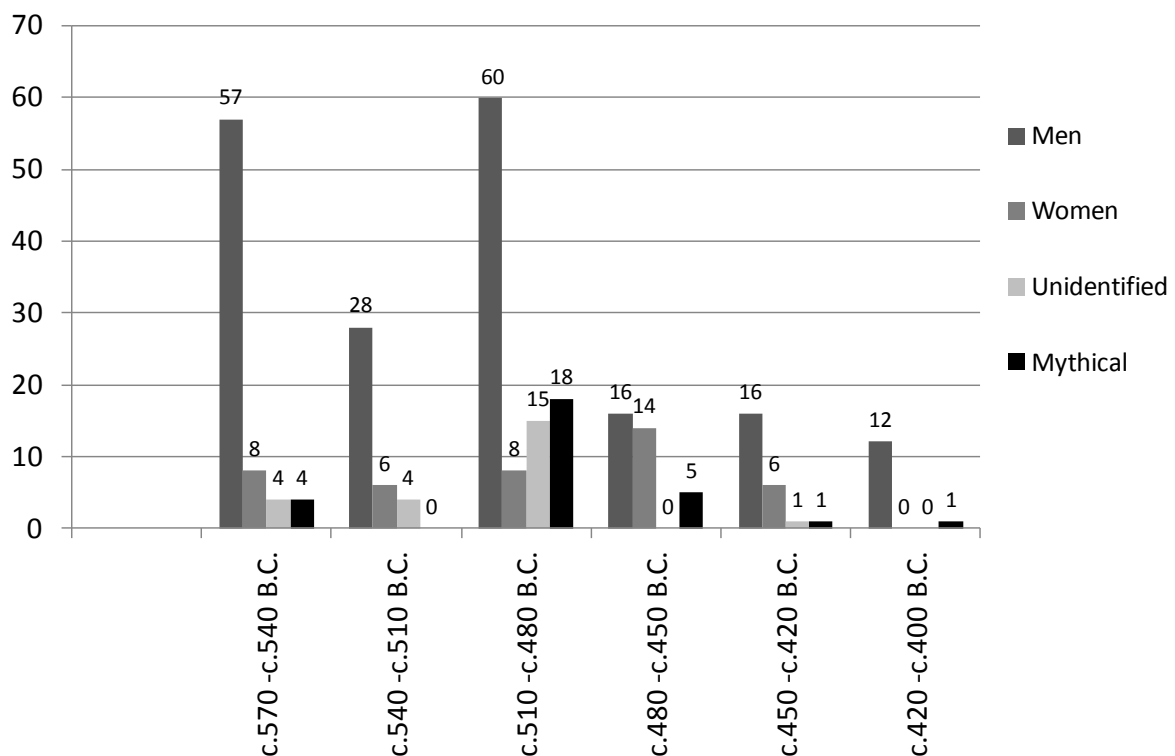


Figure 9: Gender division (including mythical figures) (in absolute numbers)

Interpretation

Gender Division

It is interesting to see that five of the six periods portray men as well as women and that in total 21 of the 60 procession scenes selected for all periods, depict combined gender groups. Overall, men appear to participate in larger numbers than women in sacrificial processions, since they outnumber women in 4 of the 6 periods listed.

The period in which the number of men and women participating is the most evenly distributed is the period c.480-c.450 B.C. in which 16 men versus 14 women are found on 11 selected vase scenes. The periods with the largest discrepancy of the number of men and women depicted in sacrificial procession scenes are the periods c.570-c.540 B.C., c.510-c.480 B.C., and c.420-400 B.C. In the period c. 420-c.400 B.C. women are not found at all on the vase scenes selected. However, it has to be noted that for this period only 4 procession scenes were available that meet the requirements for sacrificial processions listed in the ‘*Categorization Criteria*’ in the introduction, which is a small sample for a twenty year period that does not allow for generalizations. Therefore, one cannot conclude on the basis of this sample that women were not depicted in sacrificial processions at all in this period in time.

For the period c.570-c.540 B.C. a total number of 9 vase scenes were analyzed with 57 men versus 8 women. The analysis of 22 vase scenes in the period c.510-c.480 B.C. resulted in a total number of 60 men versus 8 women. For each period a number of unidentified figures are listed as well, that may influence the ratio of men to women participating. However, for both periods only a small number of unidentified figures are listed. In the period c.570-c.540 B.C, 4 unidentified figures were found and in the period c.510-c.480 B.C. a total of 15 unidentified figures is listed. Even if these figures could all be

classified as women, the proposition that the vast majority of participants consists of male figures would still hold.

The Size of Sacrificial Procession Groups

Furthermore, it is interesting to see that there are 69 mortal figures listed for the period c.570-c.540 versus 83 mortal figures in the period c.510-480 B.C., which is particularly striking when taking into account that the period c.570-c.540 only includes 9 vase scenes, whereas the period c.510-c.480 B.C encompasses 22 vase scenes.

A possible explanation for this phenomenon is that it may have been customary for sacrificial processions to be comprised of a larger number of participants in the period c.570-c.540 B.C., which is supported by the fact that 7 of the 9 vases (78%) analyzed for this period depict procession groups consisting of 5 figures or more, whereas in the period c.510-c.480 B.C. only 10 of 22 vases (45%) depict 5 figures or more.

However, it has to be noted that some of the vase scenes analyzed consist of fragments or portray damaged scenes that make it impossible to determine all figures portrayed (see *Appendix B*). Nonetheless, most procession scenes analyzed here present more or less complete scenes, with only a few unidentifiable figures, and are either depicted on one side or both sides of the vase and in the latter case present continuous scenes (e.g. *figure 5*). Some of the procession scenes selected are divided in part a) and b) when it concerns scenes that are not continuous, e.g. because of vase handles or ornaments (see *Appendix B*).⁵⁴ When

⁵⁴ For the division of certain procession scenes in sides A and B the studies of Gebauer and Van Straten previously mentioned were consulted (see 'Lit.' section in *Appendix B* for more detailed references to the procession scenes in question). These studies depict most of the images of the vase scenes selected in this research and divide them into sections A and B, which was helpful in gaining an understanding of which procession scenes were depicted in a continuous sequence and which scenes were intermittent because of adornments or vase handles. Other secondary literature in which the remaining images of procession scenes selected for this research were depicted are: Boardman, J. 1989. *Athenian Red Figure Vases: the Classical*

interpreting these scenes as separate procession scenes this would lead to a reduced number of people participating in one procession group mentioned above. However, the style of depiction of these procession scenes often suggests that it concerns one procession group, by presenting the last figure of side A as preceding the first figure of side B. Therefore, these scenes are interpreted as referring to one procession group. For an illustration see *figure 1* depicted on the title page.

Artistic Style and Interpretation

It is important to note that the size of the pottery influences the composition of the scenes depicted. A smaller size vase may entail that fewer participants are depicted as participating in a procession, which does not necessarily reflect the number of participants that took part in processions that may have actually occurred. Additionally, one has to keep in mind that the personal taste of a vase painter as well as the artistic styles that may have been in fashion at a certain period in time may have affected the composition of the scenes, and could for example have resulted in the representation of a large groups of figures participating in procession scenes, which were found in the period c.570-540 B.C., that may not be direct reflections of the actual composition of groups. One of the ways to determine whether or not the personal taste of a certain painter or painter group has dominated the outcomes in a certain period, is by trying to determine who painted the vase scenes in the period in question.

When consulting *Appendix A* we can see that in the period c.570-540 B.C. the painters of

Period. London, fig. 42; Corbett, P.E. 1949. 'Attic Pottery of the Later Fifth Century from the Athenian Agora', *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 18 (4), 298-351, pl. 73,74; Pease, M.Z. 1935. 'The Pottery from the North Slope of the Acropolis', *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 4 (2), 229, nr. 16, fig.6; Lehnstaedt, K. 1970. *Prozessionsdarstellungen auf Attischen Vasen*. München, K75, pl. 4,2, K38, pl. 3,3; Graef, B. - Langlotz, E. 1909. *Die Antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* (Vol. 1). Berlin, nr. 2575, pl. 108; Connelly, J.B. 2007. *Portrait of a Priestess*. Princeton, 38, fig. 2.6.

three of nine vase scenes could be determined: 1) Akr 607, National Museum. Athens. was painted by the Lydos painter 2) f 1690, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, was decorated by the Amasis painter 3) f 1686 Staatliche Museen, Berlin was painted by the Painter of Berlin. This shows that several painters, who portrayed sacrificial procession groups, were active in this period. Even though personal taste may not have been the reason for the large numbers of participating in one procession group in this period, this could still be a reflection of the artistic styles that were in fashion or the taste of the public. A method that would aid in pinpointing whether or not the depiction of many figures participating in one sacrificial scene, was more common in the period c.570- c.540 B.C. than in the period c.510-c.480 B.C. is consulting other iconographical scenes dating from the same time, to see how widespread this phenomenon is. Examples of scenes that could be consulted in this endeavor are scenes that depict sacrificial procession groups that have gathered around an altar. As stated in the introduction, these scenes are not included because they depict a different type of religious scene in which rituals have already commenced, and are therefore beyond the scope of this research.

Mythological Figures

In addition, what can be gathered from the data collected and presented in *figures 7-9* is that the depiction of mythological figures in sacrificial procession scenes was common practice, since they are included in 5 of the 6 periods. They are incorporated in 13 of the 60 vase scenes depicting sacrificial procession and the total number of 29 mythological figures consists of 7 goddesses that can be identified in five instances as Athena and 3 gods that can be identified in two occasions as Dionysus and in one occasion as Apollo. Additionally, 13

hermae (statues) and 6 satyrs were found. The works of Gebauer and Van Straten were consulted during the determination of the identity of the gods and goddesses.

Most gods and goddesses found in the procession scenes selected could be identified by their attributes. In total five women could be identified as Athena because of the depiction of the following attributes that are normally depicted in iconographic art when referring to this goddess: helmet, spear, and aegis.⁵⁵ According to Gebauer two men depicted in chariots in Nr.130 (Museo Civico, Bologna (V24)) and B79 (British Museum, London) can be identified as Dionysus. The satyrs that are in both instances depicted as accompanying these men aid in their identification as the god Dionysus.⁵⁶

The identification of three figures as mythological figures was more complex, since they do not have attributes as illustrative as those described above that enable a straightforward identification. Van Straten has identified the man seated in a temple holding a branch and wearing an olive wreath as Apollo Nr. T 57 c VP (Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Ferrara, V78).⁵⁷ Additionally, two women seated around an altar in figure depicted below, can be with relative certainty be identified as Demeter en Kore. According to Gebauer, parallels can be found between this scene (Nr.493, National Museum, Athens (see *figure 10*)) and another scene (Nr.501, National Museum, Athens) in which Demeter and Kore are portrayed, that does allow for a positive determination of the identity of the figures portrayed in this case as referring to these two goddesses as well.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Van Straten, *Hierà Kalá*, 197 (V19 ,V21), 203 (V53 ,V55); Gebauer, *Pompe und Thysia*, 75, 76, 77 (P35).

⁵⁶ Gebauer, *Pompe und Thysia*, 87-91.

⁵⁷ Van Straten, *Hierà Kalá*, 207.

⁵⁸ Gebauer, *Pompe und Thysia*, 44, 45.

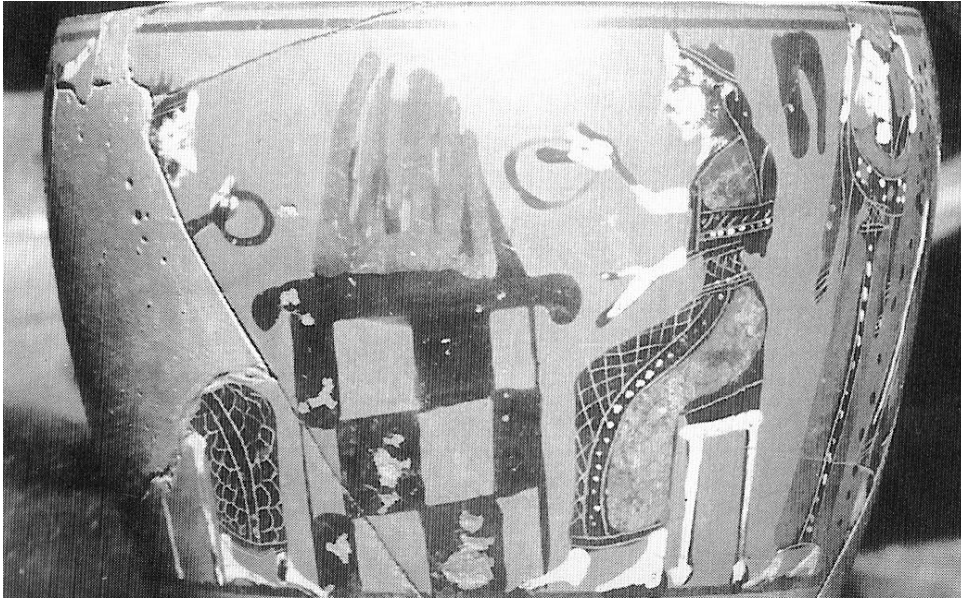


Figure 10: Detail of vase scene Nr.493, National Museum, Athens

Most vases depicting mythological figures, as well as mortal figures, were found in the period c.510-c.480 B.C. that includes 8 of the 15 vase scenes incorporating mythological elements.

The vases depicting mythological figures in the period c.510-c.480 B.C. consist of:

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| 1) –, Kunsthandel 1997, London (P32): | 1 Herme |
| 2) 12531, National Museum. Athens (V11): | 2 Hermae |
| 3) Nr.130, Museo Civico, Bologna (V24): | 1 god (Dionysos), 6 satyrs |
| 4) B79, British Museum, London (V28): | 1 god (Dionysos), 2 satyrs |
| 5) –, Paestum (V38): | 4 Hermae |
| 6) 2298, National Museum. Athens (V19) | 1 goddess (Athena) |
| 7) 1905.7-11.1, British Museum, London (P35) | 1 goddess (Athena) |
| 8) –, Art Market (V53) | 1 goddess (Athena) |

In total the mythological figures found in c.510-c.480 B.C. consist of 2 gods, 3 goddesses, 7 hermae (statues) and 6 satyrs. However, not only has the absolute number of mythological figures found in this period been the highest when compared to the other periods, but the number of vases analyzed in this period as well. Therefore, one cannot deduct from this that there was a higher interest in mythological figures among artisans and the Athenian audience per se. Nevertheless, as explained in chapter 2 the fact that a spike in the number of vases depicting procession scenes occurs in this period does fit well with the outcomes of Borgers' research and his hypothesis that the increase in the number of vases depicting religious scenes between c.500-c.475 B.C. are indications of increased 'popularity' of religious scenes in Attic society in this period.⁵⁹

If Borgers' hypothesis that there was a heightened interest in religious scenes in this period is valid, there might have been an additional increased interest in the depiction of mythological elements, most notably the gods and goddesses, in this period as well. This could be an additional explanation for the spike in number of mythological figures in this period compared to other periods besides the fact that a larger sample of vase scenes was available. However, additional iconographic sources as well as literary sources and inscriptions have to be consulted before such conclusions can be satisfactorily drawn, which is beyond the scope of this research.

4.3 Gender and Function Divisions

As was illustrated in section 4.1, the composition of procession groups varied in the number of elements included, but generally consisted of the depiction of mortal figures carrying out

⁵⁹ Borgers, 'Religious Citizenship in Classical Athens', 87.

several functions and roles, as well as mythological figures, sacrificial animals and religious constructions, e.g. altars or columns. This section provides a thorough examination of the types of roles and functions performed by participants of sacrificial processions, as well as the attributes they carry. Special attention will be paid to the question whether or not a certain type of function was carried out by both men and women and what the relative occurrences are of either gender performing a specific function or role in a certain period in time.

The roles and functions that could be determined with relative certainty, when taking into account the diverging frames of references of the modern and the ancient interpreter are those performed by: kanéphoroi, figures accompanying sacrificial animals, musicians, hoplites, splachnoptai, thymiaterion bearers and to a lesser extent priests. In addition, hoplites carrying shields and helmets, as well as a horse rider could be identified in the procession scene depicted on a vase from a private collection in the period c.570-c.540 B.C. There is no universal code listed for this image, but it is referred to by Van Straten as V55 (see *Appendix B*). For every function and role found in the procession scenes mentioned above a graph was computed from the data gathered in *Appendix C*, that depicts the number of men and women carrying out this specific type of role or function for every period. Furthermore, a graph is presented for the ‘Other figures’ that do not have clear functions and either carry attributes (including sacrificial gifts) or are empty-handed.

Kanéphoroi: ‘Bearers of the Kanoûn’

The figures determined as kanéphoroi are figures who are depicted in the vase scenes as carrying a kanoûn (sacrificial basket). This sacrificial basket is characterized by three vertical

handles, but can be depicted in varying materials, heights and shapes.⁶⁰ An illustration of the manner in which kanoûns can be depicted in procession scenes, derived from the study of Van Straten, is depicted below in *figure 11*:

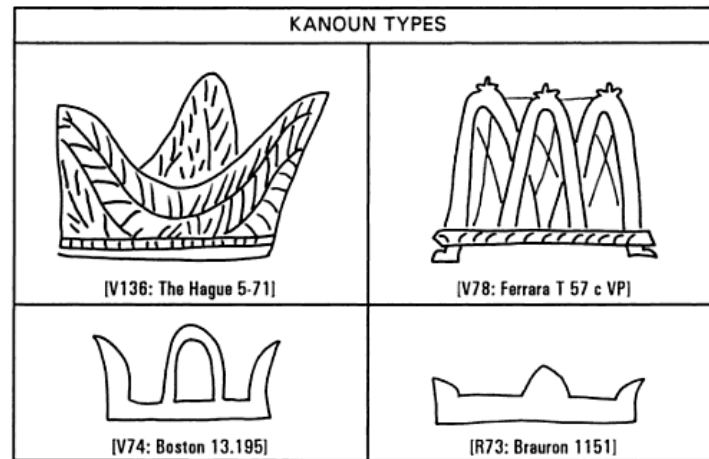


Figure 11: Different representations of the ‘kanoûn’⁶¹

What can be deduced from the data gathered and presented in the graph in *figure 12* below, is that kanéphoroi were found in 5 of the 6 periods. In the period c.570-c.540 B.C. 4 female and 1 male kanéphoros could be identified in the 9 vase scenes selected for this period. The 8 vases and one plaque analyzed for the period c.540-c.510 B.C. depict only 2 female kanéphoroi. In the period c.510-c.480 B.C. 3 male and 3 female kanéphoroi were found on the 22 vases scenes selected, as well as one unidentified figure whose kanoûn is the only visible aspect that allows for the identification of the function of this figure in this scene (2298, National Museum. Athens, V19). The 11 vases analyzed for the period c.480-c.450 B.C. depicts 2 male and 6 female kanéphoroi. On the 5 procession scenes of c.450-c.420 B.C. 2 female and 1 male kanéphoros were portrayed. For the period c.420-c.400 B.C. no kanéphoroi are listed.

⁶⁰ Van Straten, *Hierà Kalá*, 10, 11.

⁶¹ Van Straten, *Hierà Kalá*, 10.

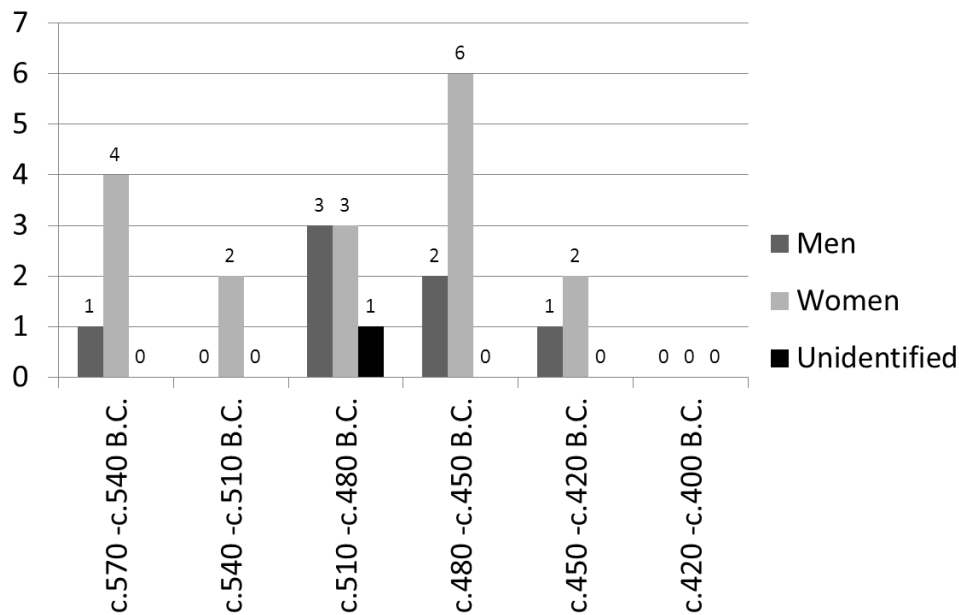


Figure 12: Kanéphoroi: gender and function division for all six periods

What can be derived from the data gathered and presented in *figure 12* is that women as well as men fill this particular function in four of the six periods analyzed. However, the number of women functioning as kanéphoroi is higher, and in one period the same number as men in the same function. Additionally, it is interesting to see that the total number of 8 kanéphoroi depicted in the 11 vase scenes analyzed for the period c.480-c.450 B.C., is almost identical to the total number of 9 kanéphoroi depicted in the 22 vase scenes analyzed for the period c.510-c.480 B.C., even though the number of procession scenes analyzed for both periods differs substantially. This outcome may suggest that kanéphoroi were more often incorporated, or at least more often depicted, in procession scenes in the period c.480-c.450 B.C. However, these outcomes may be coincidental as well due to the sample of procession scenes selected for this research. For the period c.420-c.400 B.C. no kanéphoroi were found,

but on the basis of this small sample of 4 vase scenes one cannot conclude that in this period the function of kanéphoroi no longer existed or diminished in importance.

What is noteworthy to mention, when taking a closer look at the way in which kanéphoroi are portrayed, is that while all female kanéphoroi (17 women in total) carry their kanoûns on their heads, the male bearers of the kanoûn tend to hold their kanoûns above their heads with outstretched arms or in front of them, which is found in 5 of the 7 vase scenes portraying male kanéphoroi.

Additionally, whereas female kanéphoroi have a tendency to be portrayed as only carrying the kanoûn, male kanéphoroi are often portrayed as carrying additional items as well, including sprigs, two oinochoes, one horn and one spit (See *Appendix C*). Two exceptions are the female kanéphoros portrayed on Nr. 13.195 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, V74) who carries what appears to a sacrificial? knife under the fillet (headband) in her hair, and the kanéphoros depicted on Nr. 3369 (National Museum. Naples, V302) who carries the kanoûn on her head and is holding what appears to be a stick as well.⁶²

A conclusion that may be drawn regarding the portrayal of male and female kanéphoroi is that the differences in style suggest that for women carrying the kanoûn was more of specific ritual task in itself, while for men the carrying of the kanoûn may have had less confined ritual connotations that allowed them to carry additional items as well. In section 4.4 primary sources as well as secondary literature will be consulted to provide a better context for the phenomena encountered. *Figure 13* depicted below provides two images of a male and female kanéphoros that illustrates the matters described above.

⁶² According to van Straten this object can be either a stick, twig or small torch. Van Straten, *Hierà Kalá*, 249.



Figure 13: Female and male kanéphoros (FLTR Nr. T 57 c VP, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Ferrara (v78), Nr.536, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, (V193)⁶³

Figures accompanying Sacrificial Animals

This section is concerned with the figures accompanying sacrificial animals in the processions scenes. There are several ways in which figures can escort animals. In some scenes the animals are walking in front of the figures that are driving them forwards (e.g. Slg. St. Sp Niarchos, Paris, P12). In other scenes figures escort the sacrificial animals by the

⁶³ Images found in Van Straten, *Hiéra Kalà*, fig. 13 (V78), fig. 150 (V193).

means of ropes that are tied in varying ways around different parts of the animals (front legs, neck or horns) (e.g. Nr. F10, Louvre, Paris, P 2). Additionally, figures are also often depicted walking alongside the sacrificial animals without holding them (e.g. Nr. 2473, National Museum, Athens, P 4). Lastly, one instance is recorded in which the sacrificial animal is carried by a procession participant (Nr. F 1690, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, P6). An example of a figure accompanying a sacrificial animal can be found in *figure 14*.



*Figure 14: Man escorting sacrificial animal*⁶⁴

Identifying figures accompanying animals is most of the times a straightforward process, determining who they are and if the animals they accompany are intended as sacrificial animals can be a different matter. In most cases there is no ground to interpret the men and women escorting animals in sacrificial procession scenes, that include most of the elements mentioned in the ‘*Categorization Criteria*’ in the introduction, as referring to anything else

⁶⁴ Gebauer, *Pompe und Thysia*, 694 (P36).

than mortal men and women accompanying animals that are intended to be sacrificed in honour of the gods.

However, there are two instances in which figures accompanying animals were classified as mortal men and women escorting sacrificial animals although these figures or their purpose could also be interpreted differently. One of these scenes is Nr. 345.738 (University, Tübingen, P37) in which two men with sprigs escort two sacrificial animals towards an altar, each from a different side. According to Gebauer this is not a real sacrificial procession scene, but rather an emblem of sacrifice in general.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, even if this is the case this scene is still a good source of reference on the ways in which figures accompanying sacrificial animals were viewed in the relevant period (c.510-c.480 B.C.). The other figures that were incorporated are the figures accompanying animals in Nr. 18568 (National Museum. Athens, P39) that may either refer to a sacrificial procession according to Gebauer, but may be a depiction of shepherds with parts of their herd as well.⁶⁶ The reason for incorporating this vase scene is the fact that the style of this image is very similar to scenes that could be identified as sacrificial procession scenes, which makes it conceivable that the figures portrayed may have participated in sacrificial processions.

What can be seen in the graph presented in *figure 15* below is that figures escorting sacrificial animals can be encountered in all six periods. In the period c.570-c.540 B.C. 15 men and 1 unidentified figure are depicted on the 9 vase scenes selected for this period that can be identified as figures accompanying sacrificial animals. Of the unidentified figures only the legs remain visible on the pottery fragment that prevents the determination of the gender of this figure (Vase Nr. 1582, National Museum. Athens, P5). The 8 vases and one plaque analyzed for the period c.540-c.510 B.C. depict 9 men and 1 women as escorting sacrificial

⁶⁵ Gebauer, *Pompe und Thysia*, 78.

⁶⁶ Gebauer, *Pompe und Thysia*, 79.

animals. In the period c.510-c.480 B.C. 21 men and 1 women, were found on the 22 vases scenes selected for this period, as well as 5 figures that could not be identified due to damages to the images (see *Appendix B*). The 11 vases analyzed for the period c.480-c.450 B.C. depict 7 men and 3 women accompanying sacrificial animals. On the 5 procession scenes analyzed for the period c.450-c.420 B.C. 5 men are depicted as escorting sacrificial animals. In the latter period c.420-c.400, 6 men accompanying sacrificial animals were found as well.

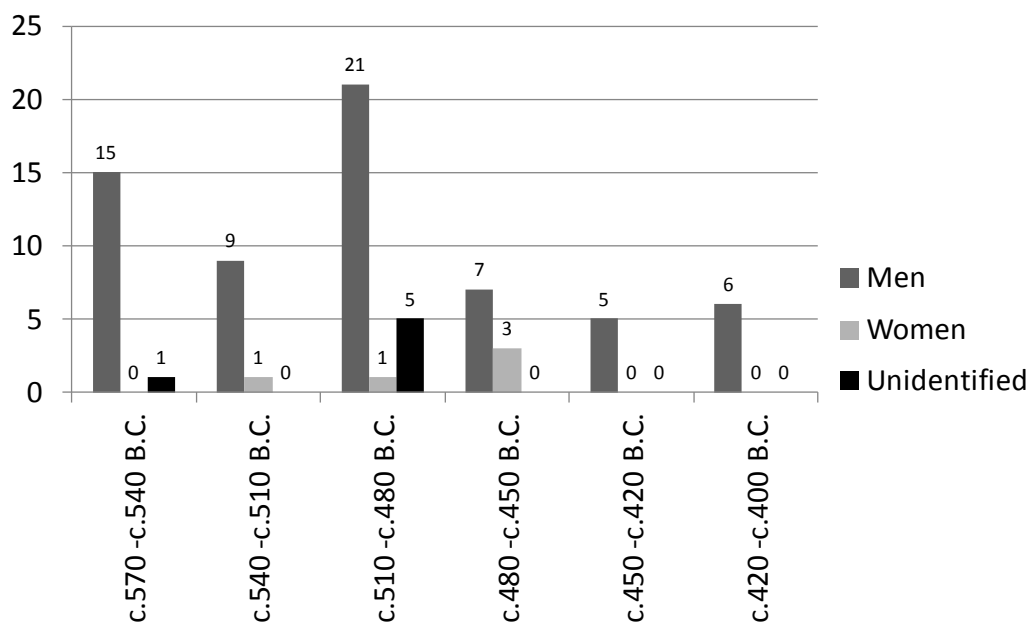


Figure 15: Figures accompanying sacrificial animals

The types of sacrificial animals escorted by these figures are listed in the graph in *figure 16* below. In the 60 procession scenes analyzed for this research a total of 65 sacrificial animals are depicted . In the period c.570-c.540 B.C. 6 bovines, 3 pigs and 5 sheep were escorted by procession participants. In the period c.540-c.510 B.C. 4 bovines, 2 pigs and 1 sheep were found. Between c.510-c.480 B.C. 17 bovines were found, as well as 2 pigs and 5 sheep. In the period c.480-c.450 , 6 bovines and 1 sheep were found. For the period c.450-c.420 B.C., 3

bovines and 1 sheep are depicted and the latter period c.420-c.400 B.C. encompasses 3 bovines. In all six periods bovines are depicted the most. The data regarding the types of sacrificial animals depicted in procession scenes gathered in *Appendix E*, can aid in gaining a better understanding of the customs regarding animal sacrifice in ancient Greece, when combined with other types of primary sources on animal sacrifice. Van Straten, in his study ‘*Hiera Kalá*’, has analysed over 200 iconographic sources depicting sacrificial animals to gain a better understanding of ancient Greek customs regarding sacrifice. He has done so by cross-referencing the findings gathered from these iconographic sources with data on sacrificial animals provided by inscriptions, such as sacrificial calendars. Some conclusions drawn from this data by Van Straten concern possible connections between certain types of sacrificial animals and recipient deities that may have been referred to in sacrificial scenes.⁶⁷ In addition, Van Straten demonstrates that different patterns present themselves when comparing the relative frequency of occurrence of different species of sacrificial animals found in sacred laws, vase paintings and votive reliefs. In the case of goats Van Straten concludes that goats are never frequently recorded: in Attic sacred laws (c. 13%), in vase paintings (c. 9 %), in votive reliefs (c. 4%).⁶⁸ What becomes clear from these findings is that there is discrepancy between the number of sacrificial animals depicted in iconographic material and the number of animals recorded in sacred laws. Van Straten shows that such a discrepancy can also be seen in the case of cattle. According to him the relative frequency of occurrence of bovines in sacrificial calendars is c.7,4%, in vase painting c.61,7% and votive reliefs c.10,1%.⁶⁹ Because of this discrepancy between image and text, one has to proceed with caution when interpreting the number of sacrificial animals found on iconographic

⁶⁷ For example, Van Straten concludes that goats were probably selected as sacrificial animals when this corresponded with the nature of the recipient deity. According to the *leges sacrae*, goats were predominantly sacrificed to Apollo, Dionysus, Aphrodite and Artemis. Van Straten, *Hiera Kalà*, 170, 171.

⁶⁸ Van Straten, *Hiera Kalà*, 171.

⁶⁹ Van Straten, *Hiera Kalà*, 171-173.

material as being reflections of actual proceedings, e.g. regarding preferences in types of sacrificial animals. An important explanation for the recorded discrepancies offered by Van Straten is the price of sacrificial animals. The price for cattle ranges between 40 and 90 drachmae a head, while sheep range from 10 to 17 drachmae and pigs between 20 to 40 drachmae.⁷⁰ Therefore, it is to be expected that it were generally cheaper types of animal that were sacrificed which is reflected by the data gathered from attic sacred laws and sacrificial calendars. According to Van Straten, the large number of cattle depicted in vase scenes, which has also been found in the procession scenes included here, can be explained by the fact that vase painters often drew from contemporary cult in order to portray scenes that were well-liked among the public and would therefore sell well. He argues that it is therefore only natural for painters to opt for the depiction of expensive sacrificial animals, since they were generally part of the large sacrifices that were attended by many people, and may have offered a certain prestige for the buyer.⁷¹

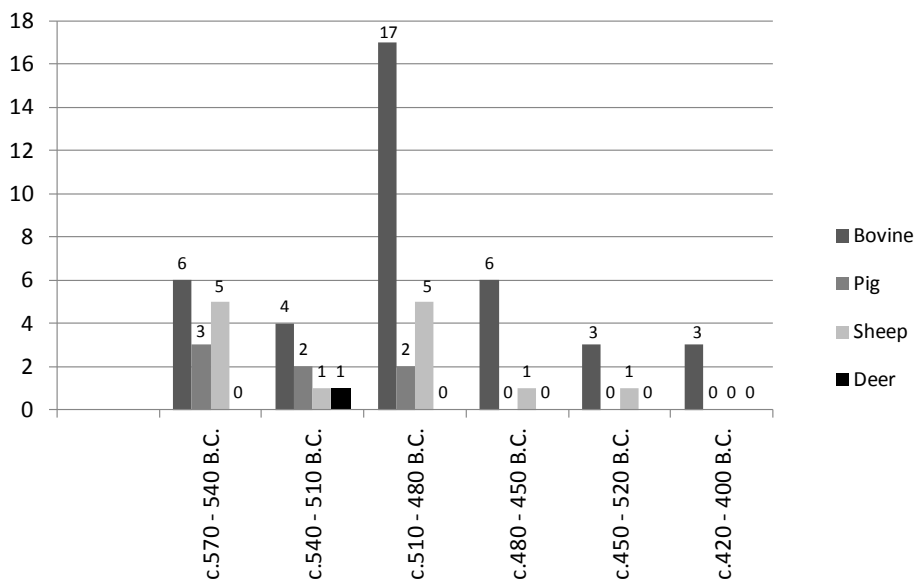


Figure 16: Sacrificial animals (SA)

⁷⁰ Van Straten, *Hiéra Kalà*, 175-177.

⁷¹ Van Straten, *Hiéra Kalà*, 179.

Interpretation

It is interesting to see that both men and women carried out the role of escort of sacrificial animals in sacrificial processions. However, it is clear from the data provided by the graph in *figure 15* that overall men fulfilled this role, since they were encountered in all six periods, whereas women are only depicted in three of the six periods. Therefore, it may be assumed that this was a reflection of reality. Furthermore, the total absolute number of men performing this role is substantially higher in all six periods when compared to women. The overall total of men in this particular function is 63 men versus 5 women escorting sacrificial animals. Therefore, one could say that women did carry out this role, but it were generally men performing this role. This interpretation is particularly enforced when taking into consideration that of the 5 female figures encountered, 3 women with sacrificial animals are depicted on 1 vase scene Nr. 41.162.255 (Metropolitan Museum, New York, Pv.79) of c.480-c.450 B.C. In this period, the highest number of men performing this role is depicted . It is important to note that the total number of vases analyzed, that consists of 22 vases, is the highest number of all the vase scenes listed in *Appendix A* for one period. This high number of vase scenes has likely influenced the number of figures accompanying sacrificial animals found in these scenes, since most scenes that could be classified as sacrificial processions incorporate sacrificial animals.

Lastly, it is noteworthy to mention, when consulting *Appendix C* regarding the types of attributes (including sacrificial gifts) carried by figures accompanying sacrificial animals is that only men in this function are portrayed as carrying additional attributes while women are portrayed empty-handed when escorting sacrificial animals. The attributes carried by men include:

1 knife case; 1 oinochoe; sprigs; wreaths (c.570-c.540 B.C.), sprigs (c.540-c.510 B.C.), 1 basket; 1 amphora; sprigs (c.510-c.480 B.C.), sprigs (c.480-c.450 B.C.).

No additional attributes or gifts (besides the sacrificial animals themselves) were found in the latter two periods, c.450-c.420 B.C. and c.420-c.400 B.C. However, this does not imply that these attributes or gifts were no longer part of the ritual. Rather, this phenomenon may be explained by changing artistic styles that were in vogue in a certain period in time.

Musicians

In this section the types of musicians will be discussed. Attention will be paid to number of musicians as well as the gender of the figures that function as musicians.

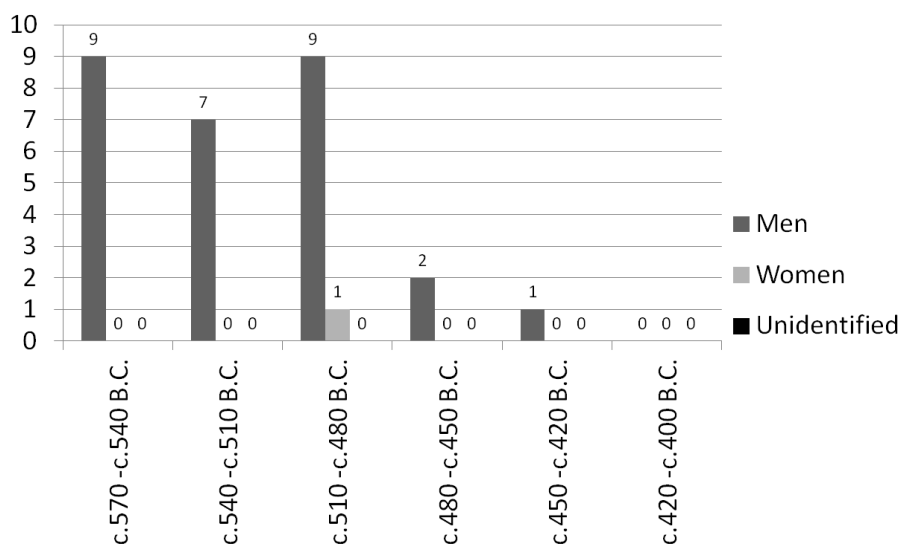


Figure 17: Musicians

What can be seen in the graph presented in *figure 17* above is that musicians were depicted in procession scenes selected for five of the six periods. In the 9 vase scenes selected for the period c.570-c.540 B.C. a total of 9 male musicians were depicted. The 8 vases and one plaque analyzed for the period c.540-c.510 B.C. depict 7 male musicians. In the period c.510-c.480 B.C. 9 male musicians and 1 female musician were found on the 22 vases scenes

selected for this period.⁷² The 11 vases analyzed for the period c.480-c.450 B.C. depict two male musicians. On the 5 procession scenes analyzed for the period c.450-c.420 B.C. only one male musician was portrayed. In the procession scenes selected for the period c.420-c.400 B.C. no musicians were depicted.

Interpretation

What has become clear from the data gathered and presented above is that a total of 29 musicians were found in the procession scenes that have been selected for five of the six periods, consisting of 28 men and 1 woman. Apparently, both men and women could perform as musicians during sacrificial processions, however the statistics concerning the gender division within this function, suggest that in practice this role was generally reserved for men in Athenian society. Furthermore, it is interesting to see that most musicians were depicted in the first three periods, since 25 of the 29 musicians were found here. This may indicate that either more musicians actually participated in sacrificial periods between c.570 B.C. and c.480.B.C. when compared to later periods, or that it was no longer customary for musicians to be depicted in sacrificial procession scenes in later times because of changing artistic styles.⁷³

⁷² The one female musician is depicted on vase scene ‘- Paestum’, referred to by Van Straten, *Hiera Kalà*, 200 as V38. Image was found in Lehnstaedt, *Prozessionsdarstellungen auf Attischen Vasen*, K38, pl. 3, 3. Both Van Straten and Lehnstaedt identify the one musician depicted on this scene as a woman.

⁷³ Secondary literature that may be consulted to gain a better understanding of the ways in which musicians were included in Athenian life and culture is a book written in 2005 by Bundrick, S.D. entitled *Music and Image in Classical Athens*. An important conclusion drawn by Bundrick is that changes occurring in musical imagery from the sixth century onwards through the fifth century are reflections of larger socio-political changes that transform Athens from a rather aristocratic society to a predominantly democratic one. The diversity of musical imagery continues to broaden and change during the fifth century, and scenes focusing on elite male pursuits, such as athletic scenes, decline in popularity in contrast to scenes incorporating female musicians as well as scenes concerned with civic concerns and activities which increase in popularity. According to Bundrick this may “reflect a more democratic sensibility among artists and consumers.” Bundrick, S.D. 2005. *Music and Image in Classical Athens*. New York, 197, 198.

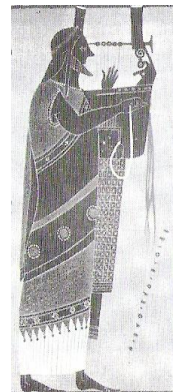
In *Appendix B* and *C* the types of instruments played by the musicians on the vase scenes presented here are specified. What can be derived from these appendices is that the 9 male musicians that were depicted between c.570 and c.540 B.C. include 6 auletaí and 3 kitharodoi. The 7 musicians that are portrayed on 6 vase scenes and 1 plaque for the period c.540-c.510 B.C. encompass 5 auletaí and 2 kitharodoi. The 9 male musicians found in the period c.510-c.480 B.C. include 6 auletaí and 3 kitharodoi and a female musician who plays the aulos. The two musicians depicted on the vase scenes selected for the period c.480-c.450 B.C. consist of 1 aulos player and 1 musician whose instrument is the salpinx. On the procession scenes analyzed for the period c.450-c.420 B.C. only one male aulos player was portrayed. For the period c.420-c.400 B.C. there are no musicians found on the vase scenes, but on the basis of this small sample of 4 vase scenes one cannot conclude that musicians did not partake in sacrificial processions in this period. An illustration of the three types of musicians that were found in this research is provided below in *figure 18*.



Trumpeter (Salpinx)



Auletris



Kitharodos

*Figure 18: Imagery of musicians*⁷⁴

⁷⁴ FLTR. Nr. B. 648, British museum (London) image found in Gebauer, *Pompe und Thysia*, 698 (P46); (Paestum) referred to in Van Straten, *Hiera Kalà* as V38, image found in Lehnstaedt, *Prozessionsdarstellungen auf Attischen Vasen*, K38, pl. 3, 3; F1686, Berlin State Museums, image found in Van Straten, *Hiera Kalà*, fig. 4 (V21).

Identifying Priests

The identification of figures filling the office of priests is a difficult endeavor, since there are no clear attributes that are carried by priests that are as illustrative as the kanoûn for the determination of kanéphoroi or instruments for the recognition of musicians. Consequently, there is a debate among historians which factors are illustrative for the representation of priests in vase paintings. As can be seen in the graph presented in *figure 19* below, a total number of 7 figures were found in three of the six periods for which procession scenes have been selected, that may be identified according to some secondary literature sources, most notably the studies of Van Straten and Gebauer, as priests. The reason for identifying these figures as potential priests is because Gebauer and van Straten take several factors into account, including long elaborate dress-styles, as well as the location of these figures in procession scenes, before identifying these figures as potential priests.⁷⁵ This multifactor approach is of importance, since dress-, hairstyles and personal adornments in themselves do not allow for positive identification of figures fulfilling a certain function or role, since there is too much overlap in dress-, hairstyles and types of headdresses worn by sacrificial participants in diverging roles and functions, which will become clear from the following chapter. The 7 figures that may be priests are depicted on the following 6 vases:

- 1) f 1686 Staatliche Museen, Berlin, V21: one female and one male priest
- 2) Nr. 1441 State Collections, Munich, V32: one female priest
- 3) -, Private Collection, V55: one female priest
- 4) 2298, National Museum. Athens, V19: one male priest
- 5) -, Art Market, V53: one female priestess

⁷⁵ Van Straten, *Hiéra Kalà*, 15, 168, 197, 199, 203, 207. Gebauer, *Pompe und Thysia*, 42, 43.

6) T 57 c VP, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Ferrara, V78: one male priest

What can be derived from the data gathered from ‘reading’ procession scenes presented in *figure 19*, is that there are 3 women and 1 man who were found in the period c.570-c.540 B.C. that may refer to figures functioning as priests. No figures have been identified as priests in the period c.540-c.510 B.C. Two other potential priests were found in the periods c.510-c.480 B.C. that lists one female and one male priest. The processions scenes analyzed for the period c.480-c.450 B.C. do not encompass any figures listed as priest. The scenes included for period c.450-c.420 depict one male figure that is potentially a priest. In the period c.420-c.400 B.C. no figures were found that are classified by secondary literature as ‘priests’.

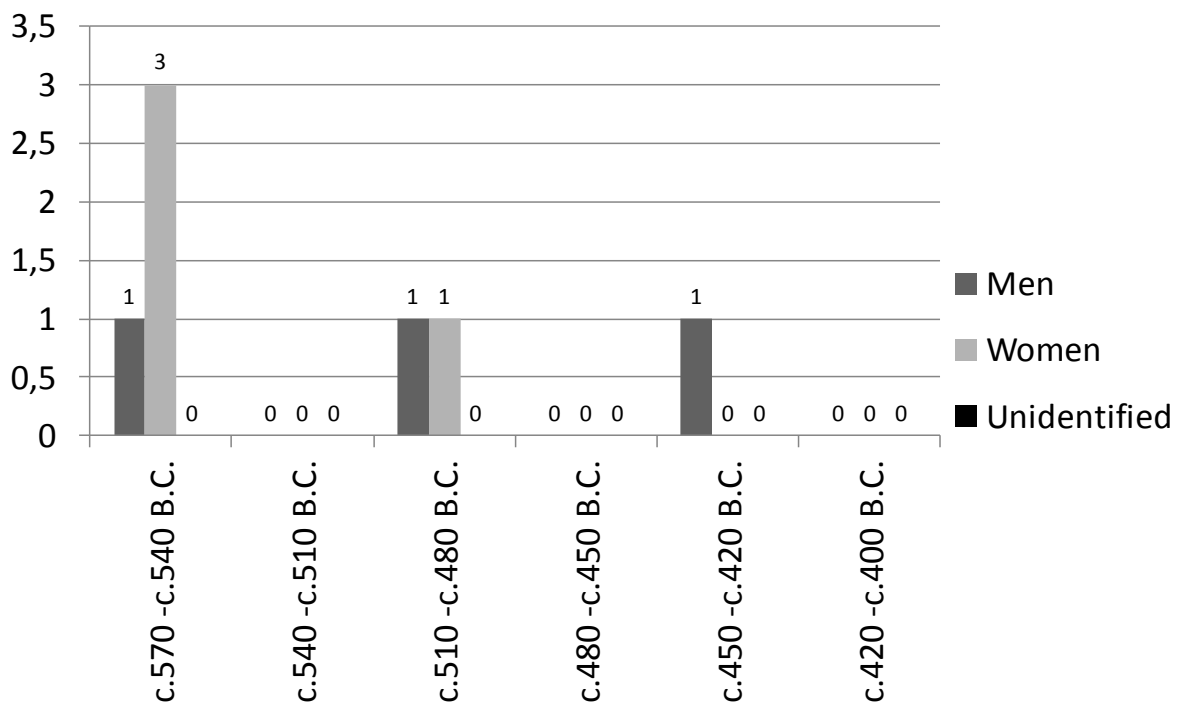


Figure 19: Figures that potentially fill the office of priest

Interpretation

It is interesting to see that in the sacrificial procession scenes of only three of the six periods, figures are depicted that potentially fulfill the office of priest. Additionally, the absolute number of male and female priests is almost the same: 3 men versus 4 women. However, it has to be stressed that the identification of priests is difficult and when incorporating all figures that may be identified according to some historians who use the depiction of beards and elaborate clothing styles as sole identification criteria, this would result in an unlikely high number of priests.⁷⁶ Because of these difficulties, generalizations regarding the number and the gender of priests cannot be made purely on the basis of iconographic material.

Other Functions

Figures in particular functions that were only found sporadically in the six periods analyzed, are hoplites, horse riders, splanchnoptai and thymiaterion bearers. What can be derived from the data gathered and presented in *figure 20* below, is that in the period c.570- c.540 B.C. a total number of 3 hoplites and 1 horse rider were depicted. These figures have all been depicted on one vase scene: -, (V55) (see *Appendix B*). In the period c.540-c.510 B.C. 2 splanchnoptai holding obeloi (spits) were found on a procession scene depicted on vase Nr. 1 B 35, Museo Archeologico, Florenz (P24). In the period c.510-c.480 B.C. one thymiaterion bearer was depicted on vase Nr. 130 (V24) and 3 more thymiaterion bearers were portrayed in vase scenes listed for the period c.480-c.450 B.C. (see *Appendix B*). None of these four functions have been encountered in the latter two periods c.450-c.420 B.C. and c.420-c.400 B.C.

⁷⁶ Van Straten, *Hiéra Kalà*, 168

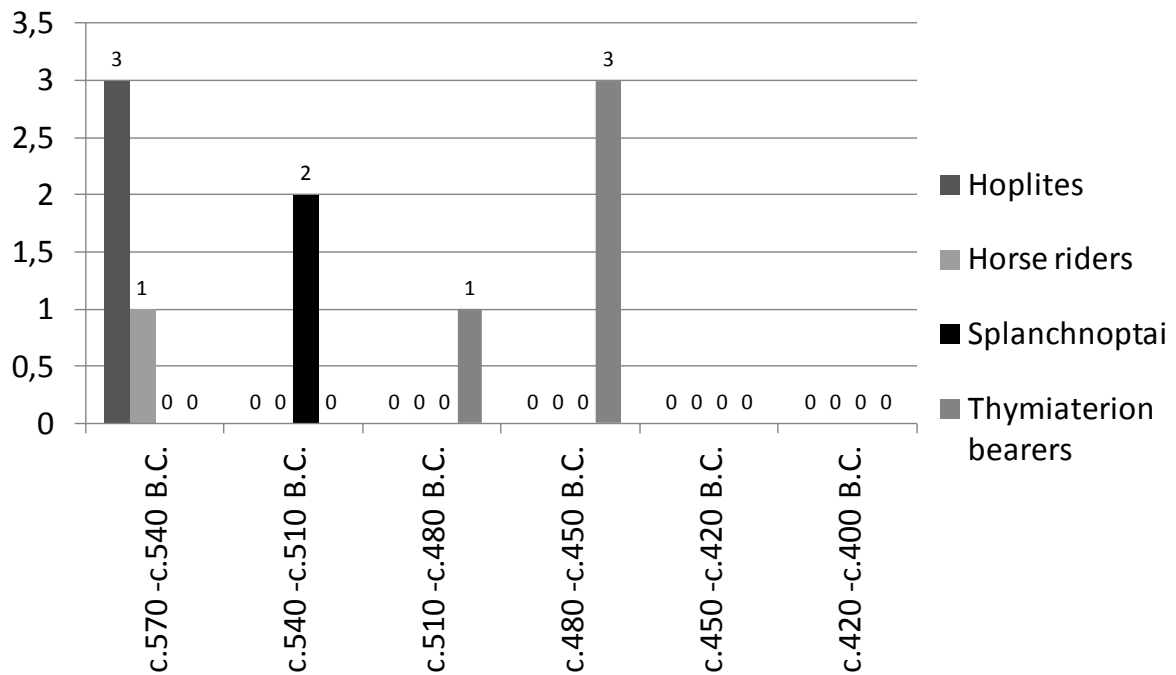


Figure 20: Hoplites, horse riders, splanchnoptai and thymiaterion bearers

Interpretation

A possible conclusion that may be drawn from the sporadic depiction of these four functions in the selected scenes is that their inclusion was not considered to be fundamentally important for the *depiction* of sacrificial procession scenes. When confronted with the limited space provided by Attic pottery to depict scenes, vase-painters may have decided to focus on the inclusion of religious roles and functions (e.g. kanéphoroi) to create an image that was instantly recognizable for the Athenian audience as referring to sacrificial *processions*. According to Gebauer, vase scene Nr. T 57 c VP presents an interesting case since it consists of a procession of figures accompanying a sacrificial animal with in the front of the scene two splanchnoptai who are kneeling and holding their obeloi in the fire. According to Gebauer

this image is singular in its depiction, since the escorting of the animal is combined with the preparations for its sacrifice.⁷⁷

The inclusion of hoplites and horse riders, as well as many other participants in diverging functions and roles, that are only found in one vase scene (-, Private Collection, V55) may be interpreted as a reference to the elaborate sacrificial procession that was conducted during the Panathenaic festival, since all figures and sacrificial animals are similar to those found on the Parthenon frieze that depicts stages of the Panathenaic festival.⁷⁸ This is a notion that is put forward by N. Himmelmann who states that: “So finden wir im Parthenonfries die gleiche Abfolge der sieben Gruppen von den Opferdienern bis zum Reiter, was mit der traditionellen Gliederung des Zuges beim Athenafest zu tun haben muss.”⁷⁹ Gebauer states that the singularity of this scene as to the inclusion of hoplites and horse riders, when compared to other iconographic scenes depicted on Attic pottery, is not sufficient evidence to conclude that these figures were in reality not included, especially since written records have been found that refer to their inclusion in several procession scenes.⁸⁰

Other Figures

A total of 110 figures that were found during the analysis of the procession scenes selected for this research do not have clear functions or roles and are depicted either empty-handed or carrying sacrificial gifts. These figures have been labelled ‘Other figures’ and are gathered in the tables included in *Appendix C*. What can be seen in the graph depicted in *figure 21* below, is that there is a total of 31 ‘Other figures’ listed in the period c.570-c.540 B.C., consisting of

⁷⁷ Gebauer, *Pompe und Thysia*, 65, 66.

⁷⁸ Gebauer, *Pompe und Thysia*, 32, 33.

⁷⁹ Himmelmann, N. 1996. *Minima Archaeologica. Utopie und Wirklichkeit der Antike*. Mainz. 62.

⁸⁰ Gebauer, *Pompe und Thysia*, 33. For examples of these records Gebauer refers to the book: L. Deubner 1956. *Attische Feste*², Berlin, 209.

27 men, 1 women and 3 unidentified figures. In the period c.540-c.510 B.C. a total of 17 ‘Other figures’ were depicted including 10 men, 3 women and 4 unidentified figures. The period c.510-c.480 B.C. contains 36 ‘Other figures’, including 25 men, 2 women and 9 unidentified figures. In the period c.480-c.450 B.C. a total number of 7 ‘Other figures’ has been encountered, depicting 2 men and 5 women. The scenes analyzed for the period c.450-c.420 B.C. encompass 13 ‘Other figures’ consisting of 8 men, 4 women and 1 unidentified figure. For the period c.420-c.400 B.C. only 6 male ‘Other figures’ were found in the 4 procession scenes analyzed for this study.

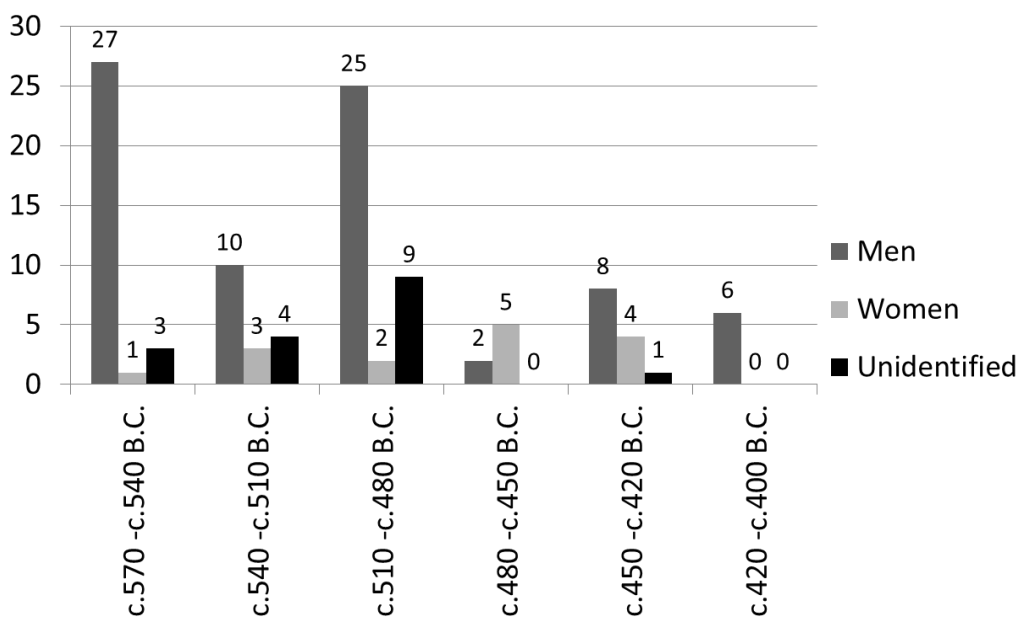


Figure 21: Other figures (carrying objects or empty-handed)

Interpretation

It is interesting to see that both men and women are included in the group of 'Other figures', that either carry sacrificial gifts, attributes or are portrayed empty-handed, that are depicted in the sacrificial procession scenes selected. What can be derived from the data gathered in *Appendix C*, that lists all attributes and gifts that were carried by all figures found in this research, including the group 'Other figures', is that even though the majority of the attributes and gifts are carried by men, which is unsurprising since the majority of sacrificial participants consists of men, most types of attributes and sacrificial gifts could be carried by men as well as women. These findings are in accordance with the conclusions put forward by Borgers in his study.⁸¹ The types of sacrificial gifts and attributes that were found in the case of men listed in the category 'Other figures' for all six periods are the following:

1 horn, 1 oinochoe; 1 wineskin; sprigs; wreaths (c.570-c.540 B.C.), 4 sticks; 1 oinochoe; sprigs (c.540-510 B.C.), 4 baskets; 1 object; 1 amphora; 1 oinochoe; 1 knife; 1 stick; sprigs (c.510-c.480 B.C.), 1 amphora; 1 stick (c.480-c.450 B.C.), 1 phiale; 1 stick; sprigs (c.450-c.420 B.C.), 1 tray; 1 amphora (c.420-c.400 B.C.).

The types of sacrificial gifts and attributes that were carried by the women listed in the category 'Other figures' encompass:

sprigs (c.570-c.540 B.C.), 1 'kanoûn-like' object; sprigs (c.540-c.510 B.C.); - (c.510-c.480 B.C.); 1 phiale; 3 sticks/twigs (c.480-c.450 B.C.); 1 stick; 1 skyphos; 1 phiale; sprigs (c.450-c.420 B.C.); - (c.420-c.400 B.C.).

⁸¹ Borgers, 'Religious Citizenship in Classical Athens', 78.

What can be derived from these numbers regarding the division of attributes and sacrificial gifts is that all items are carried by both men and women in sacrificial processions, except horns, trays, amphoras and baskets (excluding the kanoûn) that were only carried by men and the skyphos which is only portrayed as carried by women. This may entail that when it comes to these attributes there may have been certain beliefs or regulations regarding which gender could carry these objects during processions. In this category the knife was only carried by men, yet one image of a female kanéphoros was found who carried a knife under the fillet in her hair (depicted on Nr. 3369, *National Museum. Naples*, (V302)).

4.4 Contextual Framework: Participation in Sacrificial Processions

What has become clear from the analysis of Attic sacrificial procession scenes is that both men and women participated in sacrificial processions and that most functions have been carried out by both male and female participants, albeit in varying degree depending on the number of men and women found in a certain period in time. These outcomes, which are described in detail in 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3, are of interest since men and women have been traditionally divided into two spheres of the Athenian *polis* by secondary literature: the public domain in the case of men and the private domain in the case of women.⁸²

⁸² Neils, J. 1996. *Worshipping Athena: Panathenaia & Parthenon*. Wisconsin. 78, 79.

Primary Sources and Secondary Literature

Below a contemporary primary source on the role of women in the religious sphere of the *polis* has been provided, which is a scene from a play written by Euripides. In this source a woman named Melanippe, who was the daughter of Aeolos, gives the following speech⁸³:

Women run households and protect within their homes what has been carried across the sea, and without a woman no home is clean or prosperous. Consider their role in religion, for that, in my opinion, comes first. We women play the most important part, because women prophecy the will of Loxias in the oracles of Phoibos. And at the holy site of Dodona near the Sacred Oak, females convey the will of Zeus to inquirers from Greece. As for the sacred rituals for the Fates and the Nameless Goddesses [i.e. the Furies], all these would not be holy if performed by men, but prosper in women's hands. In this way women have a rightful share (dike) in the service of the gods. (Fr.13.5-17 *Greek Literary Papyri*=fr. 499 Nauck, lines 5-17)⁸⁴

This, and numerous other sources show that women as well as men played prominent roles in the religious sphere of ancient Greek society. According to J. Neils, "in no civic festival do women play a more prominent role than in the *Panathenaia*"⁸⁵, which was the most prominent festival held in the honour of Athena.⁸⁶ This statement is supported by references to many inscriptions as well as other contemporary sources that portray the *Panathenaic* festivities. Often these references concern female figures that were found in specific functions or roles that have been encountered in the procession scenes analyzed for this research as well. For example, IG II2 334.15 is concerned with "some of the *ergastinai*, along with other aristocratic women, [who] might also serve as *kanephoroi*, bearers of the baskets of barley in which the knives used for the sacrifice were hidden, both in the *pannychis* held

⁸³ Neils, *Worshipping Athena: Panathenaia & Parthenon*, 78, 79.

⁸⁴ *Idem*

⁸⁵ Neils, *Worshipping Athena*, 79.

⁸⁶ Van Straten, *Hierà Kalá.*, 15.

the night before the procession and in the procession itself."⁸⁷ Such sources are valuable when establishing who performed the different functions in the sacrificial processions and in what fashion.

However, inscriptions do not always make notice of how a priest or priestess can be recognized, e.g. in terms of attributes or clothing, which may have been common knowledge among the Athenian audience. Therefore, consulting other types of iconographic material may shed some light on the participation and representation of men and women, in this case regarding the office of priest in the religious sphere of the Athenian *polis*. According to R. Parker "reliefs attached to decrees that honour priests show them with distinctive attributes - the temple key for women, the sacrificial knife for men - which, reappearing on funerary monuments, prove that both sexes could be proud of having held such an office."⁸⁸

The importance of sacrificial processions and participation in the religious sphere of the *polis* is often addressed in primary sources. Demosthenes, e.g. accused his fellow citizens of being more occupied with the planning of processions than with the planning of war (Dem. 4.26). Additionally, in the Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia* the duties of magistrates in regards to supervising certain processions are often stressed.⁸⁹ Regrettably, about most of the processions mentioned in primary sources little more is known than that they took place. Sacrificial processions have been confirmed for the following religious festivals: "Panathenaea, City Dionysia, Great Mysteries, Piraeus Dionysia, Lenea."⁹⁰

The contextualization of every procession scene analyzed in this research in regards to festivals and ceremonies that may have been referred to in these scenes, is beyond the scope of this research. According to Van Straten, most scenes that have been incorporated in this

⁸⁷ Neils, *Worshipping Athena*, 79.

⁸⁸ Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens*, 93.

⁸⁹ Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens*, 178.

⁹⁰ Idem. For a more complete list of religious festivals that included processions consult R. Parker 'Polytheism and Society at Athens', 178.

study as well, have traditionally been interpreted by secondary literature as connected to the *Panathenaia*.⁹¹ However, recently a scholarly debate has come into being, in which the previous beliefs regarding the categorization and identification of procession scenes (e.g. as belonging to either public or private ceremonies) is questioned.⁹²

Another important identification problem that arose here is how to determine which participants portrayed in sacrificial processions scenes can be identified as citizens and which figures as non-citizens. According to Borgers, the lack of evidence regarding figures that can be positively identified as metics in religious representations on Attic vases, including sacrificial procession scenes, might imply that pictorial depictions of figures do not allow for a visual differentiation between Athenian citizens and non-citizens. He states that this is not necessarily a problem because “in most cases the depicted participants were probably meant to represent citizens: in the first place because one would be expected to depict the ‘core-group’ of a community; rather than strangers. In the second place, because sources indicate that the first participation of non-citizens only started to occur around the middle of the 5th century B.C.”⁹³ As a result, Borgers concludes that it appears to be relatively safe to suggest that most participants included in religious representations referred to Athenian citizens, at least until the mid-fifth century B.C.⁹⁴ This conclusion is of importance for the arguments put forward here, since 53 of the 60 procession scenes dating from the sixth and fifth century that form the basis of this study can be dated prior to 450 B.C. These 53 scenes depicting 255 figures of the total number of 284 figures portrayed on all 60 procession scenes combined. Wijma in her study *Joining the Athenian Community: the Participation of Metics in Athenian Polis Religion in the Fifth and Fourth centuries B.C.* argues that a separate metic status was

⁹¹ Van Straten, *Hiera Kalá*, 15.

⁹² For the debate regarding the issues with determining whether a iconographic religious representation is public or private in nature consult: Van Straten, *Hiera Kalà*, 11, 12, 13. Gebauer, *Pompe und Thysia*, 486-488; Blok, 'Citizenship in Action', 96-98.

⁹³ Borgers, 'Religious Citizenship in Classical Athens', 84, 85.

⁹⁴ Idem.

established by a ‘differentiated sharing’ in the *hiera* of the Athenian polis from the first half of the fifth century onwards.⁹⁵ According to her this is demonstrated by several vase scenes portraying ‘Panathaniac’ duties that were typically performed by metics in a religious context. According to Wijma polis religion was one of the first public spheres in which metics were presented as a distinct and coherent group. She states that it is justified to identify girls carrying parasols for other girls and youths carrying skaphai or hydriai on ancient vases as metics, since there are quite a few indications that link these duties exclusively with metics.⁹⁶ First of all, there are no primary sources in which Athenians perform these duties. Additionally, references are made to metics as skaphai and skaphephoroi in New Comedy. Furthermore, in Bekker’s *Anecdota* (280, 1 and 304, 7) the skaphephoria are described as a metic liturgy. One of the earliest examples of a vase scene that depicts metic duties is red-figure kylix painted by the Pan Painter (Ashmolean 1911.617) that is dated around 470 B.C and depicts skaphephoroi.⁹⁷ However, when it comes to the sacrificial procession scenes that are included here there are only very few instances in which hydriai are depicted. Additionally, in none of the vase scenes analyzed women are portrayed carrying parasols. In regards to skaphai, Borgers makes a valid argument that these are rather shapeless bowls that are easy to confuse with other pottery such as phialai in iconographic scenes, which makes it difficult to identify skaphephoroi.⁹⁸ All in all, when it comes to the procession scenes analyzed here it appears that metics were not clearly recognizable as a distinct group because of the difficulties inherent in iconographic material. The few hydriai that were found in the procession scenes as well as the lack of parasols does suggest however that it were predominantly Athenian citizens that were meant to be represented.

⁹⁵ Wijma, *Joining the Athenian Community*, 78.

⁹⁶ Wijma, *Joining the Athenian Community*, 78, 79.

⁹⁷ Idem.

⁹⁸ Borgers, ‘Religious Citizenship in Classical Athens’, 85.

5. Fashioning Sacrifice: Representations in Context

The second half of the central question stated in the introduction will be dealt with in this chapter: To what extent is a differentiation made between participants with particular functions or roles in the selected sacrificial procession scenes in terms of dress, hairstyles and personal adornments?

5.1 Fashion Theory

As stated in the introduction, there are several reasons for analyzing the dress-, hairstyles and personal adornments worn by the figures depicted in the sacrificial procession scenes on Attic pottery. First of all, there is the possibility that some additional insight can be derived from such elements when it comes to status, class, age, gender, and sub-cultural relations of the persons involved, that would normally not be so apparent when only consulting written sources.⁹⁹ Additionally, as R. Griffin stated in his postscript to his book *Fashioning the Body Politic*, “what people wear to conceal and expose their person can take the historian to the core of complex social and political processes of stability and change, conformism and challenge to the status quo.”¹⁰⁰

On another level, what has become clear from examining secondary literature in this field is that elements such as clothing and hairstyles are often used by researchers as decisive factors for the identification of certain functions and roles in religious representations, when there are no other means of identification (e.g. attributes) depicted in the image. This suggests that the way in which participants are fashioned in religious representations, in this case sacrificial processions, has to present a uniform image with clear dress- and hairstyles for

⁹⁹ Entwistle – Wilson, ‘Introduction: Body Dressing’, 4.

¹⁰⁰ Griffin, ‘Afterthought: Redressing the Balance in Historiography’, 225.

isolated gender and function groups. In order to establish whether or not this notion holds true, the participants of sacrificial procession scenes include here, that were identified as performing a certain type of function or role, are analyzed in terms of dress, hairstyles and personal adornments in order to gain an understanding of the extent to which fashion is indeed representative for a certain function or role.

Methodologies incorporating an analysis of types of fashion worn by certain figures in the manner described above is a relative modern development. Until the 1980's dress history was classified as an decorative art, which was studied by curators and costume historians who focused on dating and documenting couture designers.¹⁰¹ In 1985, however, a sociologist Elizabeth Wilson published the book *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*. This publication led to a new scholarly interest in dress and the body as an interconnected field.¹⁰² According to Wilson fashion had to be understood as “an aesthetic medium for the expression of ideas, desires and beliefs circulating in society.”¹⁰³ This book came about at a time when dress history departed from connoisseurship to discourses regarding psychoanalysis, feminism, Marxism and semiotics which stimulated debates regarding identity and representation issues.¹⁰⁴

E. Wilson in cooperation with J. Entwistle, edited a book entitiled *Body Dressing* in the introduction of which they stress the importance of seeing dress and the body as embodied practices.¹⁰⁵ This publication made students of dress aware of the works of M. Foucault who in his book *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la Prison* (1975) stated that the body was not only a biological creation but a social construct as well.¹⁰⁶ Entwistle, in the

¹⁰¹ Boydell, C. 2004. 'Fashioning Identity: Gender, Class and the Self', *Journal of Contemporary History* 39 (1), 137.

¹⁰² Boydell, 'Fashioning Identity: Gender, Class and the Self', 138.

¹⁰³ Wilson, E. 2005. *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*. London-New York, 9.

¹⁰⁴ Boydell, 'Fashioning Identity: Gender, Class and the Self', 138.

¹⁰⁵ Entwistle - Wilson, 'Introduction: Body Dressing', 4.

¹⁰⁶ Boydell, 'Fashioning Identity' 144, 145.

book *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory* extends these ideas on the body and dress by seeing dress as “a situated bodily practice” and representations of naked bodies as being dependent on conventions of dress.¹⁰⁷

Several important studies in the field of fashion were consulted in this research including the book *Ancient Greek Dress*, written by E. Abrahams and E. Evans; a study on ‘Constru(ct)ing gender in the Feminine Greek *Peplos*’, conducted by M. Lee, which is part of the book *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*; A. Geddes’ article, entitled ‘Rags and Riches: The Costume of Athenian Men in the Fifth Century’; an article on ‘Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art’ written by L. Bonafante; and an article entitled ‘The Kanephoros and her Festival Mantel in Greek Art’ written by L. Roccas.

5.2 Matters of Dress and Undress

Overall Clothing Divisions

Women

What can be deduced from the data gathered from procession scenes, presented in *Appendix D*, is that the types of clothing worn by women in all six periods in time consisted predominantly of the chiton and himation. Only one item of dress could not be identified for all six periods combined, because of damages to the image (Nr. Akr. 2009, National Museum, Athens, P25). The chiton was a type of tunic, that could be worn separately or in combination with an additional garment called a himation, which was a large piece of cloth

¹⁰⁷ Entwistle, J. ‘The Dressed Body’ in: Entwistle, J.- Wilson, E (eds.) 2001. *Body Dressing*. Oxford – New York, 34, 35.

that could be worn as an over-cloak or separately as well. There were two types of chitons. The *Doric* chiton, also commonly referred to as *Peplos* in secondary literature, which is a sleeveless tunic that was fastened at the shoulders with pins and in some occasions the upper part of the fabric was draped to create an overfold (*apoptygma*) that hung either loose or was belted around the waist. The tunic that is commonly referred to as the *Ionic* chiton is a tunic made of linen with sleeves that were either buttoned or sewn. The Doric chiton was usually worn on its own, while the Ionic chiton was often combined with a himation.¹⁰⁸ In the case of women the chiton was predominantly found in combination with the himation in this research (see graph in *figure 22* below).

What can be derived from the data gathered into *Appendix D* and presented in *figure 22* is that the 8 women encountered earlier in the period c.570-c.540 B.C. are all depicted as wearing chitons, and 5 of them are portrayed with additional himations. In the procession scenes selected for the period c.540-c.510 B.C, 6 women were depicted of whom 5 wore a chiton and 3 a himation. Since all women are depicted as dressed in either one or a combination of the two items of clothing listed, this implies that 1 woman is depicted as wearing only a himation. The dress style of 1 woman in this period is unclear, since only the head of the woman is portrayed in this image (Nr. Akr. 2009, National Museum, Athens, P25, see *Appendix B*). 7 of the 8 women found in the period c.510-c.480 B.C. wear a chiton combined with a himation, which implies that in this period one woman wearing only a himation was depicted as well. The largest number of women is depicted in the scenes selected for the period c.480-c.450 B.C. All 14 women in this period are portrayed as wearing chitons and 13 of them wear additional himations. In the period c.450-c.420 B.C. 6 women

¹⁰⁸ Lee, M. 2005. 'Constru(ct)ing gender in the Feminine Greek *Peplos*', in: Cleland, L. and Harlow M. and Llewellyn-Jones, L. (eds.) *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*. Oxford, 55, 56.

were encountered and all were portrayed as wearing chitons and 5 women were depicted as wearing himations. In the period c.420-c. 400 B.C. women have not been portrayed on the procession scenes selected.

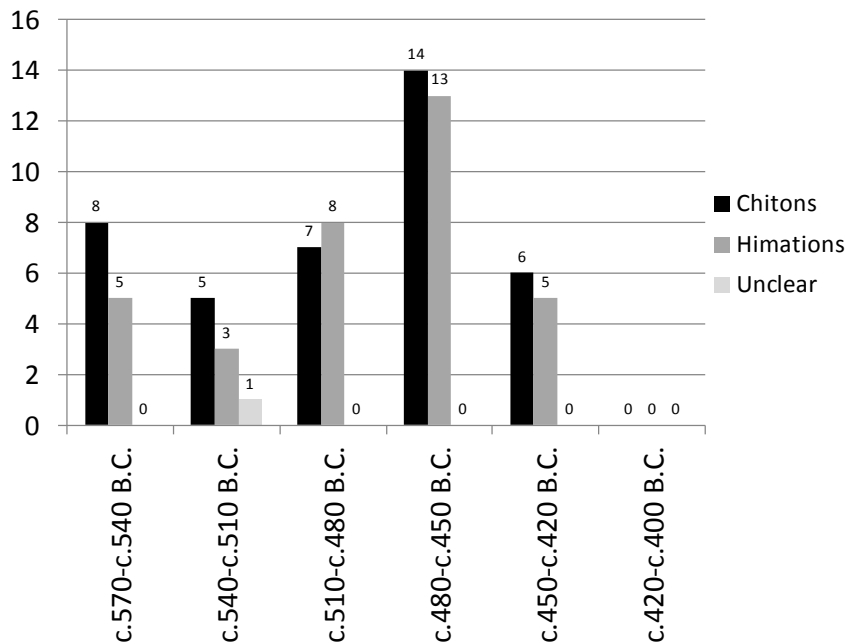


Figure 22: Categorization of dress-styles worn by women between c.570-c.400 B.C.

Men

What can be deduced from the data gathered from ‘reading’ procession scenes presented in *Appendix D*, is that there were several types of clothing that were worn by men participating in sacrificial procession scenes. The men encountered in the sacrificial processions scenes are portrayed as wearing either chitons or himations (or a combination of the two). Additionally, some men wear a loin-cloth, a piece of cloth which was wrapped around the hips which is registered in *Appendix D* as well. Furthermore, some men are depicted nude. Lastly, there is a separate category for the clothing styles that could not be identified because of damaged images or because of ambiguous painting styles that do not allow for positive identifications of the items of clothing portrayed. In this category sometimes the abbreviation

CbSA is listed, which refers to the fact that the clothing of the men in question could not be positively identified because they were partially covered by the sacrificial animals they were accompanying. What can be deduced from the fact that the legs of the figures CbSA are uncovered is that they wear short style garments, that may either be a short chiton, cloak or loin-cloth.

What can be derived from the data gathered and presented in the graph below (see *figure 23*) is that in the period c.570-540 B.C. 46 chitons and 27 himations were found that were worn by the men participating in the sacrificial procession scenes selected for this period. Furthermore, 4 men are portrayed wearing loin-cloths and 1 man is portrayed nude. In addition, 2 men were covered by the sacrificial animals they wear escorting which does not enable a positive identification of their clothing. Lastly, the clothing of three men could not be determined because of damaged vase scenes or ambiguities in the depiction style. The clothing items that are listed for the period c.540-c.510 B.C. include 7 chitons and 14 himations. In this period 3 men are covered by sacrificial animals (CbSA), that does not allow for an exact determination of the clothing items worn. In total, the dress-styles of 6 figures were unclear. In the period c.510-c.480 B.C. 3 chitons and 29 himations are listed, as well as 1 man who is wearing a loin-cloth. Furthermore, the highest number of nude figures is found in this period consisting of 17 men. In this period 7 men were found whose clothing styles were covered by the sacrificial animals they were accompanying and 3 figures clothing-styles are unclear because of reasons previously listed. In the period c.480-c.450 B.C. 2 chitons and 15 himations were depicted and 1 man who was portrayed nude. From the period c.450-c.420 B.C. onwards chitons are no longer found in the procession scenes analyzed for the last two periods. In the period c.450-c.420 B.C. 12 men wearing himations were found and one man is depicted nude. Furthermore, the dress style of one figure was ambiguous and could not be positively identified. In the latter period c.420-c.400 B.C. 11

men wearing himations were depicted and the clothing items worn by 1 figure could not be determined.

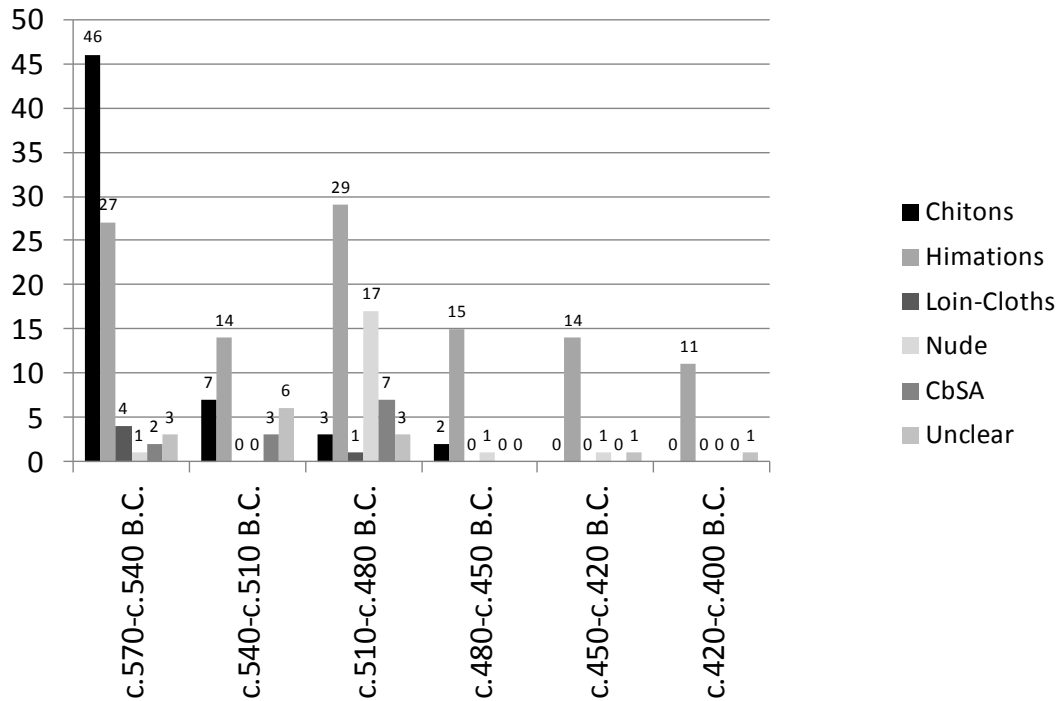


Figure 23: Categorization of dress-styles worn by men between c.570-c.400 B.C.

Interpretation & Secondary Literature

What can be deduced from the data gathered from ‘reading’ procession scenes (presented in *figure 22* and *23*) as well as the data gathered into *Appendix D* is that the types of clothing worn by men and women participating in sacrificial processions were basically the same; and consisted predominantly of tunics (chitons) and over-cloaks (himation). However, the length of these garments and the way in which they were draped varied depending on the gender of the participant in question. The dress-styles worn by women remained long and the himation and chiton remained the predominant dress styles in all six periods. Some instances that

depict women as only wearing a chiton or himation, yet in most cases women wore the two garments combined.

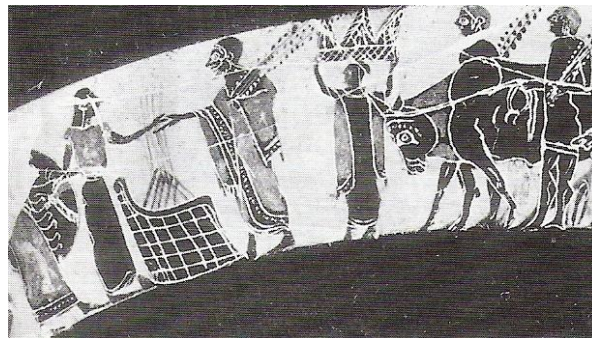
Male procession participants were depicted as wearing chitons and himations as well. However, the length of their garments varied and are classified as either long or short in *Appendix D*. In addition, men could be depicted nude or wearing a loin-cloth. What can be deduced from the data gathered and presented in *figure 23* is that men are predominantly depicted as wearing chitons, often combined with himations, in the period c.570-c.540 B.C. After this period the number of chitons worn by men decreases visibly in the following three periods and ultimately leads to the disappearance of chitons in the last two periods c.450-c.420 B.C. and c.420-c.400 B.C. From c.480-c.400 B.C. onwards men began wearing solely the himation, which became the new typical dress-style for men and suggests that chitons as well as other types of clothing that are recorded for the first three periods, have gone out of fashion. Furthermore, it is interesting to see that the depiction of nude men is predominantly concentrated in the period c.510-c.480 B.C. L. Bonfante has written an interesting article on nudity and the Greeks that proposes that the public nudity of the Greeks should be interpreted in the light of "nudity as a costume", that was of importance in various religious, magical as well as social contexts.¹⁰⁹

When looking at the data gathered from 'reading' procession scenes, presented in *Appendix B*, it becomes clear that the items of clothing depicted in the first period (c.570-c.540) B.C. consisted mainly of items of dress that were rather rigid in terms of shape, without any form of pleats, when compared to later periods in time. This may suggest that in this era clothing was either made from a heavier type of fabric or that these types of

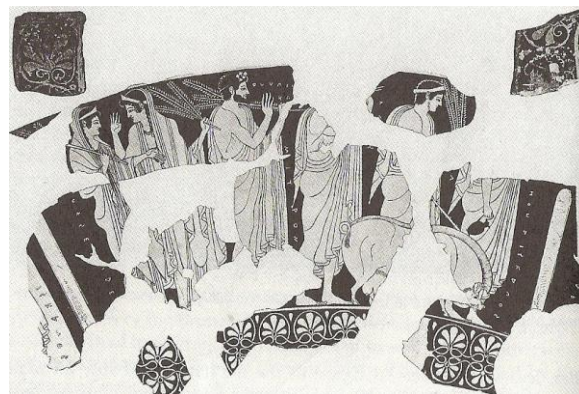
¹⁰⁹ Bonfante, L. 1989. 'Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art', *American Journal of Archeology* 93 (4), 543.

depictions were typical for the artistic style of the period. For an illustration compare the images in *figure 24* that derive from the period c.570-c.540 B.C. and the period c. 510-480 B.C.

c.570-c.540 B.C.



c. 510-480 B.C.



*Figure 24: Items of dress found in the period c.570-c.540 (above) and c. 510-480 B.C (below)*¹¹⁰

Clothing versus Function

The information gathered into *Appendix D* regarding the dress-styles of participants in sacrificial processions gives additional detailed information regarding the types of clothing worn by men and women in a specific function or role, as well as the 'other figures' that were portrayed carrying sacrificial gifts or empty-handed. In the 'lit.' section of *Appendix D*

¹¹⁰ Images can be found in Van Straten. *Hierà Kalá*, fig. 2 (V55) and Gebauer, *Pompe und Thysia*, 688 (P16).

references to the images in secondary literature, that depict all figures and their respective functions and roles whose dress-styles are currently addressed, are provided. What can be deduced from the data as presented in this format concerning women is that all female figures in all functions and roles were depicted in long dress-styles. All chitons depicted on female figures were long chitons and all himations were depicted long as well, except for those worn by 2 kanéphoroi and 1 'other' woman in the first period (c.570-c.540 B.C.), that are of a shorter variant. Such a shorter cloak may be a reference to a 'himation' as well as a 'chlaina'. However, the type of material used is of importance for the identification of these cloaks, which is difficult in an image.¹¹¹

What can be derived from the data gathered in the case of male participants is that nudes are found predominantly in the period c.510-480 B.C., and mainly encompass 'figures with SA' and 'other figures'. The other functions were generally not performed nude, except for 1 horse rider, 1 musician and 1 man carrying a kanoûn. Furthermore, the loin-cloths were only depicted on figures accompanying sacrificial animals in the period c.570-c.540 B.C. In the succeeding periods only 1 'other figure' is portrayed as wearing a loin-cloth. What becomes clear from the data as presented in *Appendix D* is that there was no clear dress-style worn by figures accompanying sacrificial animals who are depicted nude, wearing loin-cloths, as well as short and long chitons and himations. Most short dress-styles for all six periods combined were found in the period c. 570-c.540 B.C. for which 9 short and 37 long dress-styles are listed. The short dress-styles that consisted of short chitons were worn by 7 figures with sacrificial animals and 2 'other figures'. The long dress-styles are depicted on potential priests, musicians, men carrying kanoûns, and 25 of the 27 'other figures' who wear long chitons often combined with himations. In the succeeding periods a few more instances

¹¹¹ Lee, 'Clothing', in: Gagarin, *The Oxford Encyclopaedia*, 230.

occur in which figures wear short himations, but in general the total number of short dressing styles decreases after the first period until in the last two periods (c.450-c.420 B.C.) only long dressing styles, in the form of long himations, remain. It is interesting to see that the dress-styles of priests and musicians were both long in all periods in time in which these functions were found, with the exception of one nude musician and one musician wearing a short chiton (see *Appendix D*). However, the majority of the 'other figures' group wore long dress-styles in all periods in time, as well. Therefore, one cannot conclude that certain types of clothing were only illustrative for one particular function or role.

When looking at *Appendix B*, that entails the data gathered from a meticulous 'reading' of the procession scenes included here, it becomes clear that there were differences in the depictions of long chitons and himations worn by women, when comparing all six periods. In the first period, women tend to wear sleeveless chitons (Doric style) without pleats that may denote a heavy fabric, while from the period c.540-c.510 B.C. onwards women are depicted in sleeved chitons (Ionic style) and himations (see *figure 13*). From the period c.450-c.420 B.C. onwards the occasional woman is depicted with a sleeveless chiton again, e.g. Nr. 3950, Museo Archeologico, Florence, Kv37 in which the woman behind the altar wears a sleeveless chiton, whereas the other women in the scene wear sleeved chitons with many pleats and himations. This change in fashion is recorded in a striking manner by the Greek historian Herodotus, who relates a story about how Athenian women killed the only survivor of the attack on Aegina, with their dress pins. This contemporary primary source is often referred to in secondary literature as literary evidence for the findings in iconographic material regarding the visible changes in women's dress around the mid-sixth century.¹¹²

¹¹² Lee, 'Constru(ct)ing gender in the Feminine Greek *Peplos*', 55,56.

Even the one man did not survive but ended but ended in the following way. He came back to Athens and told what had happened, and the womenfolk of the Athenian men who had fought against Aegina, furious that he alone of all should have escaped, encircled the man and stabbed him with the brooch-pins with which they fastened their robes, each one asked him, "where is my man?"

So he too died and to the Athenians this deed of the women seemed even worse than the defeat itself. They could think of no way to punish the women but to change their mode of dress to the Ionian mode; for before this the Athenian women wore clothes of the Dorian fashion, which is very like that of Corinth. The Athenians now changed this to a linen tunic, that the women might use no pins. In truth, this woman's dress was not originally Ionian but Carian, for in Greece all the older sort of women's dress was what we now call Dorian (5.87-88).¹¹³

Furthermore, it is interesting to see that in a few instances women used their himations as a type of veil by folding them partially over the back of their heads (for all illustration see *figure 24* in which two women are depicted in this fashion). A similar style is found in the case of men, however they tend to drape their himations partially behind and not over the head (e.g. Akr. 739, National Museum, Athens, P55 and T 416 B VP, Museo Nazionale, Ferrare, P56).¹¹⁴

Figures that can be identified as kanéporoi, in particular women, tend to be depicted in elaborate dress-styles from the period c.540-c.510 B.C. onwards, with many pleats and decorations. According to Roccas, who conducted an elaborate study on the

¹¹³ Lee, 'Constru(ct)ing gender in the Feminine Greek *Peplos*', 55.

¹¹⁴ The book *Aphrodite's Tortoise. The Veiled Woman of Ancient Greece*, written by L. Llewellyn-Jones is an important study on the act of veiling in ancient Greek society. According to Llewellyn-Jones it is important to gain an understanding of the function of veiling since this can broaden our knowledge of the views the Ancient Greeks had on gender in Hellenic antiquity. In his study, that is based on literary as well as iconographic evidence, Llewellyn-Jones states that there were several occasions in which it was commonplace for women of varying social layers in ancient Greek society to be veiled. He argues that the act of veiling allowed women to appear in public while preserving a conscious separation of the public sphere for men and private sphere for women. Llewellyn-Jones, L. 2003. *Aphrodite's Tortoise. The Veiled Woman of Ancient Greece*, The Classical Press of Wales, Swansea, 3, 316.

female kanéphoros and her clothing style in iconographic source material, entitled ‘The Kanéphoros and Her Festival Mantle in Greek Art’, it is insufficient to only look at vases or sculptures for imagery of kanephoroi, since she appears in varying media in different eras and may either be depicted with or without a basket. Roccas concludes that from the mid-fifth century onwards, kanéphoroi may be distinguished from other women by their clothing which consisted of an elaborate festival mantle.¹¹⁵ However, what has been gathered from the analysis of the sacrificial procession scenes included in this research is that elaborate and festive dress-styles may indeed be interpreted as an indicator for certain functions, including the function of kanéphoros, they cannot be viewed as a definite means of identification for a certain function. The dress-styles of musicians and priests for both genders for example also tend to consist of long robes with many decorations, which entails that there is too much overlap in fashion styles worn by participants regardless of their specific role or function to be able to draw such conclusions. An example of an overlap in clothing styles can be found in vase scene Nr.203 (see *figure 25*), that depicts a kanéphoros and another woman who appears to be assisting her in similar elaborate robes.

All in all, what can be concluded regarding the dress-styles of the figures found in the sacrificial procession scenes analyzed in this research is that there may have been certain preferable dress styles to depict certain figures in a particular function or role, however these dress-styles are not fixed for isolated functions or roles. Because of this overlap in fashion styles, items of clothing cannot be used as sole identification means for pinpointing certain functions and roles in iconographic source material. However, they may be used as an extra point of reference, when trying to determine the function or role of a figure depicted in an

¹¹⁵ Roccas, L.J. 1995. ‘The Kanéphoros and Her Festival Mantle in Greek Art’. *American Journal of Archaeology* 99 (4), 665.

iconographical scene, in addition to attributes and the positioning of the figure in question (e.g. behind an altar or accompanying a sacrificial animal).



*Figure 25: Kanéphoros and accompanying woman*¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ Image found in Connelly, J.B. 2007. *Portrait of a Priestess*. Princeton, 38, fig. 2.6.

5.3 Hairstyles and Personal Adornments

Women

What can be derived from the data gathered from analyzing procession scenes presented in *Appendix D* and in *figure 26* below, is that the hairstyles of the women found in sacrificial procession scenes could be separated into two categories: 'long' or 'updo' hairstyles. In the period c.570-c.540 B.C., 8 women are depicted. 7 of these women are portrayed as wearing long hairstyles and the hairstyle of 1 woman could not be identified. In the period c.540-c.510 B.C. 6 female participants are depicted. 5 of these women are portrayed with long hairstyles and 1 woman wears her hair in an updo fashion. In total 8 women are depicted in the period c.510-c.480 B.C., whose hairstyles are divided into 2 long and 3 updo hairstyles. In this period the hairstyles of 3 women were unrecognizable. For the period c.510-c.480 B.C. 14 women have been listed and the predominant type of hairstyle that is worn by these figures is the updo hairstyle that is depicted in 6 instances versus 3 instances in which women are depicted with long hairstyles. Additionally, the hairstyles of 5 women could not be determined. In the period c.450-420 B.C. 6 female participants have been found. 2 of them wear their hair long, 2 women are depicted with updo hairstyles and the hairstyles of the 2 remaining women were unclear and did not allow for a positive identification of the type of hairstyles. For the latter period c.420-c.400 B.C. no women were depicted in the procession scenes selected.

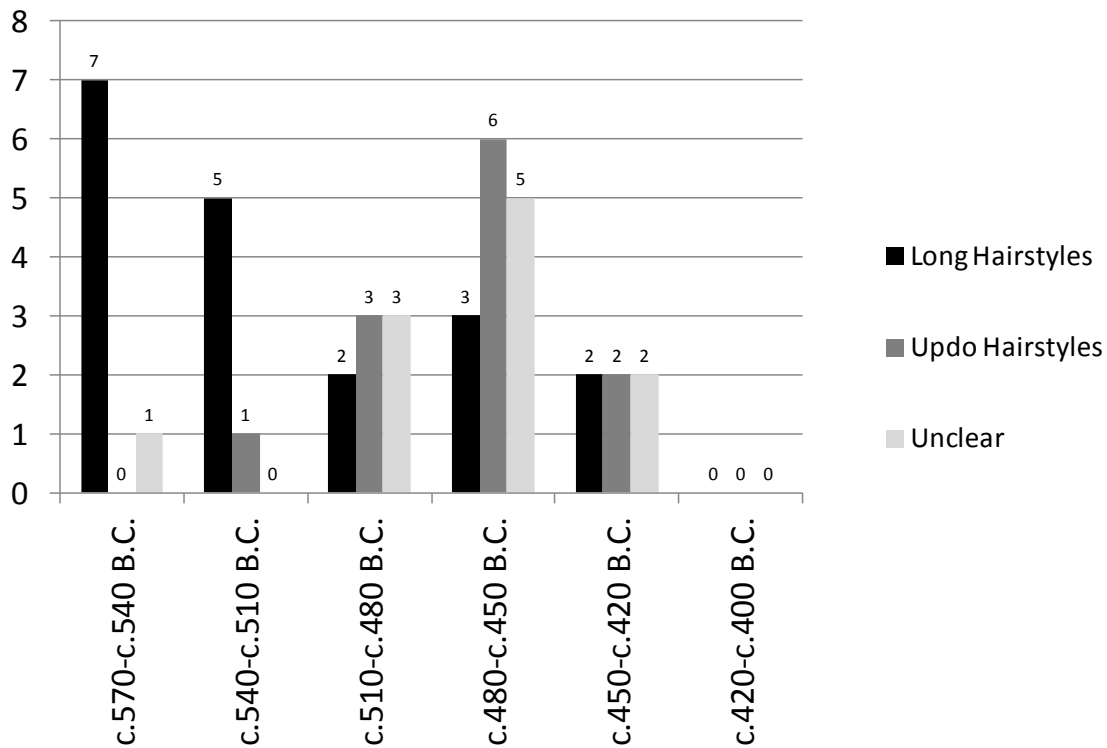


Figure 26: Hairstyles and personal adornments worn by women between c.570-c.400 B.C.

Men

What can be deduced from the data gathered from ‘reading’ sacrificial procession scenes presented below in *figure 27* and *Appendix D*, is that the hairstyles of the men found in the sacrificial procession scenes could be separated into a long, short, and an occasional updo hairstyle. The number of men wearing beards is recorded into *Appendix D* as well. For some men portrayed in sacrificial procession scenes the hairstyles could not be identified and are listed as 'unclear'. In the period c.510-c.480 B.C. this category contains one beard as well, which could not be identified because only the back of the figure's head was still visible in the image (Nr. Akr. 2298, National Museum, Athens, V19).

In the period c.570-c.540 B.C. 57 male figures were found, as can be seen in *Appendix C*. From these figures 27 featured long hairstyles while the other 26 were portrayed

with short hairstyles. While both hairstyles represented approximately half of all male figures in this period, the majority of them (32 figures) are also depicted as wearing a beard. In the period c.540-c.510 B.C. 18 male participants are depicted wearing short hairstyles and only 4 are portrayed with long hairstyles. However, there are also 5 men with unclear hairstyles, and 1 man with an updo hairstyle listed for this period. Additionally, only 8 out of 28 men are depicted as wearing beards. The period from c.510-c.480 B.C. contains hairstyle data from 60 male figures. 45 of them are depicted wearing short hairstyles and 16 with either unclear, updo or long hairstyles. 28 male figures are depicted as wearing beards. In the period c.480-c.450 B.C. all 14 recognized hairstyles were short and 2 hairstyles could not be identified, while only 3 men are depicted wearing a beard. The period c.450-c.420 B.C. lists only 10 short hairstyles. In this period 6 hairstyles could not be identified, and only 1 man was depicted wearing a beard. Finally in the period c.420-c.400 B.C. 7 men were depicted wearing short hairstyles, and 4 men wearing long hairstyles. The hairstyle of 1 man was unclear, and 1 man was depicted as wearing a beard.

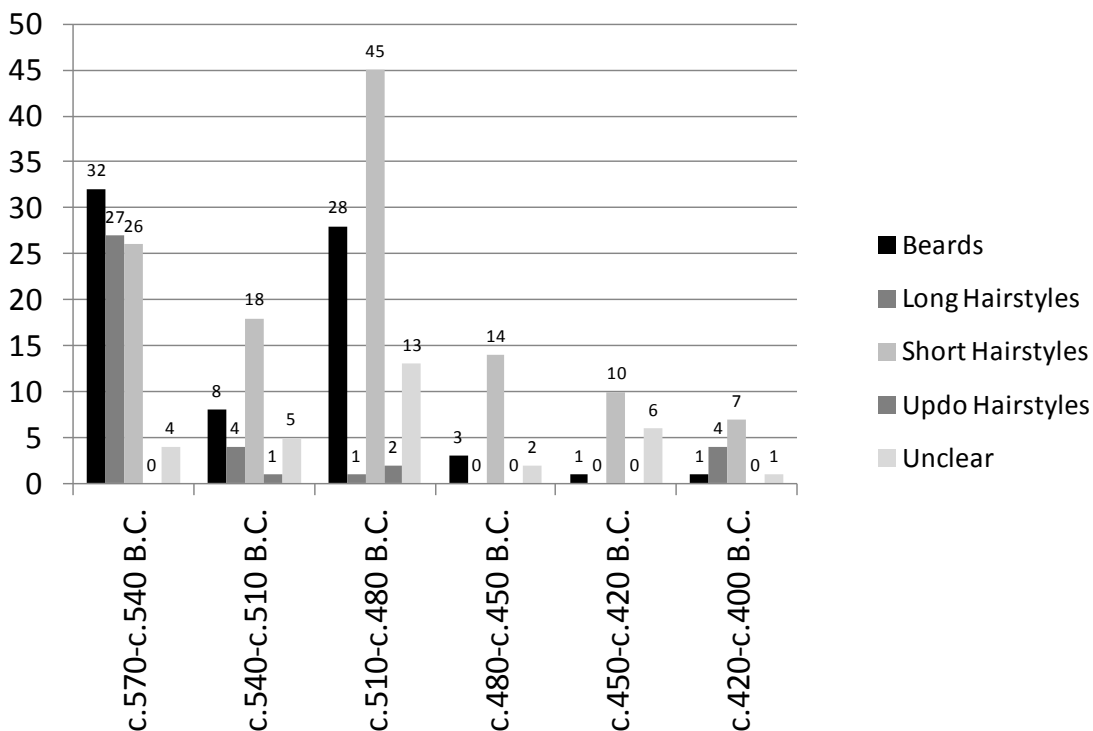


Figure 27: Hairstyles and personal adornments worn by men between c.570-c.400 B.C.

Interpretation & Secondary Literature

What is interesting to see, is that in all periods in time the only figures who were portrayed with short hairstyles were men. In the period c.480-c.450 B.C. and the period c.450-c.420 B.C. all figures depicted with short hairstyles that were found were men and all figures depicted with updo or long hairstyles encompassed women. In the remaining periods, figures portrayed with long or updo hairstyles could be either men or women. What can be derived from the numbers listed in *figure 26* for women is that long hairstyles occur in all periods, and are predominant in the first two periods, c.570-c.540 B.C. and c.540-510 B.C. In the succeeding four periods between c.510 and c.420 B.C. the updo hairstyle is the predominant hairstyle for women.

One remarkable fact that can be derived from the data presented in *figure 27* for male figures in procession scenes is the dramatic drop in the number of men depicted with beards from c.480 B.C. onwards. Even though approximately half of the male figures were depicted wearing a beard up until c.510-c.480 B.C., the beard as facial hairstyle almost completely disappears after this period. Another rapid decline can be seen when looking at the number of men depicted with long hairstyles. While in the first period c.570-c.540 B.C. the numbers of men depicted wearing long or short hairstyles are almost equal, the short hairstyle becomes the predominant hairstyle after this period, even eliminating the long hairstyle in some periods. Lastly, the exceptional occurrence of the updo hairstyles is remarkable, being limited to a total of 3 men whose hairstyles could be identified as updo styles in all six periods combined.

The information gathered into *Appendix D* regarding the hairstyles and personal adornments of participants in sacrificial processions gives additional detailed information

regarding the types of hairstyles that were worn by men and women in a specific function or role, including the category 'other figures', as well as the types of headdresses that were found. In the 'lit.' section of *Appendix D* references to the images in secondary literature, that depict all figures and their respective functions and roles whose hairstyles and items of headdress that are currently addressed, are provided. What can be gathered from the data presented in this format is that the type of updo hairstyle that was worn by women was mainly a 'chignon', which meant that the hair was tied together in a bun in the nape of the neck.¹¹⁷ In the case of women headdresses occur in all functions and roles and in all six periods in time. Types of headdresses that were depicted include fillets (headbands), stephanoi (diadems), and σάκκοι (kerchiefs).¹¹⁸ For illustration of the latter two types of headdresses consult *figures 24 + 18*. Headdresses were particularly popular in the period c.510-c.480 B.C., in which most women are depicted as wearing a headdress. Personal adornments such as items of jewellery could not be identified in the procession scenes selected. However, a scene from Aristophanes' play *Lysistrata* portrayed below is an indication that certain women in the function of kanéphoroi were adorned with necklaces when partaking in sacrificial processions. However, these necklaces were not meant as accessories but were ritual objects instead.

As soon as I turned seven I was an arrephoros,
then, I was an aletris, when I was ten I shed
my saffron robe for the Foundress, being a bear at the Braunoia;
And once, when I was a beautiful maiden, I was a kanephoros,
wearing a necklace of dried figs (*Lysistrata* 641-47)¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ Abrahams, 'Greek Dress', in: Johnson, *Ancient Greek Dress*, 112.

¹¹⁸ Abrahams, 'Greek Dress', in: Johnson, *Ancient Greek Dress*, 112, 113, 114.

¹¹⁹ Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess*, 27.

What can be derived from the data gathered into *Appendix D* for men is that the updo hairstyle was only portrayed on 1 priest, 1 musician and 1 figure accompanying sacrificial animals. It has to be noted that the updo hairstyle worn by men consisted similar to women often of a 'chignon', which meant that in those three occasions their hair was tied together in a bun in the nape of the neck as well.¹²⁰ Since these hairstyles appear to be short when viewed from the front, it is possible that the updo hairstyles of a few figures could not be recognized properly. However, most often participants of sacrificial processions are proceeding in an orderly fashion all facing the same direction and turned sideways, which facilitates the identification of hairstyles. Additionally, what can be deducted from the data gathered into *Appendix B* is that in one vase scene there were several men who wore their hair in braids hanging down the side of their faces. These figures include a man with two wreaths, 2 'other' men and one man escorting a sacrificial animal (F10, Louvre, Paris, V39). There were several types of headdresses worn by men, including (olive) wreaths and fillets. These types of headdresses occur in all functions and roles. The only mortal figures depicted wearing a helmet are hoplites in vase scene -, V55 private collection, in the period c.570-c.540 B.C. Additionally, on several occasions hats were depicted in the period c.510-c.480 B.C. The men wearing hats consist of 3 figures with sacrificial animals and 2 other figures. For an illustration of a man with a sacrificial animal wearing a *Petasos*, which was a "flat felt hat with flaps at the front and back and over the ears"¹²¹, consult *figure 14*. All in all, it is interesting to see, as stated earlier, that short hairstyles are predominant, except for the first period c.570-c.540 B.C. However, the short hairstyles in this period are not illustrative for one specific type of function or role, rather, as is the case in all other periods as well, diverging functions and roles can be depicted with varying overlapping hairstyles.

¹²⁰ Abrahams, 'Greek Dress', in: Johnson, *Ancient Greek Dress*, 112.

¹²¹ Evans, L. 'Chapters on Greek Dress', in: Johnson, M. (ed.) 1964. *Ancient Greek Dress*. Chicago, 75.

Additionally, as illustrated in the images above, beards were only common in the first three periods analyzed between c.570 and c.480 B.C. In these three periods figures were found in all functions and roles that are depicted with beards, with the only exception the 3 hoplites who are portrayed beardless. Additionally two 'other figures', 1 horse riders and and 1 man carrying a kanoûn, are portrayed beardless in these three periods.

Overall, nor the short or long hairstyles nor the depictions of beards are sufficiently illustrative of a specific function or role, to allow identification of functions and roles solely based on the factor of hairstyles. Nevertheless, the outcomes regarding hairstyles that are discussed here may tell us something about the figures who wore them, but one has to be careful when it comes to generalizations. Figures that are beardless are often interpreted as youths in secondary literature and beards as well as certain types of clothing are often interpreted as reflections of the status of the persons involved in sacrificial representations. In his study *Hiera Kalà*, Van Straten states that "Animal sacrifice in Ancient Greece was not a one man's job. As a minimum, two persons are involved: one officiant, nearly always a bearded man, and at least one assistant, who is usually beardless, and whose lesser status in relation to the officiant is indicated by his size, his costume, or both."¹²² However, as we have seen from the period c. 480 B.C. onwards the number of beards decreased drastically, which suggests that beards have gone out of fashion. Therefore, one has to be careful when labelling all figures found between c.480 B.C. and 400 B.C. that are depicted beardless as youths, or drawing conclusions regarding the status of the figures portrayed in these periods in relation to each other. Even though beards may be a reflection of the age or status of figures when they are portrayed in the same period in time and in the same scene, one has to keep in mind that they may be reflections of diverging styles of fashion that were popular in one period in time as well. In particular , when it comes to the last three periods that with a few exceptions

¹²² Van Straten, *Hiera Kalà*, 168

depicts only beardless men, which may rather be interpreted as a reflection of changing fashions in these periods when compared to the preceding periods, than e.g. indications of diminishing age or status of the figures involved in procession scenes in the last three periods.

A. Geddes addresses these changes from long to short hairstyles and the shift from elaborate clothing, consisting of a combination of chitons and himations, to only one piece of dress: the himation, in the study 'Rags and Riches: The Costume of Athenian Men in the Fifth Century'. One of the primary sources Geddes refers to in this article that notes the changes in men's fashion at the beginning of the fifth century are the writings of Thucydides: who says "that 'only recently' had wealth, elderly men stopped wearing linen chitons and fastening their hair with golden grasshoppers."¹²³ Geddes concludes on the basis of iconographic and literary sources that the custom regarding dress-styles for Athenian men in the later 5th century B.C. changed from the wearing of elaborate costumes that combined chitons and himations to a more moderate fashion, which was expressed in the wearing of only "a large woollen cloak worn over a short chiton or else, sometimes perhaps in real life and often in art, without any undergarment."¹²⁴ The exception to this shift in dress styles were "charioteers, priests, actors and musicians [who] continued to wear long frocks on ceremonial occasions."¹²⁵ Geddes explains these shifts in men's fashion in this period in time in the following manner: Athenians decided to discard luxurious clothing and to obtain a rather moderate style of fashion in a time of wealth to "boast the characteristics that seemed desirable in the world of the classical city state" in which its citizens "were proud of being leisured, fit - fighting fit one might say - equal and like-minded, and that is the message that the clothes are meant to communicate."¹²⁶

¹²³ Geddes. A.G. 1987. 'Rags and Riches: The Costume of Athenian Men in the Fifth Century', *The Classical Quarterly* 37 (2), 307.

¹²⁴ Geddes, 'Rags and Riches', 308, 309.

¹²⁵ Geddes, 'Rags and Riches', 309.

¹²⁶ Geddes, 'Rags and Riches', 331.

Conclusions

The main motivation for this research was to establish to what extent men and women participated equally in sacrificial procession scenes on Attic pottery dating from the sixth and fifth century B.C. Taking into account that recently a new concept has come into being in the academic field on what it meant to be an Athenian citizen, which emphasizes not only political participation of the *demos*, but moreover stresses the importance of participation in the religious sphere of the *polis* for men as well as women, one would expect both men and women to clearly contribute to this religious activity.

The central research question outlined in the introduction is concerned with the issue whether or not there were marked differences in the roles and functions performed by men and women partaking in sacrificial procession scenes on Attic vases and whether or not there were certain types of dress-, hairstyles and personal adornments that were illustrative for figures carrying out particular functions or roles.

The first two chapters dealt with the iconographic boundaries and the organization of the procession scenes on Attic pottery, that constitutes the primary iconographic material for this research. Issues addressed in this chapter include pottery techniques, shapes, painter groups and provenances that were of importance for the contextualization of the outcomes of this research.

Chapter three is a methodological chapter that provided a description of how the procession scenes on Attic vases were analyzed, as well as the complications that arose when 'reading' these scenes. Furthermore, attention was paid to the manner in which the data derived from these scenes was processed into graphs and tables.

Chapter four provides an answer to the first half of the research question that reads as follows: are there marked differences in the roles and functions performed by men and women participating in sacrificial procession scenes on Attic vases? In section 4.1 the composition of sacrificial procession scenes portrayed on Attic vases was discussed. Section 4.2 and 4.3 have provided an overview for all six periods in time (ranging from 570.B.C. until 400 B.C) of the gender and group totals found in the procession scenes as well as the roles and functions that were carried out by sacrificial procession participants. What can be concluded from this research regarding male and female participation in sacrificial processions, is that most functions were carried out by both male and female participants, albeit in varying degree depending on the number of men and women found in a certain period in time. Functions and roles that were carried out by both genders include the function of bearing the kanoûn, the role of accompanying sacrificial animals towards an altar, the office of priest, the role of musician, as well as the role of carrying sacrificial gifts.

What has in addition been gained from a rather meticulous reading of the 60 sacrificial procession scenes analyzed in this research is that even though men and women are often depicted as performing the same role, the way in which each gender fulfills this role may vary in certain aspects. For example, men bearing the kanoûn are generally depicted as holding the sacrificial basket above their head or in front of them, while in the case of female kanéphoroi the basket is carried on top of their head. Additionally, within several functions, including the function of bearing the kanoûn and escorting sacrificial animals, men are more often depicted as carrying additional attributes, while women tend to be depicted as performing only the task at hand. Furthermore, it is noteworthy to mention that most attributes (including sacrificial gifts) could be carried by both men and women. These attributes include sprigs, sticks, knives, wreaths and phialae. Exceptions are horns, trays,

amphoras and baskets (excluding the kanoûn), that are only carried by men, and the skyphos which is only portrayed as carried by women.

There are also several functions and roles that were only sporadically found and appear not to have been fundamental elements in the depiction of sacrificial procession scenes. Vase scene V55 (private collection) includes the depiction of hoplites and a horse-rider, which were functions carried out by men. According to Himmelmann, the singularity of this scene in regards to the incorporation of hoplites and horse riders, when compared to other iconographic scenes depicted on Attic pottery, is insufficient proof to attest that these figures were in reality not included, especially since their inclusion in several procession scenes is recorded in written primary sources. Additional functions, that were only performed by men are the functions of splanchnoptai and thymiaterion bearers. However, these functions were only found on a few vases scenes and to gain a better understanding of who performed these roles, and whether women were excluded, other iconographical sources, as well as literary sources, have to be consulted, which was beyond the scope of this research.

The written primary sources and secondary literature that were consulted in section 4.4 have provided a framework for the findings derived from the iconographical material that has been the basis of this research. These sources support the proposition that men and women both participated in sacrificial processions. An important notion for this research has been provided by O. Borgers in his study on 'Religious Citizenship in Classical Athens' who gives valuable arguments for the identification of the male and female participants in Attic procession scenes as referring to the core-group of Athenian society; Athenian citizens. All in all, when combining the findings of this iconographic research based on 60 sacrificial processions depicted on Attic Vases, with the primary sources and secondary literature consulted, one may conclude that participation in sacrificial processions, and moreover

sharing in the religious sphere of the Athenian *polis*, was of great importance for both male and female Athenian citizens.

In chapter five the second half of the central research question is addressed which reads as follows: to what extent is a differentiation made between participants with particular functions or roles in these procession scenes in terms of dress, hairstyles and personal adornments?

There are several reasons for investigating this matter. First of all, items of fashion often convey the ideas, wishes and beliefs of the people who wear them, that would normally not be so apparent, which may aid the historian in investigating intricate social and political processes of change and stability, as proposed by R.Griffin. Secondly, what became evident from analysis of identification strategies put forward in secondary literature in this field is that factors such as clothing and hairstyles are often used by researchers as the only means of identification for certain functions and roles, when there are no other identification factors (e.g. attributes) depicted in the image. In addition, dress and hairstyles are often used as a means to establish the age and status of the figures in question, which suggests that figures are fashioned in iconographic material in a uniform manner with clear dress- and hairstyles for distinct gender and function groups, that would allow for such determinations

To be able to establish to what extent fashion is indeed representative for a certain function or role, the participants of sacrificial procession scenes that were identified as performing a certain type of role or function in this research through the attributes they carried (e.g. a *kanoûn* in the case of *kanéphoroi*), as well as their positioning within the scene (and **not** solely on their dress or hairstyles), were analyzed in terms of dress, hairstyles and personal adornments.

All the items of clothing, hairstyles and personal adornments, particularly headdresses, have been gathered into tables (see *Appendix D*) and graphs. What can be

derived from the data gathered from ‘reading’ the vase scenes is that women wore long robes in all six periods that consisted of either long chitons (Doric or Ionic), himations or a combination of the two, regardless of the functions and roles these women performed. There were several types of clothing that were worn by men participating in sacrificial procession scenes, including long and short chitons or himations (or a combination of the two). In addition, men could be depicted wearing loin-cloths or be depicted nude. What can be deduced from data presented in chapter 5 is that in period c.570-c.540 B.C men are predominantly depicted as wearing chitons, often combined with himations. After this period the number of chitons worn by men decreases visibly in the following three periods and ultimately leads to the disappearance of chitons. From c.480 B.C. onwards the himation has become the new typical dress-style for men. A. Geddes addresses this shift in men's fashion in an article entitled ‘Rags and Riches: The Costume of Athenian Men in the Fifth Century’. Geddes explains this shift in the late fifth-century from luxurious clothing to a more moderate style of fashion in a period of wealth, as a means of communication that was used by the Athenians to showcase their outlook on life, that consisted of being fit, like-minded and equal, which were characteristics they prided themselves on and that were deemed desirable in the classical polis at the time.

Regarding function and clothing what has become clear from the statistics provided in chapter five is that there may have been certain preferable dress styles to depict certain figures in a particular function or role, e.g. female kanéphoroi tend to be depicted in elaborate dress-styles, as well as musicians and priests for both genders. However, these dress-styles were not fixed for isolated functions or roles. This was illustrated by Nr.203 in *figure 25*, where a kanéphoros and another woman, who appears to be assisting her, are both portrayed in similar elaborate robes. Because of this overlap in fashion styles, items of

clothing cannot be used as the sole means of identification when it comes to pinpointing certain functions and roles in iconographic source material.

A similar overlap can be seen in terms of hairstyles, including beards, and headdresses that are worn by figures with diverging functions and roles. Women in general tend to wear long or updo hairstyles in all six periods regardless of their function or role and in the case of men a shift took place from a more or less equal division of long and short hairstyles in the period c.570-c.540 B.C. to short hairstyles that have become the predominant hairstyles from this period onwards for all functions and roles. In addition, the beard as a facial hairstyle almost completely disappears after c.480 B.C. As in the case with dress-styles, hairstyles are not sufficiently illustrative for one isolated group or function, to allow for the identification of functions and roles without consulting additional attributes presented in the image.

Nevertheless, the outcomes regarding hair and dress-styles that were addressed may tell us something about the figures who wore them. Figures that are beardless are often interpreted as youths in secondary literature, and beards as well as certain types of clothing are often interpreted as reflections of the status of the persons involved in sacrificial representations. However, one has to be careful when it comes to generalizations. Even though beards may be a reflection of the age or status of figures when they are portrayed in the same period in time and in the same scene, one has to keep in mind that changing styles of fashion may present a distorted image when the modern interpreter fails to adjust to the new frame of reference during the interpretation process, e.g. when beards go out of fashion from c.480 B.C. onwards all sacrificial procession participants could in theory be interpreted as youths, which is highly unlikely.

Recommendations

The analysis of the iconographic source material, the procession scenes on Attic vases dating from the sixth and fifth century B.C., that form the basis of this research, in combination with the primary sources as well as secondary literature addressed, resulted in an understanding of the share men and women had in sacrificial processions in terms of group totals as well as the division of functions, roles, and attributes. Additionally, their analysis resulted in an understanding of the connotations of the clothing, hairstyles and personal adornments that were worn by procession participants, in particular the extent to which certain types of fashion were illustrative for diverging functions and roles.

What has become clear during the analysis of the procession scenes on Attic vases is that there were several factors either inherent in the material or a consequence of the sample of source material selected for this research that posed difficulties during the process of interpretation. Problems that arose are damaged procession scenes that did not allow for positive identification of the figures or objects portrayed, difficulties in identifying the gender or function of 'ambiguously' depicted figures that from a modern perspective at least are difficult to identify, further complication caused by the diverging frames of reference of the modern 'reader' of these vase scenes and the Athenian audience who viewed these images in the sixth and fifth century B.C., arise when trying to determine which scenes can be identified as reflections of real procession scenes and which scenes are artistic expressions of a certain era.

To some extent these problems could be addressed within this research by consulting both primary sources and secondary literature, that offer a wider framework for the identification of the figures, functions and attributes that were found in this research.

Nevertheless, there are several further recommendations of primary sources that can be consulted as well as types of research that can still be done in this field, that would allow for a more complete understanding of the issues regarding religion, sacrifice, gender, function and fashion at hand.

First of all, consulting additional religious representations on Attic pottery, such as scenes in which sacrificial rituals have already commenced, that are currently excluded, would allow for a better understanding of how generic the findings addressed in this research are for the participation of men and women in the religious sphere of the Athenian polis. A helpful secondary source that can be consulted is the study on 'Religious Citizenship in Classical Athens' by O. Borgers that was referred to in the research on several occasions.

Moreover, consulting other types of iconographic source material such as grave stelai or votive reliefs depicting figures in religious activities would allow for a cross-reference of the outcomes found in this research with the image presented by this material, which would allow for more generalized statements regarding the participation and representation of men and women in the religious sphere of the *polis*.

Lastly, the scope of this research did not allow for a thorough discussion of all other findings regarding the inclusion of mythological figures, religious constructions such as altars and columns, and the inscriptions found on certain vases, that were gathered from the sacrificial procession scenes selected for this research (see *Appendices*). Consequently, they may be interesting starting points for related researches in this field.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Attic Pottery Overview

		Festival Procession scenes on Attic Vases						
		Codes	Current Location	Technique	Shape	Painter	Date (ca.)	Lit.
c.570 - c.540 B.C.	1	I.G.4346	Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Taranto	black-figure	kylix	-	(570/560 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 25, P1
	2	-	Private Collection	black-figure	kylix	-	(560/550 B.C.)	Van Straten 1995, 203, V55
	3	Akr 607	National Museum. Athens	black-figure	dinos	Lydos	(560/540 B.C.)	Van Straten 1995, 196, V13
	4	f 10	Louvre, Paris	black-figure	hydria	-	(550 B.C.)	Van Straten 1995, 200, V39
	5	f 1690	Staatliche Museen, Berlin	black-figure	amphora	Amasis Painter	(550 B.C.)	Van Straten 1995, 197, V22
	6	f 1686	Staatliche Museen, Berlin	black-figure	amphora	Painter of Berlin	(550-540 B.C.)	Van Straten 1995, 197, V21
	7	493	National Museum. Athens	black-figure	lekythos	-	(550-530 B.C.)	Van Straten 1995, 195, V9
	8	1582	National Museum. Athens	black-figure	kylix fragment	-	(550-530 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 36, P5
	9	1441	State Collections, Munich	black-figure	amphora	-	(550-520 B.C.)	Van Straten 1995, 199, V32
c. 540 - c.510 B.C.	10	-	Slg.St.Sp. Niarchos, Paris	black-figure	amphora	-	(540-530 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 47, P12
	11	1001	Museo Civico Archeologico, Orvieto	black-figure	oinochoe	Amasis Painter	(540-530 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 39, P7
	12	AP 2106.2117.2190.2197	Agora Museum, Athens	black-figure	skyphos fragment	-	(540-530 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 46, P11
	13	Akr. 2009	National Museum. Athens	black-figure	fragment	-	(525-500 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 67, P25
	14	Akr. 636	National Museum. Athens	red-figure	louthroporus	-	(520-510 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 55, P16
	15	1 B 35	Museo Archeologico, Florenz	red-figure	kylix fragment	-	(520-510 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 65, P24
	16	Akr. 2575	National Museum. Athens	black-figure	pinax	-	(520-500 B.C.)	Van Straten 1995, 243, V265
	17	13.195	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	red-figure	lekythos	Gales Painter	(520-500 B.C.)	Van Straten 1995, 206, V74
	18	S./10 1508	University, Tübingen	black-figure	dinos fragment	Antimenes Painter	(515-510 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 60, P17

c. 510 - c.480 B.C	19	S./10 1581	University, Tübingen	black-figure	dinos fragment	-	(510 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 61, P18
	20	-	Kunsthandel 1997, London	black-figure	neck-amphora	-	(510-500 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 73, P32
	21	S 1174	University, Bochum	red-figure	column krater fr	Nikoxenos Painter	(510 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 67, P26
	22	Akr 816	National Museum. Athens	black-figure	amphora	(contemporary of) Leagros Group	(510-500 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 63, P21
	23	12531	National Museum. Athens	black-figure	skyphos	-	(510-500 B.C.)	Van Straten 1995, 195, V11
	24	Akr 674	National Museum. Athens	black-figure	krater	-	(510-500 B.C.)	Van Straten 1995, 196, V14
	25	Akr 842	National Museum. Athens	black-figure	amphora	(contemporary of) Leagros Group	(510-500 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 62, P19
	26	130	Museo Civico, Bologna	black-figure	skyphos	Theseus Painter	(500 B.C.)	Van Straten 1995, 198, V24
	27	B 79	British Museum, London	black-figure	skyphos	Theseus Painter	(500 B.C.)	Van Straten 1995, 198, V28
	28	-	Paestum	black-figure	pelike	-	(500 B.C.)	Van Straten 1995, 200, V38
	29	2298	National Museum. Athens	black-figure	lekythos	Edinburgh Painter	(500 B.C.)	Van Straten 1995, 197, V19
	30	74	KAS, Stuttgart	black-figure	skyphos	Theseus Painter	(500-490 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 124, Pv90
	31	P 24519	Agora Museum, Athens	black-figure	lekythos	-	(500-490 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 124, Pv78
	32	1905.7-11.1	British Museum, London	black-figure	oinochoe	Gela Painter	(500-490 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 75, P35
	33	352	University, Uppsala	black-figure	kalpis	Theseus Painter	(500-490 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 81, P41
	34	86.52	Tampa Museum of Arts, Florida	black-figure	skyphos	Theseus Painter	(500-490 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 124, Pv91
35	18568	National Museum. Athens	black-figure	lekythos	Gela Painter	(500-480 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 79, P39	
36	-	Tulane University Collection, New Orleans	black-figure	lekythos	Gela Painter	(500-480 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 77, P36	

	37	-	Art Market	black-figure	hydria	Nikoxenos Painter	(500-480 B.C.)	Van Straten, 1995, V53
	38	345.738	University, Tübingen	black-figure	lekythos	Gela Painter	(500-480 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 78, P37
	39	B585	British Museum, London	black-figure	lekythos	Class of Athens	(500/475 B.C.)	Van Straten 1995, 199, V29
	40	f 2189	Staatliche Museen, Berlin	red-figure	oinochoe	Triptolemos Painter	(500/475 B.C.)	Van Straten 1995, 246, V285
c.480 - c. 450 B.C.	41	B 648	British Museum, London	black-figure	lekythos	Beldam Painter	(480 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 96, P46
	42	T 814	Archeological Museum, Corinth	black-figure	lekythos	Beldam Painter	(480 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 97, P47
	43	598	National Museum. Athens	black-figure	lekythos	Beldam Painter	(480 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 97, P48
	44	-	Slg. Abbé Mignot, Brussel	black-figure	lekythos	-	(480 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 98, P50
	45	41.162.255	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	black-figure	lekythos	-	(480 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 708, Pv79
	46	16508	Musei Vaticani, Rom	red-figure	kylix	-	(480 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 99, P52
	47	536	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford	red-figure	lekythos	Aischines Painter	(475-450 B.C.)	Van Straten 1995, 230, V193
	48	3369	National Museum. Naples	red-figure	column-krater	Orchard Painter	(475-450 B.C.)	Van Straten 1995, 249, V302
	49	CP 10793	Louvre, Paris	red-figure	pelike fragment	Pan Painter	(470 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 562, Kv 15
	50	203	Museum of Greek Art and Archeology, Shefton	red-figure	pelike	Pan Painter	(470-450 B.C.)	Connelly 2007, 38, fig. 2.6
	51	-	Kunsthandel 1990, London	red-figure	column krater	Bologna Painter	(460-450 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 101, P53
	c.450-c.420 B.C.	52	3950	Staatliche Museen, Berlin	red-figure	plate	Bologna Painter	(450 B.C.)
53		Akr. 739	National Museum. Athens	red-figure	calyx krater	Louvre Centauromad	(450-450 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 104, P55
54		T 57 c VP	Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Ferrara	red-figure	volute krater	Kleophon Painter	(440-420 B.C.)	Van Straten 1995, 207, V78
55		T 416 B VP	Museo Nazionale, Tarquina	red-figure	calyx krater	Kleophon Painter	(430 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 109, P59
56		P 5270	Agora Museum, Athens	red-figure	chous	-	(425 B.C.)	Van Straten 1995, 244, V273

c.420-c.400 B.C.	57	P 10554	Agora Museum, Athens	red-figure	amphora	-	(410 B.C.)	Corbett 1949, pls. 73 + 74
	58	2510 (T 734 VT)	Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Ferrara	red-figure	oinochoe	Marlay Painter	(410 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 111, P62
	59	-	Museo dell' Agro Nocerino, Nocera	red-figure	bell krater	-	(410-400 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 112, P63a
	60	42888	Museo Nazionale, Ferrara	red-figure	bell krater	-	(410-400 B.C.)	Gebauer 2002, 112, P63

Appendix B

Analysis of Sacrificial Procession Scenes

		Codes	Figures/Function/Attributes	Dress/Nudity	Hair & Personal Adornments	Sacrificial Animals (SA)	Notes of interest	Lit.
c.570 - c.540 B.C.	1	I.G.4346	(8 M): man holding a horn behind an altar; man holding SA; six men in procession behind him	Seven men wear long chitons and himations (including the man behind the altar); one man with the SA wears a short chiton. The garments are not pleated which may denote a heavy fabric	All eight men wear beards and long hair	SA: Bov. (Bull)	altar; five men have their right hand balt into a fist	Gebauer 2002, 25, P1
	2	-	(2 F, 1 FG, 17M) : woman behind altar (priestess?); goddess with shield (Athena); man in front of altar (priest?), kanéphoros (female) carrying kanoûn; five men with sprigs leading SA; three muscians (male) (two auletai, one kithara player); four male figures carrying sprigs (vertically) in front of them; three hoplites with shields, spears, helmets and one horserider	Athena wears a long chiton (whether or not her chiton has sleeves is unclear because of damaged image); the 'priestess' wears a long chiton with short sleeves; the 'priest' wears a decorated chiton with long sleeves; the men with the SA wear short chitons and the musicians wear long chitons with himations as well as the figures with sprigs; the hoplites are covered by their shields and are either nude or wear loin-cloths; the horserider is depicted nude. The garments are not pleated which may denote a heavy fabric	Athena's head is missing (damaged image); the 'priestess' wears long hair; the 'priest' wears a beard and short hair; the kanéphoros' hair is unclear (updo hairstyle?); two of the men with animals wear beards and have shoulderlength hair, the others wear no beards, one with shoulderlength hair and two with short hair; two musicians wear beards and have short hair, one musician no beard and shoulderlength hair; two of the figures with sprigs wear beards and they all have shoulderlength hair; hoplites (helmets); horseman short hair; no beard	SA: Bov. (Bull), Pig, Sheep	altar; one man is turned facing his followers	Van Straten 1995, 203, V55
	3	Akr 607	(3 M): three men with SA (including one man who carries a knife case who is a mágeiros or ártamos (Van Straten 1995, 168, V13))	One man carrying a knife case wears a loin-cloth, the other two men are partially covered by the SA and are either nude or similarly dressed	All men wear short hair styles and two men wear beards (including the man with the knife case)	SA: Bov. (Cow), Sheep, Pig (Sow)	One man is facing the procession behind him; the tail of the bov. is braided	Van Straten 1995, 196, V13
	4	f 10	(9 M, 3?): man; aulos player; boy with sprigs; man with two wreaths; two men with wreaths accompanying SA; three figures unidentifiable (damaged image); three men	The man and the aulos player wear long sleeved chitons; the boy wears a long chiton with sleeves which is embellished with dots; the man with the two wreaths wears a long sleeveless chiton; the two men with the SA wear loin-cloths, two men wear embellished long sleeved chitons; dress-style of the other four figures is unclear (vase heavily damaged)	Two men (including the aulos player) wear beards and long hair; the boy wears short hair.; the man with the two wreaths has long hair and has a braid that hangs down the right side of his face; three men (including man with SA) wear short hair and have braids hanging down the right side of their faces as well; one man with SA has short hair and one man's hairstyle length is unclear. All men wear fillets (except the aulos player and one man with SA)	SA:Bov. (Bull)	altar	Van Straten 1995, 200, V39 (Image found in Gebauer 2002, 683, P2)
	5	f 1690	(1 F, 4 M): kanéphoros (female) carrying a kanoûn; man carrying a pig (SA); two men with sprigs; man with sprig, oinochoe, and wineskin	The kanéphoros wears a long chiton with himation; two men with sprigs wear long sleeved chitons, the man with the SA wears a long chiton with short sleeves, the man with the oinochoe and wineskin wears a long chiton (sleeves unclear because of damaged image). All garments are decorated with dots and stripes. The garments are not pleated which may denote a heavy fabric	The kanéphoros wears long hair; three of the men wear short hair with olive wreaths and have long beards, including the man carrying the pig (hairstyle of the fourth man is undistinguishable)	SA:Pig	-	Van Straten 1995, 197, V22
	6	f 1686	(1 F, 1 FG, and 7 M): Side A: goddess Athena standing behind altar carrying a spear, shield and helmet; woman with sprigs (priestess?); man leading SA with a rope tied around its foreleg; two men. Side B: two auletai and two kithara-players	Side A: Athena wears a long chiton with himation; the priestess wears a long embellished (dots and stripes) chiton; two men wear short chitons with short sleeves and one man with the SA wears a loin-cloth. Side B: Three musicians (including the kithara players and one aulos player) wear chitons with short sleeves and himations; the other aulos player wears only a himation. All garments are decorated with dots and stripes.	Side A: The priestess and the goddess Athena wear long hair and their faces are painted white. The man leading the bov. has long hair and is beardless; the two other men have short hair and one is beardless. All figures (except Athena) wear fillets. Side B: The two auletai have short haircuts and are beardless; the two kithara-players have beards and one of them has long hair and wears a fillet	SA: Bov.	inscription	Van Straten 1995, 197, V21

	7	493	(2 FG?, 2 F, 3 M): from the right side a kanéphoros (female) carrying kanoún and three figures (one female, two male) with sprigs; from the left side; man leading a bov. with rope tied to neck; two goddesses (?) with wreaths seated on either side of altar	The two seated women (goddesses ?) wear long checkered chitons (embellished with dots) with short himations that leave their arms bare. The kanéphoros wears a long embellished chiton and himation that leave her arms bare as well; the woman with sprigs wears a long chiton with sleeves and himation; the two men with sprigs and the man with SA wear long white chitons with short sleeves and himations (embellished with dots). The garments are not pleated which may denote a heavy fabric	The two seated women (goddesses ?) wear long hairstyles as well as the kanéphoros. The hairstyle of the woman with sprigs is partially covered by her himation (length unclear). Additionally, she wears a fillet in her hair. The women's faces are painted white; all others (including the man with bov.) wear short hairstyles and they do not have beards	SA:Bov.	The boy faces the procession behind him	Van Straten 1995, 195, V9
	8	1582	Fragment of a vase (1 F 1 ?): Kanéphoros (female) with arms above her head (kanoún only partially visible), walks in front of SA who are accompanied by one figure (only legs preserved)	The figure with SA wears a short chiton and the kanéphoros wears a long sleeveless chiton (the chiton is depicted in a few simple lines and does not have pleats)	The kanéphoros wears long hair;the head of the figure with the SA is unclear (damaged image)	SA: 2 Sheep (Rams)	-	Gebauer 2002, 36, P5
	9	1441	(1 F, 6 M) Side A: mythological scene; Dionysos and Ikarios (non vidi, not included in tables) Side B: woman behind altar (priestess?), procession leading towards altar consisting of a man with sprigs and wreath, a man with oinochoe who is leading the SA; a man with kanoún and oinochoe, an aulos player, a man with wreath and an empty handed smaller man	Side B: The 'priestess' wears a long chiton with sleeves and a himation. The men wear chitons (just over the knee) with himations (including the man with SA)	All men wear beards and long hair styles (the aulos player wears a fillet); the priestess wears long hair as well and her face is painted white	SA:Sheep (Ram)	altar	Van Straten 1995, 199, V32 (image found in Gebauer 2002, 685, P9)
c.540 - 510 B.C.	10	-	(1 F 5 M) : Side A: one woman with SA in front of her. Side B: procession of 5 men of whom four carry sticks, one carries a sprig as well, and one figure only carries a wreath)	The woman wears a long chiton with sleeves; four men wear long chitons with sleeves and one man wears a chiton without sleeves and a himation. The garments are not pleated which may denote a heavy fabric	The woman wears long hair and her face is painted white; the first man in the procession wears a beard and short hair; the others do not wear beards and they have long hair	SA(?);Deer and Sheep (Ram)	altar	Gebauer 2002,47, P12
	11	1001	(3 M) man; man accompanying SA; musician (kithara player)	One man wears a long himation, the man with the SA is partially covered by the animal and is either nude or wears a loin-cloth; the kithara player wears a long himation. The garments are not pleated which may denote a heavy fabric	All men wear short hair and olive wreaths; only the man with the SA and the kithara player wear beards	SA: Goat with large horns	-	Gebauer 2002, 39, P7
	12	AP 2106.2117.2190.2197	(4 M) man accompanying SA; two aulos players; man with sprigs	The man with the SA wears a himation as well as the aulos player; the dress of the other aulos player and the man with sprigs is unclear (damaged image)	The head of the man with the SA is missing (damaged image); the other men wear short hair and one aulos player and the man with sprigs wear beards, whether or not the other aulos players wears a beard is unclear (damaged image); the men wear olive wreaths on their heads	SA:Pig	-	Gebauer 2002, 46, P11
	13	Akr. 2009	(2 M 1 F) kithara player, aulos player, woman carrying object on her head in the same fashion as a kanoún (yet it is a different type of basket/vase)	kithara player wears a long chiton with short sleeves and a himation; the aulos players wears a long himation and the dress of the woman is unclear (damaged image)	The kithara player wears his hair in a bun at the back of his head 'chignon'; he does not have a beard; the aulos player has short hair and no beard; the woman has long hair and her face is painted white	SA:-	-	Gebauer 2002, 67, P25
	14	Akr. 636	(2 F 4 M) man with oinochoe; man with SA; aulos player; man with sprigs; two women with sprigs	All men wear long himations and the women wear long chitons and himations (partially over their heads). The garments are depicted with many fine and detailed pleats	The heads of the man with the oinochoe and the aulos players are missing (damaged image); the man with SA has short hair and wears a fillet; the man with sprigs has short hair, a beard ,and wears a wreath	SA:Pig	inscription	Gebauer 2002, 55, P16

		1 B 35		The splanchnoptai wear himations; the men with the SA are partially covered by the animals and are either nude or wear loin-cloths; of the two unidentified figures only the feet and a small piece of their himations remain (not included in tables).	The splanchnoptai do not wear beards and one of them has short hair and wears a wreath; the hairstyle of the other man is unclear (damaged image); the men with the SA have short hair and they do not have beards	SA:Bov.	altar/fireplace	Gebauer 2002, 65, P24
	15		(2? 4 M) two figures; two men accompanying SA; two male splanchnoptai with obeloi					
		Akr. 2575		The kanéphoros, the aulos player and the latter unidentified figure wear long chitons and himations	The kanéphoros has long hair and her face is painted white, the aulos player has short hair (with fillet) and a beard; the hairstyles of the other two figure is unclear (damaged image)	SA:-	The aulos player has clearly a band over his face that is attached to the aulos	Van Straten 1995, 243, V265 (image found in Graef & Langlotz 1909, Vol. 1, nr. 2575, pl. 108)
	16		(2?, 1 F, 1M) unidentified figure; kanéphoros (female) carrying kanoûn; aulos player (male); unidentified figure					
		13.195		The men with the SA wear himations; the kanéphoros wear a long chiton which is left open and a kolpos.	The men wear short hair, wreaths and are beardless; the kanéphoros wears a an updo hairstyle 'chignon'. Additionally she wears a fillet with what appears to be a sacrificial knife fastened under it	SA:2 Bov. (Cows)	column with fillet; two men are facing each other; the SA has stémata hanging from its horns	Van Straten 1995, 206, V74
	17		(2 M 1 F) two men with SA; kanéphoros (female) carrying kanoûn					
		S./10 1508		The two men with the SA are either nude or wear loin-cloths (lower half image is missing); the third man is also partially nude (dress style unclear) image severely damaged	One of the men with the SA has a beard and they have short hair; the third man has no beard the top half of his head is missing	SA:Bov.	tempel	Gebauer 2002, 60, P17
	18		(3 M) two men accompanying SA with sprigs; man with sprigs					
c. 510 - c.480 B.C		S./10 1581		All figures wear long himations	no heads visible (damaged image)	SA: Pig (Boar)	-	Gebauer 2002, 61, P18
	19		(7 ?) procession of 7 figures (2 figures accompanying a SA). Only lower half of the image remains portraying the feet and part of himations. According to van Straten their himations denote them as men (Van Straten 1995, 202, V48)					
		-		The man with the SA wears a long himation; the man with the kanoûn wears a short embellished himation	The man with the SA and the man with the kanoûn wear short hair and beards (the herme is portrayed with a beard and long hair)	SA: Goat	altar	Gebauer 2002, 73, P32
	20		(2 M 1 H) one man with SA; one man carrying sprigs and a kanoûn; one herme statue					
		S 1174		The man wears a himation	The man has short hair and he does not have beard	SA: Bov.	The tail of the SA is braided and it has stémata hanging from its horns	Gebauer 2002, 67, P26
	21		(1 M) man with basket and sprigs accompanying a SA with stémata					
		Akr 816		Three musicians as well as one other unidentified figure wear long embellished himations (the garments have many pleats) ; the man with sprigs wears a loin-cloth; the dress-style of the other figures is unclear (severly damaged image)	Four men wear wreaths and have short hair (including the man with SA; one aulos player (who also wears a beard); one kithara player and the man with the kanoûn).The hairstyles of the other figures is unclear	SA:Bov. (Bull)	inscription	Gebauer 2002, 63, P21
	22		(6 M 1 ?) man with SA (rope tied around the frontleg of the SA); man with kanoûn in one hand which he is holding above his head; figure; aulos player (male); two kithara player s(male); man with sprigs					
		12531		The aulos player wears a long embellished himation; the other men are depicted nude	The man carrying the kanoûn has short hair and he wears an olive wreath. He does not have a beard; the man with the SA, the man with the baskets and the aulos player have short hair and beards	SA: Goat	altar	Van Straten 1995, 195, V11
	23		(2 H 4 M) two herms; man carrying kanoûn with stémata; man with SA; man carrying baskets; aulos player					

24	Akr 674	(1 M) (fragment) man with object on his shoulder. Other fragments that can possible connected to this vase fragment portray men with sprigs and a bov. with stémata	The man appears to be wearing a himation	The head of the man is missing	SA: Bov.	inscription	Van Straten 1995, 196, V14 (image of fragment found in Pease 1935, <i>Hesperia</i> 4 (2), 229, nr. 16, fig. 6
25	Akr 842	(3 M, 3 ?) man with amphora and SA; two men with sprigs; three figures (sex unknown) according to Gebauer men. Several figures are missing on the vase	The man with the SA and the man behind him are portrayed nude with himations draped over one shoulder. The third man wears a long garment with sleeves (damaged image; chiton with a himation?). The other three figures wear long chitons and himations (with many pleats).	The heads of the first two men are missing; the third man has short hair, a fillet and a beard; the heads of the three unidentified figures are missing	SA: Goat	-	Gebauer 2002, 62, P19
26	130	(1MG 6 M 1F 4S) Dionysos in ship-chariot accompanied by two satyrs who play instruments; two satyrs pull the chariot; kanéporos (female) carrying kanoûn; thymiaterion bearer with sprigs; two men with sprigs; two men with SA; boy	The kanéporos wears a long chiton and himation; the god Dionysos, the thymiaterion bearer as well as two men with sprigs wear himations; two men are partially covered by the SA (one of them appears to be wearing a chiton and himation, the dress style of the other is unclear); the smaller man (boy) at the end of the procession wears a short chiton	The head of the kanéporos is missing; Dionysos hairstyle is unclear; the thymiaterion bearer as well as the boy with sprigs at the end of the procession, the two men with sprigs, and one of the men with SA have short hair and do not have beards; the other man with SA wears a beard and long hair	SA: Bov. (Bull)	One man is facing the procession behind him	Van Straten 1995, 198, V24
27	B 79	(1MG 6M 2S) Dionysos in ship-chariot accompanied by two satyrs who play the aulos; man with sprigs; man with SA; aulos player; three men with sprigs	Dionysos and five men wear himations; the sixth man (with SA) is partially covered by the animals and may be either nude or wearing a loin-cloth	All men wear beards and short hair except Dionysos who wears long hair and an olive wreath. One of the men with sprigs has white/grey hair and a white/grey beard	SA: Bov. (Bull)	One man is facing the procession behind him	Van Straten 1995, 198, V28
28	-	(4 H, 1 F, 2M) : Side A: four herms; one man with SA Side B: aulos player (female); man with stick	The man with SA is covered by the animal and is either nude or wears a loin-cloth; the auletrides wears a long chiton with himation; the man with stick wears a himation	The man with the SA has a beard and short hair; the auletrides wears a bonnet (σάκκος); the man with the stick has short hair and a beard	SA: Sheep (Ram)	-	Van Straten 1995, 200, V38 (Image found in Lehnstaedt 1970, K38, pl. 3, 3)
29	2298	(4 M 1 FG 1?) Athena with a shield and helmet; man with sprigs (priest); kanéporos (sex unknown only kanoûn and long robes visible) man with sprigs; man with SA; aulos player	Athena wears a long chiton without sleeves (her robes have a checkered motive and appear to be heavy since there are no pleats in them) ; the man with sprigs (priest?) wears a long embellished chiton as well ; the kanéporos wears a long dress as does another man with sprigs who wears a long embellished chiton with himation; the man with SA is partially covered by the SA and may be either nude or wearing a loin-cloth; the aulos player wears a himation	Athena wears long hair, a helmet, and her face is painted white; the hair of the man with sprigs in front of Athena appears to be tied in a bun in the nape of his neck (the front half of his face is missing); the head of the kanéporos is missing; the other man with sprigs has short hair (with a fillet) and a beard as well as the man with SA and the aulos player	SA: Bov.	One man is facing the procession behind him	Van Straten 1995, 197, V19
30	74	(6 M): Side A: aulos player; man with SA; man with filled basket on his back Side B: man with SA; two men carrying an amphora on a pole between them	All men are depicted nude	The heads of one of the men with SA is missing; the other men wear short hair and three men have beards (including the aulos player, the man with SA and one of the amphora carriers)	SA: Bov. (Bull)	The man with the SA and the other figures are walking in opposite directions (the man with the SA is looking at the amphora carriers over his shoulder)	Gebauer 2002, 124, P v 90

31	P 24519	(3 ? with SA) image is very vague (Gebauer classifies these figures as women: Gebauer 2002, p78, 121))	They all wear himations	Hair is unclear, but appears to be short	SA: 2 Bov.	-	Gebauer 2002, 121, P78
32	1905.7-11.1	(1 FG 1 F 2 M) Athena seated; kanéphoros (female) carrying kanoûn; man with oinochoe; man with SA	Athena and the kanéphoros wear long chitons (without pleats) with himations; the man with the oinochoe and the SA wear himations (with pleats).	Athena wears a helmet and the kanéphoros has long hair; the man with the SA wears on his head a 'petasos'; the man with the oinochoe wears a hat as well	SA: Bov.	columns/altar	Gebauer 2002, 75, P35
33	352	(1 M) man with SA	The man wears a himation	The man wears his hair tied in a knot at the back of his head "chignon" and he wears an olive wreath; he does not have a beard	SA:Sheep, Bov.	owl; altar/tempel	Gebauer 2002, 81, P41
34	86.52	(6 M): Side A: man with SA; two men carrying an amphora on a pole between them Side B: one man with basket on his back and sprigs; one man with SA and knife; man	One man is partially covered by SA and may be either nude or wear a loin-cloth; all other men are depicted nude	The heads of two men (man + SA, man with basket) are partially missing; the other four men wear short hair and one of the men with amphora has a beard	SA: Bov, Pig	Man with SA is turning back; the vase is decorated with sprigs	Gebauer 2002, 124, P91
35	18568	(2 M) two men with possibly SA (may be either a sacrificial procession or a flock of sheeps with sheperds; Gebauer, 2002, 79)	They wear both himations	They have both short hair and are beardless	SA: 3 Sheep	The vase is decorated with sprigs /column	Gebauer 2002, 79, P39
36	-	(4 M) man with SA; aulos player; two men with sprigs	All men wear himations	They have short hair (three men wear hats except the aulos player who wears an olive wreath); they all have beards	SA: Bov.(Bull)	-	Gebauer 2002, 77, P36
37	-	(1FG 1 F) Athena (seated) with spear and helmet; woman with sprigs (priestess?)	The goddess as well as the woman with sprigs wear long chitons and himatons	They have long hair (with fillets) and their faces are painted white	SA: Bov	snake; altar;tempel	Van Straten 1995, 203, V53
38	345.738	(2M) two men with SA and sprigs who lead the two bov. to an altar from both sides. According to Gebauer (2002, 78, P37) this is not a real sacrificial procession scene, but rather an 'emblem of sacrifice in general'	One side of the vase is heavily damaged and details cannot be distinguished; the other side depicts one of the men with SA as partially covered by the animals and he can be either nude or wearing a loin-cloth.	One side of the vase is heavily damaged and details cannot be distinguished; on the other side the man with SA has short hair and a beard. Additionally, he wears a hat	SA: 2 Bov.	altar	Gebauer 2002, 78, P37
39	B585	(2 M 1 F) man; woman with SA; kithara player (male)	The man wears a short cloak over his shoulders (himation) ; the woman wears a long himation (arms covered); the kithara player wears a himation	The man and the kithara player have short hair; the woman's hair is partially covered by her himation (length is unclear) and she wears a fillet	SA: Bov. (Bull)	The bov. has stemmata hanging from its horns	Van Straten 1995, 199, V29 (image found in Lehnstaedt 1970, K75, pl. 4,2)
40	f 2189	(3 F) kanéphoros (female) carrying kanoûn; two women	The women wear elaborate robes (long chitons with himations) with many pleats	The women have updo hairstyles 'chignons' (two of them wear fillets and one a stephanos)	SA:-	-	Gebauer 2002, 797, Kv8

c.480 - c. 450 B.C.	41	B 648	(3 M 1 F) musician (salpinx); kanéphoros (female) carrying kanoûn; man with thymiaterion; man with SA and sprigs	The musician wears a short himation; the kanéphoros wears a long chiton with himation; the thymiaterion bearer and the man with SA wear both long himations	The kanéphoros has an updo hairstyle 'chignon' and her face appears to be whitened; the men have short hair	SA: Bov.(Bull)	-	Gebauer 2002, 96, P46
	42	T 814	(2 M 1 F) kanéphoros (female) carrying a kanoûn; man with thymiaterion; man with SA and sprigs	The kanéphoros wears a long chiton with himation; the thymiaterion bearer and the man with SA wear long chitons and carry folded himations	The kanéphoros has either white hair or wears a veil and her face is painted white; the men have short hair (with fillets)	SA: Bov. (Bull)	-	Gebauer 2002, 97, P47
	43	598	(2 M 1 F) kanéphoros (female) carrying kanoûn; man with thymiaterion; man with SA and sprigs	The kanéphoros wears a long chiton with himation; the thymiaterion bearer and the man with SA wear both long himations	The kanéphoros' hairstyle is unclear; the men have short hair and wear fillets	SA: Bov. (Bull)	-	Gebauer 2002, 97, P48
	44	-	(1H 2M) herme; man with SA and sprigs; aulos player (male)	The men wear long himations	hairstyle is unclear (auletes updo hair? and man with SA a hat?)	SA: Goat with large horns	altar	Gebauer 2002, 98, P50
	45	41.162.255	(3 F) three women accompanying SA	The women wear elaborate robes (long chitons with himations)	Two women have updo hairstyles 'chignons' and it appears that the woman in the middle wears a fillet in her hair and has a little bag in the nape of her neck in which the hair-ends are tied together; their faces are painted white.	SA: Bov. (Bull)	-	Gebauer 2002, 708, P479
	46	16508	(2M) rim: man carrying kanoûn accompanying a SA; man with stick (the other side portrays a man with sprigs and SA and a man with sprigs and wreath: non vidi therefore not included)	Both men wear himations (man with the kanoûn and SA has his himations wrapped around the hips)	The man carrying a kanoûn has short hair and he does not have a beard; the man with the stick has short hair and a beard	SA: Sheep (Ram), Bov. (Bull)	-	Gebauer 2002, 99, P52
	47	536	(1 F 1 M) woman with phiale; man carrying kanoûn and spit	The woman wears a long pleated chiton with sleeves and a himation; the man wears a himation which is wrapped around his hips (and ends above the knee)	The woman has an updo hairstyle 'chignon' and she wears a fillet; the man has short hair and he does not have a beard	SA:-	-	Van Straten 1995, 230, V193
	48	3369	(1 H 4 F) herm; kanéphoros (female) carrying kanoûn and stick; three women all holding objects (sticks or twigs?) and one of them is portrayed smaller than the others and may be a girl	All women wear long chitons with himations	The kanéphoros and the woman at the end of the procession wear long hair; the kanéphoros has a fillet in her hair; a smaller woman (girl) wears a bonnet (σῦκκος) over her hair; the woman in the middle wears a short/updo hairstyle?	SA:-	altar with pinax; the figure in the middle of the procession (a woman) faces the audience (viewer of the vase)	Van Straten 1995, 249, V302 (Image found in Boardman 1989, fig. 42)
	49	CP 10793	(3 H 1F 1M) Side A: Three herms Side B: kanéphoros (female) carrying kanoûn; man with amphora	The kanéphoros wears a long chiton with short sleeves; the man is depicted nude	The man has short hair and he does not have a beard; the kanéphoros wears either short hair or an updo hairstyle ('chignon?')	SA:-	-	Gebauer 2002, 562, Kv 15
	50	203	(2 F) kanéphoros (female) carrying kanoûn; an accompanying woman	The women wear elaborate robes (long chitons with himations)	The kanéphoros has long hair (partially covered by himation) the other woman has an updo hairstyle 'chignon' (light colour)	SA:-	-	Connelly 2007, 38, fig. 2.6
	51	-	(3 M) Side A: three men with SA and sprigs (Side B: two men in himations with skyphoi; this side of vase non vidi and therefore not included)	All men wear himations (fully draped around in their bodies (including arms)	All men have short hair and two of them wear beards (the latter in the procession is the exception); they wear fillets	SA: Bov.	-	Gebauer 2002, 101, P53

c.450-420 B.C.	52	3950	(5 F 3 M) woman behind altar (with two sticks/sprigs?); woman with skyphos kanéphoros (female) carrying a kanoûn; woman with phiale; four other figures (non vidi) consisting of a man standing back to back with the last woman of the first procession group; an aulos player (male); a woman and a man with stick (Lehnstaedt 1970, K119, 30)	The woman behind the altar wears a himation. The three other women wear long chitons (many plaets) and himations; of the four other figures (non vidi) the first man wears a himation; the aulos player?; the woman a chiton and himation; the man with stick is depicted naked with a himation hanging over his arm (Lehnstaedt 1970, K119, 30)	The woman behind the altar has long hair; the woman with skyphos wears an updo hairstyle; the head of the kanéphoros is missing; the woman carrying a bowl wears an updo hairstyle 'chignon'; the hairstyles of the other figures (non vidi)	SA:-	altar	Gebauer 2002, 109, Kv37
	53	Akr. 739	(2 M) man with SA; man	Both figures wear himations (the man without SA has his himation completely draped around the body (including arms) and partially behind the head	Man with SA has short hair and he does not have a beard; the hairstyle of the other man is unclear (covered partially with himation) and he does not have a beard	SA: Sheep	-	Gebauer 2002, 104, P55
	54	T 57 c VP	(1MG 7 M 1 F 1?) Apollo in tempel (seated); man with stick (priest?) kanéphoros (female) carrying a kanoûn; two men with a thymiaterion between them; man with phiale; three men accompanying SA, figure	All men (including Apollo) wear himations (the men with SA and a man without attribute are completely wrapped in their himations (including their arms)); the kanéphoros wears a long embellished chiton with sleeves and a himation	The man with the stick has a beard; all other men (including Apollo) do not have beards; all men have short hair and they wear olive wreaths; the kanéphoros wears long hair and has a fillet in her hair	SA: 2 Bov. (Bulls)	The man with the stick is turned facing the kanéphoros behind him	Van Straten 1995, 207, V78
	55	T 416 B VP	(2 M) man with SA; man behind altar	They both wear himations (one man standing in front of the SA has his himation completely draped around his body (including his arms) and partially behind his head)	They have short hair and do not have beards	SA: Bov. (Bull)	altar	Gebauer 2002, 109, P59
	56	P 5270	(2 M) man carrying a horn, oinochoe and a kanoûn; man near an altar	Both men wear himations	The heads of the men are missing	SA:-	altar; statue	Van Straten 1995, 244, V273
	c.420-c.400 B.C.	57	P 10554	(6 M): Side A: procession of three men (two of these men are carrying a tray) Side B: procession of three men; one of these men is carrying an amphora	The body of one of the men is missing (damaged image); the other five men wear himations that are draped in different ways (one man has his himation completely draped around his body (including his arms))	The hairstyle (including facial hair) of one man is unclear; one man wears short curly hair; the other four men wear long curly hair and all men wear olive wreaths; all five men do not have beards	SA:-	Side A: tree Side B: depicts the first man as turning back facing the others behind him; inscription
58		2510 (T 734 VT)	(2 M) two men with SA	They both wear himations draped in different ways (one man standing behind the SA has his himation completely draped around his body (including his arms))	They have short hair and do not have beards	SA:(Bov. Bull)	-	Gebauer 2002, 111, P62
59		-	(3 M) three men with SA	All men wear long himations	All men have short hair and they do not have beards. Additionally, they wear headbands.	SA: Bov. (Bull)	-	Gebauer 2002, 112, P63a
60		42888	(1 M 1 H) Herme statue; man with SA	The man with SA wears a long himation	He has short hair and he does not have a beard	SA:Bov. (Bull)	altar	Gebauer 2002, 112, P63

Appendix C

Tables

Gender, Functions and Attributes

c.570 - c.540 B.C.						
	Male	Attributes	Female	Attributes	Unidentified	Total
Functions v Gender >	57		8		4	69
Priests	1	-	3	sprigs	0	4
Musicians	9	6 auloi; 3 kitharai	0	/	0	9
Kanéphoroi (figures carrying kanoûns)	1	1 kanoûn + 1 oinochoe	4	4 kanoûns	0	5
Figures with Sacrificial Animals	15	1 knife case; 1 oinochoe; sprigs; wreaths	0	/	1	16
Hoplites	3	3 shields + 3 spears	0	/	0	3
Horse riders	1	-	0	/	0	1
Other figures	27	1 horn, 1 oinochoe; 1 wineskin; sprigs; wreaths	1	sprigs	3	31

c.540 - c.510 B.C.						
	Male	Attributes	Female	Attributes	Unidentified	Total
Functions v Gender >	28		6		4	38
Musicians	7	5 auloi; 2 kitharai	0	/	0	7
Kanéphoroi (figures carrying kanoûns)	0	/	2	1 kanoûn; 1 kanoûn + knife under fillet	0	2
Splanchnoptai	2	2 obeloi	0	/	0	2
Figures with Sacrificial Animals	9	sprigs	1	-	0	10
Other figures	10	4 sticks; 1 oinochoe; sprigs	3	1 'kanoûn-like' object; sprigs	4	17

c.510 - c.480 B.C.						
	Male	Attributes	Female	Attributes	Unidentified	Total
Functions v Gender >	60		8		15	83
Priests	1	sprigs	1	sprigs	0	2
Musicians	9	6 auloi; 3 kitharai	1	1 aulos	0	10
Kanéphoroi (figures carrying kanoûns)	3	3 kanoûns; sprigs	3	3 kanoûns	1	7
Tymiaterion bearers	1	1 incense-burner	0	/	0	1
Figures with Sacrificial Animals	21	1 basket; 1 amphora; sprigs	1	-	5	27
Other figures	25	4 baskets; 1 object; 1 amphora; 1 oinochoe; 1 knife; 1 stick; sprigs	2	-	9	36

c.480 - c.450 B.C.						
	Male	Attributes	Female	Attributes	Unidentified	Total
Functions v Gender >	16		14		0	30
Musicians	2	1 salpinx; 1 aulos	0	/	0	2
Kanéphoroi (figures carrying kanoûns)	2	1 kanoûn; 1 kanoûn + 1 spit	6	5 kanoûns; 1 kanoûn + 1 stick	0	8
Figures with Sacrificial Animals	7	sprigs	3	-	0	10
Tymiaterion bearers	3	3 incense- burners	0	/	0	3
Other figures	2	1 amphora; 1 stick	5	1 phiale; 3 sticks/twigs	0	7

c.450 - c.420 B.C.						
	Male	Attributes	Female	Attributes	Unidentified	Total
Functions v Gender >	16		6		1	23
Priests	1	1 stick	0	/	0	1
Musicians	1	1 aulos	0	/	0	1
Kanéphoroi (figures carrying kanoûns)	1	1 kanoûn + 1 oinochoe + horn	2	2 kanoûns	0	3
Figures with Sacrificial Animals	5	-	0	/	0	5
Other figures	8	1 phiale; 1 stick; sprigs	4	1 stick; 1 skyphos; 1 phiale; sprigs	1	13

c.420 - c.400 B.C.						
	Male	Attributes	Female	Attributes	Unidentified	Total
Functions v Gender >	12		0		0	12
Figures with Sacrificial Animals	6	-	0	/	0	6
Other figures	6	1 tray; 1 amphora	0	/	0	6

Mythological Figures

	Gods M F	Hermae M	Satyrs M
Gender >	3 7	13	6
Periods v			
c.570 - c.540 B.C.	0 4	0	0
c.540 - c.510 B.C.	0 0	0	0
c.510 - c.480 B.C.	2 3	7	6
c.480 - c.450 B.C.	0 0	5	0
c.450 - c.420 B.C.	1 0	0	0
c.420 - c.400 B.C.	0 0	1	0

Appendix D

Tables

Clothing, Hairstyles and Personal Adornments

Men

c.570 - c.540 B.C	Clothing Men					Hairstyles Men				Images
Functions	Chitons	Himations (often in addition to chitons)	Nudes	loin-cloths	Unknown dress styles	beards	hairstyles	unknown beards/hair styles	headdresses (additional items)	
Priests	1 L	0	0	0	0	1	1 S	0	0	v55
Musicians	8 L	8 L	0	0	0	6	4 L 5 S	0	2 fill.	v55, v21, v32, v39
Men carrying kanoûns	1 L	1 L	0	0	0	1	1 L	0	0	v32
Figures with Sacrificial Animals	7 S 2 L	1 L	0	4	2 CbSA	7	6 L 9 S	0	1 o. wr. 2 fill.	p1, v55, v13, v39, v22, v21, v9, v32
Hoplites	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	3	3 helm.	v55
Horsriders	0	0	1	0	0	0	1 S	0	0	v55
Other figures	25 L 2 S	17 L	0	0	0	17	16 L 10 S	1	2 o. wr. 8 fill.	p1, v55, v39, v22, v21, v9, v32
Total	37 L 9 S	27 L	1	4	5	32	27L 26 S	4	12 fill. 3 o. wr. 3 helm.	

c.540 - c.510 B.C	Clothing Men					Hairstyle Men			Images	
Functions	Chitons	Himations (often in addition to chitons)	Nudes	loin-cloths	Unknown dress styles	beards	hairstyles	unknown beards/hair styles	headdresses (additional items)	
Musicians	2 L	6 L	0	0	1	3	5 S 1 U	1	1 o. wr. 1 fill.	p7, p11, p25, p16, v265
Splanchnoptai	0	2 L	0	0	0	0	1 S	1	1 wr.	p24
Figures with Sacrificial Animals	0	3 L	0	0	3 3 CbSA	2	8 S	1	1 o. wr. 2 wr. 1 fill.	p7, p11, p16, p24, v74, p17
Other figures	5 L	3 L	0	0	2	3	4 L 4 S	2	2 o. wr. 1 wr.	p12, p7, p11, p16, p17
Total	7 L	14 L	0	0	9	8	4 L 18 S 1 U	5	8 wr. (4 o. wr) 2 fill.	

c.510 - c.480 B.C	Clothing Men					Hairstyle Men			Images	
Functions	Chitons	Himations (often in addition to chitons)	Nudes	loin-cloths	Unknown dress styles	beards	hairstyles	unknown beards/hair styles	headdresses (additional items)	
Priests	1 L	0	0	0	0	0	1 U	1	0	v19
Musicians	0	8 L	1	0	0	6	8 S	1	2 wr. 1 o. wr.	p21, v11, v19, v28, pv90, p36, v29
Men carrying kanoûns	0	1 S	1	0	1	1	3 S	0	1 wr. 1 o. wr	p32, p21, v11
Tymiaterion bearers	0	1 L	0	0	0	0	1 S	0	0	v24
Figures with Sacrificial Animals	0	7 L	5	0	2 7 CbSA	9	14 S 1 L 1 U	5	1 wr. 1 o. wr 3 hats	p32, p26, p21, v11,p19, v24, v28, v38, v19, pv90, p35, p41, pv91, p39, p36, p37
Other figures	1 S 1 L	12 L 1 S	10	1	0	12	19 S	6	2 fill. 2 hats	p21, v11, p19, v24, v28, v38, v19, pv90, p35, pv91, p36, v29
Total	2 L 1 S	27 L 2 S	17	1	10	28	45 S 1 L 2 U	13	6 wr. (3 o. wr.) 2 fill. 5 hats	

c.480 - c.450 B.C	Clothing Men					Hairstyle Men			Images	
Functions	Chitons	Himations (often in addition to chitons)	Nudes	loin-cloths	Unknown dress styles	beards	hairstyles	unknown beards/hair styles	headdresses (additional items)	
Men carrying kanoûns	0	1 L 1 S	0	0	0	0	2 S	0	0	p52, v193
Musicians	0	1 L 1 S	0	0	0	0	1 S	1	0	p46, p50
Tymiaterion bearers	1 L	3 L	0	0	0	0	3 S	0	2 fill.	p46, p47, p48
Figures with Sacrificial Animals	1 L	7 L	0	0	0	2	6 S	1	5 fill.	p46, p47, p48, p50, p53
Other figures	0	1 L	1	0	0	1	2 S	0	0	p52, kv15
Total	2 L	13 L 2 S	1	0	0	3	14 S	2	7 fill.	

c.450 - c.420 B.C	Clothing Men					Hairstyle Men			Images	
Functions	Chitons	Himations (often in addition to chitons)	Nudes	loin-cloths	Unknown dress styles	beards	hairstyles	unknown beards/hair styles	headdresses (additional items)	
Priest	0	1 L	0	0	0	1	1 S	0	1 o. wr.	v78
Musicians	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	kv37
Men carrying kanoûns	0	1 L	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	v273
Figures with Sacrificial Animals	0	5 L	0	0	0	0	5 S	0	3 o. wr.	p55, v78, p59,
Other figures	0	7 L	1	0	0	0	4 S	4	3 o. wr.	kv37, p55, v78, p59, v273,
Total	0	14 L	1	0	1	1	10 S	6	7 o. wr.	

c.420 - c.400 B.C	Clothing Men					Hairstyle Men				Images
Functions	Chiton	Himation (often additional item to chiton)	Nude	loin-cloth	Unknown dress style	beards	hair	unknown beards/hair styles	headdress (additional item)	
Figures with Sacrificial Animals	0	6 L	0	0	0	0	6 S	0	0	p62, p63, p63a
Other figures	0	5 L	0	0	1	0	1 S 4 L	1	5 o. wr.	Corbett 1949; pls. 73 + 74
Total	0	11 L	0	0	1	1	7 S 4 L	1	5 o. wr.	

Women

c.570 - c.540 B.C.	Clothing Women			Hairstyles Women		Images	
Functions	Chitons	Himations (often in addition to chitons)	Unknown dress styles	hairstyles	unknow hairstyles	headdresses (additional items)	
Priests	3 L	1L	0	3 L	0	1 fill.	v55, v21, v32
Kanephoroi	4 L	2 L 1 S	0	3 L	1	0	v55, v22, v9, p5
Other women	1 L	1S	0	1 L	0	1 fill.	v9
Total	8L	3L 2S	0	7L	1	2 fill.	

c.540 - c.510 B.C.	Clothing Women			Hairstyles Women		Images	
Functions	Chitons	Himations (often in addition to chitons)	Unknown dress styles	hairstyles	unknow hairstyles	headdresses (additional items)	
Kanephoroi	1 L + Koplos 1L	1 L	0	1L 1 U	0	1 fill.	v74, v265
Figures with Sacrificial Animals	1 L	1 L	0	1 L	0	0	p12
Other women	2 L	2 L	1	3 L	0	2 στέφ.	p16, p25
Total	5L	4L	1	5 L 1U	0	1 fill. 2 στέφ.	

c.510 - c.480 B.C.	Clothing Women			Hairstyles Women			Images
Functions	Chitons	Himations (often in addition to chitons)	Unknown dress styles	hairstyles	unknow hairstyles	headdresses (additional items)	
Priestess	1 L	1 L	0	1 L	0	1 fill.	v53
Kanephoroi	3 L	3 L	0	1 L 1 U	1	1 fill.	kv8, p35, v24
Musicians	1L	1L	0	0	1	1 σάκκ.	v38
Figures with Sacrificial Animals	0	1L	0	0	1	1 fill.	v29
Other women	2 L	2 L	0	2 U	0	1 fill. 1 στέφ.	kv8
Total	7L	8L	0	2L 3U	3	4 fill. 1 σάκκ. 1 στέφ.	

c.480 - c.450 B.C.	Clothing Women			Hairstyles Women			Images
Functions	Chitons	Himations (often in addition to chitons)	Unknown dress styles	hairstyles	unknow hairstyles	headdresses (additional items)	
Kanephoroi	6 L	5 L	0	1 U 2 L	3	1 fill. 1 veil?	p46, p47,p48, v302, kv15, Connelly fig. 2.6
Figures with Sacrificial Animals	3 L	3 L	0	3 U	0	0	pv79
Other women	5 L	5 L	0	2 U 1 L	2	1 fill. 1 σάκκ.	v193, v302,Connelly fig. 2.6
Total	14L	13L	0	3L 6U	5	2 fill. 1 σάκκ. 1 veil?	

c.450 - c.420 B.C.	Clothing Women			Hairstyles Women		Images	
Functions	Chitons	Himations (often in addition to chitons)	Unknown dress styles	hairstyles	unknow hairstyles	headdresses (additional items)	
Kanephoroi	2 L	2 L	0	1 L	1	1 fill.	v78, Kv37
Other women	4 L	3 L		1 L 2 U	1	0	Kv37
Total	6 L	5 L	0	2 L 2 U	2	1 fill.	

c.420 - c.400 B.C.	Clothing Women			Hairstyles Women		Images	
Functions	Chitons	Himations (often in addition to chitons)	Unknown dress styles	hairstyles	unknow hairstyles	headdresses (additional items)	
Women	0	0	0	0	0	0	-
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	-

Appendix E

Sacrificial Animals

Periods ∨ Sacrificial Animals >	Bov.	Pig	Sheep	Deer	Goat	Total	Number of vases with SA
c.570 - c.540 B.C.	6	3	5	0	0	14	9/9
c.540 - c.510 B.C.	4	2	1	1	1	9	7/9
c.510 - c.480 B.C.	17	2	5	0	3	27	21/22
c.480 - c.450 B.C.	6	0	1	0	1	8	7/11
c.450 - c.420 B.C.	3	0	1	0	0	4	3/5
c.420 - c.400 B.C.	3	0	0	0	0	3	3/4